

**DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL WOMEN
ENGAGED IN STREET PROSTITUTION IN SUDBURY**

by

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Abstract

This study identifies differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury, Ontario using an Indigenous Research Paradigm. A sample of twelve women engaged in street prostitution were interviewed using the Prostitution Questionnaire developed by Dr. Melissa Farley of Prostitution Research & Education.

Additional questions of regional and cultural relevance were added. A comparison group of nine marginalized women without experience in prostitution was also interviewed with an abbreviated interview tool. The results indicated that Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution differed from non-Aboriginal women in the following areas: stronger desire for the legalization of prostitution, more experience with discrimination, more physical assaults, higher alcohol consumption, more criticism from others about alcohol consumption, stronger desire to reduce alcohol consumption, more prolonged substance use, stronger desire for treatment of substance use, family with residential school experience, more interest in deepening cultural connections, more active within their faith, greater contact with family and more trