Evaluation of the TERF Youth and Adult Programs

Submitted by:
RESOLVE
University of Manitoba
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and

Adult Programs

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Acknowledgments

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We are particularly grateful to the program participants and the program graduates who shared their stories with us. They gave us a true sense of the journey they were on and the critical role of TERF in facilitating that journey. We were moved by their courage, their humour and their love of life, they are an inspiration to us.
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Exploitation in the sex trade begins in childhood

- 12.4 is average age reported by TERF youth for their first experience of exploitation
- 15.8 is average age reported by TERF adults for their first experience of exploitation
- 7.4 is the average # of times youth tried to leave the sex trade
- 3.8 is the average # of times adults tried to leave the sex trade

Aboriginal Youth and Adults are at particular risk

- 89% of TERF youth are of Aboriginal background (including Metis)
- 87% of TERF adults are of Aboriginal background (including Metis)
- 50% of TERF staff in youth program are of Aboriginal background
- 100% of TERF staff in adult program are of Aboriginal background

Family instability is a contributing factor

- 74% of TERF youth are involved with Child and Family Services
- With an average of 5 placements in their short lives
- 68% of TERF adults were clients of Child and Family Services as youth
- With an average of 6.5 placements during their youth

The sex trade hurts individuals and society

- 70% of TERF youth report trouble with addictions
- 87% of TERF adults report trouble with addictions
- 74% of youth charged with a criminal offense; 50% of youth have been incarcerated
- 82% of adults charged with a criminal offense; 56% of adults have been incarcerated

TERF program reduces social costs*

- $173,788 is the estimated life time personal cost for exploited individuals
- $467,343 is the estimated cost to social services and justice per exploited individual’s life
- $446,026 is the estimated other societal costs per exploited individual’s life time
- $1.1 Million dollars in social costs and lost potential per exploited individual
- TERF assists 15 to 20 individuals to exit the sex trade every year. Realizing a saving to our community of millions of dollars a year.

* Costs were taken from the Cost Study conducted by Linda DeRiviere (2004) as part of a RESOLVE evaluation of Ndaawin, a prevention program sponsored by TERF.
TERF makes a difference

- 53% of adult graduates in 2004-2006 earned course credits
- 36% of youth graduates in 2004-06 earned course credits
- 40% of adult graduates returned to school
- 26% of youth graduates returned to school
- 33% of adult graduates obtained employment
- 14% of youth graduates obtained employment
- 13% of adult graduates regained custody of their children
- 7 of the 8 students in the Red River College program for Child and Youth Care are TERF graduates.

Collateral agencies report high level of regard for TERF

- “Because it (TERF) is longer term it is effective in getting the women off the streets – it makes the difference between thinking about transitioning and actually doing it”
- “Couldn’t do our job without them....they make sure clients reach their potential”
- “(participants)...become better citizens in mainstream society and this betters the community”

TERF Graduates report program changed their life

- “I don’t think I would be alive if I didn’t go to that program when I did....exactly when I did...cause I wasn’t having enough support in my life. ...it changed my life, well I got a job at Sage House because I went to TERF”
- “its an empowering program for women that need to stop hurting themselves....it can give you your life back”
- “I didn’t even know how to speak to people, it totally reintegrated me into society and I feel like I can go into almost any room and talk to any person and not feel like an idiot.”
- “There’s no way to explain it... TERF has been there for me all the time when I needed them.”
- “It was the best thing that happened to me....I enjoyed it....I liked being there.”
RECOMMENDATIONS

Issue
New Directions has an agency policy on data collection and evaluation for its programs and TERF collects valuable information on the adult and youth participants every year. However, TERF doesn’t collect the same information on the adults and youth and they change questions from year to year. Given that they are a program with a small number of registrants in each year it would be to their advantage to be able to make multiple year analyses on their participant’s issues at intake and their status at graduation.

Recommendation 1

1.A TERF adult and youth program staff get together to agree on a standard data collection format so there could be comparisons between adult and youth data.

1.B TERF staff agree on a core set of questions that will be asked every year so cumulative years of data could be compiled.

1.C A portion of the questions be selected to allow for pre and post program comparisons and that a standardized time frame be used for the pre and post program comparisons

Issue
The absence of full core funding for the adult program has been identified as a serious concern by TERF staff, participants and graduates and by collateral agencies.

Recommendation 2

It is recommended that Manitoba Justice increase its funding to provide full core funding for the Adult TERF program.

Issue
TERF staff and collateral agencies have all identified the importance of the Manitoba Strategy on Sexually Exploited Youth (SEY). Service providers have credited this strategy for increasing programs for SEY, filling serious service gaps and educating the public on the realities of sexual exploitation of youth in the sex trade. It has been expressed by TERF staff and collateral agencies that a similar strategy for Adults exploited in the sex trade would have a similar positive effect on service development for adults.

Recommendation 3

It is recommended that Manitoba Justice and affiliated departments, (members of the SEY Multidisciplinary Implementation Team) develop a provincial strategy on adults exploited in the sex trade. It is suggested that such a strategy could prioritize 1. Transition Housing for adult women similar in model to second stage housing for abused women. 2. Programming for youth discharged at the age of 18 from the youth program to support and assist their launching period.
TERF EVALUATION

INTRODUCTION

This evaluation is designed to assess the role and contribution of TERF to the goal of reducing the exploitation of women, youth and transgendered individuals in the sex trade. In this task it is helpful to consider the larger context of exploitation in the sex trade across Canada. As we write this report we are reminded daily, in the press and electronic media coverage of the Picton trial, of the severe violence associated with the sex trade. Closer to home the recent inquiry into the suicide of Tracia Owen emphasizes how young and how vulnerable the victims of sexual exploitation are and how devastating the impact is of such exploitation. We are also mindful of the criticism of the Canadian Justice System in the Amnesty International report “Stolen Sisters” (2004) which documents the intolerable levels of murder and disappearance of Aboriginal women, particularly those who have been exploited in the sex trade. The sex trade kills people who are working in it. They die as a result of murder at the hands of johns and pimps; they die as a result of drug overdoses; and they die of despair/suicide because they can’t find a way out of the violence and destructiveness of this life. It is important when we assess the contribution of programs in this field to remember the critical life and death issues they cope with everyday.

Within Manitoba the exploitation of women, youth and transgendered individuals has been well documented. (Gorkoff & Runner, 2003; Michaud, 1988). In response, the Province has taken a unique approach to address the Sexual Exploitation of Youth (SEY) through the creation of a provincial strategy and the appointment of a multi-jurisdictional implementation team (MIT) to ensure that the strategy is advancing as it should. This approach is unique in Canada and has been very well received by service providers in the field. They credit this strategy as having substantially increased the programs and support for sexually exploited youth and greatly increased public education about the reality of child abuse in the sex trade in Manitoba. At this point in time the province does not have a comparable strategy for addressing adult exploitation in the sex trade.

It is within this context that the TERF program operates. They provide an exiting program for youth within an expanding continuum of services resulting from the provincial strategy and an exiting program for adults in a much less developed, less supported service terrain. The funding for the two programs reflects the uneven development of services to adults and youth. The Youth TERF program’s annual core funding is $640,000 the Adult TERF program’s core funding is $171,100. From 1999 to 2005 the core funding for the Adult program was $146,100, the increase to $171,100 occurred in 2006. All of these factors inform the conditions and the context in which this evaluation was undertaken. TERF also provides some additional programming that is project funded but is not the focus of this evaluation¹.

¹ A series of short term project funding applications have supported a number of initiatives.
1. NCPC support for a prevention project focused on high risk children Ndaawin, 2000-04.
2. Canadian Heritage Fund for a mentoring program for high risk youth, 2006-07.
PROGRAM HISTORY

In 1984, Children’s Home of Winnipeg, (now known as New Directions for Children, Youth and Families) was involved with the Elizabeth Fry Society and the YWCA in a research project called “Making Street Connections” that examined the characteristics and needs of women involved in the sex trade. At that time there were no programs in Winnipeg that responded directly to this population. In response to the needs of this group, Children’s Home applied for funding and received money in 1986 to provide a one year training and employment program for women ages 18-24 who were involved in and wanting to exit the sex trade. Funding continued until 1993 for the adult program known as TERF (Training and Employment Resources for Females). The adult program was not funded for six years, but in 1999 funding was received from the Public Safety Branch of the Provincial Justice Department for a one year transition program for adult women and transgendered individuals wanting to exit the sex trade. At this time the adult program’s focus changed from employment preparation to a focus on personal development and healing. The adult program is funded to provide services to 15 participants and continues to be funded by Manitoba Justice. The program is one year in duration, however, it will often take a woman a number of years to complete the program because they may leave and return several times before graduation.

TERF’s youth program began formally in 1987, funded on a per diem basis through Child and Family Services. Since April 1, 1990, the youth program has been operating with grant funding provided through a Service and Purchase Agreement with the Department of Family Services and Housing. This agreement is based on working with 15 youth wanting to exit the sex trade. In addition, TERF has received funding for the last five years from Federal Health to develop services in response to HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis C and other STIs, this funding includes having a nurse on staff part time who provides extended clinical services and educational support. The youth program can be a number of years in duration for a particular youth depending on their age at first enrollment. Should a youth enroll at the age of 14 they could stay involved in the project until their 18th birthday. Some of the youth also leave and return several times before their graduation.

The TERF program is housed in the larger agency New Directions, which offers a variety of programs for disadvantaged individuals. These programs (see Organization Chart Appendix 1.A and 1.B) are often a resource to the participants of TERF. Programs like RAP, Resources for Adolescent Parents, Just Learning (an off campus Gordon Bell High School program), JobSolution, TRAILS and the Manitoba Learning Centre (psychological assessment services) all provide support and programming around specific issues often of concern to the participants of TERF. The movement from TERF to Just Learning is facilitated by their shared location and the ease with which participants can move from one program to another. This is also the case for more clinical programs such as Family Therapy and FASA, (Families Affected by Sexual Assault). The location of TERF within a large agency with multiple social service programs has advantages for the staff as well as the participants. TERF staff benefit from the Human Resources office, the information technology staff, the accounting provided by the finance office.
and the substantial program of staff training provided by New Directions. Further, in the
developing years when funding was less adequate and less secure, the location within New
Directions substantially assisted with cash flow issues and was critical in maintaining stability of
employment for the staff. Another benefit of location within a larger agency is the ability to
share staff employed full time by New Directions but utilized part time by TERF. The best
example of this is the New Directions Elder, who plays a key role in the adult and the youth
programs. Her involvement with TERF is stable and predictable, allowing programming to be
built with the knowledge that she is a regular member of the TERF staff team. In 2000,
RESOLVE Manitoba did a nation wide survey of programs for individuals exploited in the sex
trade. At that time TERF was the only exiting program in Canada. Recent updates suggest that
while there are some programs that assist individuals wanting to exit the sex trade none are as
well developed or as extensive as TERF.

TERF STAFF

The youth and adult programs have three staff that are shared, the TERF manager, the Elder and
the nurse. In addition, the adult program has three full time staff, a program co-ordinator, a case
manager and a certified teacher which are core funded positions. They also have one support
worker who is full time but project funded. The youth program has six full time staff and one
part time staff member all of which are core funded. The program coordinator, the case manager,
the certified teacher, the instructor and three support workers are all full time. In addition, there
is a classroom facilitator who works part time.

While both programs are very challenging and their participants are very high risk there is
remarkable longevity amongst program staff. The program manager and the youth program
coordinator have been with the program since its inception. The instructor and the classroom
facilitator in the youth program have been with the program for 6 years, the Elder has been with
both programs for 5 years and the certified teacher in the adult program has been with the
program for 3 years, the case manager in the youth program is beginning her 3rd year. Thus,
7 of the 14 staff have considerable history with the program. The stability of the staff is of
particular importance considering that TERF is the only program of its kind in Canada.
The staff have had to learn through trial and error and the fact that two of the founding staff
continue with the program provides important grounding and institutional history for the
program.
METHODOLOGY

Evaluation Purpose

The purposes of the following evaluation were to:

1. Detail how the TERF youth and adult programs meet the needs of experiential youth and women who are attempting to leave the sex trade.
2. Outline the challenges to exiting the sex trade and how these challenges impact programming.
3. Examine the benefits of the youth and adult Programs.
4. Determine the participant, staff and service community perceptions of the program.
5. Determine some of the potential impacts of the program for participants and for the community.

Evaluation Process

The following evaluation is in part a process evaluation and in part a quasi-outcome evaluation. A process evaluation determines if the program is meeting the needs of the intended clients and thus it often involves interviews with clients and other community agencies to obtain their feedback on the program and whether or not it is meeting their needs. These interviews can provide indications of where changes may be occurring for clients and potential problems that would impede change (Cunningham & Baker, 2003). Feedback from clients and the community can then be used to modify the program and/or its implementation. When this is done the evaluation becomes formative in nature. Because the evaluation also includes results of pre- and post program comparisons it has an outcome component. Due to the fact that no control group is used, it is quasi-experimental in nature and thus conclusions can only point to potential areas of change.

Evaluation Team

The evaluation team consisted of four female staff of RESOLVE. Two of the research team members are Aboriginal and one is experiential. All four staff were involved in the interview process.
Evaluation Method

In evaluating a complex and challenging program like TERF a multiple method approach was adopted. The objectives of the evaluation were achieved through the following methods:

1. A review of the literature was conducted to determine the national context in which TERF operates. This literature identifies the factors which contribute to a persons risk for exploitation in the sex trade, outlines the average age of entry in the sex trade, and provides detailed documentation of the challenges to exiting the sex trade. The literature review provides a rough benchmark of the characteristics of individuals in the sex trade as well as recommendations on programming most likely to assist individuals attempting to exit. Thus, from the literature we can assess whether the participants in the TERF program are representative of individuals exploited in the sex trade. We can also use the recommendations within the literature about effective programming as a means of assessing the TERF philosophy, program components and staff orientation. (For a complete literature review see Appendix 2).

2. A summary of the cost benefit study of exploitation in the sex trade conducted by RESOLVE as a component of our evaluation of Ndaawin in 2005 (Linda deRiviere 2005) was included. This cost benefit study provides a benchmark for assessing the relative merits of investing in an exiting program over the costs of nonintervention.

3. An analysis of the internal program evaluation instruments and processes was completed. This included results from program satisfaction scales, focus groups conducted with participants in the past, and pre and post program comparisons over the course of three years.

4. A limited file review which provided the social and demographic characteristics of program participants for the past three years was done. This profile is useful in identifying the issues and challenges TERF faces in developing a program to meet the needs of its participants. This profile demonstrates that the needs of the client group are neither static nor predictable and as a result require considerable program sensitivity and flexibility to respond effectively to participant needs. The characteristics and presenting needs of the participants are so critical to our assessment of TERF that the evaluation report has been structured around the profile of the program participants.

5. The primary source of data collection involved interviews of participants, graduates, staff and collateral agencies. In total 42 individuals were interviewed from the categories identified in table 1 below.
Table 1

Interviews conducted by RESOLVE by category of affiliation with TERF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Adult Program</th>
<th>Youth Program</th>
<th>Joint Adult/Youth</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collateral Agencies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Procedure

The entire evaluation plan was submitted to the University of Manitoba Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Review Board. In keeping with ethics requirements program participants were recruited at TERF. Five volunteers from the adult program and five volunteers from the youth program were recruited and interviewed. The participants were given a more quantitative interview and their responses were recorded by the interviewer. Three graduates of the youth and three graduates of the adult programs were interviewed using a more open ended interview and their responses were tape recorded and transcribed (see Appendix 3 for Interview Schedules). The program participants and program graduates were given a $25 gift certificate as an honorarium at the end of the interview. These interviews were conducted in the summer and fall of 2006.

Researchers were provided a staff list by the program manager and all staff were contacted for interview, including the administrative staff, the program manager of TERF and the CEO of New Directions. The only staff not interviewed were the two positions vacant at the time of the evaluation, the nurse and the case manager in the adult program, and one staff member of the youth program who declined to be interviewed. The majority of the interviews were conducted in the fall of 2006 with the administrative interviews conducted in January 2007.

The program manager also provided the research staff with a list of collateral agencies and 13 agencies were selected for interviews. The persons interviewed indicated their preference for a phone or live interview with RESOLVE staff and the interviews took place in the summer and fall of 2006.
Limitations

There are several limitations in this evaluation. First, this is primarily a process or formative evaluation and thus can provide limited information on outcomes. Although outcome information is available from the pre and post program data collected by TERF for the internal evaluations, the sample sizes are small and there are no control groups, making the results tenuous. With the program serving 15 participants per year and a smaller number of participants completing intake and follow-up evaluations, there is a small sample size within each year. Because the internal evaluations are still in a state of development, they have changed over the past three years, and therefore data is not always available on the same questions for all three years. Some of the years have different time periods for data collection, for example, in the adult program the data in 2003/2004 was collected at intake, three months and six months into the program where as in the subsequent years it was collected at intake, six months and at the one year point. For the youth program, in the fall of 2005 the intake form was dramatically changed. While the revised form provides a wealth of very valuable information its recent introduction limits the ability to look at outcome measures over a three year period. It is hoped and advised (see recommendations) that once the data collection form is finalized, it will be utilized without change for a period of years to facilitate meaningful pre and post program measures of change.

The number of program participant and graduate interviews were small and our sampling procedure was not random. It is possible that individuals who volunteered to participate in the interviews may have had a more positive perspective on the program than those who were not interviewed. Specific efforts were made to recruit graduates from the adult and youth program who were still struggling with their transition as well as those who were more successful. Overall, although conclusions must be drawn with caution because of the small samples, the program itself has a small population from which to select.

Report Format

The presentation of findings has been organized in relation to the characteristics of the participants and the challenges they face as a means of identifying the degree to which the program is able to respond to the individuals and their needs. These identifying characteristics are taken from the TERF participant files for the past three years 2003/04, 2004/05, 2005/06. To facilitate analysis we present our findings under four major sections: first, the demography and ethnicity of the participants; second we examine the personal challenges that participants face in exiting the sex trade, including issues of identity, addictions, trust and self esteem; third we consider the social barriers participants confront in their journey, including issues of poverty, employment education and the law; and finally, we review the organizational issues, the role of TERF with the host agency New Directions, and the role of TERF within the service continuum in the community. In each of these sections we consider the characteristics of the participants and their presenting needs and provide the findings from our diverse sources of information: the literature, internal evaluations and interviews. We will conclude with the recommendations.
Summary

Given these limitations it is important to note that value of qualitative research is increasingly recognized, not for the generalizability of its findings but for the richness of information and depth of insight it can provide on particular individuals and particular circumstances. TERF is a program that deals with a relatively small number of individuals with very deep histories of exploitation and many social and historical characteristics that need to be considered in the course of this evaluation. Thus, on balance we conclude that our methods and our resulting findings provide a strong basis for the evaluation of this program.
PART 1

DEMOGRAPHY AND ETHNICITY

Canadian research indicates that more females than males are sexually exploited through prostitution (Badgley, 1984, Shaver, 1996, Kingsley & Mark, 2000). National research also indicates that a large proportion of individuals involved in the sex trade are of Aboriginal descent (Kingsley & Mark 2000, McEvoy & Daniluk, 1995). In Manitoba about 50% of the visible sex trade workers are Aboriginal and the majority of transsexual and transvestite individuals are Aboriginal (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). Due to the location of Aboriginal persons in Canadian society and the history of colonization and cultural genocide, it is argued that Aboriginal women and girls are the most vulnerable to exploitation (First Call, 1996, Bock and Thistlewaite, 1996 and Seshia, 2005). Further it is identified that women and youth of Aboriginal origin are particularly vulnerable to violence in the sex trade (Stolen Sisters, Amnesty International, 2004).

When we consider the demography of the participants at TERF we find that their characteristics very much reflect the literature cited above. Table 2 identifies a number of characteristics of the participants of TERF over the past three years.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Adult Participants</th>
<th>Staff Adult</th>
<th>Youth Participants</th>
<th>Staff Youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N = 40</td>
<td>N = 4</td>
<td>N = 23</td>
<td>N = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal/Metis</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transgendered</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Background</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
<td>72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Background</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban/Rural</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Age (at intake)</td>
<td>37 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.8 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dominant feature of the participants is their Aboriginal/Metis heritage. In addition, the majority of adults and youth share an urban background, although this is much more pronounced for the youth than it is for the adults. Finally, the average age for the adult participants has been reported by the staff to be increasing in the past few years. The average age of the youth does not vary as much, as they are only eligible for the program until the age of 18.

**Ethnicity and Staff**

In assessing the ability of the TERF staff and of the program to serve this particular demographic we asked about the ethnic background of the staff. At the time of this study 100% of the staff in the adult program were Aboriginal and 50% of the staff in the youth program were Aboriginal. If we include the Elder in this assessment then 60% of the staff in the youth program are Aboriginal. In addition, New Directions has a mandatory cultural competency training program for all staff to ensure that those staff who do not share the same ethnicity as their participants will be well informed of the cultural issues.

**Ethnicity and Program**

In addition to a substantial match in ethnic background between program participants and program staff, TERF’s program philosophy is holistic and relies on the Medicine Wheel Model to determine the content and process of the program. TERF has a culture room on site which is used in programming and other events. In the adult and the youth programs there are three structured ways in which Aboriginal cultural material is integrated in the program:

1. Classroom sessions;
2. Regular events with the Elder;
3. Outings to community activities and events.

The composition of the program varies somewhat in the adult and the youth program and will be discussed accordingly.

**Adult Program:** The adult classroom component consists of three credit courses and three group sessions.

1. **Classroom:** One of the credit courses “Aboriginal Heritage and Culture”, is offered from April to June. It presents information about the history of Aboriginal people, Aboriginal traditions, teachings and ceremonies. As part of this course a number of activities are arranged. One project involved having the class attend court to hear some sessions of the Metis rights claims, a significant Manitoba rights claim before the Court of Queens Bench for a number of years. Another example was attending Louis Riel Day and completing assignments on these events. The course provides half a high school credit.

2. **Time with the Elder:** Of the three classroom group sessions one is identified as “Aboriginal Teachings”. One session a week is devoted to this topic with the Elder and a facilitator doing a sharing circle and providing teachings. These will sometimes coincide
with lessons learned in the other sessions, struggles and issues that have occurred for particular group members (such as a loss), or general experiences with change. The women are sometimes taken to a sweatlodge in the spring, after they have been in the program for awhile.

3. **Outings**: In addition to the variety of activities that are components of the classroom program, TERF facilitates a number of outings such as medicine picking, powwows, drumming and attendance at feasts and Aboriginal Day.

**Youth Program**: Because the program follows the Medicine Wheel Model it addresses the four directions and four aspects of individuals (physical, mental, emotional and spiritual). Thus the classroom is divided into blocks of four weeks that focus on one of these aspects in each block. The aspect focused on determines class discussions and themes for that period.

1. **Classroom**: In one class per week the youth are provided with traditional teachings and sharing circles. The teachings are often linked to some of the issues the girls are struggling with at school or in their personal life. The case manager indicated that the girls have a lower tolerance for history than the adult group. Rather, they are more interested in the “cool” contemporary aspects of their culture. They respond well to the positive features of their culture and to celebratory events.

2. **Time with the Elder**: Every Monday the Elder does the check-in session with the girls in the culture room. On Monday’s the Elder also provides a hot lunch for the youth.

3. **Outings**: While the girls participate in a variety of outings they include medicine picking, powwows, attending feasts and sweatlodges.

**Participant Assessment of Cultural Fit**

**Internal Measures**

There are a number of measures internal to the TERF program in which the issue of cultural responsiveness or participant’s satisfaction with cultural components in the program are assessed. Two types of feedback were available: 1. A 16 item program satisfaction scale which contains some indirect measures of participants comfort with the programs reflection of or responsiveness to their culture. 2. Results form a series of focus groups with adult and youth participants. The focus groups results are a more direct measure of the participant’s opinions of the cultural components as they are asked this question directly.

For the first measure we selected five items from a 16 item program satisfaction scale which speak indirectly to the participants comfort with the program’s reflection of or responsiveness to their cultural background. These items were assessed for both the adults and the youth at their point of graduation (their exit interviews).
Respondents were asked to rate particular statements along a 5 point scale, with 5 indicating ‘strongly agree’; 4 indicating ‘agree’; 3 being neutral i.e. ‘neither agree nor disagree’; 2 indicating ‘disagree’; and 1 indicating ‘strongly disagree’. Thus, the higher the numeric score, the greater agreement of the participant. Table 3 presents the results.

Table 3
TERF Participant’s Exit Rating on Selected Cultural Measure by Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Adult Participant N = 12</th>
<th>Youth Participant N = 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I saw pictures, posters and pamphlets that reminded me of family &amp; friends</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was spoken to in my first language</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe TERF staff were interested in my family’s background</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw several staff members at N.D.* who are of my race/ethnic background</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw people at N.D. who are of diverse cultures</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* New Directions

While these are not direct measures of cultural components they do indicate the participants level of comfort with some indirect measures of cultural similarity or responsiveness. Participants expressed stronger agreement with the latter three items dealing with staff interest in their family’s background, staff who are of similar race/ethnic background and people who are of diverse cultures. On average both the youth and adult participants were neutral about the statement “pictures and posters that remind me of family and friends”. Both adults and youth were in only mild agreement with the statement “I was spoken to in my first language”.

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The more direct measure of participants’ assessment of cultural components were their responses to the focus groups in which they were asked questions about the cultural components of the program. For the adults in the focus group who had completed the Aboriginal Heritage and Culture course the following observations were made:

- they learned a lot about Aboriginal culture
- this engendered respect for Aboriginal culture and other cultures
- they felt this component of the program taught them to be open minded
- they particularly valued their time with the Elder and would like more time with her
- they particularly enjoyed cultural activities, e.g. smudges, feasts etc. and would like more of these opportunities.

For the youth the following observations were made:

- an appreciation for staff encouraging but not pressuring them to take part in cultural activities.
- they learned a lot about Aboriginal culture and expressed an interest in other cultures.
- they were less keen on history and more interested in ceremonies and cultural activities.

Wherever possible the staff responded to the expressed needs of the participants. Subsequent focus groups revealed that more information was provided to the youth about other cultures and religions in addition to Aboriginal culture and beliefs. There was also a shift away from history to more contemporary activities whose meaning and significance could be linked to historical significance. Finally, the staff articulated that often resources are the primary barrier to following up on the participants’ suggestions. Both the adult and the youth identified a high level of interest in and satisfaction with cultural activities and outings, however, these are dependent on funding and resources and particularly for the adult program the funding is very limited.

**RESOLVE Measures**

**Staff and Participant Assessments of Cultural Components**

In addition to the assessment provided by TERF we asked both the staff and the program participants a number of questions involving cultural components which were derived from the original TERF program satisfaction scale. It is a five point scale with 5 indicating strongly agree, 4 agree, 3 neither agree or disagree 2 disagree and 1 strongly disagree. A comparison of participant and staff assessments of the cultural components is presented in Table 4 below.
Table 4

Staff and Participant Assessments of Cultural Components by Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Adult Program</th>
<th>Youth Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N = 5</td>
<td>N = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. There are cultural** components</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Program allows participants to explore their culture</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. There are culturally appropriate supports/services</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cultural components are important to participants</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Program has multi-cultural staff</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Average on cultural issues</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Including the Elder (whose responses were only recorded once).
** For questions 1 and 5 the question asked to the participants is more telling than the equivalent question posed to the staff. The participant question was:
1. I believe the program staff are interested in me and my family’s cultural background.
5. There are several staff who are of my race/ethnic background.

Two points stand out in these findings:
1. Both adults and youth rated the cultural components as important, however, the adults were more emphatic than the youth. Adults were more likely to strongly agree (5) about the importance of the cultural components and the success of the program/staff in providing these components while the youth were more likely simply to agree (4).

2. There is remarkable symmetry between the participant and the staff responses. Where there were differences the adult participants tended to rate the program performance somewhat higher than staff but the differences were very small. The youth rated the cultural issues as less significant to their overall assessment of the program and the staff appear to be aware of this fact.
In addition to the participant and staff feedback on the cultural components of the program we interviewed two the program administrators to assess their awareness and support of the cultural components. Both administrators were well aware of the cultural components and highly valued them. One of the administrators identified recruitment and maintenance of Aboriginal staff as a major internal challenge. With the development of the Aboriginal and Metis Child and Family Service Authorities there is significant demand for Aboriginal staff and TERF cannot always match salary and benefit packages. One of the administrators commented on their commitment to hiring both Aboriginal and experiential staff and to put the necessary training and supports in place for these staff. One administrator echoed the comments of many of the staff that the cultural components were NOT an “ADD ON” but were central to the overall program. The commitment of the administrators to providing culturally appropriate service was reflected in all of the staff interviews and born out by the participants positive ratings of this aspect of TERF (see Table 4).

TERF Graduates’ Assessment of Cultural Components

The final measure of the cultural components of the TERF program was obtained in our interviews with TERF graduates. We interviewed 3 graduates of the adult program and 3 graduates of the youth program. Question 12 on our interview guideline asked: “Did you feel your culture was respected in the program? How important was culture to you?” Question 13: “If important, how did the program demonstrate respect for your culture, and how helpful was it?”

The following observations were made by the adult program graduates:
- I learned about residential school and the Aboriginal part was very respected, I learned a lot and thought it was fabulous.
- The Aboriginal teachers were very powerful and important for me, because it is where I found myself.
- I needed to smudge in the morning because I was living in a rough spot....It grounded me so I could hear everything I needed to hear in class, it opened me up as a person. It opened my brain....I was living in a crack shack”

The following observations were made by the youth program graduates:
- “Very important, if I didn’t learn my culture I think I would still be on the streets and stuff...cause that is what saved me...my culture.”
- “If it weren’t for the TERF program... I mean like.... I wouldn’t be as connected with my culture. Now it is very important to me because it is a key part in my sobriety, exposure to culture....TERF....they were a big influence.
- “Bringing my drum, I would drum for them”
• “They did sharing circles and these were helpful because it helped me develop trust, like not only with that agency, but with people within the circle”

Not everyone was interested in the cultural component. One youth graduate reported: “I was never into that culture stuff. It was not important to me. I didn’t get involved when they smudged” However the same graduate reported how she valued the respect that was shown to diverse cultures. “It wasn’t helpful to me but they did show a lot of respect for people’s culture”. One of the adult graduates reported: "I learned a lot about my culture, but it wasn’t that important to me...I did learn more about myself” One Metis adult graduate, who really valued the Aboriginal cultural component stated: "Lots (of participants) are Metis, There should be other teachings once a month based on the women in the group." Because she was half Caucasian, she felt offended some times because there was a lot of “negative talk about Caucasian people”. She felt the solution would be to identify the other cultures represented in a particular class and spend some time exploring the other cultures represented.

Summary

Given the high proportion of TERF program participants of Aboriginal background (87-89%) and given that TERF is a program within a mainstream agency, the issue of culture and program location becomes an important consideration in the overall evaluation. When we begin with the most basic measure, cultural background of the staff we find that for a mainstream agency there is a high degree of symmetry between the participants and the staff. Currently, 100% of the adult program staff and 50-60% of the youth program staff are Aboriginal. In addition, the specific teachings and ceremonies brought to both adult and youth programs by the Elder provides a cultural depth which is particularly valued by the program participants. This commitment is reflected also in the overall program materials in the curriculum and classroom sessions and is reinforced in the breadth of cultural outings both programs enjoy. The host agency, New Directions, has mandatory cultural training for all staff. In short, this is an agency and a program that is remarkable for its cultural sensitivity and inclusiveness which is reflected in the high ratings provided by the participants, graduates and the staff on the cultural measures of program satisfaction.
PART 2

EXITING THE SEX TRADE: THE PERSONAL CHALLENGES

A desire to exit the sex trade is the common feature among the adults and the youth that bring them to TERF. It is a strong desire. The youth report an average of seven prior attempts to exit and the adults report an average of four prior attempts to exit during their intake interview with TERF. As committed as they are to exiting, participants face a staggering number of barriers to achieving this goal. Problems like poverty and homelessness that led to their involvement in the sex trade do not vanish when they enter TERF. Often the coping behaviours used by individuals in the sex trade as a means of survival become a major pressure pulling them back on to the streets. This is particularly true for drug and alcohol addictions. Finally, while engaged in the sex trade they fall behind in education and acquire a number of physical, emotional and social problems that take time and work to overcome. As a result of these and many other impediments, exiting is not a linear, one dimensional event. It is a process that is best understood as successive approximations. In the face of the women and youths’ histories of violence, abuse and addictions, the goal of exiting the sex trade is heroic. They are on a journey to reclaim their lives.

In this section we will examine issues of identity, stigma, low self esteem, addictions and physical health as personal challenges the participants face and how these issues become barriers to exiting. We follow with a description of program and staff response to these issues, and conclude with a number of outcome or impact assessments that measure TERF’s success assisting participants to overcome these challenges.

Age and Family History

The Canadian literature on the sex trade consistently indicates that the majority of individuals who have been involved in the trade began as minors (McCarthy 1995; Shaver 1996). The Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat (1996) indicated that in Manitoba most youth entered the sex trade between the ages of 13 and 15. Our analysis of the TERF intake forms indicates that both the adult and the youth participants began as minors, suggesting that their patterns of entry are consistent with what has been observed across Canada.

Age of entry is an important factor because the earlier the age at first exploitation the longer their exposure to violence, emotional trauma, reduced opportunities and impairment of mainstream life skills (education, employment, etc). Earlier entry leads to greater entrenchment in the street subculture. TERF staff report that the more entrenched the participants were in the street culture the more difficult it was for them to connect with the program. Breaking the ties to street culture becomes one more challenge the participants face.
The following table identifies the age at which the participants first experienced sexual exploitation, their average length of time in the sex trade and the number of attempts they made to exit. The time spent in the trade varies and most individuals leave and return several times before fully exiting.

**Table 5**

**Age of Entry, Duration of Exploitation and Attempts to Exit by Program**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Youth Program N = 23</th>
<th>Adult Program N = 34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average age first exploitation</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average years in the sex trade</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of attempts to leave</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We asked program participants and graduates how their experience of exploitation began. Their answer to this question gives us an idea of why trust is such a huge issue for the program participants. The following are paraphrased examples of some of the respondents answers:

- I was sexually assaulted by a babysitter at 8 years old and many times after that. I was raped by a cousin at 12 years and drifted into the sex trade soon after and was involved until age 17.

- I got involved through a cousin and a friend. I did not know my cousins were in the sex trade. They took me with them to act as the lookout and took me with them in the car as protection so the john wouldn’t cause problems, with a child in the car. I then got involved in sexual exploitation through prostitution and would sometimes trade sex for drugs.

- My babysitter, brother’s friends and Mom’s friends exploited me as a child. My mother didn’t believe me when I told her. I went to the streets from there and my friends on the street brought johns to me so I did not have to work on the street.

- I was raped as a child. A female family member sold me as a child and then began to pimp for me when I was 19.
These early exploitation histories, the failure to protect these children, reveals the depth of betrayal the participants have experienced in their lives. These experiences are consistent with the Canadian literature that suggest that the most typical antecedents to exploitation in the sex trade involve youth who are abused at home, whose home life is dysfunctional or filled with conflict, and who are either removed from the home and put into placement by the child welfare system or runaway from home.

The information collected in the TERF intake interview indicates these are the shared experiences of TERF participants with the additional legacy of the residential school system, a school system which was designed to destroy Aboriginal culture, spirituality and family life. These schools existed all across Canada for the better part of a century, few Aboriginal families were able to avoid them.

Table 6

Family Background Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Adult Participants</th>
<th>Youth Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended Residential School</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Member Attended Residential School</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in Child Welfare System</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Number of Placements</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>5.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The combined effect of early exploitation and lack of stability in their family results in major challenges for the participants and the staff to develop a trusting relationship that will work to keep the adults and the youth connected to the program. In numerous interviews with the staff they repeated: “it is all about building relationships....its all about trust”

A factor that contributes to the lack of trust and elaborates on it, is the stigmatizing and discrimination participants experience while in the sex trade. Both the adult and youth participants became involved in the sex trade in their adolescence, a time when identity and self concept are in a critical process of development and change. In part, people’s self concept comes from the treatment and information they receive from others. Family conflict, dysfunction and abuse negatively impact identity development. On the street, identity is influenced by the messages received from the street subculture and from individuals doing the exploiting. These negative messages are reiterated in the media with denigrating images of people in the sex trade.
The internalization of all of these negative and harmful messages is a toxic mix which makes individuals feel worthless, undeserving and sets in motion a pattern of avoidance and distrust. Any potential helper is viewed with suspicion. Many TERF participants come into the program having had little or no basic health care or other essential services because they fear they will be subject to negative and judgmental responses. Approaching the mainstream is fraught with fear, distrust and often anger.

**Emotional Impact**

A number of emotional effects are evident in experiential youth and adults. Among the most common are depression, low self worth, a sense of hopelessness, feelings that life has no meaning, suicidal thoughts and attempts and self destructive behaviours. Many feel they have lost control over their own lives. Some manifest symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder. In the new intake form TERF uses in the youth program the youth are asked a number of questions related to their emotional well being. While the number of youth that have completed the form, to date, is small, (n=11) the findings are most instructive.

**Table 7**

*Emotional Problems Reported by Youth at Intake*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experienced in the Past Month</th>
<th>Percentage Experienced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felt very unhappy, sad or depressed</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt worried, afraid, or scared</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt lonely, all alone, isolated</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt like a failure or worthless</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had trouble falling or staying asleep</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had trouble controlling anger</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experienced in the Past Six Months</th>
<th>Percentage Experienced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treated by psychiatrist, psychologist, or counselor for problems</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious thought of harming self</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted suicide</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Addictions

Given the histories of the participants and the violent reality of life on the street, addictions becomes a major feature of life in the sex trade. Studies across Canada document the high correlation between involvement in the sex trade and addictions (Shaver, 1996; Nadon, 1998; Gorkoff and Runner, 2003). Drugs used as a coping mechanism for the abuse and violence they have experienced in childhood and on the streets, become the tie that binds them to the sex trade. TERF staff report that addictions is one of the most critical factors that lead participants to drop out of the program and return to the sex trade. Table 8 below indicates the percentage of participants identifying addictions as a problem in their life, and their attempts at treatment by program.

Table 8
Addiction Issues by Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Youth Participants</th>
<th>Adult Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intake* N = 23</td>
<td>RESOLVE** N = 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified an addiction problem</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had been in treatment</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempts at treatment</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* TERF intake interviews.
** RESOLVE interviews with participants

In the new intake forms youth were asked a variety of questions about the impact of their substance use. The 11 youth who responded reported:

- 91% used drugs or alcohol during school
- 82% missed school or work due to being high or hung over
- 64% got into trouble because of things they had done while using.

In our interviews with the staff they stated that addictions were one of the largest challenges for participants. The participants' chances of success are greatly influenced by their ability to reduce their dependence on drugs and/or alcohol. The dual challenge of exiting the trade and dealing with addictions is daunting. As participants begin to explore their experiences of exploitation and the difficulties of exiting, strong emotions surface, some for the first time. Often individuals
will suppress vulnerable thoughts and emotions in order to remain strong enough to cope with life on the street. In the safe environment of TERF where these issues are openly discussed, emotions such as fear, hurt, regret, and loss are experienced and expressed. Because substance use has become their primary means of coping, many will turn to drugs and alcohol to help them deal with these emotions.

These addictions are often the reason participants leave the program or experience temporary interruptions. The staff of the youth program indicated that the increased used of crystal meth by youth on the street was a problem. The use of this substance makes it very difficult to deal with the girls, as their thinking becomes extremely distorted and they take much longer to return to the program than if they are using other drugs.

**Physical Health Challenges**

Low self esteem, feelings of worthlessness and addictions can lead to self neglect and risky behaviour causing serious health risks and health problems. Sexually exploited individuals are vulnerable to physical assaults from pimps, johns and other people on the street. RESOLVE asked both the adults and the youth about their experience of violence while in the sex trade, 100% of the adults and 60% of the youth indicated they had experienced violence. In addition to assaults, they are vulnerable to contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and Hepatitis B and C. Feelings of fatigue, sleep deprivation and lack of food are common in experiential individuals and negatively impact their immune systems making them more vulnerable to infections and illness. Many do not access medical services due to fear of being reported to the police or child welfare or fear of harsh, judgmental treatment from health care providers. Thus, medical conditions often go untreated and become worse. Addictions only exacerbate the problem.

The new intake form used in the youth program tracks risky sexual behaviour related to unprotected sex: They found that:

- 73% reported having sex without precautions to avoid unwanted pregnancy
- 64% reported having sex without precautions to avoid STIs
- 36% reported having had an STI

Staff of both the youth and adult program stated that physical health was a challenge for participants when they entered the program. Dental care, proper nutrition, hepatitis C, STIs and concerns about pregnancy and prenatal care were all issues presented by participants.
PROGRAM RESPONSE

Philosophy

It is the objective of TERF to assist each individual with their unique set of needs, challenges and strengths to realize their goal of exiting the sex trade. The three core principles of the program are fundamental to achieving these ends.

1. The Medicine Wheel provides the holistic approach that addresses the physical, emotional, cognitive and spiritual aspects of the participants life.

2. The harm reduction philosophy recognizes that changing one’s behaviour is incremental and focuses on strategies for the participants to reduce their risks while they embark on a journey of profound change.

3. Finally, the ‘Stages of Change’ model, ensures that the program and staff are responding to the individual needs and capacities of each participant. Repeatedly the staff stated ‘we work with the women/girls where they are at’.

Program Environment

A defining feature of the TERF program is the creation of a warm, welcoming, safe and nonjudgmental environment that one feels the minute she walks in the door. Despite the substantial struggles the youth and adults face, TERF is a happy, healthy place to be. It is a place where women and youth are respected, challenged and celebrated. This positive atmosphere is combined with a program that offers practical information and support to assist the women and youth in their transition. The implementation of the program through case management, classroom programming and support workers provides an integrated web of information, support and relationship building to ensure that the participants know that they are not alone on this difficult journey.

Program Components

Case Management: The program begins at intake. Case managers (adult and youth programs), conduct assessment interviews with new participants to identify their needs and capacities. This assessment forms the basis for developing realistic goals for change and strategies to achieve them. These goals and strategies are reassessed through regular follow-up and progress reviews. The case managers play a key role in assessment, counseling and support, referral and advocacy as long as the participants stay connected to the program.

Classroom Components: The adult program operates classes from 9:00a.m. till noon and the youth program operates their classes from 12:00noon to 3:30p.m. Both programs provide
courses for credit and upgrading and group sessions to address the transition issues. In interviews, staff report that it is a fine balancing act to achieve the right mixture of academic and group sessions. Often the participants express a need and interest in more credit courses, however, the staff must balance this against the deep social and emotional issues that arise with transitioning. A decade of experience and the input of the staff and participants assist in designing the best balance to meet the participants’ emotional and spiritual needs as well as their need for formal education.

All of the credit courses in the adult program: Foundations of Healthy Living, Family Studies and Aboriginal Heritage and Culture, are courses that are relevant to the women’s journey of transition as well as providing high school credits. Two of the youth’s courses, Family Studies and The Roots of Empathy address similar issues. However, the direct work done with participants on their social, emotional and spiritual needs during transition are done in group sessions.

In the adult program, Transition Group, Healing Group and Aboriginal Teachings are all sessions in which women can discuss and express their issues around identity, self esteem, relationships and addictions. It is in these sessions that participants learn about ways to cope, safety planning, and harm reduction during the process of change. The Aboriginal Teachings and sharing circles with the Elder provide an opportunity for the women to understand their history and struggles within the larger context of Aboriginal history. In the youth program Transition Group, Substance Awareness and Cultural Teachings address similar issues for the youth. These group sessions and the sharing circle with the Elder provide important opportunities for participants to deal with issues of trust, fear, avoidance and anger. TERF works closely with the Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba for referrals for the adult participants and in providing the weekly classes on Substance Awareness in the Youth Program.

The Support Component: Support comes from all staff in all aspects of the program, however, there are three designated support workers in the youth program and one support worker in the adult program. These individuals provide crisis intervention and at least one support worker is available to participants at anytime via cell phone. These workers accompany participants to community resources and activities and help individuals build skills to become independent. They promote personal health and facilitate and reinforce healthy choices and behaviours. Support workers also organize group and individual activities and supervise these activities. The role of the Elder, and her integration into many of the program components gives her a very powerful and critical role in the support network provided by TERF.

The Health Component: Having an onsite (part time) nurse practitioner is critical to the participants achieving a healthy transition. Because of the participants experiences of racism and abuse they have avoided mainstream agencies. Many of the women and youth have not received even basic medical care. The resident nurse plays a key role in providing some of that basic care and making referrals where necessary. As the participants struggle with their addictions, the nurse is a valuable source of health care information and advice. In addition to the nurse, there are number of program practices that enhance the participants health. The youth are provided a lunch every day, and are taught about nutrition and healthy diets. Both youth and adults receive
passes to the YM/YWCA and there are many outings that encourage physical activity. Both activity and diet are important as participants are trying to reduce their drug and alcohol consumption.

The Staff

The best designed programs in the world cannot succeed unless the staff implementing the programs embrace the philosophy, goals and objectives of the program. Interviews with the staff indicated that they have high levels of knowledge of and support for TERF’s philosophy, goals and objectives. Interviews also revealed that the staff had a good understanding of the individual participants and were committed to building relationships with them. Many of the staff share key characteristics with the participants. Many are Aboriginal and a significant number are experiential. The literature based on interviews with experiential individuals consistently report that people in the sex trade seeking help report a preference for programs that have experiential staff. There is the belief that experiential staff would be less judgmental and more understanding than other staff. TERF has embraced this as a goal in their hiring policy. To date, 50% of the adult program staff are experiential, one of the youth staff and one of the management staff are experiential. The fact that experiential and non-experiential staff work side by side in mutual respect is also important in modeling healthy relationships. Experiential staff demonstrate that experiential people can become well respected professionals who are making an important contribution to the community.

OUTCOMES

In this section we will examine the evidence we have that TERF made a difference in assisting the adults and the youth in overcoming the person challenges they faced in exiting the sex trade. The complex and multilayered problems participants present upon entering the program have been grouped into four major categories to facilitate analysis:

1. Trust and Relationship Issues
2. Identity and Self Esteem
3. Addictions
4. Physical Health

Trust and Relationship Building

Building a relationship with program participants is the key to keeping them in the program. The evaluation questions asked of participants and staff attempted to explore the degree of comfort participants felt with the program staff. Several of the same questions are also routinely asked by TERF when participants have completed the program. The questions consisted of a series of statements that participants were asked to respond to on a 5 point scale, with ‘1’ indicating
strongly disagree and ‘5' indicating strongly agree. Table 9 presents the scores for these questions for participants and staff by program.

**Table 9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Youth Program</th>
<th>Adult Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youth N = 5</td>
<td>Staff N = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfortable with the staff</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get along with the staff</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find staff helpful</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff understand my problems</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff respect each other</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff are sincere and fair</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * Question was not asked of staff.

The findings indicated a high level of comfort and regard the participants have for the staff. An interesting measure of the connection between the staff and participants is seen in the symmetry of their scores. The three questions asked by TERF of their participants at graduation all received very similar ratings; comfort with staff (4.6), belief that staff understand their problems (4.3) and staff respect each other (4.6 - 4.8). In interviews many of the participants mentioned the supportiveness of the staff as being critical in helping them make progress and feel better about themselves.

**Identity and Self Esteem**

The program staff reported that participants often have a narrow concept of self that is limited to being a sex trade worker. This comes from the street culture and the stigma that occurs in interaction with mainstream society and the media. Low self esteem derived from this negative self concept is deeply imbedded and long lasting and for many it presents a major challenge to change. As one staff member described “the women believe they are nothing and not worthy of a good life”.

26
In interviews, participants reported that they felt better about themselves due to their participation in the program. The adult participants and graduates talked about having greater self esteem and having more respect for themselves. They felt they were achieving their goals and felt good about the changes in their lives. Participants and staff were asked a number of questions to assess the program’s impact on their sense of self. A series of statements were made and respondents were asked to rate their response from '1' indicating strongly disagree to '5' indicating strongly agree.

Table 10

Program Impact on Sense of Self

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Youth Program</th>
<th>Adult Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youth N = 5</td>
<td>Staff N = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel more confident</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel better about self</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel more independent</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am making better choices for self</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although it is clear that the staff have noticed improvements in the listed areas, their scores are lower, perhaps more cautious than the participants' scores. This lack of symmetry may reflect the bases upon which each group makes their comparisons. For the participants it is clearly an assessment based on how they felt before, while the staff may be taking a wider range of factors into their comparison. In our interviews with collateral agencies, they commented on the increase in self esteem, self acceptance and self respect among the adult and youth participants. In particular, they commented on the youth developing a better sense of identity. In the focus groups conducted by TERF participants reported that they were more self aware, had improved self esteem, were more confident and felt better about themselves. Some participants also reported they felt less shame about themselves.

A consequence of low self esteem and low self worth is the tendency for participants to believe that they have no control of their life and feel they cannot make changes. Issues of depression, physical or emotional withdrawal, anxiety and anger are all powerful emotional states that impede the participants' progress towards change. The youth program staff talked about the normalization of violence in the girls lives, leading to high levels of anger that could translate quite quickly to aggression. Some of the staff indicated that the girls anger and tough persona
was a defensive reaction to more vulnerable emotions and once they felt safe enough to explore these other emotions, the anger and violence dissipated. Youth were also reported to have poor impulse control and a lack of empathy.

To assess the impact of TERF on these powerful emotional states a series of questions were asked of participants and staff, concerning issues of hopefulness, control and loneliness. Their responses were scored on a scale of ‘1’ (strongly disagree) to ‘5’ (strongly agree).

**Table 11**

**Perceived Emotional Changes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Youth Program</th>
<th>Adult Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youth N = 5</td>
<td>Adult N = 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Staff N = 8</td>
<td>Staff N = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More hopeful about future</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have more control over my life</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel less alone</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life is better than before TERF</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Question not asked of staff.

While loneliness continues to be a problem for the youth there are significant improvements in the areas of hopefulness and control. Our interviews with participants and graduates add to this picture. They indicated that since being in the program they were now more likely to think before acting, and were more in control of their emotions. They reported feeling calmer, less judgmental, less self centered and more empathic. They were more optimistic about their future and took pride in their accomplishments. Youth talked about being less depressed. Collateral agencies working with the youth and adults also noted less anger, more hopefulness and more positive attitude about themselves and others.

**Physical Health**

Assessment of program impact on health was gained largely through interviews with staff, participants, graduates and collateral agencies. In all interviews, respondents indicated that one impact of enrollment in TERF was healthier eating and greater physical activity. One youth
reported having a healthier complexion and another indicated that she no longer had scars and bruises from getting into fights. The youth reported that the lunch component was one of their favourite parts of the program. Unfortunately, the adult program is not funded for a lunch component. Adult participants and graduates voiced a need for this program stating that lunch at TERF would often be the woman’s only opportunity for a well balanced meal in their day. Adult participants and graduates reported eating healthier and getting treatment for conditions like hepatitis C.

Staff reported that typically, hygiene and health improve for program participants. They stated that participants having their medical needs addressed is an important indicator of the program’s success. Collateral agencies also noted that participation in TERF resulted in their clients taking better care of themselves and pursuing a healthier life style.

A Culture of Celebration

The work that staff do with the participants to overcome negative and self defeating emotions is critical for participants to be able to sustain the work and effort necessary to overcome their addictions and exit the sex trade. Interviews with the staff indicate that they are well aware of the importance of this first step and all program components are designed to instill positive and empowering self images for participants. A critical component of TERF culture is the attention to celebration. The culture of celebration expressed in verbal recognition of a job well done, gift giving and “event” rituals,(e.g. celebrating birthdays, return to program, graduation, etc.) are effective benchmarks for staff and participants alike. There is so much hard work and raw emotion that goes into the process of transition that drop out, burn out and sheer exhaustion are ever present possibilities. The culture of celebration is a very effective antidote. The kind word said at just the right moment, the remembered birthday, and the gala graduation become the social glue that keeps participants engaged and gives staff the opportunity to celebrate the important changes of which they have been a part.
PART 3

STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS TO EXITING

The Canadian literature indicates that poverty, homelessness, low levels of education and difficulty finding employment are factors that push women and youth into the sex trade. Dropping out of school is often a first step. A report by the Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat (1996) indicates that many individuals who are in the sex trade have had negative experiences with education. They begin to do poorly in school due to difficulties at home, inadequate housing and poverty. Not being in school engenders a sense of being different or outside the mainstream and leaves them with below age level education. Lack of education then limits their employment possibilities and they become vulnerable to exploitation in the sex trade. (Michaud, 1988; Sullivan, 1986; Weisberg, 1985). Once the cycle of sexual exploitation begins women and youth frequently find themselves in conflict with the law. Criminal records and histories of incarceration brand them with an “outlaw” identity and make finding a job an even more unlikely possibility. The participants at TERF are coping with all of these issues. Coming to terms with their personal demons, as discussed in the previous section, is a precursor to coming to terms with mainstream society. Getting a basic education, finding decent housing, becoming employment ready and coming to terms with the law, involves major engagement with big bureaucracies. In this section we will assess the impact of the TERF program in supporting their participants on this bureaucratic journey. The education TERF undertakes to facilitate participants entry into the mainstream is two dimensional. It is not all about educating and preparing the participant, it is equally about educating and preparing the mainstream. We will also discuss TERF’s role making bureaucracies “engagement ready”, so they can improve their response and effectiveness working with/employing exploited youth and adults.

The Poverty Cycle

The majority of participants at TERF have experienced significant poverty in their life. The overwhelming majority of participants have not completed high school and they are struggling with a range of numeracy and literacy issues. While most of the adults and youth report having had a job at some point in their lives, their low levels of education keep them at a job level which does not provide enough income to meet their basic needs. As a result of low income finding adequate housing becomes a serious problem. Not surprisingly these challenges often result in both the adults and the youth being in conflict with the law. We will briefly discuss the cycle of poverty and conflict with the law that participants confront and then look at the role of TERF in assisting participants to address these issues Table 12 below provides some key indicators of the socioeconomic status of the participants.
Table 12

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Participants at Intake

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adult Program</th>
<th>Youth Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Education level (grade)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment income assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had employment experience</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have been charged with criminal code offense</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent reported being homeless*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent reporting inadequate housing</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age when homeless</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>11 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates question not asked, however in the program coordinator’s report for 2005/06 she notes several of the adult women came into the program homeless.

The interaction effect between addictions and exploitation in the sex trade makes life chaotic thus, a first step in transition work is to stabilize the participants circumstances. This involves major interaction and negotiation with the big bureaucracies such as social assistance, housing, and probations. A significant portion of this work falls to the case manager, however, all staff play a role as advocate for the participants. The following discussion focuses on the program components of TERF designed to address these issues.

The combination of poverty, addictions and the sex trade is a frequent pathway to conflict with the law. This is another major structural impediment to exiting and it is also a major bureaucracy for staff and participants to negotiate.

Conflict with the Law

The Canadian Criminal Code reflects the social and cultural ambiguity towards the sex trade in our country. On the one hand there is no law against the exchange of sex for money or other considerations, on the other hand communication for the purposes of prostitution and other activities that lead to the act of prostitution are illegal. Thus, participants in the TERF program have a history of charges, convictions and incarceration. In some cases these are specifically related to the sex trade and in other cases related to drugs, violence or other criminal code
offenses. The legal histories of the participants are identified by program category in Table 13 below.

Table 13

Legal History of Participants in the Adult and Youth Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Adult N = 32</th>
<th>Youth N = 23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of participants who have been charged</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>74%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent who have ever been incarcerated</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of prostitution related charges</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of other charges</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Charges</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage on probation while enrolled in TERF</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only 19 of the 23 youth responded to this question

It is clear from the above table that “trouble with the law” is a significant feature of the life histories that the women and youth bring to TERF. There are some marked similarities between adult and youth participants, for example, half or more have been incarcerated and both groups had multiple charges, with the youth charge rate exceeding that of the adults. Despite these similarities, there are important differences between the experiences of the youth and that of the adults with the law, therefore, we will treat the two groups separately in the discussion below.

Adult Participants and the Law

As identified above, addiction, anger, violence and lack of trust are features of participants’ lives that they bring to the program. This complex set of characteristics frequently brings the women in conflict with the law. Many of them have been charged and incarcerated for prostitution related behaviour and other criminal code offenses. Based on intake data collected by TERF the number of prostitution related charges were positively correlated with the number of other charges {Spearman’s Rho = .453, p<.01}, indicating that exploitation in the sex trade is linked to
other types of crime. This reality operates within the program as well as on the streets. Women have from time to time been expelled from the program because of violence towards other classmates. Breaking the cycle of crime is complex and involves a number of transitions: 1) exiting the sex trade; 2) moving from hard drugs to soft; and 3) coming to terms with their anger, which can easily translate into self harm or harm of others. Unraveling the complex web of drugs, the sex trade and violence is at the heart of the TERF program. It provides women with the knowledge, strength and skills they need to heal and to avoid the cycle of crime. The importance of this is evident when we consider the costs and benefits of incarceration in relation to the costs and benefits of TERF for the adult participants. From the point of view of Justice funding the TERF option is least costly and overwhelmingly more beneficial than jail.

Youth Participants and the Law

The youth’s relationship to the law differs from that of adult women for a number of reasons:

1. Youth typically are not charged with prostitution related offenses, as it is understood that the youth are victims of abuse, not offenders.

2. The youth are often in the program for a number of years so they have the experience of concurrent engagement with the justice system and enrollment in TERF. Because the adult program is only one year, should a woman become incarcerated, she will drop out of TERF, but be eligible for re-enrollment upon release. In contrast, girls in the Youth Centre will frequently remain enrolled in TERF.

3. Youth are much more likely to have a connection to gangs, either directly as a member, or indirectly through their family or boyfriend’s membership. The literature indicates that involvement in gangs is correlated with a higher frequency of violence and a greater likelihood of incarceration.
In a sense, youth participants may be at greater risk for being in conflict with the law than adult participants because:

1. Youth tend to have less impulse control than adults.
2. Youth are reporting significant levels of affiliation with gangs.
3. Youth have fewer legitimate sources of funds to sustain their addictions than adults.
4. Youth who are in conflict with the law frequently do not show up for their scheduled court appearance accumulating a large number of breach charges. This probably accounts for their higher average number of charges relative to the adult participants. (See table 13).
PROGRAM RESPONSE

Education

Education is a very significant component of the TERF Program. Both the adult and the youth program have classroom instructors who are certified educators. The challenges faced by the youth are somewhat different than the challenges faced by the adults, thus, these programs are discussed separately.

Youth Education

Despite the self reported education level of grade 8 many of the youth have had seriously disrupted education histories and consequently many missed acquiring fundamental skills in the earlier grades. At intake 55% of the youth reported having been suspended from school in the past and 9% reported having been expelled. Upon entering TERF assessments are made of the youth’s literacy and numeracy levels. They then begin on an individualized learning program to acquire the basic skills they need to further their education. In addition to learning basic mathematics and English skills, the youth need to learn classroom skills such as how to sit still, how to listen to the teacher and the importance of regular attendance.

The goal of the TERF education component is to bring the girls up to a grade 8 level of mathematics and English skills as well classroom skills. In addition, they provide two courses, Family Studies and Roots of Empathy, (this is a new program introduced in the Winnipeg School Division in 2006/2007). While Family Studies and Roots of Empathy are credit courses in the school division, currently TERF is not able to provide formal credits for these two courses. This is a cause of some frustration for the staff and participants at TERF.

Students who arrive with or achieve a grade 8 level then commence to the “Just Learning” program. The majority of students in this credit course program take the classes at New Directions offered by the Gordon Bell Off Campus School, however, they do have the option to attending school at Gordon Bell. Students in the “Just Learning” program still participate in the lunch, daily check-ins, Roots of Empathy course and Transition Group with the other TERF students, but they spend the rest of classroom time working on the more mainstream curriculum. This structure allows for a more gradual transition to the mainstream education system and an opportunity to continue with the teachings that help in healing from the experiences of exploitation.

The gradual transition from a more individualized upgrading program to mainstream credit courses is a source of frustration frequently identified by the youth. In focus groups they often state they want more credit courses. They want to graduate from TERF with all or most of their high school. This is a challenge for the youth program staff. The youth are in a hurry to turn their life around and often have difficulty appreciating how significant the step is into mainstream education. They are often not academically or socially ready for as rapid a move as they indicate.
they want. A decade of experience has taught the program staff that the transition into mainstream education is very important and the youth need to be well prepared for the transition.

**Adult Education**

The Adult education component is more of a blend of education and employment training. TERF has a partnership with Horizon Learning Centre and a certified teacher comes from this program to teach the credit courses and the other life skills courses. The three credit courses available to the adults are Foundations for Healthy Living (half a high school credit), Family Studies (one full credit) and Aboriginal Heritage and Culture (half a credit). They offer an opportunity for the women to gain credits towards a mature grade 12 diploma. For some women these courses generate an interest in continuing with their education. In the last two years six of the graduates returned to school to finish their grade 12. The staff provides advocacy and referral to adult training and education programs such as those at the Aboriginal Centre and Horizon Learning Centre.

In July, the program provides Training and Employment Preparation for those women who identified attaining employment as a goal. The women are given assistance and practice with resume writing, interviewing skills, the use of computers and computer programs, and job searching. The communication skills developed in the transition group are utilized in preparation for job interviews and interactions with employers and the public. In the past two years five women successfully gained employment upon graduation from TERF.

**Educating the Mainstream**

While the immediate task of TERF is to educate their participants to adapt to the mainstream, a corollary of that process is educating the mainstream to better understand the realities of exploitation in the sex trade. As a member of the Implementation Team for Manitoba’s strategy on sexually exploited youth TERF staff have played a key role in the development of the mass media campaign. This campaign brings home the message that sex with a minor is child abuse. Education of the bureaucracies occur in a number of ways. First, all of the advocacy work the program staff do on behalf of their participants has an important education component for the individuals and services that work with TERF participants. Secondly, TERF has played a central role in the development and delivery of a core competency training program on working with sexually exploited youth for government staff and other service providers. Perhaps most importantly, TERF staff have played a key role in the development of the joint Ndinawe - Red River College, Child and Youth Care Program for experiential individuals. This program will provide a much needed pool of trained experiential individuals to work in specialized programs for sexually exploited youth. It gives the social service system the capacity to respond to the expressed needs of experiential clients who want to receive their services from experiential staff. Finally, the ability of experiential people to get this training and to work in the field goes a long way to breaking down the “us - them” phenomenon, of experiential people always being the client- never the service provider. This program can provide youth and adult participants with a very accessible and achievable career path upon graduation from TERF.
Poverty and Housing Issues

TERF’s ability to respond to issues of poverty for their participants is directly related to the funding level of the program. The adult program is the least well funded and as a result has minimum capacity to respond to the participants needs. The youth program’s more substantial funding allows TERF to provide a greater level of financial incentive and resource supplements like the lunch program.

Youth Program

Youth are paid an incentive of $5/class for a total of $15/day to stay in the program. These funds are contingent on being on time, not leaving early and participation in the classroom. In the past the payment was made on a weekly basis, but given the financial needs of the youth the recent policy is to provide a daily payment. Thus, one of the major pulls back to the street, i.e. ready cash, can be reduced by ensuring that the youth have some money in their pocket everyday. In addition, the youth who are not in a formal placement receive $40/week for groceries and $70/month for clothes and other necessities. An additional resource is the lunch program that provides the youth with lunch every week day. While a high percentage of the youth have reported being homeless, the housing issues for the youth in program often addressed by Child Welfare. The Province of Manitoba Strategy on Sexually Exploited Youth has seen the development of specialized group homes and specialized foster home placements for the youth. The crisis of housing becomes most severe when the youth turn 18 and are no longer within the care of the child welfare system. The cut off age of 18, i.e. when youth must leave the TERF youth program and the child welfare system, puts a great burden on the youth who struggle to find adequate housing at that stage. Thus, while in the program there are significant resources available to the youth to address issues of poverty and housing, reaching the age of 18 is likely to revive these same pressures they experienced at an earlier stage of their lives. The absence of a program to facilitate their transition to adulthood puts great stress on the youth and undoubtedly some of the youth return to the streets under this pressure.

Adult Program

Women in the adult program receive a $50/month incentive to come to the program and to help them financially. Receipt of these funds are based on their regular attendance and being on time, with allowances for family emergencies and illness. There are no funds for a lunch program for the adult participants. Given that the adult’s incentive fund is so much less than the funds available to the youth, the absence of a lunch program is particularly difficult. Lastly, there is, at present, no program to address the housing needs of adult participants beyond what is available through social housing. While the staff at TERF work very hard to assist the women in locating adequate housing, the women’s low income level, provided by social assistance, makes the housing issue acute for these women. Transitioning requires a level of stability in a person’s life and a fundamental component of that stability is having adequate housing. To paraphrase one woman we interviewed: ‘it is very difficult to deal with my addiction issues when the only place I can afford to live is in a crack house.’
Thus TERF works within a service environment which facilitates their ability to respond to the issue of poverty and housing for the youth up to the age of 18, however, they have little to draw on within their own funding or within the service community to alleviate these issues for 18 year olds. It is typical for most youth to have a period of launching during which they can call on family members for emotional, financial and practical support. For many of the TERF youth this support system is not in place.

**The Law**

Twice as many youth are on probation while enrolled in TERF than adults. The youth, who are half the age (15.6 yrs) of the adults (37 yrs) have 19% more charges (see table 13, above). Thus, the role of TERF in assisting youth exiting the sex trade also serves to interrupt and redirect a potential decade or more of criminal activity. TERF staff work closely with probations, and police. The case manager plays a key role in working with probations to develop a plan for the youth and the support worker is critical in helping the youth to “stick with the plan”. This may involve court attendance with the youth to ensure she shows up for her court hearing and to provide moral support. Negotiating the justice system is complex and TERF plays a critical role advocating for the youth in this system.

TERF’s program activities around the legal issues women face are two fold: 1) advocacy for the women within the criminal justice system and 2) prevention of future conflict with the law through programming that provides alternatives. Frequently enrollment in TERF provides the community support and programming that allows women to receive a probation sentence rather than incarceration or receive bail rather than stay in remand. These options provide a substantial savings to justice. Finally, the support women receive to deal with their addictions and exit the sex trade substantially reduce their likelihood of re-offense.

**OUTCOMES**

In this section we examine the evidence we have that TERF made a difference in assisting the adults and the youth in overcoming the structural barriers they face in exiting the sex trade.

We consider measures of success in the area of education, employment, poverty, housing and the law.

**Education and Employment**

Programming achievements are summarized in the yearly TERF adult program reports that began to be compiled in 2004/05. These reports demonstrate one of the ways the program has come to more systematically track its accomplishments. The following table is based on data from the past two years and provides information on education and employment.
Table 15

Education and Employment Outcomes for Adult Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004/05</th>
<th>2005/06</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of participants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed program*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earned course credits</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to learning assessment in hope of furthering education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned to school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtained Employment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A number of participants who did not complete the program had started mid-year and would complete the program the following year.

Within the two year period 45% of the women completed the program and among the graduates 40% returned to school and 33% obtained employment. The remaining 55% that did not complete the program would be eligible for readmission in subsequent years. It is a characteristic feature for both the adults and the youth that they often need more than one attempt to complete the program.

Youth Program

At the time of writing this report 33% of the youth in the program were in the school credit course, “Just Learning”. The youth program collects data comparable to the adult program on their program discharge form. Table 16 below provides outcome measures for the youth at the time of their discharge. However, due to a number of differences in the youth program we cannot provide data on a fiscal year basis. The Youth Program has continuous intake and required discharge when a girl turns 18. Thus, there is not the annual graduation typical of the Adult Program. To overcome this challenge we have looked at a two year time frame 2004-06 to determine the outcomes for girls discharged during this period. In the two year period assessed there where a total of 40 girls registered in TERF and a total of 22 girls discharged. It is important to note that most of the girls are discharged because they have reached the age of 18 however, from time to time girls are discharged because they have dropped out.
Table 16
Education and Employment Outcomes for Youth Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004/05</th>
<th>Percentage of Discharged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of participants</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earned course credits</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to learning assessment in hope of furthering education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned to school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtained Employment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition the following anecdotal information was collected in our interviews with staff.

- one of our participants earned four credits in one year, when she graduated from TERF she went to Red River College for upgrading.
- one of our graduates is currently getting her GED.
- one youth accrued five credits while going through the Youth Program, she later went into the adult program.
- many of our participants become more focused on goals and school.

A final measure of program impact is the current enrollment in the Red River College Child and Youth Care Program. In the first year of this program there were nine students registered. At the time of writing this report one of the students had dropped out. Of the current eight registered students five or 63% are graduates of the TERF adult program and two or 25% are graduates of the TERF youth program. This indicates that the experience at TERF provides many adults and youth with the basic social and educational skills to pursue career training upon graduation from TERF.
Poverty and Homelessness

Outcome measures for the program’s impact on issues of poverty and homelessness are in part addressed in the above section, particularly with regard to women and youth obtaining career training or employment. The experience of youth is quite different from that of adults because they are, for most part, in the care of the Child and Family Services who provide housing and necessities. Despite this, at intake the youth’s income is highly variable, with participants reporting parents, TERF and the sex trade as the most common source of income. In the 2006 intake (N=11), ten of the participants had changed their living arrangement in the past six months, five reported they were unhappy in their current living situation and ten had reported running away from home though only two reported being homeless.

The primary indicators of TERF’s impact on the youth’s economic circumstances are in the enumeration of the programs monetary and resource input into the girls lives. The daily incentive of $15, and for those eligible, the $40/week allowance for groceries and the $70/month clothing allowance are all very concrete ways in which TERF assists in alleviating issues of poverty for the youth. The long term goal is to get the youth back to school so they can improve their opportunities for employment as an adult.

For the adults, there are some statistics presented in the adult program report that provides evidence of program impact.

Table 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic and Housing Assistance Provided to Adult Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2004/05</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisted with securing stable housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisted in obtaining EIA Benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisted in obtaining disability benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regained custody of children**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Information not available.
** We included this last measure because it is a very good indicator of the woman having achieved a safe and adequate living environment for her children. It also is a measure of
reducing expenditure in the child welfare system, when children can be returned to their birth parent.

The Legal System

There are two measures for assessing the impact of the TERF program on the legal issues women and youth have when they come into the program. The first information comes from our interviews with staff and collateral agencies. The second measure is a comparison of the cost effectiveness of funding TERF v.s. the costs of incarceration for women and youth.

Interview Findings

Many of the staff indicated that participants' offending behaviours were reduced as they became involved in TERF. They also state that enrollment in TERF is often an important part of release planning and it can assist in the participants spending less time in jail or in the Youth Centre.

The interviews with collateral agencies observed a similar pattern. Of particular interest are the findings from interviews with police and staff of corrections. They made the following observations:

- Participation in TERF reduces recidivism.
- They engage in less criminal activity when they become engaged in TERF.
- Offending behaviour is reduced as a result of participation in TERF.
- TERF has developed greater connection with justice agencies over time.
- Police report a good working relationship with TERF.
- We help each other find AWOL girls and develop plans for the girls.

Another measure of the impact of TERF is to consider the alternatives if the adults and youth are not able to exit the trade. Because 82% of the adults and 74% of the youth have a prior history of conflict with the law it seems realistic to compare the costs of TERF to the costs of incarceration, given it is a likely outcome if participants don’t exit.

Adult TERF v.s. Adult Incarceration

Currently, Manitoba Justice provides a grant of $171,100 annually for 15 adults or $10.86 per day. This is only a portion of the real cost of this program, the additional $137,000 is provided through project funding of various sorts. Were Justice to provide for the real costs of this
program, i.e. $300,000 annually, its per diem costs would be $54.70. The per diem costs of incarceration in the Portage Women’s Jail is $176.00\textsuperscript{2}. Thus, even a fully funded adult program would be a substantial saving to the Justice Department. While it is true that not all women would be in jail on any given day if they weren’t in TERF, when we look at the offense histories of the participants it is not difficult to imagine that over the course of several years most would have several cycles of incarceration. Thus, quite apart from the enormous long term saving to society in terms of health, social service and policing costs, there is a substantial benefit to the Department of Justice in the short term. The anticipated incarceration rates of women who did not have the benefit of the TERF program over a period of three years would off set the costs of a fully funded ($300,000) adult program each year.

Youth TERF v.s. Youth Incarceration

The per diem costs for incarceration at the Manitoba Youth Centre is $234.10 per day while the annual per diem costs for a youth at TERF are $116.90\textsuperscript{3}. It is true that some of the girls in TERF have concurrent incarceration, however, their involvement with TERF contributes substantially to their release plan and often they are eligible for an earlier release date because of their connection to TERF. The savings per day of having youth at TERF rather than the Youth Centre is substantial: $234.10 – 116.90 = $117.20.

Perhaps most importantly for the all of the participants at TERF the process of getting an education, getting stable housing and pursuing a career are all important steps that reduce the necessity to find illegal solutions to their basic survival problems. TERF staff and collateral agencies reported that the longer the participants remained involved in the Program, the less their involvement in the justice system.

\textsuperscript{2} Information on Per Diem costs for Portage Women’s Jail and the Youth Centre were obtained from Mr. Aurel Tess Manitoba Department of Justice (February 16, ’07) Per Diem costs include; all salary costs, operating costs and direct administration costs.

\textsuperscript{3} The calculations for TERF per diem:
TERF costs, $640,000 annually for 15 youth or $42,667 per youth per year per diem $42,667 divided by 365 = $116.90 per day

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PART 4

THE ORGANIZATION

This section reports on a number of organizational issues relevant to the evaluation. The first two questions addressed are internal to New Directions, the host agency. First, we look at how TERF is structured to respond to the needs of its participants who frequently have interruptions in enrollment and manifest a cycle of leaving and returning. Secondly we examine the ‘place’ of TERF within the larger New Directions agency. Finally, the section concludes by considering the location of TERF and its role within the broader service continuum. The findings are based on interviews with staff, program participant and graduates, and collateral agencies.

The Cycle of Leaving and Returning

Organizing a program with a constituency in flux from program interruptions requires a unique combination of flexibility and stability. It is typical that at any given point in time one quarter to one half of the participants may be out of program. For example in the 2006 Adult Program Report, the coordinator wrote that a total of 23 women were accepted for the program. Within the year, ten dropped out seven completed the program, and five would be carried over into the new program year. TERF’s response to this fluctuation differs for the youth and adult participants. Because the youth have a longer registration period, up to the age of 18, the position can be held for the youth’s return. For the adults typically a prolonged absence due to treatment or incarceration will result in them leaving the program. However, they are assured that they will always be welcomed back when they are able to return. There are also many circumstances in which neither the absence or the period of absence is predictable. These are circumstances in which the participant “falls off the wagon”, returns to heavy drug use or returns to the street. As discussed above there are many pressures, (personal and structural) on participants to return to their old way of life.

While the registration status of adults and youth may vary during their absences, the overall approach of TERF is the same for both adults and youth. Factors that maintain program stability in the face of fluctuating attendance are:

1. Individualized goals and program plans ensure that individuals will continue to attend groups and pursue education upgrading regardless of fluctuations in class composition.

2. Continuous assessment and intake. In both the adult and youth program the practice has been to admit members throughout the year.

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4 In a focus group with the 2006 adult class, the participants indicated that they found it difficult to integrate new women half way through the year, so for the school term 2007 they
3. Keeping the door open; participants are never written off. The case managers and other staff maintain connections with participants, providing counseling and referral on an as needed basis.

If participants are no longer program ready the ongoing connection to TERF makes it possible for participants to return when they are ready with a minimum disruption to the class or to their own learning. However, care is taken with the introduction of new or returning participants. The youth case manager indicated that if the existing class was in the midst of a substance abuse program with AFM the new members would have other activities assigned till the AFM program was complete.

Because the program is client driven, when the participants come back they are assessed and reintroduced into the program. They participate in their own assessment of program readiness, as they are asked what is different in their lives to make them feel they can go through the program this time. Some of the staff also reported that the use of the harm reduction model was helpful in working with a pattern of leaving and returning, as the focus was always on reducing harmful behaviours rather than asking participants to quit all of their unhealthy behaviour at once.

In short, participation in TERF is fluid; participants come and go according to their circumstances. However, the program components are stable and consistent with individualized goals, serving to keep participants focused despite fluctuations in the class membership. The absence of rigid boundaries between being a participant or not, facilitates reentry in the program. This is a very significant accommodation to the needs of participants and the reality that exiting is a process and not a “one off” event. Some success stories taken from interviews with the staff provide anecdotal evidence of the value of this model.

- One woman went into treatment and then slipped. She said that while she was back working (on the street), all she could think of was the program.
- One woman went through the program, graduated and then went back to the street. She then went through the program again.
- One woman was working and I saw her downtown when I was with another participant. The participant asked if she could wave and say ‘hello’, I said ‘of course’. The woman said how much she missed the program and I let her know she could come back, and she eventually did.
- One transgendered women is now working in the social service field in Regina. She is working with Aboriginal people in the sex trade and she was hired because she is transgendered and experiential. She had left and come back to the program a couple of times.

were not going to admit new members in January to see if this would improve classroom function and progress.
Another woman, when she came, she was struggling with addictions, was dealing drugs and was with an abusive partner. She left and came back a few times and then finally stayed and got off the streets for good. She turned her life around and now she is raising her children and her grandchildren and she is a foster parent. She keeps in contact with the coalition and she comes back to talk to the women.

The interviews with collateral agencies emphasized the importance of the TERF program in staying connected and committed to the participants. Program graduates who had experienced interruptions indicated that the supportiveness of the staff and their ability to stay connected was important to their decision to return.

Program Fit Within the Agency

TERF is one of nineteen discreet programs that make up the New Directions Agency (Organizational Structure Chart in Appendix A.1). These programs are supported by a number of departments: finance, operations, human resources, information technology, staff training and program evaluation. One of the benefits of being housed in a larger agency is access to these support programs. Because of the complex funding for TERF, Department of Justice and Family Services core funding is combined with a range of project funding. The assistance of a finance department is extremely helpful in allocating and accounting for funds from these diverse sources.

Given the high needs and high risk individuals TERF serves there is great benefit that is derived from the Human Resources Department. They are helpful in assisting staff who want to make career moves. The connection to many other programs makes it possible for staff to make lateral moves to different programs when they need a new challenge or a break from the pressures of TERF. In difficult cases in which the staff are just not suited to the work, Human Resources are reported as being extremely helpful working with the staff come to that realization. New Directions policies on holidays, staff training, the EAP program and many other personnel policies provide a positive and healthy work environment. The TERF staff benefit from the economies of scale associated with a larger agency that provide shared staff, such as the Elder and the nurse practitioner, that would be difficult to maintain on their own.

Similar advantages are available to the participants. Most of the adult participants and graduates report using other New Directions programs in particular family and individual therapy services. The youth participants and graduates reported using TRAILS, Treatment Resources and Individualized Living Supports. It plays a key role in providing safe independent living arrangements for youth. They also use TRY, Training Resources for Youth to continue their employment preparation work. The co-location of these programs in the same building makes movement from one program to another much less intimidating. They can be introduced to the new program by TERF staff and they can regularly check in with the TERF staff to talk about their challenges and achievements.
On balance, the location of TERF within the New Directions Agency is very beneficial to staff and participants. The commitment of the host agency to TERF is rooted in decades of shared history and a deeply held shared philosophy of service. As a result, TERF is a very healthy work environment which fosters and supports the program staff’s clear focus on their participants. In the words of one of the collateral agency staff: “they are the model of a client driven program.”

The one disadvantage of TERF’s location within a large mainstream agency is that in some circumstances they are ineligible for funding from particular Aboriginal funding programs. Some organizations designed to serve the Aboriginal population require that the board of the agency be 51% Aboriginal. As a multi-faceted mainstream agency New Directions has a diverse board which does not meet the 51% criteria. Thus, despite the high number of Aboriginal participants TERF serves they are not able to apply for support to these funding bodies. This would be less of a disadvantage if TERF could secure full core funding for the adult program.

**TERF’s Place Within the Service Continuum**

In Winnipeg there is a continuum of services for adults and youth from the street level to post exiting career options and advocacy. The continuum can be conceptualized as three tiers: In the first tier the focus is on providing harm reduction services for individuals in the sex trade; in the second tier the emphasis is on providing services and support for individuals wanting to exit the sex trade; and the third tier involves training and advocacy, so that experiential women can become service providers and advocates for individuals in the sex trade and/or wanting to exit.

**Tier 1** - At the street level there is Sage House, Street Connections, Ndinawé Safe House and Outreach Workers, Stepping Stones, a Klinic program with street outreach staff, MacDonald Youth Services, and the Manitoba Court Diversion project. TERF operates a mentoring program focused on children who are at risk of or have been sexually exploited. This program does both prevention work and ongoing support to assist youth who may eventually join the TERF youth program.

**Tier 2** - The TERF adult and youth programs fit within the second tier and it is the most intensive exiting program available to adults and youth within the province. In addition to TERF, there are a number of residential and nonresidential programs providing service to an exiting population. There are a range of longer term residential services which are provided to sexually exploited youth, for example Little Sisters (Ma Mawi Wi Ichitata), Rose Hall (Marymound) and specialized foster placements. There are no comparable housing programs for adult women who are wishing to exit and have difficulty finding safe, affordable housing. It has been identified by services providers in the field that this is a high need area and TERF staff have worked on a proposal for such a facility.
Among nonresidential programs there are a series of programs at Klinic Community health Centre, which begin with the Stepping Stones Program, identified above, and also include:

**Dream Catchers** - A second level program for adult sex trade workers who have decided they want to exit the sex trade and deal with their addictions. This program is offered in two steps: Step 1 - is a weekly support group for women working on sobriety and exiting the sex trade it also includes individual trauma counseling. Step 2 - is a peer mentor training program.

**Dream Makers** - This program provides Volunteer Counseling Training to Dream Catchers graduates so they can work on the Klinic crisis lines.

At this second level the activities at Klinic compliment the activities at TERF. Klinic provides weekly support groups for sexually exploited adults and training for the adult graduates of their programs. However, it does not provide the intensive daily ‘exiting’ and education programming that TERF provides to adults and youth. Often TERF graduates join Dream Catchers for the weekly support groups. There is considerable client overlap, but no program duplication.

**Tier 3** - This tier is composed of organizations designed to provide training and advocacy for experiential individuals who have exited and are pursuing career and advocacy goals. Among the organizations and/or programs there is the Manitoba Coalition of Experiential Women and Transgender, the Red River College Child and Youth Care Program and Media Awareness Initiative on Sexual Exploitation (MAISEY). These organizations become the means by which persons who have exited the sex trade can become advocates for themselves and their sisters still in the trade.

TERF occupies a very central position in this service continuum. The TERF organizational chart (see Appendix A.2.) indicates the large number of community organizations on which TERF staff participate or hold membership. The high level of interaction among the diverse agencies providing service and advocating for persons exploited in the sex trade has the effect of producing highly coordinated services rather than duplication and redundancy. Perhaps the best indicator of TERF’s pivotal role in the service continuum is the percentage of students in the Child and Youth Care Program at Red River College. Of the eight persons enrolled in this program, seven are TERF graduates. This seems to suggest that the concentrated programming that TERF offers adults and youth who want to exit the sex trade is critical to their success. As one collateral agency individual stated: “Because it is a longer term it is effective in getting the women off the streets - it makes the difference between thinking about transitioning and actually doing it.” From TERF the graduates go on to raise families, pursue careers and turn their lives around. While not every individual graduate becomes a fully employed person, most do succeed in conquering their addictions and exiting the sex trade, and while, it often takes individuals several tries to achieve this goal, TERF is extremely well designed to accommodate the cycle of leaving and returning as discussed above.

Our findings from individuals interviewed in thirteen collateral agencies provides evidence of the high regard this program is held in by their peers. Individuals were asked to respond to a number
of statements on a five point scale with 1 indicating strongly disagree and ‘5’ indicating strongly agree. Table 18 summarizes their responses by the category of client they share.

Table 18

Collateral Assessment of TERF by Participant Category*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Adults N = 3</th>
<th>Youth N = 5</th>
<th>Both N = 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a cooperative relationship between my agency and TERF</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I get timely feedback about participants</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will continue to work with TERF</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERF offers a wide range of service</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services are high quality</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some collateral agencies work only with youth or adults, some work with both youth and adults.

The feedback from collateral agencies are all in the agree to strongly agree category with the one exception about feedback. For those agencies serving both adults and youth there was some concern about the timeliness of feedback on the part of two agencies.

When we consider the statements made by collateral agencies about the quality of service TERF provides and the value of this organization to the community the assessments are very positive.

- All staff fit well with the environment and services
- Couldn’t do our job without them - they make sure clients reach their potential
- Valuable service to a marginalized population - they have expertise
- They work with the whole person, including physical aspects
- (participants)...become better citizens in mainstream society and this betters the community
- Staff are nonjudgemental, compassionate, caring, knowledgeable and tolerant
- They (TERF) celebrates successes
- Friendly, open, cooperative and professional staff
- There are educators about ancestry and traditions, TERF emphasizes spiritual aspect through information provided, through the Elder and ceremonies
The only critical note was the following statement: “Because of the history of the agency I work for and its involvement with participants we often have an adversarial relationship with TERF [and] the client gets caught in the middle”.

When asked what changes they would like to see at TERF the overwhelming response was more resources for the program. Many spoke of the need to have full core funding for the program and end their reliance on project based, time limited funding. Respondents also identified their concern that when a youth turns 18 they have to be discharged from the program. Another respondent called for “more core funding from government. Let policy makers know how long it takes to address all of the abuse, violence and trauma issues of this population ...that they require long term counseling.”

To conclude, it is interesting to note that the suggestions for change made by collateral agencies mirror the “wish list” of the staff, participants and graduates of TERF. While the following list is not exhaustive it does reflect the common wishes of all three constituencies, staff, collaterals and program participants and graduates:

- Full core funding for the adult program.
- Some structured ongoing programming for youth once they turn 18.
- More resources for the adult program, e.g. a lunch program, more outings.
- More space and more resources so TERF could expand on its current programming.
APPENDICES
Appendix 1.A

New Directions Organizational Chart
Appendix 1.B

T.E.R.F. Organizational Chart
Appendix 2

Review of the Literature
Review of the Literature on Exploitation Through the Sex Trade

Introduction

Historically prostitution has been regarded as a moral crime, with the prostitute bearing the burden of moral degradation. With time different views of prostitution have emerged. Brannigan (1994) outlines four of these views: 1) Nuisance "the idea that street prostitution is essentially a public nuisance which has to be suppressed to protect neighbourhoods"; 2) Delinquency "the idea that prostitution is a form of delinquency or crime which needs to be deterred like other forms of unlawful conduct"; 3) Exploitation "the idea that prostitution is a form of sexual exploitation of a vulnerable sector of society"; 4) Occupation "the idea that prostitution is an occupation in which people exercise rights over their own bodies and over how they propose to earn money from them" (pp. 59-60).

These different perspectives have led to debates as to how to best deal with this trade and over time and places a number of different actions have been proposed and tried. Some stress the necessity of retaining it as a criminal activity and to actively discourage its use. These coincide with the nuisance and delinquency conceptualizations of prostitution and have prevailed in dealing with experiential adults. Thus far, this has not been effective in ending this activity. It has, however, had other effects such as making the transactions more secretive and more dangerous.

Others have pushed for partial decriminalization. This has characterized how youth prostitution has been treated legally and reflects the perspective that prostitution is exploitation and not a criminal activity on the part of the youth. It is, however, still seen as illegal on the part of the pimps and johns. Thus, like child abuse, it places the responsibility on the adult exploiting youth through prostitution. In line with the perspective of the sex trade as an occupation, some have recommended legalization of certain forms of sex work. It is suggested that this would result in regulation and safer situations for both workers and customers. For example, in Edmonton, consultation on the issue led to a proposal that employers of escort agencies, massage parlours and strip clubs be licensed, and only employ workers over 18 who are regularly tested for STD's (Achilles, 1995 as cited in Allman, 2000).

The laws that have resulted are often reflective of ambivalence as to what to do about sexual exploitation through the sex trade. For example, in Canada the practice of sex trade (and the status of workers) is legal, while communication for the purposes of prostitution and other activities that lead to the act of prostitution are illegal. Despite the ambivalence and confusion, there appears to be a continuing intent to treat adult and youth prostitution differently. Until the 1980's child and adult prostitutes were subject to the same attitudinal and legal treatment. In 1984, the Badgley Committee, created to investigate youth prostitution, made several recommendations. One of these was to reconceptualize youth prostitution as child abuse. Today, the use of children and adolescents for the purposes of prostitution is considered a form of victimization and abuse. The Criminal Code of Canada has concretized this position by rendering behaviors such as: C.C. 212(2), procuring or living on the avails of a person under 18
years of age and C.C. 212(4) attempting to purchase or purchasing sex from persons under 18 years of age, to be illegal. With the new view of prostitution of youth as illegal, the terminology has changed. Terms such as ‘child abuse of a sexual or commercial nature’ and ‘sexual exploitation of children’ are now being used (Save the Children Canada, 2000).

The conceptualization of youth prostitution as sexual abuse and sexual exploitation has drawn an distinction between experiential youth and adults. This distinction is clear in the law and in research. Legally and at the government level, there is much focus on the sexual exploitation of youth and efforts to provide effective intervention and prevention programs to end this form of abuse. The research and documents pertaining to the sexual exploitation of youth are proliferating. However, very little has been done to address experiential adults. Interestingly, much of the knowledge gained about sexual exploitation of youth has come from retrospective accounts of sex trade workers over the age of 18 years. Thus, it is clear that sexually exploited youth become sex trade workers or prostitutes after the age of 18 years.

Some have argued that this makes the distinction between experiential youth and adults arbitrary and counter-productive. The experiences, antecedents to and effects of exploitation through prostitution do not differ solely or even largely based on age (Gorkoff & Runner, 2003). Some feel that considering these as separate phenomena, limits the capacity to describe and fully comprehend the larger context of the sex trade. As Brannigan and Fleischman argued as long ago as 1989, researching and intervening from this mutually exclusive stance is potentially incompatible. The central tenet of this position is that regardless of age, all of those engaged in the sex trade are victimized (Barry, 1984; Desjarlais, 1994; Jiwani, 1998). In addressing the issue from this perspective, there need not be a separation between youth and adults.

**Prevalence and Type of Activity**

**a. Prevalence**

Partially due to the differing definitions of sexual exploitation, the distinction between youth and adult exploitation, and partially due to the underground nature of the sex trade and street life, there are no reliable statistics on the number of individuals exploited through prostitution. The statistics that do exist are almost exclusively for youth. A 1995 Vancouver study estimated that on any given night there were 30 to 40 youth working on the streets (McCarthy, 1995). An outreach program in Saskatoon identified 93 children under the age of 16 being exploited on the street in 1996 (Thibodeau, 1996). A Regina outreach program reported that 45% (1,215) out of 2,700 contacts were individuals under age 18 (Street Workers Advocacy Project, 1996). An evaluation of POWER (Prostitutes and Other Women for Education and Resources) in Winnipeg documented that about 33% (858) of 2,600 contacts were under the age of 18 (Campbell & Heinrichs, 1994). The Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat estimated that 2,000 youth were being sexually exploited through prostitution in 1996 and in 1998 it was estimated that there were 200,000 adolescent prostitutes in Canada (Flowers, 1998). From these numbers it is apparent that there is a significant number of both experiential youth and adults in Canada.
b. Type of Activity

There are many venues for sex trade activity, including street trade, escort services, massage parlours, strip clubs, trick pads, pornography, and trafficking. In addition, some women and youth prefer to work independently while others are pimped by pimps, gangs, boyfriends, or other women. Youth more often are found within the street trade, as escort services, massage parlours and strip clubs are less likely to hire minors in order to avoid legal repercussions. Among adult sex trade workers, it has been estimated that less than 20% of the work takes place on the street (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Kingsley & Mark, 2000). In any of these venues, sex can be exchanged for money, food, shelter, drugs, or other commodities.

Antecedents and Entry into the Sex Trade

a. Age of Entry

Different reports describe different ages of entry into the sex trade, with some identifying later ages and some identifying younger ages. Among those reporting a later age of first involvement, are a Vancouver study that estimated that females entered at age 16.3 and males at an average age of 15.6 years (McCarthy, 1995), an Ottawa survey that found the average age of entry to be 17.8 years (Caputo, Weiler, & Kelly, 1994), and Shaver (1996) who reports that most sex trade workers began their involvement between the ages of 16 and 20. Others report a slightly younger age of entry. The Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998) revealed an average entry age of 14 to 15 1/2 years, while The Street Workers Advocacy Project in Regina (1996) found that 12% of youth on the street were under 12 years old and the average age was reported as between 12 & 14 years old. The Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat (1996) indicated that in Manitoba most youth entered the sex trade between the ages of 13 and 15. However, some children as young as six had been exploited through prostitution. A more recent prairie study conducted by RESOLVE found that among the 45 experiential women interviewed 73% reported involvement with prostitution at the age of 15 years or younger 37.8% were between the ages of 11 and 13 and 35.6% became involved between the ages of 14 and 15.(Gorkoff and Runner, 2003). An examination of the 2000-2001 statistics for the TERF Program in Manitoba revealed an average age of entry of 13 years (Berry, 2003). Thus, it appears that most individuals enter between the ages of 13 and 16. Once in the trade, it appears that most individuals stay for five or more years (Benoit and Millar, 2001; Lowman, 1997).

As these varying statistics indicate, it is difficult to accurately determine the average age at entry. This is in part due to the fact that entry into the sex trade is a process, something that occurs over time rather than having a definite start (or ending) point (Roeters, 1987). It may also be partially due to small and often non-representative samples. As with estimates of prevalence rates, the hidden nature of the sex trade and the hesitation of experiential people to talk to researchers make it difficult to obtain large or representative samples.
b. Antecedents

There are a number of circumstances that lead up to involvement in the sex trade. The most significant, or at least the most researched, antecedent to sexual exploitation through prostitution is actually a series of events. Youth who are abused at home or whose home life is dysfunctional or filled with conflict are either removed from the home and put into placement by the child welfare system or runaway from home. Youth often come from homes where they are abused, alienated, and neglected and have a history of foster and youth centre care (Dalla, 2001; Prevention en Pratique Medical, 2002). A recent study found that 63% of the 45 experiential adults interviewed had been involved in the child welfare system as children (Gorkoff & Runner, 2003). Those that are placed by the child and welfare system often runaway from their placements. Once these youth have runaway, they find that they lack the skills, education, experience, or years to obtain a job that will support them. They then turn to the sex trade for survival and/or to support drug or alcohol use begun as a coping mechanism for the abuse at home or for the experiences of life on the street (Cusick, 2002; Earls & David, 1990; Gorkoff & Runner, 2003; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Lowman, 1989; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996; McClanahan, McClelland, Abram, & Teplin, 1999; McIntyre, 1999; Schissel & Feder, 1999; Webber, 1991). Each of these components is explored in greater detail below.

Child Abuse

There has been much debate as to whether abuse in the home leads to involvement in the sex trade, with some believing there is a direct link between child abuse, and in particular sexual abuse, and entry into the sex trade and others believing that the link is less direct. The debate is due to a shift in focus as to the antecedents to entry into the sex trade. In the 1970's, the focus was on individual pathology and the source of that pathology. In the late 1980's the focus shifted to situational factors that contributed to involvement in the sex trade (Cusick, 2002). Thus the more complex link between a conflicted home life, running away and involvement in the sex trade was proposed as a more plausible course of events. Despite these debates and the general consensus as to the likely course of events, there are some that feel neither child abuse or running away fully explains entry into the sex trade (Widom & Ames, 1994). For example, some research has failed to find a direct link between child sexual abuse or family dysfunction and sex trade work (Brannigan & Fleishman, 1989; Brannigan & Gibbs Van Brunschot, 1997; Nadon, Koverola & Schludermann, 1998).

Child sexual abuse has been found to have a sexualizing effect on youth, particularly girls (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986). Thus, this experience may serve to normalize sexual abuse, reinforce their view of themselves as sexual objects and see sex as a means of manipulating others for desired ends (McMullen, 1987; Schissel & Feder, 1999). Most of the women who participated in the Girl Child studies, reported in Being Heard (Gorkoff & Runner, 2003) were abused as children (71%). Estes and Weiner (2002) found that sexual abuse was common in their sample of homeless girls (61%), but less so in their sample of homeless boys (19%). They do however, indicate that about 90% of sex trade workers are survivors of sexual abuse or assault in childhood. Lowman's (1997) study of sexually exploited women in Vancouver found that 73% of the women had been sexually abused in childhood.
Running Away and Street Life

Some of these youth run away from the abuse they experience, while others are placed into care. The Badgley Committee report indicates that most sexually exploited youth were runaways with difficult childhoods and that both males and females in the sex trade reported leaving home at an earlier age than other youth (Bittle, 2002). Scheirich (2004) reports that 63% of sexually exploited youth have been in the child welfare systems and 78% have been in foster care or group homes. Others have also found that many youth have a history of sexual abuse and involvement with social services and child welfare before becoming involved in the sex trade (Campbell & Heinrich, 1994; McIntyre, 2002; Seshia, 2005). Many youth runaway from these forms of care. Research on street youth in Canada found that 85% to 98% have had sex; for 60% of these youth, their first experience occurred prior to 13 years of age; and 52% to 78% reported six or more partners (Health Canada, 1998). These experiences can lead to school related problems, delinquency, substance use, a sense of stigmatization, unhappiness, and dissatisfaction with their lives that can influence their entry into the sex trade.

A Toronto based study of homeless youth found that 54% reported being involved in the sex trade (Johnson, Aschkenasy, Herbers, & Gillenwater, 1996), while a study of street youth in Montreal reports that 30% have lived off the sex trade (Prevention en Pratique Medicale, 2002). A Winnipeg study found a relationship between running away from home or care and work in the sex trade (Nadon, Koverola & Schludermann, 1998). The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (1990) reported that 32% of the runaways in Winnipeg had been sexually exploited through prostitution. The youth in this study indicated a number of reasons for running away from home including: experiences of physical and/or sexual abuse, family conflict, addictions (either their parents' or their own) and their family's lack of acceptance of their homosexuality (mostly male youth). Some of these youth had moved with their family and felt bored, lonely and/or were unaware of the dangers of the streets. Others had run from other forms of care such as foster care, group homes, or youth centres.

Once these youth runaway, they find that they lack the education or work skills to obtain stable employment (Michaud, 1988; Sullivan, 1986; Weisberg, 1985). A report by the Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat (1996) suggests that many of these youth had negative experiences with education. They began to do poorly in school due to difficulties at home and poverty. They drop out because of their feelings of failure and an aversion to the negative experiences at school. Some are expelled due to misbehaviour. Not being in school engenders a sense of being different or outside of the mainstream and leaves them with below age level education. Lowman's (1997) study of Vancouver based sex trade workers found that 91% did not have their high school diploma and 40% had less than a grade 10 education. Although youth who runaway come from a wide range of economic backgrounds, the poor tend to be over-represented (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). A positive correlation has been found between time on the streets and engagement in the sex trade (Badgley, 1984; CS/RESORS, 1989; Mathew's, 1989).
Individuals who enter the sex trade at a later age often find themselves on the street due to negative life events and financial difficulty. As with youth, they often lack the means to obtain employment to support themselves or their children and turn to the sex trade for survival. It is mostly poor women who get involved in the sex trade, but this alternative does not take them out of their poverty. One study reported that sexually exploited women reported receiving $18,000 annual income from the sex trade (Benoit & Millar, 2001). Further, most of these women are homeless and/or live in low cost hotels where they are vulnerable to additional victimization (Lowman, 1997).

Substance Dependency

Exacerbating the situation is the frequency of substance dependence among experiential people. Some individuals are forced, coerced, or tricked into trying drugs by friends, boyfriends, pimps, and/or gang members. Once they become dependent, they are introduced into the sex trade as a way to support their habit. In the case of pimps or gangs, they are often the ones supplying the drugs, thus allowing them to maintain control over the life of the sexually exploited individual. Some experiential people have indicated that they had developed a substance abuse problem as a means to cope with the abuse and other negative life situations they experienced and became involved in the sex trade to support their habit (Amnesty International, 2004; Benoit & Millar, 2001; Seshia, 2005). Nadon and colleagues (1998) found that 77% of sex trade workers in their study used drugs. There is some evidence that substance use may vary by region. Shaver (1996) found the highest rates of use in the Atlantic provinces (50% of workers were heavy drug users) and lowest rate in Quebec (16% heavy drug users). Regardless of how their addictions commenced, sexually exploited youth and adults indicate that drugs and/or alcohol help them to cope with the negative feelings and situations they must face on the street and in the sex trade (Young, Boyd, & Hubbell, 2000). Thus addictions further bind them to the sex trade.

Initial View of the Sex Trade

Early on in the process of involvement in the sex trade there is a reported feeling of empowerment and self sufficiency and these often out weigh the negative aspects of street involvement. There is also a very limited knowledge or understanding about these negative aspects. This is due, in part, to simple lack of knowledge, and especially for youth, due to the romanticizing of the street “life style”, and developmental limitations in terms of the capacity to envision circumstances months or years in the future, (Scott and Sullivan, 2000). The initial focus is often on the money that can be earned and what that money represents in terms of feeding an addiction, obtaining food, shelter or other necessities.

Unfeasibility of Alternatives

For individuals who live on the street, survival through other means or through state care is often difficult. Youth that fall into the 16 to 18 year range, can legitimately leave care, but are unable to obtain affordable housing and they are not eligible for social assistance due to their status as youth (Gorkoff & Runner, 2003). This places them in situations with little recourse but to live on the streets and turn to alternate forms of supporting themselves such as the sex trade. In the
modern welfare state, subsistence through utilization of social programs is marginally possible, at least in theory. However, to put this into practice in a consistent manner, one must have the knowledge, motivation, and tenacity necessary to access social welfare assistance (Sullivan, 1988). Canadian research has consistently found that sexually exploited youth were uninformed about accessing social assistance. Further, both youth and adults were often ineligible for assistance because of their transient lifestyle, and many were simply not prepared to subsist on welfare level incomes or low skill jobs (Beniot & Millar, 2001; Gorkoff & Runner, 2003; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshia, 2005; Sullivan, 1988).

Social Norms, Attitudes, and Perceptions

The decision to become involved in the sex trade must also include a conceptualization of a range of contributing factors other than the purely economic. The context of sexuality, the attitudes about male and female roles, and the sexualization of youth and women contribute to a situation where sexual exploitation can occur. Youth are sexualized in the media and through social standards of beauty that glorify youth and the adolescent body form. The value of females, in particular, are associated with their sexuality and ability to attract the attention of males. This wider social construction of youth and sexuality plays a role in the demand for youth in the sex trade. As Mathews (1989) indicates, consideration must be given to inequitable differences in male/female socialization, the disenfranchisement of youth, the failure of social services to assist street youth adequately, and the lack of political will to assist vulnerable families to reduce the risks of exploitation that may be faced by their children. In an expanded perspective, the vulnerability of some individuals to sexual exploitation through prostitution intersects with power and control and the economic inequities which exist between males and females, and between adults and children. With a lack of adequate job opportunities and housing, some may find the sex trade their only source of income and independence. Jiwani (1998) argues that without a structural transformation that effectively addresses poverty, the sexualizing of youth and children (and we would add women), male power to purchase sex, intra-familial violence, and youth unemployment, the community and government-based efforts remain band-aid solutions.

There is a reluctance to provide the necessary intervention and prevention methods to assist those in the sex trade and to instil mechanisms that would negate the circumstances that often lead to sex trade involvement, such as parent skills counselling for families at risk and school based programming. Much of this resistance comes from the commonly held notion that people freely choose to engage in this behaviour. Thus, since it is seen as an individual choice, any negative experiences are regarded as consequences of a personal choice and the responsibility of the individual themselves. A study from Save The Children Canada on Canadian Attitudes about Children in the Sex Trade found that 47% of those surveyed agreed that most young sex trade workers actually “chose to do it” (Bruton, 2000). Many would refute this notion of free choice, indicating that choice is constantly mediated by factors outside the person’s control such as patriarchal social structures that disempower them and their marginalized position in the labour force (Lowman, 1987). Studies on sexual exploitation in different countries found that women was to escape this life (Farley, Alvarez, Zumbeck, Sezgin, Lynne, et.al., 2003; Hotaling, 1999).
It is clear that some segments of the population are more vulnerable to having to make this choice than are others. Jiwani (1998), in theorizing about global commercial exploitation, expands reasons for vulnerability to include larger socio-structural contributors such as poverty, marginalization, devaluation of women and girls, previous experiences of violence, racism, and the intersection of these issues with one another. Indeed she argues that some individuals such as gay and lesbian youth, Aboriginal, migrant/immigrant girls, and the poor are in positions where they are more vulnerable to entering sex trade work simply because of these characteristics. Huges (2004) also states that the cultural attitudes that places females and certain ethnic groups in the role of devalued citizens generate an acceptance of sexual exploitation by society and by family members who may be pimping the girls/women to support the family. Homophobia, racism, cultural oppression, and lack of opportunities for the poor contribute to youth’s decision to runaway and seek approval from other sources.

c. Introduction into Prostitution

Most individuals are introduced into the sex trade by friends who are already in the trade, family, acquaintances and boyfriends (Amnesty International, 2004; Estes & Weiner, 2002; Jesson, 1993; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996; O’Neill, Goode, & Hopkins, 1995; Seshia, 2005; Tutt & Nixon, 2003), or other street people (Gorkoff & Runner, 2003). In some cases the sex trade is part of the family life of these youth. Siblings, parents, extended family, and boyfriends can begin to pimp them or teach them how to prostitute themselves. Since 1995 street gangs have become more involved in the sex trade in Winnipeg and young girls are often exploited by gang members (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). Gang members will actively recruit youth into the sex trade and then recruit their friends through them (Seshia, 2005). Some of these individuals portray the life as glamorous and lucrative. These portrayals are often reinforced by media representations (for example the movie "Pretty Woman"). As indicated, due to their lack of cognitive understanding youth are likely to be convinced of this romantic view of prostitution. Individuals who come from poverty may be particularly vulnerable to these promises (Tutt & Nixon, 2003). The combination of poverty, failing at school and having a number of unmet needs due to family dysfunction or limited income can lead to low self esteem and poor judgement (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). Once entrenched, others in the street life become their street family, filling a gap for a family and sense of belonging (Tutt & Nixon, 2003; Downe, 2003). Gangs may become attractive, as they promise to serve as a family for these individuals (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). As their new reference groups, these new families influence the perspectives, self concepts, belief systems, expectations and aspirations of these individuals, thereby further entrenching them in the life.
Consequences

a. Psychological Effects

There are a number of psychological effects associated with involvement in the sex trade. Among the most common are depression, low self worth, suicidal thoughts and attempts, and other forms of self destructive behaviour such as self mutilation (Flowers, 2001; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Tutty & Nixon, 2003). Some of the women interviewed for a RESOLVE Manitoba study on sexual exploitation through prostitution stated that they felt a loss of control over their lives, that they did not matter and that their lives did not have meaning either for themselves or for others (Downe, 2003). As Downe (2003) indicates, this type of sense of hopelessness and meaninglessness has been associated with greater psychological distress. Posttraumatic stress disorder in individuals involved in the sex trade has also been reported (Estes & Weiner, 2002; Flowers, 2001).

Many youth and adults in the sex trade live with fear everyday, leading to anxiety and suspicion of others. Their fears are often based in reality as they are in danger from abuse and assault from pimps, johns, police, and others who live on the street (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Downe with Ashley-Mika, 2003). Bad dates, where they experience physical, sexual or emotional violence and/or robbery, are common. A Vancouver study found that 94% of experiential women had been physically assaulted; 90% were robbed, and 89% were sexually assaulted at least once (Lowman, 1997). There is a fear of being jailed or arrested. This fear is based on both the process of being involved in the justice system and the violent repercussions from pimps for being out of circulation or from testifying against them (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998). Pimps and gang members will often intimidate the women into fearing testifying against them. Some reported becoming desensitized to the violence, as it becomes a normalized part of their lives (Tutty & Nixon, 2003). As a further sign of distress, even after exiting the life many manifest anxiety based rituals such as hiding money, obsessive cleaning and dissociation during sex (Kingsley & Mark, 2000).

Drugs and/or alcohol are often used to cope with fears, depression, and other negative feelings. Substance abuse is prevalent in people working in the sex trade, including youth prostitutes (Badgley Committee, 1984; Campbell & Heinrichs, 1994; Dalla, 2002; Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998; Lowman, 1997; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Seshia, 2005). In some cases substance abuse begins as a means of coping with difficulties at home and thus precedes involvement in the sex trade (Brannigan & Fleishman, 1989), while in other cases it develops as a consequence of these activities (Fraser, 1985; Lowman, 1987). A number of individuals have stated that the drugs and alcohol have a numbing effect, making it easier to turn tricks (Downe with Ashley-Mika, 2003). Severe drug dependence can subject them to more dangerous situations, riskier sexual practices and more social stigma. It has been suggested that this stigma can be internalized, leading to a self fulfilling prophesy and a perpetuation of both substance use and sex trade involvement (Erickson, Betters, McGillicuddy & Hallgren, 2000). Once a substance dependency exists, the sex trade becomes the means to support these addictions, thus the relationship between substance use and prostitution is circular and co-determinant (Heinrich, 1995; Lau, 1989; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Seshia, 2005).
Because of their developmental stage, young women in the sex trade are in the process of forming a sense of identity. Due to a lack of education, a lack of care from their family, poverty and marginalization, these individuals may begin to form a sense that they are not worthy or capable. They may feel that they do not fit in anywhere, not in school with other people their age, not at home with their family, not in the child welfare system, and perhaps not in mainstream society. For many, life on the street provides them with their first sense of belonging, of finding others, who like themselves, are marginalized. Their involvement in the street life and the sex trade provides another source for information about identity. Their sense of belonging with their street family, whether there are other street youth or gang members, will shape their identity and self concept (Downe, with Ashley-Mika, 2003). Further, the way that they are referred to or portrayed by people both on and off the street will have an impact on their identity. Derogatory names, being seen as disposable and generally being looked down upon by "straight society" can create a negative identity and more deeply engrain the identity of "prostitute". Many have reported that they feel stigmatized by their street identity which can lead to poor mental health (Benoit & Millar, 2001) and difficulty in leaving the street life (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). A number of experiential women have said that they do not access health, social or police services because they believe they will be judged negatively by workers in these fields or in fact have had negative experiences with them.

b. Health Risks

There are a number of health risks that accompany involvement in the sex trade. The most prevalent of these are abuse and violence, sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy, substance abuse, and poor health habits. Due to these factors, individuals who are sexually exploited through prostitution generally have poorer health than individuals not involved in the sex trade (Schissel & Fedec, 1999).

Individuals involved in the sex trade, both in outdoor and indoor venues, are always vulnerable to sexual and physical assault from johns, pimps, and police (Amnesty International, 2004; Benoit 7 Millar, 2001; Bittle, 2002; Campbell & Heinrichs Research Associates, 1994; Dall, 2002; Huges, 2004; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Lowman, 1997; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Schissel & Fedec, 1999). A study of experiential women in Victoria (Research Subgroup of the Committee for Sexually Exploited Youth in CRD, 1997, as cited in the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998) found that 33% had been sexually assaulted and 28% had been physically assaulted in the past year. Gang members will intimidate and mark young women to discourage them from leaving; they will also physically and sexually assault them (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). Physical assaults from other prostitutes have also been reported (Nixon & Tutty, 2003). Women and girls who work in the street are at high risk for murder and early death (Allman, 2000; Duchesne, 1997; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Lowman, 1997). The Federal/Provincial/ Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998) reported that most assaults and murders of sex trade workers occur when they are working on the street. Amnesty International (2004) states that sexual exploited women are at higher risk of violence due to the social stigma of their work. Social beliefs and stereotypes provide justification for those who are violent towards them. These women don’t report assaults to the police for fear of being charged (Allman, 2000). With few women reporting assaults
and/or being arrested when they do report, those violating them continue to do so with no fear of repercussion. This lack of concern and social stigma is compounded for Aboriginal women by the racism they are exposed to on a daily basis.

Sexually exploited youth are at high risk of STD's and other infections such as Hepatitis B (Campbell & Heinrichs Research Associates, 1994; Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Many johns deliberately seek out youth in the sex trade because they believe there is less risk of contracting AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases if the person is young (Brannigan, 1994; Flowers, 2001). Youth are actually more susceptible to infections because their bodies are not fully developed, their immune system may be weaker, and they are more vulnerable to injury and lesions during intercourse. Further, youth are less likely to insist on the use of condoms and thus are more vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases than adult sex trade workers (Bittle, 2002; Flowers, 2001; Research Subgroup of the Committee for Sexually Exploited Youth in CRD, 1997). A study of drug addicted adult women sex trade and non sex trade workers, found that sex trade workers reported frequent condom use (Spittal et al., 2003). There are higher rates of STD’s in sexually exploited youth who do not use condoms; 45% in males and 68% in females (MacDonald, Fisher, Wells, Doherty, & Bowie, 1994). Despite these unsafe sex practices, it has been reported that most youth who contract HIV/AIDS get it from unprotected sex with their boyfriends, sexual assault, or sharing needles rather than from the sex trade (Epele, 2002). In the early 1980's before knowledge of HIV/AIDS was wide spread, fewer sexually exploited youth used condoms, in comparison to the late 1990's when HIV/AIDS was well known world wide (Allman, 2000). However, although about 95% of individuals in the sex trade use condoms, most do so inconsistently (Campbell & Heinrichs Research Associates, 1994; Dalla, 2000). Despite this finding, Spittal and colleagues (2003) found that women in the sex trade did not have a higher rate of HIV than women not in the trade, in their study of women using injection drugs, corroborating findings by Rhodes, and colleagues (as sited in Spittal et al., 2003).

Because more sexually exploited youth do not insist on johns using condoms, they are more likely to become pregnant and they have a higher risk of complications in giving birth (Flowers, 2001; Schissel & Fedec, 1999). These complications are due to the immaturity of their bodies, poor general health, lack of prenatal or medical care and substance use. Substance use and street life lead to a neglect of basic health care needs. Individuals in the sex trade report constant feelings of fatigue, sleep deprivation, and lack of food (Downe, 2003). These are essential components in maintaining a healthy body and a strong immune system. They are unlikely to access medical care or any other services for sex trade workers due to fear of being reported to child welfare and/or the police (Allman, 2000; Busby, 2003; Weiner, 1996). Thus there is a gradual decline in the health and physical well being of these individuals.

Exiting Issues and Barriers

Many individuals leave the sex trade after some significant event, either traumatic or positive (Powelson, 2004). For example, some leave after becoming pregnant and/or giving birth (McIntyre, 2002; Seshia, 2005). They fear that their children will be apprehended by child welfare or that their children will be placed in danger because of their involvement in the sex
trade. Others have left after being arrested (Downe with Ashley-Mika, 2003) or a particularly severe incidence of violence where they feared for their life or had to deal with the murder of a friend on the street (McIntyre, 2002; Seshia, 2005). Some report that interactions with women who have left the trade give them the motivation to leave, as they demonstrate that it can be done. Finding support, counselling, advocacy, referral, and encouragement through community services also provides the motivation to withstand the difficulties of leaving (Seshia, 2005).

The actual exiting process is often lengthy and difficult (Mansson & Hedin, 1999). Most return and leave several times before they finally exit for the last time (Kingsley & Mark, 2000; McIntyre, 2002). They return to the trade to obtain money to support themselves, their children or a drug habit (Downe with Ashley-Mika, 2003; Seshia, 2005). The same lack of skills and education that initially led them to the sex trade for survival, often brings them back after exiting (Benoit & Millar, 2001; McIntyre, 2002; Rabinovitch & Strega, 2004). In Benoit and Millar’s (2001) study of 200 sex trade workers in Vancouver and Montreal, the median level of education achieved was grade 10 and most had not graduated high school. Many have a low sense of self esteem and may feel that they cannot successfully leave the trade or feel that they do not deserve a better life (McIntyre, 2002) or cannot change (Seshia, 2005). Some found that their street identity hindered their attempts to get an education, employment and building personal relationships. The stigma of having been in the sex trade led to negative opinions and negative interactions with others, including service providers (McIntyre, 2002; Rabinovitch & Strega, 2004; Seshia, 2005). This can prove a significant barrier to accessing services to help them exit the trade. Fear that their children will be removed is another powerful barrier to accessing services (Weiner, 1996). Exiting can be very risky, as pimps and gangs use various means including isolation, force, intimidation and physical marking to keep young women working for them (Duchesne, 1997; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996; McIntyre, 2002; Rabinovitch & Strega, 2004). It is also risky for some, as once they are in a safer place, the memory of the abuse they experienced, either in their family home or on the street comes back to them. Dealing with survival and the immediate dangers and necessities of street life, helped in avoiding confronting the abuse and violence they experienced. Once out of the life, they had to resolve these parts of their past (McIntyre, 2002).

A number of individuals report feeling bored with "straight life" (McIntyre, 2002). They become accustomed to the high level of arousal that comes from the uncertainty of what will happen next and the variety of experiences they have on the street. Further, the components of a healthy relationship are so unfamiliar that these individuals experience a lot of difficulty in cultivating and being in these types of relationships (McIntyre, 2002). Some also miss their street family. Leaving is made more difficult when there is a lack of support from others and from community services. Family or another support system is an important factor in success in leaving the trade. Meeting people not in the sex trade and constructing a new set of friends work against loneliness and the desire to return to their street family (McIntyre, 2002). Building a significant relationship with someone and having positive role models were important factors in leaving the sex trade (Powelson, 2004). Having some type of purpose for leaving is also important in facilitating exiting. Particular goals, having a baby, having a contact outside of the life, having gainful employment have all been identified as being elements that have helped individuals leave the street (McIntyre, 2002).
Gender and Aboriginal Issues

a. Gender Issues

Research consistently finds that more females than males are sexually exploited through prostitution (Badgley, 1984; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Lowman, 1987; Roeters, 1987; Shaver, 1996). Some Canadian research indicates that the number of male youth exploited through prostitution is growing (Caputo et al, 1994; Victoria Study, 1998; Scheirich, 2004). Shaver (1996) reports that males make up 10-25% of all street sex trade workers. However, males show the same pattern of a troubled home life, running away and subsequent involvement in the sex trade as do females (West & deVilliers, 1992). The Badgley Committee (1985) found that 45% of male sex workers stated that there was conflict in their family of origin; 97% had left home at least once and 46% left more than once. However, in addition to the abuse and conflict they experience in their homes, many male youth are ridiculed or rejected due to their homosexuality (Allman, 2000; Bittle, 2002). Most males in the sex trade identify as homosexual (Powelson, 2004). Gender discrimination and discrimination of GLBTT individuals has been identified as a factor that may increase vulnerability to isolation, low self esteem, shame, and feelings that they belong on the street (Scheirich, 2004; Seshia, 2005).

There are other differences in experience between males and females exploited through prostitution. In comparison to female sex workers, males are more likely to work alone, have regular schedules, have other sources of employment, and go into and out of the sex trade more so than females, and they are less likely to be pimped (Allman, 2000; Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988). Shaver (1996) found that males perform a greater variety of sexual acts and spent more time with clients than females. However men appear to earn less money than women, though women may not be able to keep the money they make if they are being pimped.

There is a lack of consensus about the predominant venues for sex trade for males. Campagna and Poffenberger (1988) found that men use the street as their primary work site whereas women are scattered working in brothels, trick pads, and escort services. A finding corroborated by research from the U.S. (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004). On the other hand, Allman's (2000) review of the literature on males exploitation through prostitution reports that they were more involved off street venues, a finding corroborated by Scheirich (2004) in a study of sexually exploited male youth in Winnipeg. Off street male sex trade workers are more likely to see the sex trade as a viable occupation, entered into by choice compared to female sex trade workers (Powelson, 2004).

Like female sex trade workers, males experience violence on the street. However, this violence is less pervasive than it is for females and it is less likely to come from johns than for females (Allman, 2000). Males are more often physically assaulted by other bystanders in the form of "gay bashing" (Bittle, 2002; Brannigan, 1994; Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988; Campbell & Heinrichs Research Associates, 1994; Lowman, 1992; Scheirich, 2004; Shaver, 1996). As previously indicated, females are reluctant to report acts of violence for fear of legal reprisals, apprehension by authorities (in the case of sexually exploited youth) and further violence from...
pimps. Males are even less likely to report the violence they experience, primarily because they expect little sympathy due to their gender, their sexual orientation or their status as a sex trade worker (Allman & Meyers, 1999; West, 1993). Compared to females who are almost always the recipients of violence, males are more likely to use violence against customers (Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988, Lowman, 1999). Shaver also reports that males are less likely than women to be arrested for sex trade related offences, which would seem to indicate women arecriminalized more often. It has been suggested that males use less health care services than females (Seshia, 2005), again likely due to the stigma attached to their work in the trade and to their sexual orientation or perceived orientation. This would make them more vulnerable to the long term effects of diseases and assaults.

There have been contradictory findings pertaining to the length of time males stay in the sex trade in comparison with females. Allman (1994) and Lowman (1992) found that males were involved in the sex trade for a shorter time than females and then went on to related occupations or fields such as pornography or escorting as they got older. However, McIntyre (2002) found that males tended to enter earlier than females (about 12 years of age vs 15 years) and remain in the sex trade for an average of 12 years, whereas females were in the trade for an average of six years. On the other hand, some have reported 16 years as the average age that males enter the sex trade (PEERS, 2000; Snell, 1995). At this point determining the true state of events is difficult, as there are not many studies that look at male sex trade workers and those that do, often have much smaller numbers of males for comparison with females. For example, McIntyre's findings are based on a comparison of 33 females and only five males. There are also contradictions as to reasons for entering the sex trade, with some suggesting that males enter the sex trade less for survival reasons than females (Allman, 2000), while others state that survival is the main reason male youth become involved in the sex trade (West, 1993).

In addition to the exiting issues faced by individuals in general, males have to deal with issues around their sexual orientation. They have to come to terms with their homosexuality and find healthy roles models to help them resolve this part of their identity (Powelson, 2004). Those males that are not homosexual, but had sex with men as sex trade workers, must deal with and resolve this aspect of their behaviour and their sexuality and sense of masculinity (McIntyre, 2002). For males who are struggling with these issues as part of their developmental trajectory, this can be particularly difficult. Males reported a lot of loneliness upon leaving the sex trade (McIntyre, 2002), perhaps they self isolate to avoid the stigma associated with their involvement in the sex trade.

There have not been many studies on males in the sex trade and the studies that exist have had small sample sizes. This makes many of the findings pertaining to males involved in the sex trade tenuous. This particular issue requires much more extensive and specific research with larger sample sizes.
b. Aboriginal Issues

Within the prairie provinces (Schissel & Fedec, 1999) and nationally (First Call, 1996; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Lowman, 1997; McEvoy & Daniluk, 1995) there is a large proportion of individuals involved in the sex trade that are of Aboriginal decent, particularly in Winnipeg and Regina (Brannigan, Knafla & Levy, 1989). In Manitoba about 50% of the visible sex trade workers are Aboriginal and the majority of transsexual and transvestite individuals exploited through prostitution are Aboriginal (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). The Winnipeg Street Outreach Project by the Village Clinic (1997) studies 20 male sex workers and 55% of them were Aboriginal. Kingsley and Mark (2000), report that even in centres in which the population of individuals of Aboriginal background is relatively small Aboriginal women and children are over represented in the street trade.

In terms of becoming involved in the sex trade, Aboriginal youth tend to enter the trade at a younger age than nonAboriginal youth (Lowman, 1986). Tutty and Nixon (2003) found that Aboriginal girls were most often living at home prior to their involvement, whereas nonAboriginal girls had most often runaway from home or from placement. However, like nonAboriginal youth who are homeless and living on the street, Aboriginal youth become involved in the sex trade for survival (Gaetz, O’Grady & Valliancourt, 1999). Aboriginal people exploited through prostitution were more likely to have experienced physical and/or sexual abuse at home and violence on the streets than nonAboriginal individuals (Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Lowman, 1986). Neglect at home was also involved in higher risk for involvement in the sex trade for Aboriginal youth (Schissel & Fedec, 1999).

Aboriginal people may be disadvantaged in other ways as well. The 55% Aboriginal male youth in the Winnipeg Outreach Project (Village Clinic, 1997) had less stable housing, less formal education, and were younger than the nonAboriginal males. Poor school attendance, low grade level achievement (most have not completed grade 9), and homelessness or a nomadic existence were also reported by Kingsley and Mark (2000) in their study of Aboriginal youth exploited through prostitution. These factors limit opportunities and contribute to the high rate of poverty in Aboriginal communities. In 1997, 80% of Aboriginal children in B.C. lived in poverty and in 1992 the rural unemployment rate ranges from 40% to 60% for Aboriginal people (as reported in Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Many young men and women migrate to the city in search of employment and a better life, but find there are few opportunities based on their age and/or lack of education and skills. Further, they find themselves in a culture different from their home community and this may make them more vulnerable to the advances of pimps and johns (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998). These are factors that increase vulnerability to becoming involved and remaining in the sex trade.

In addition to the negative psychological effects already mentioned and the social stigma associated with being or having worked in the sex trade, Aboriginal people also face racism (Downe with Ashley-Mika, 2003). Aboriginal people have a history of being exploited, beginning with colonization. Residential schooling damaged Aboriginal people's sense of family and community and worked to instil shame over cultural traditions and beliefs. Attempts to eradicate cultural traditions, teachings and language were vigorously pursued. There was also a
disconnection from the land. This history has also left few elders and role models to teach them their language, traditions, and pride in their culture. What this history has provided is a legacy of racism and a resulting self fulfilling prophesy that has contributed to individual’s entry into the sex trade (Seshia, 2005). Racism continues in a variety of forms to this day and many Aboriginal people are discriminated against and marginalized (Kingsley & Mark, 2000).

Due to the location of Aboriginal persons in Canadian society and the history of colonization and cultural genocide, it is argued that Aboriginal women and girls are the most vulnerable to exploitation (First Call, 1996; Brock and Thistlehwaite, 1996; McEvoy and Daniluk, 1995; Seshia, 2005). Lynne (1998) argues that patriarchy in combination with capitalism and racism have subjugated First Nations women to the domination of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men. Their long term sexual oppression has led to their treatment as a sexual commodity and thus to their vulnerability to being prostituted.

All of these experiences of abuse at home, poverty, lack of opportunities, racism and marginalization contribute to lower self esteem and increase the likelihood that young Aboriginal people will turn to drug and/or alcohol use as a coping mechanism. Their low self esteem makes them more vulnerable to pimps who flatter them and tell them that they will look after them. The promise of money and a glamorous life seems attractive compared to their poverty and obscurity. The substance use keeps them in the sex trade as a means of supporting these habits. Many themselves have FAS/FAE, impairing their judgement and increasing their vulnerability to exploitation by others. As with other street involved individuals, their street family become the sought after sense of belonging and care that is often lacking in their lives (Kingsley & Mark, 2000).

Exiting the sex trade is very difficult. Improving education and training skills is imperative. Support, patience and flexibility in services are essential to meeting the needs of these individuals as they work through the exiting process. Finding strength in their culture and traditions has helped young Aboriginal people to successfully exit the sex trade (Kingsley & Mark, 2000).

**Legal and Programmatic Response**

**a. Legal Response**

As the current law stands, "procuring and living on the avails of prostitution of another person (Section 212), "communicating in a public place for the purpose of buying or selling sexual services" (Section 210), "having a bawdy house, a common bawdy house is a place kept, occupied or used by at least one person for the purposes of prostitution or indecent acts" (Section 211), and "being found in or an inmate of a bawdy house" (Sections 210 (2) and 211) are all crimes under the criminal code (Lowman, 1998). In terms of youth prostitution, "procuring or living on the avails of a person under 18 years of age" (Section 212(2)) and "attempting to purchase or purchasing sex from person under 18" (Section 212(4)) are prohibited (Lowman, 1997). Procuring and living off the profits of prostitution have a maximum sentence
of 10 years for adult prostitution and 14 years for youth prostitution. Keeping a bawdy house carries a maximum sentence of two years. Being found in or working in a bawdy house and communicating for the purpose of engaging in prostitution have a six month or $2,000 fine maximum sentence (Lowman, 1998).

In his 1998 article, Lowman outlines the process whereby the current prostitution laws and youth prostitution laws came into existence. He indicates that procurement and bawdy houses laws existed in the first criminal code. A law against vagrancy was also in effect and was established to address street prostitution. This vagrancy law was replaced in 1972 by the solicitation law, making "solicitation of any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution" (Lowman, 1998) illegal. The problem with this law was the vagueness of the term "soliciting". In a 1978 court decision, R vs. Hutt, determined that the solicitation had to be "pressing and persistent" (Lowman, 1998). Few if any cases of prostitution fell into this type of aggressive pursuit. As a result, the law was hardly ever enforced. These problems were believed, by police and the public, to have increased the street trade and there was a call for a change of law.

In response, the Fraser Committee was formed to investigate pornography and sex trade activities and opinions about these issues across Canada (Bittle, 2002; Lowman, 1998). Among the findings of the Committee were that street trade had increased before the R. vs. Hutt decision and was in part due to police closing of dance clubs, massage parlours, and other off street trade premises in Vancouver and Toronto. Sex trade workers from these venues then moved to the streets. The Committee recommended that laws against procurement and solicitation be kept, but that small scale bawdy houses with one or two prostitutes, be legalized. According to Lowman (1998), some municipalities had already been licensing off street prostitution locations. Making youth prostitution illegal and having those procuring youth for prostitution criminally charged were also recommended. Further, the Committee suggested the need for the government to address the economic issues that led women to involvement in the sex trade (Bittle, 2002). These recommendations were not acted upon. Rather, in 1985, the solicitation law was replaced by the communication law (Lowman, 1998). The addition of this law meant that prostitution was not illegal, but any activities associated with prostitution such as communication, procuring, living off the profits and keeping a bawdy house were illegal (Bittle, 2002; Lowman, 1998).

The federal government commissioned research in a number of cities across Canada to determine if the new communication law was effective in reducing street prostitution. Unfortunately, in most sites the research did not begin until after the communication law had been enacted, precluding the collection of baseline data. However, some sites reported that there was no significant reduction in street trade.

According to Bittle (2002) this new law made it more likely that sex trade workers would be the ones caught for communication for the purposes of prostitution, as they were more vulnerable and less mobile (not able to drive away). This along with the difficulty in prosecuting those procuring services, because they had to be caught in the act, meant that more sex trade workers were being arrested that were johns. It was also believed that it would force workers to make transactions in more secluded areas, thus increasing their risk for assaults (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998). In addition, because the communication had
to occur quickly to avoid detection, sex trade workers did not have time to assess potentially dangerous situations or johns and thus were more vulnerable to violence.

During mid 1980’s the government and legal systems were also concerned about youth prostitution. This concern generated the formation of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (The Badgley Committee). Examination of these issues across the country, resulted in a number of recommendations. One was to make procurement of youth for the purposes of prostitution an indictable offence. The most controversial recommendation was to criminalize the act of prostitution so that sexually exploited youth could be apprehended for their own protection. This recommendation and the shift that occurred in the 1990’s, where youth exploited through prostitution became increasingly viewed as sexually exploited individuals rather than criminals, led to interventions intended to protect them from further abuse (Bittle, 2002). Youths who were charged with communication were often given probation (Duchesne, 1997).

Under the Child and Family Services Act, police and child protection workers can apprehend and detain children who are being abused, sexually exploited through prostitution or who are using drugs or alcohol. Some provinces have legislation specific to prostitution (e.g. Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act (PCHIP) in Alberta and Secure Care Act (SCA) in B.C.). Court orders for apprehension are typically necessary, except in cases where the child is in imminent danger of harm. However, the police will often apprehend and detain the youth even when danger is not imminent (Busby, 2003). Further, some have other types of mandatory actions such as compulsory medical assessment (i.e. PCHIP).

Whether these acts violate the rights of youth is currently being debated (Bittle, 2002; Busby, 2003). The necessity of protection is generally agreed upon, however the act of apprehension/arrest may be placing these youth at added danger when they are released. Sexually exploited youth may get beaten by their pimps for being out of circulation for any length of time. Further, these laws may simply drive youth sex trade workers deeper underground and make them more apprehensive about seeking help (Busby, 2003). Research with women who had experienced this type of detainment as youth, revealed that they were displeased with these types of laws (Gorkoff & Waters, 2003). The message sent is a mixed one: youth are victims of abuse, but they are the ones being arrested. It is meant as protection, but it is perceived as punishment. Further, it has been suggested that 72 hours in lock-up is insufficient time to try to encourage youth to leave the sex trade. Thus, the law falls short of its intention of trying to bring about positive change in the lives of these youth (Gorkoff & Waters, 2003).

In the past, the laws against prostitution have led to more arrests and sentencing of the sex trade workers rather than the johns (Bittle, 2002; Huges, 2004). This has been due to police decisions and judgements to arrest sex trade workers rather than johns and the laws that sometimes make it difficult to arrest johns. For example, Bill C-15 has been difficult to enforce because those procuring services must be caught in the act. However, by the 1990’s changes began occurring. Although there were still higher rates of arrest for sex trade workers, more johns were being arrested (Duchesne, 1997). There were also increased charging of pimps, but mostly pimps working on the street and with adult workers (Lowman, 1998). Currently many bawdy houses
are active as licensed strip clubs and escort agencies. The primary targets of enforcement is the street trade of adult prostitution. As some have pointed out (i.e. Lowman, 1997), this action targets the poor rather than the affluent who can afford off street locations. In terms of youth prostitution, prosecution of pimps and johns has been more difficult. Youth are reluctant to testify against potential customers or pimps who can abuse them more severely upon release, and they may be more intimidated by the court process (Lowman, 1998).

Although maximum sentences for offenders of the sexual exploitation of children have increased in some areas of Canada, the social conditions that make youth vulnerable to involvement in the sex trade have generally gone unaddressed. Both the Badgley and the Fraser reports failed to outline the social and economic situations that are faced by women and youth and that increase their risk for becoming exploited through prostitution. For example, the social conditions that socialize men and make them more likely to procure sexual services were not mentioned, nor were the fact that lack of marketable work skills and age (in the case of youth) limited women’s choices as to means of supporting themselves (Bittle, 2002; Lowman, 1998). The Child and Family Services Acts have also been seen as placing youth in the role of victim, which is disempowering and ignores the social and economic reasons that youth go into the sex trade (Pheterson, 1996). Some communities and neighbourhoods have tried to implement measures to reduce the problem themselves when they have felt that the justice system has not done so sufficiently. These methods have involved harassing and sometimes assaulting sexually exploited women which has only served to further harm the women, drive them into other neighbourhoods and not resolved the issues (Huges, 2004). Laws from countries like Sweden that enforce the arrest and charging of men who buy sex on the street have been found to lead to greater conviction of johns and a drop in sexual exploitation on the street (Huges, 2004). These laws target the issue at the level of demand and social attitudes.

Programming Needs and Initiatives

a. Programming Needs

i) Addressing Barriers

Both adults and youth within the sex trade require intervention programs that will help them address the issues that keep them in the trade. Individuals involved in the sex trade have revealed programming needs related to these issues. Because many sexually exploited youth begin this life by running away from a troubled home situation, counselling programs that address health and safety, personal trauma, and family problems have been identified as important components in intervention (Schissel & Fedec, 1999). Providing mental health services to help exiting sex trade workers deal with self esteem and psychological problems resulting from the stigma of their former work has also been suggested (Benoit & Millar, 2001).

Since a significant proportion of individuals turn to and remain in the sex trade due to a lack of education and skills, it has been suggested that employment training and education are important aspects of programming (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Lowman, 1997;
Powelson, 2004). Giving exiting sex trade workers access to employment opportunities that match individual skills and interests to specific jobs would enhance the chance at successful transition. Training in basic life and social skills are also required, as many experiential individuals have difficulty interacting with others and performing everyday life skills such as banking and shopping. (Benoit & Millar, 2001).

Because involvement in the sex trade and substance abuse co-occur with such frequency, many believe that treatment has to address both of these behaviours. Both counselling and practical help are required. For example, residential programs and treatment and counselling for STI (Sexually Transmitted Infections) should be part of this programming (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998). The problem with current models of substance abuse treatment are they are male models and females have a different patterns, antecedents, and consequences and thus require specialized treatment approaches (Abbot, 1994; Covington, 2001; Nelson-Zlupko, Dore, Kauffman, & Kaltenbach, 1996; Seshia, 2005). This is particularly so for sexually exploited women, whose gender and situational issues contribute to their addiction. Treatment needs to address how sexual exploitation and addictions feed into each other. In Easing the Path, Berry (2003) outlines the barriers and solutions to providing substance abuse treatment to women and youth who have been exploited through the sex trade. Major barriers consisted of waiting lists, a lack of experiential staff and staff that understand issues related to sexual exploitation, treatment models that do not address sexual exploitation, a lack of follow-up or long terms services, and employment and income assistance policies. Waiting lists were very frustrating and some women changed their minds about quitting while they awaited treatment. Employment and income assistance is not available while women are in treatment, making them vulnerable to re-entering the sex trade for survival. Further, many women had no child care while they were in treatment or feared their children would be removed if they went into treatment. Being in treatment with individuals who have not been sexually exploited was difficult for the women in the study (Berry, 2003; Seshia, 2005). They felt shame about talking about their life in the sex traded and there were times that men who had been johns were also in treatment or sometimes were the counsellors. This prohibited open and honest discussions about their substance use and in many cases led to the women quitting treatment programs.

Berry's (2003) study revealed the need for programming that accommodates the cyclic nature of the substance abuse recovery process and makes provisions for multiple stays in treatment. She also states the need to have specialized treatment for women who are sexually exploited where they can talk about sexual exploitation as part of the issue around substance use. A harm reduction model that took a gradual approach where substitution of hard drugs for milder drugs such as marijuana would be encouraged or tolerated rather than immediate abstinence was believed to be more helpful in the end than the enforcement of total and immediate abstinence.

Sexually exploited individuals across Canada have identified the general lack of services for youth, and particularly for adults in the sex trade (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Kingsley & Mark, 2000), and transgendered individuals (Seshia, 2005). Further, the programs that do exist often lack the flexibility in availability needed (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Powelson, 2004). Longer term programs (Kingsley & Mark, 2000) and more a more holistic
approach to programming (Rabinovitch & Strega, 2004) were seen as required to fully respond to the lengthy process of exiting successfully. Specialized programs for FAS/FAE individuals and making translators available for immigrants with language problems would enable service providers to reach a broader range of individuals in the trade. Second stage or transition housing for individuals who are in the process of transitioning out of the sex trade would provide a supervised and safe place to live while obtaining the services they need. It would provide the necessary bridge between obtaining the education and skills needed to obtain employment and full independence away from the street (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998; Lowman, 1997; Seshia, 2005). Currently in Manitoba there are two 6 bed transition houses for youth, but there are none for adults. Helping in establishing affordable housing in areas that are safe and drug free to decrease the temptation to go back to the street is required (Seshia, 2005).

ii) Harm Reduction Approach

Harm reduction is a health based philosophy that presents an alternative to the prohibition of unhealthy lifestyle behaviours. The alternative approach recognizes that some individuals will always be involved in risky behaviour and instead of abstention, encourages a selection of healthier, less harmful behaviours than those in which the person is currently engaged. A harm reduction approach to intervention has been suggested by most experiential youth and adults as well as by service providers. It is believed that support programs operate best when experiential individuals can access them on a voluntary basis, when there are no restricting time limits to program access, and there are few if any stringent rules, as change must be each person's decision, takes time and rules were often part of the situations that experiential individuals ran away from initially (Seshia, 2005). A Saskatchewan study on the correlates of youth sex trade involvement recommended that intervention strategies be available when the youth were ready to access them (no waiting lists), be non-legal as there is a distrust of the legal system, and be non-judgemental. Benoit and Millar (2001) also suggest that there be a continuum of services providing a range of resources to sex trade workers when they need it. Safe houses that were always open and that would provide a place to wash, rest and eat was seen as a beneficial type of program (Lowman, 1997; Seshia, 2005). A preference for programs that gave individuals more control over the types of services they could access and the times these could be accessed has been stated (Downe, 2003; Powelson, 2004). Other forms of harm reduction programs include services that provide condoms and needle exchanges.

Further, programs with experiential and non-judgemental staff and counsellors were perceived as more appropriate to the needs of sexually exploited youth and adults (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshia, 2005). There was a greater sense of comfort and less fear of being stigmatized with other experiential people. This may facilitate relationship building outside of the street, a factor associated with success in exiting. The Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998) identified the benefits of having special outreach programs with workers who are aware of issues related to the sex trade and who can help exiting workers make contact with other service agencies. It was believed this would help reduce workers fear of being stigmatized by service providers in various fields. Peer support within programming has also been suggested (Seshia, 2005).
iii) Prevention

In addition to intervention for individuals already involved in the sex trade, there is a need for prevention strategies that address antecedent conditions. These strategies could be directed at families who are in conflict and who are at high risk for child abuse (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998). Child abuse and other types of conflicts in the home have led youth to run away or be placed into care. Offering services to families and family members at risk would help some of these families to create healthier home environments for their children. Providing support groups for parents and caregivers whose children who are in the sex trade would help them cope and develop a healthier home life (McIntyre, 2002), and possibly prevent their other children from being sexually exploited. Providing counselling for children who have been physically or sexually abused may address social and emotional issues before they lead to more destructive behaviours such as leaving home and involvement in the sex trade (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998). Although there are various parenting programs within Winnipeg, the Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat (1996) found that services for families at risk were fragmented and inconsistent.

The Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat (1996) and the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998) suggested that one way to reduce involvement in the sex trade is to reduce supply and demand and one way to reduce supply was through prevention programs for youth and children. Given that some of the youth who are recruited into the sex trade are as young as 8 and most are younger than 15, it is important that prevention work be done early. Young children are vulnerable to persuasion and grooming and thus programs that would increase their awareness of these grooming techniques would be beneficial. Prevention could focus on children at high risk such as those who have been taken into care or are at risk for going into care (Tutty & Nixon, 2003). These programs should present the reality of sex trade. Experiential men and women could come in to talk about the reality of street life and work towards deglamourizing this type of life (McIntyre, 2002; Nixon & Tutty, 2003).

The Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998) further recommends the development of educational resources and awareness strategies that can be used by individuals working with youth in schools and communities. Community based programs that present individuals with a safe place to go in times of crisis and for recreation have been recommended by experiential youth (Kingsley & Mark, 2000) and by community committees (Provincial Steering Committee on Children Exploited Through Prostitution, 2000). These programs could work to increase self esteem in youth and provide them with trusted and supportive people with whom they could talk and engage in a variety of activities. The need for school based prevention programming for at risk children have also been identified. Education models that address issues of sexual exploitation, particularly for Aboriginal and inner city children have been suggested (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996; Provincial Steering Committee on Children and Youth Exploited Through Prostitution, 2000; Schissel & Fedec, 1999). Modification of existing programs such as the Youth Intervention Prevention Program (YIPP) to include content on sexual exploitation and be used as part of the health and social issues curriculum was suggested by the Provincial Steering Committee on Children and Youth
Exploited Through Prostitution (2000). Involvement of the Department of Education and Training was seen as important in this endeavour (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996).

Culturally relevant programs, particularly for areas where many of the youth in the sex trade are Aboriginal, have also been recommended (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, 1998; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996; Schissel & Fedec, 1999). A community approach, involving elders and experiential men and women has been suggested (Tutty & Nixon, 2003).

Taking a slightly larger perspective, Kingsley and Mark (2000) stated that solutions had to involve government, community, bands and tribal councils, national Aboriginal organizations, friendships centres, and the general public. This would allow for a systemic response to the issue of sexual exploitation of Aboriginal children. The Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998) and Seshia (2005) also suggested that public education identifying sexual exploitation of youth as child abuse would help to change public attitudes and the attitudes of the men procuring these youth for sexual purposes. Part of this initiative could be a more systematic evaluation of existing intervention and prevention programs and efforts to disseminate results and program information would help further the cause both in terms of increasing public education and supporting successful programs.

b. Program Response

The source of services for street involved individuals has been actively debated. Some proposed that individuals should have to enter a formalized, mandated system in order to receive assistance, whereas others feel that they should be able to access helping services without being required to enter this formal system. In Canada there is a continuum of services that range from those taking an abolitionist (e.g. secure care assistance approach) to services which offer a harm reduction approach, focusing on relationship building and accessibility to individuals in times of crisis and decision making.

More formalized programs are based in law and government mandate. Most programs for youth are based on these types of services. Provincial child welfare agents provide services such as in home treatment, supervision, temporary care, and crown wardship to children requiring protection from dangerous home-life situations and from life on the street. Further, most government funded programs are aimed at assisting youth in exiting the street as soon as possible. Thus, youth who are not yet able to contemplate exit may not receive the support services they need at present. Longer-term, supportive services to help develop attitudes and skills to enable exit at a future date may be less likely to be funded. (Lowman, 1998; RESOLVE Manitoba, 2000). Most of the individuals who have had contact with these agents have expressed dissatisfaction with these services (Gorkoff & Waters, 2003; Leslie & Hare, 2000; Raychaba, 1993). They indicated a lack of personalized care and knowledge of individual situations, overly structured routines, judgemental attitudes, insufficient financial support, and physical and sexual abuse. Many felt that their sense of choice, control and independence was denied by the child welfare system and its workers. Many of these youth were so dissatisfied
and frustrated they ran away from this provincial care and avoided contact with them again (Gorkoff & Waters, 2003). Further, although provincially based care is intended to protect or save youth from dangerous and exploitive situations, they have few services to assist youth 16 to 18 years of age (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996).

The Manitoba provincial government has responded to the problem of sexual exploitation of youth by forming the Multi-jurisdictional Implementation Team. Team members represent government departments such as the Department of Education and Status of Women, community agencies such as New Directions, experiential individuals, and researchers such as RESOLVE. The mandate of the Team is to respond to the issue of youth sexually exploited through prostitution through introducing prevention measures with children and youth at risk of exploitation and with individuals at risk for becoming offenders. The team is also responsive to the needs of youth being exploited through prostitution by supporting and promoting intervention programs. It is also promoting and providing guidance towards the evaluation of these programs.

Many of the independent agencies have a harm reduction approach to programming for individuals involved in the sex trade. This approach is focused on helping those sexually exploited through prostitution in whatever capacity they require and are willing to take. There are no coercive messages and programming is not conditional on leaving the sex trade. Rather, their intent is to help individuals live safety on the street, help those who do want to exit and always provide them with a choice and respect for that choice. Both youth and adults tend to prefer this type of programming and respond positively to these resources. They indicated appreciation of services where they could obtain food, shelter, and showers and program workers who were non-judgemental, open, supportive, and experiential (Erikson, et al., 2000; Gorkoff & Waters, 2003). Programs such as PEERS provide this type of a harm reduction approach (Rabinovitch & Strega, 2004). Most of these services, however, are for adult sex trade workers. Youth and service providers feel that there are not enough harm reduction programs for youth. Further there are few long-term assistance programs to guide the transition process for either youth (McIntyre, 2002).

Programs that have been successful in assisting individuals to exit the sex trade have dealt with issues of childhood abuse, have worked to build a relationship with these individuals, and they are based on respect and unconditional regard. These programs also give the individuals the control over how they transition out of the sex trade; they take their lead from the individuals themselves. Thus, they are responsive to the population they serve. These types of programs are much preferred by individuals attempting to leave the sex trade.

Programs that contain components that are favoured by adults and youth exiting the sex trade, like harm reduction, are infrequent and their funding is often tenuous (Gorkoff & Waters, 2003). Part of the problem is that these programs stem from demonstration or pilot projects whose funding is not renewed once the project is complete. Even established programs continue to face the discontinuation of funding. Funders often rely on having a certain number of clients served and evidence of a particular degree of success. The problem often lies in the nature of the population and the process of exiting. As indicated in the above review, individuals often leave and return to the streets a number of times before they exit for good. Further, the more
successful programs often have small numbers of clients in order to provide a small client/support worker ratio. This small ratio offers the opportunity for specialized service, attention to individual needs and issues and the establishment of trust between client and service provider, all essential components for helping individuals comfortably leave the sex trade. Indications of success over time would require longitudinal evidence of the change that individuals have made in their lives, unfortunately there are few funds available to track these long term successes.

Funders are often concerned with the cost of the program in comparison with the number of individuals who leave the trade. There are a variety of negative impacts on the community and society due to sexual exploitation. The streets are unsafe as they become littered with used condoms, used syringes and the other detritus of the sex trade. Johns may approach women and young girls living in the area and sexual encounters may begin to occur within sight of children and others living in the area. Health care system costs come from services related to violence, disease and addictions (Hughes, 2004). Legal system and social assistance costs also are incurred in relation to the sex trade. The level of cost effectiveness of programs that help youth and women to exit the sex trade can be informed by an economic cost study completed in 2005 for a sexual exploitation prevention program for Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg.

The Personal, Fiscal, and Societal Costs of Sexual Exploitation

In 2004 Linda DeRiviere from the University of Manitoba conducted an economic cost study of sexual exploitation to determine personal, fiscal and societal costs. In depth interviews with eight women covered utilization of health care and social services, contact with the justice system, experiences of violence, treatment for addictions, earnings, education, and employment activities both during their involvement in the sex trade and after transitioning out of the trade. In addition, briefer interviews requesting information on income, education, training, labour market activities, disabilities, health issues and academic and work aspirations were conducted with 54 women.

Many of the women interviewed had previously accessed services at TERF and thus their demographics are similar to the women in the TERF adult program. The average age was 30 years, 90% were Aboriginal, and 19% identified as transgendered. Grade 8 was the average education level achieved and 25% had received some vocational training. Most of the women were single, separated, divorced with no children living with them (63%). A total of 103 children had been born to the 62 women and 21 of the dependent children were currently living with their mothers.

The statistics on these women's involvement in the sex trade correspond with the literature findings. The average age at entry was 16.2 years with a mean of 10 years in the sex trade. At the time of the interview the average amount of time since leaving the sex trade was 4 years. Most had been brought into the sex trade through family and friends (76%); 26% became involved due to homelessness after leaving their family or other care situations; 26% became involved due to financial need; 12% could not find a job that would provide them with sufficient
income to survive; 25% used the sex trade to finance drug habits or debts; 11% listed other reasons such as rebelling against parents, personal power and status in their peer group, gambling debts, and material desires. The majority of the women (53%) were causal nonaddicted drug users and 15% had not used drugs or alcohol before they became involved in the sex trade. One third had developed alcohol or drug addictions before their involvement in the sex trade and reported switching from alcohol and marijuana to harder drugs such as cocaine, crystal meth, acid, heroine and solvents after their exploitation.

At the time of the interview 27% of the 62 women were employed at an average hourly wage of $8.77. Most of their working years since age 18 (66% of adult working years) they were on income assistance. Twenty three percent had a disability that prevented them from participating in the work force and another 34% had work limitations other than long term disabilities.

The personal cost of being in the sex trade was considerable. Over their life time the net personal cost was $173,788 per individual. While in the sex trade direct costs included earnings given to boyfriends/pimps/escort agencies (37% of earnings), alcohol and drugs (41% of earnings), involvement with the justice system and medical costs (7% of earnings). Although the women reported earning about $27,000 per year from the sex trade, they only kept about 10% of these earnings, reflecting other literature findings that individuals do not gain financial independence from the sex trade. Indirect costs come from lost earnings due to the time they are involved in the justice system, lost labour market training and opportunity resulting from non-participation in the market, and from time in drug and alcohol treatment programs. Other intangible costs come from psychological harm, physical pain, lost personal time with children, family and friends, and productivity lost due to low self esteem. Many individuals reported that they did not go to health facilities after a violent episode with a john or pimp, establishing potential life long health issues. This finding again corroborates the literature stating that individuals' fear of being stigmatized because of their involvement in the sex trade and fear that medical and social service agencies will call child welfare often keep them from accessing these services. Lifelong personal costs came from mental health costs for counselling and medical care, prescription drugs, dental costs (dental problems due to drug use), the cost of addictions and/or treatment for addictions, and lost earnings from work absences and fewer promotions and salary increases. Intangible lifelong costs came from unstable relationships, costs to their families, lower quality of life, living with social stigma, and lost productivity due to low self esteem.

The fiscal costs totalled $467,343 per person. These governmental costs were associated with utilization of the criminal justice system services, social and medical services, and addictions treatment both during involvement in the sex trade and lifelong costs following their transition out of the trade. These costs are often incurred due to the violence experienced by women in the sex trade. In DeRiviere's sample, 88% of the women had costs related to experiences of violence while in the sex trade. For example 75% required at least one hospitalization. However, as was reported in the literature, in most instances of violence the women did not seek medical attention due to fear that their children would be apprehended or because of the shame and stigma of being in the sex trade. Again, as indicated by the literature, many women reported addictions (76%) and few had contracted HIV (5%), however 29% had contracted Hepatitis C. A total of 132
charges were brought against the women while they were in the sex trade, incurring costs for lawyers, court, remand, and probation. CFS services were also involved in fiscal costs. Two of the women had been brought to CFS as children and of the 99 children born to 31 of the women, 79 were in care. Income assistance, counselling, shelter, and parenting training were among the other social services used by the women.

Societal costs were estimated at $446,026 per person. These costs included the time put in by volunteers at non-profit organizations accessed by the women such as food banks, Alcoholics and Narcotics Anonymous and volunteer agency board members. Once the women had left the trade they themselves sometimes volunteered at agencies such as TERF to help other youth and women like themselves.

What this report indicates is that there is considerable costs that come from women and youth being involved in the sex trade. Although there are also costs from transitioning out of the trade, the less time women spend in the sex trade and the more assistance they can get during the transition period the fewer the costs will be and the more likely they will be to become financially independent. The TERF program works towards these goals.

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Appendix 3

Interview Schedules
Questions for Current Youth Program Participants

Demographics

1. Age ____________________

2. Current or highest grade completed? ______________________________________

3. Are you currently going to school?
   b. If yes, what grade/or program are you attending ______________________

Program Involvement

4. When did you first enroll as a participant in the program?

5. Were you on a waiting list before you were enrolled in the program?
   a. If yes, how long did you have to wait to get into the program?
   b. Did you receive some programming or assistance while you were waiting?

6. Have you been enrolled in the program more than once?
   a. If yes how many times?
   b. What were some of the reasons you left the program?
   c. What were some of the reasons you came back to the program?

7. Are you involved in other New Directions programs, if yes, which ones and when did you become involved in them?

8. Have you experienced any interruptions in your program at TERF? And if so please indicate which of the following were among the reasons for these interruptions:
   ______ pregnancy
   ______ health issues
   ______ return to the street
   ______ incarceration/arrest
   ______ (other, please specify) ______________________________________________

9. If you experienced interruptions, what brought you back to TERF?
History

10. Were any of your family members in residential school?
   1. Yes  2. No

11. Are you in care of child welfare (CFS)?
   1. Yes  2. No

   a. If so, how many in-care placements ______________________

12. Do you have children of your own?
   1. Yes  2. No

13. If yes, how many? __________

14. Are they in your care?
   1. Yes  2. No

15. How old were you when you first encountered sexual exploitation? ________

   b. How did you get involved?

16. What is the length of time you were involved? __________

17. Did you experience violence (such as being beaten up) during the time you were being sexually exploited through the sex trade?

18. Did you experience abuse and/or violence in the home (s) you grew up in?

19. Was alcohol and/or drug addiction a problem in the home (s) you grew up in?

20. Has alcohol and/or drug addiction ever been a problem for you?
    1. Yes, it is still a problem
    2. Yes, it has been a problem in the past
    3. No

   a. If yes, have you ever been treated for addictions?
      1. Yes - how many times? ______________
      2. No
Perceptions of the Program

21. Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements or not, as indicated by the following scale:

1   2   3   4   5
strongly disagree neither agree nor strongly agree disagree agree

a. I was welcomed and made to feel comfortable when I arrived at this program
b. I was spoken to in my first language.
c. I was spoken to in a kind and gentle manner
d. I feel comfortable with the staff in this program
e. I believe this program is interested in me and my family’s problems.
f. I get along with the staff in the program
g. I find the staff helpful
h. I believe the program staff understand my problems
i. I feel the staff who take care of me are sincere and treat me fairly
j. I believe the program staff are interested in me and my family’s cultural background
k. The program staff show respect for me.
l. I believe that the staff who work with me try to provide good service to all the people in this program
m. There are several staff who are of my race/ethnic background.

22. Think about some of the effects the program has had on your life. Please indicate the degree to which you feel the following effects have happened for you, using the following scale:

1   2   3   4   5
strongly disagree neither agree nor strongly agree disagree agree

a. Since I started this program I am learning to think about goals for myself
b. I feel I am already starting to achieve some of my goals
c. I feel I have changed since I came here.
d. The program has reduced my use of alcohol and/or marijuana.
e. The program has reduced by use of hard drugs like cocaine and amphetamines.
f. My school performance has improved since being in the program.
g. I have a more positive attitude about school since being in the program.
h. I have used things I learned in the program in my everyday life
i. I am more confident since being in the program.
j. I am more hopeful and positive about my future since being in the program.
k. I feel I have more control over my life since being in the program.
l. I feel better about myself since being in the program.
m. I feel more independent since being in the program.
n. I feel less alone since being in the program.
o. I am making better choices for myself since being in the program.
p. I have healthier relationships with others since being in the program.
q. I am more satisfied with my relationships with others since being in the program.
r. My life is better now than before I came to the program.

23. Has the program improved your physical health?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

24. Has the program improved your emotional wellbeing?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

25. Has the program improved your spiritual wellbeing?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

26. Has the program changed your attitude in any way?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

27. Has the program changed your behaviour in any way?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

28. What are the most helpful parts of the program?

29. What are some of the least helpful parts the program?

30. What type of realistic changes could make this program better?

31. Is there anything else you would like to add, to help us better understand the TERF program?
Questions for Current Adult Program Participants

Demographics

1. Age ____________________________

2. Current or highest grade completed? ________________________________

3. Are you currently working?
   b. If yes, what type of work ______________________

Program Involvement

4. When did you first enroll as a participant in the program?

5. Were you on a waiting list before you were enrolled in the program?
   a. If yes, how long did you have to wait to get into the program?
   b. Did you receive some programming or assistance while you were waiting?

6. Have you been enrolled in the program more than once?
   a. If yes how many times?
   b. What were some of the reasons you left the program?
   c. What were some of the reasons you came back to the program?

7. Are you involved in other New Directions programs, if yes, which ones and when did you become involved in them?

8. Have you experienced any interruptions in your program at TERF? And if so please indicate which of the following were among the reasons for these interruptions:
   ______ pregnancy
   ______ health issues
   ______ return to the street
   ______ incarceration/arrest
   ______ (other, please specify) _____________________________________________

9. If you experienced interruptions, what brought you back to TERF?
History

10. Were any of your family members in residential school?
   1. Yes  2. No

11. Were you in care of child welfare (CFS)?
   1. Yes  2. No

   a. If so, how many in-care placements ________________

12. Do you have children of your own?
   1. Yes  2. No

13. If yes, how many? __________

14. Are they in your care?
   1. Yes  2. No

15. How old were you when you first encountered sexual exploitation? _______

   a. How did you get involved?

16. What is the length of time you were involved? __________

17. Did you experience violence (such as being beaten up) during the time you were being sexually exploited through the sex trade?

18. Did you experience abuse and/or violence in the home (s) you grew up in?

19. Was alcohol and/or drug addiction a problem in the home (s) you grew up in?

20. Has alcohol and/or drug addiction ever been a problem for you?
   1. Yes, it is still a problem
   2. Yes, it has been a problem in the past
   3. No

   a. If yes, have you ever been treated for addictions?
      1. Yes - how many times? ________________
      2. No
Perceptions of the Program

21. Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements or not, as indicated by the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>agree nor</td>
<td>strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. I was welcomed and made to feel comfortable when I arrived at this program
b. I was spoken to in my first language.
c. I was spoken to in a kind and gentle manner
d. I feel comfortable with the staff in this program
e. I believe this program is interested in me and my family’s problems.
f. I get along with the staff in the program
g. I find the staff helpful
h. I believe the program staff understand my problems
i. I feel the staff who take care of me are sincere and treat me fairly
j. I believe the program staff are interested in me and my family’s cultural background
k. The program staff show respect for me.
l. I believe that the staff who work with me try to provide good service to all the people in this program
m. There are several staff who are of my race/ethnic background.
n. In this program I have people I can talk to about my cultural identity.
o. I am receiving culturally appropriate supports and services.
p. It is important to me that there be a cultural aspect to this program
q. I am comfortable and satisfied with how this program is going for me
r. I am satisfied with the program.
s. I would recommend this program to other women like myself.

22. Think about some of the effects the program has had on your life. Please indicate the degree to which you feel the following effects have happened for you, using the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>agree nor</td>
<td>strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

a. Since I started this program I am learning to think about goals for myself
b. I feel I am already starting to achieve some of my goals
c. I feel I have changed since I came here.
d. The program has reduced my use of alcohol and/or marijuana.
e. The program has reduced by use of hard drugs like cocaine and amphetamines.
f. My job performance has improved since being in the program.
g. I have a more positive attitude about my job since being in the program.
h. I have used things I learned in the program in my everyday life
i. I am more confident since being in the program.
j. I am more hopeful and positive about my future since being in the program.
k. I feel I have more control over my life since being in the program.
l. I feel better about myself since being in the program.
m. I feel more independent since being in the program.
n. I feel less alone since being in the program.
o. I am making better choices for myself since being in the program.
p. I have healthier relationships with others since being in the program.
q. I am more satisfied with my relationships with others since being in the program.
r. My life is better now than before I came to the program.

23. Has the program improved your physical health?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
a. If yes, how so?

24. Has the program improved your emotional wellbeing?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
a. If yes, how so?

25. Has the program improved your spiritual wellbeing?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
a. If yes, how so?

26. Has the program changed your attitude in any way?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
a. If yes, how so?

27. Has the program changed your behaviour in any way?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
a. If yes, how so?

28. What are the most helpful parts of the program?

29. What are some of the least helpful parts the program?

30. What type of realistic changes could make this program better?

31. Is there anything else you would like to add, to help us better understand the TERF program?
Questions for Youth Program Graduates

1. What year did you start in the program?

2. What year did you graduate?

3. How old were you at the time?

4. Have you been involved in other New Directions Programs, if yes which ones? And when?

5. How long had you felt exploited (i.e. exchanged sex for food, clothes, shelter, and/or money) when you came to TERF?

6. What do you think were the greatest challenges you were confronting when you joined TERF?

7. Did the program staff help you deal with these challenges? How?

8. Looking back at the time when you first enrolled in TERF, how mature do you think you were? Was that one of your challenges?

9. What strengths did you have when you joined TERF? Did the staff recognize these? Did they help you build on them? How?

10. Did you experience any interruptions in your program at TERF? (if No skip to 12) E.g. pregnancy, health issues, return to the street, incarceration etc.

11. If you experienced interruptions how did the program handle it?

12. What brought you back to TERF?

13. Did you feel that your culture was respected in the program? How important was culture to you?

14. If important, how did the program demonstrate respect for your culture, and how helpful was this?

15. After you graduated did you keep in touch with the program and/or the staff? (if NO skip to #15)
   A.) What type of contact did you have?
   B) Were you continuing to receive either formal or informal support?
   C) How long did you continue this connection?
   D) How important was this continued connection to your well being?
   E) Over time have you noticed changes in the program? If so What have they been?
16. Are there changes in your life you can attribute to the program (prompts: physical, emotional, spiritual, attitudes, behaviours).

17. What is the overall value of the program to:
   a) Participants
   b) The community

18. What type of realistic changes could make this program better?

19. Is there anything else you would like to add, to help us better understand the TERF program?
Questions for Adult Program Graduates

1. What year were you enrolled in the program?

2. What year did you graduate from TERF?

3. Have you been involved in other New Directions programs, if yes, which ones? and when?

4. How long had you felt exploited (i.e. exchanged sex for food, clothes, shelter, and/or money) when you came to TERF?

5. What do you think were the greatest challenges you were confronting when you joined TERF?

6. Did the program staff help you deal with these challenges? How?

7. Looking back at the time when you first enrolled in TERF, how realistic do you think you were about the transition process? Was that one of your challenges?

8. What strengths did you have when you joined TERF? Did the staff recognize these? Did they help you build on them? How?

9. Did you experience any interruptions in your program at TERF? (if No skip to 12) E.g. pregnancy, health issues, return to the street, incarceration etc.

10. If you experienced interruptions how did the program handle it?

11. What brought you back to TERF?

12. Did you feel that your culture was respected in the program? How important was culture to you?

13. If important, how did the program demonstrate respect for your culture, and how helpful was this?

14. After you graduated did you keep in touch with the program and/or the staff? (if NO skip to #15)
   A.) What type of contact did you have?
   B) Were you continuing to receive either formal or informal support?
   C) How long did you continue this connection?
   D) How important was this continued connection to your well being?
   E) Over time have you noticed changes in the program? If so What have they been?
15. Are there changes in your life you can attribute to the program (prompts: physical, emotional, spiritual, attitudes, behaviours).

16. What is the overall value of the program to:
   a) Participants
   b) The community

17. What type of realistic changes could make this program better?

18. Is there anything else you would like to add, to help us better understand the TERF program?
Questions for Staff of the Youth Program

Background

1. How long have you worked in the youth program? ____________

2. Have you ever worked in any of the other TERF programs?
   a. If so, please list the positions you have held at TERF.

3. What type of work does your current job entail?

4. How many hours a week do you work? ____________

5. Where did you work before you worked at TERF? __________________________

Program Description

6. How long is the youth program (assuming no interruptions)?

7. What is the goal of the youth program?

8. What are some of the major challenges you face in achieving the goals of your program?

9. What are some of the major successes of your program?

10. What are the major components of the youth program?
    a. Could you describe the cultural components of the program?

11. How does the youth program fit in or work with the other TERF programs such as the adult program?

12. What is the major philosophy or approach of your program?

13. Do you work within a “Harm Reduction“ model?
    a. If so, how and why
    b. If not, what is your framework – how and why?

14. How does the program fit in or work with other New Directions Programs?

15. Do the youth in your program access other New Directions Programs?
Program Participants

16. What are some of the major challenges faced by the youth that enter the program?

17. What types of developmental challenges are present in these youth? (social development, cognitive development; emotional development; level of maturity)

18. How do these challenges shape the program, its structure, and its delivery?

19. Have these challenges changed over time?

20. What are the characteristics of the youth who drop out of the program and never return?
   a. How many of them return to the sex trade?
   a. What factors do you think influence their leaving the program?

21. How many times do youth leave and then return to the program?

22. What brings them back to TERF?

23. How does the program work to accommodate this pattern of leaving and returning?
   a. Please provide some examples

24. Please describe the range of length of time participants stay engaged in the program, both formally and informally. Please describe the nature of the informal connection.

Program Impact

For questions 25 to 32, please answer the questions thinking about individuals have been in the program for 6 months or more.

25. Please indicate how much you agree with each of the statements below using the following scale:

   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree disagree neither agree nor agree strongly disagree
   disagree agree

   a. I feel our services meet participant’s needs
   b. Participants and staff are comfortable with each other
   c. The participants respect the staff and the work they do
   d. Program activities are helpful to participants
   e. There are cultural aspects to the program
f. The program allows the participants to explore their cultural identity.
g. There are culturally appropriate supports and services for participants.
j. The cultural components are important to the participants.
k. The program has changed the lives of the participants.
l. The staff and participants get along well with each other.
m. Participants come to the staff for help.
n. The staff works to understand the problems and issues of each participant.
o. The program helps participants set goals.
p. The program helps participants work towards their goals.
q. The participants trust the staff.
r. The program has multicultural staff.
s. The program has bilingual or multilingual staff.
t. We try to help the participant’s families as well as themselves.
u. Participants have confidence in the staff to help them with their issues.
v. I am satisfied with the program.

26. Has the program improved the physical health of the participants?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

27. Has the program improved the emotional wellbeing of the participants?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

28. Has the program improved the spiritual wellbeing of the participants?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

29. Has the program changed the attitudes of the participants?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

30. Has the program changed the behaviour of the participants?
   _____ Yes   _____ No   _____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?
31. Think about the program participants you have had in the past year. Please indicate the degree to which you have observed improvements in the following areas with the participants you have worked with using the following scale:

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no improvement</td>
<td>very little improvement</td>
<td>some improvement</td>
<td>quite a bit of improvement</td>
<td>a large amount of improvement</td>
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a. Reduce their use of alcohol or drugs  
b. Improve their school work/grades/employed work  
c. Gain confidence  
d. A sense of helpfulness and positive outlook  
e. A sense of control over their lives  
f. A sense of isolation  
g. The types of choices they make for themselves  
h. Setting realistic goals  
i. Achieving some of their goals  
j. Sense of independence  
k. Sense of isolation  
l. Self concept/self esteem  
m. The relationships they have with others.

32. Have there been any changes for the worse? Please explain.

33. What is the overall value of the program to:  
a) participants  
b) community

**Future Considerations**

34. What do you see as the key developments in your program in the next five years?

35. If you had additional resources, what would your top three priorities be?
Questions for the Staff of the Adult Program

Background

1. How long have you worked in the adult program? ________________

2. Have you ever worked in any of the other TERF programs?
   a. If so, please list the positions you have held at TERF.

3. What type of work does your current job entail?

4. How many hours a week do you work? ________________

5. Where did you work before you worked at TERF? __________________________

Program Description

6. How long is the adult program?

7. What is the goal of the adult program?

8. What are some of the major challenges you face in achieving the goals of your program?

9. What are some of the major successes of your program?

10. What are the major components of the adult program?
   a. Could you describe the cultural components of the program?

11. How does the adult program fit in or work with the other TERF programs such as the youth program?

12. What is the major philosophy or approach of your program?

13. Do you work within a “Harm Reduction” model?
   a. If so, how and why
   b. If not, what is your framework – how and why?

14. How does this program fit in or work with other New Directions programs?

15. Do the women in your program access other New Directions programs?
**Program Participants**

16. What are some of the major challenges faced by the adults that enter the program?

17. How do these challenges shape the program, its structure, and its delivery?

18. Have these challenges changed over time?

19. What are the characteristics of the adults who drop out of the program and never return?
   a. How many of them return to the sex trade?
   a. What factors do you think influence their leaving the program?

20. How many times do adults leave and then return to the program?

21. What brings them back to TERF?

22. How does the program work to accommodate this pattern of leaving and returning?
   a. Please provide some examples

23. Please describe the range of length of time participants stay engaged in the program, both formally and informally. Please describe the nature of the informal connection.

**Program Impact**

For questions 24 to 31, please answer the questions thinking about individuals have been in the program for 6 months or more.

24. Please indicate how much you agree with each of the statements below using the following scale:

   1 strongly disagree   2 disagree   3 neither agree nor disagree   4 agree   5 strongly agree

   a. I feel our services meet participant’s needs
   b. Participants and staff are comfortable with each other
   c. The participants respect the staff and the work they do
   d. Program activities are helpful to participants
   e. There are cultural aspects to the program
   f. The program allows the participants to explore their cultural identity.
   g. There are culturally appropriate supports and services for participants.
   j. The cultural components are important to the participants.
k. The program has changed the lives of the participants
l. The staff and participants get along well with each other
m. Participants come to the staff for help.

n. The staff works to understand the problems and issues of each participant
o. The program helps participants set goals
p. The program helps participants work towards their goals
q. The participants trust the staff
r. The program has multicultural staff
s. The program has bilingual or multilingual staff.
t. We try to help the participant’s families as well as themselves.
u. Participants have confidence in the staff to help them with their issues.
v. I am satisfied with the program.

25. Has the program improved the physical health of the participants?
   ____ Yes  ____ No  ____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

26. Has the program improved the emotional wellbeing of the participants?
   ____ Yes  ____ No  ____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

27. Has the program improved the spiritual wellbeing of the participants?
   ____ Yes  ____ No  ____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

28. Has the program changed the attitudes of the participants?
   ____ Yes  ____ No  ____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?

29. Has the program changed the behaviour of the participants?
   ____ Yes  ____ No  ____ Don’t Know
   a. If yes, how so?
30. Think about the program participants you have had in the past year. Please indicate the degree to which you have observed improvements in the following areas with the participants you have worked with using the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no improvement</td>
<td>very little improvement</td>
<td>some improvement</td>
<td>quite a bit of improvement</td>
<td>a large amount of improvement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Reduce their use of alcohol or drugs  
b. Improve their school work/grades/employed work  
c. Gain confidence  
d. A sense of hopefulness and positive outlook  
e. A sense of control over their lives  
f. A sense of isolation  
g. The types of choices they make for themselves  
h. Setting realistic goals  
i. Achieving some of their goals  
j. Sense of independence  
k. Sense of isolation  
l. Self concept/self esteem  
m. The relationships they have with others.

31. Have there been any changes for the worse?  
   Please explain.

32. What is the overall value of the program to:  
   c) participants  
   d) community

**Future Considerations**

33. What do you see as the key developments in your program in the next five years?

34. If you had additional resources, what would your top three priorities be?
Questions for Program Administrative Staff

Background

1. What is your current position?
2. Where does that fit in the hierarchy of the organization?
3. How long have you been in this position?
4. What did you do before this position?
5. Could you describe the major areas of responsibility you have in your current position?

Program Description

6. What are the major program components and what year were they implemented?
7. Are you involved in both the youth and the adult program? 
   (If no skip to #10)
8. What are the similarities in both programs?
9. What are the major differences between the adult and youth programs?
10. What is/are the major goals of your program/s?
11. What are some of the major internal (nonfunding) challenges you face in achieving the goals of your program (Adult and youth)
12. What are some the major internal (nonfunding) successes of your program.
13. What is the major philosophy or approach of your program/s? (Adult and Youth)
12. Do you work within a “Harm Reduction” model? 
   a) If yes, how and why
   b) If no, what is your framework - how and why
13. Could you describe the cultural components of your program/s?
**Program Participants**

14. What are the major challenges your participants face when they enter the program? (Adult and youth)
15. How have these challenges shaped your program? (Adult and youth)
16. Have these challenges changed over time? (Adult and youth)
17. What are some of the success stories of your program participants? (Adult and youth)
18. How have these success stories shaped your program? (Adult and youth)
19. Have these success patterns changed over time? (Adult and youth)
20. Please describe the range of length of time participants stay engaged in the program, both formally and informally. (Adult and youth) Please describe the nature of the informal connection.
21. Do participants drop out and return to the sex trade, what factors do you think influenced their leaving the program.

**Staff**

22. Could you describe your recruitment process for staff and specifically what you look for in staff?
23. This is a demanding job, how do you:
   a) support staff?
   b) prevent and/or deal with burn out?
   c) handle movement of staff if it isn’t working out?
24. Could you describe staff turnover?
25. Could you describe staff mobility, i.e. opportunities to move up in responsibilities and rewards?
26. Do you have a sense of staff commitment and job satisfaction? How do you measure that?
Service Environment

27. Could you describe the history of this program and how it has changed over time?

28. How does your program “fit” into your agency?

29. How would you rate the support you and your program receives from your agency.

30. How does your program “fit” into the service continuum for the individuals you serve?

31. How would you rate the support you and your program receive from other agencies within the service continuum.
   E.g. Police, probations, prosecutions, corrections, and other collateral agencies, e.g.
   Sage House, Salvation Army etc.

32. What range or number of funders have supported your programs in the past 5 years?

33. How would you rate the level of support you receive from your funders?

34. What is your primary source of funding? What percentage?

35. How do you use secondary sources of funding?
   (e.g. new initiatives, bridge funding, emergency funding, ongoing program enhancement,)

36. What do you see as the major structural/institutional challenges facing your program?

Future Considerations

37. How do you see the service environment for sexually exploited youth and women evolving in the next five years?

38. What do you see as the key developments in your program in the next five years?

39. If you had additional resources what would your top three priorities be?
Questions for Collateral Agencies

1. Name of Agency ___________________

2. What type of contact do you have with the people from the TERF program?
   _____ Work concurrently with youth participants       _____ number of participants in 1 year
   _____ Work concurrently with adult participants       _____ number of participants in 1 year
   _____ Refer youth participants to TERF            _____ number of participants in 1 year
   _____ Refer adult participants to TERF            _____ number of participants in 1 year

3. How long has you/your agency worked with/referred to TERF?

4. Over the years have you noticed changes in the TERF program?
   _____ Yes       _____ No
   a. If so, what have they been?
   b. What impact have these changes had for participants?
   c. What impact have these changes had for TERF’s work with community agencies like yours?

5. Are you satisfied with the referral/concurrent work experience?
   _____ Yes       _____ No
   a. Why or Why not?

6. Do participants get services in a timely manner?
   a. Is there a waiting list? Yes ____  No ____
   b. If so, how long do your participants usually have to wait to get in? ________________

7. Please indicate how much you agree with each of the statements below using the following scale:

   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  neither agree strongly agree

   a. There is a cooperative relationship between my agency and TERF. ______
      Please explain.

   b. I get feedback about participants in a timely manner. _____
      Please explain.
c. TERF offers a wide range of services.  
   Please explain  

   _____

d. TERF services are high quality.  
   Please explain  

   _____

e. I will continue to work with TERF.  
   Please explain  

   _____

8. Has the program improved the physical health of the participants?  
   _____ Yes  _____ No  _____ Don’t Know  
   a. If yes, how so?  

9. Has the program improved the emotional wellbeing of the participants?  
   _____ Yes  _____ No  _____ Don’t Know  
   a. If yes, how so?  

10. Has the program improved the spiritual wellbeing of the participants?  
    _____ Yes  _____ No  _____ Don’t Know  
    a. If yes, how so?  

11. Has the program changed the attitudes of the participants?  
    _____ Yes  _____ No  _____ Don’t Know  
    a. If yes, how so?  

12. Has the program changed the behaviour of the participants?  
    _____ Yes  _____ No  _____ Don’t Know  
    a. If yes, how so?  

13. What is the overall value of the program to  
    a. Participants  
    b. The community  

14. What are the TERF program’s strengths?  

15. What are some of the problems with the program?  

16. How do you think the services could be improved?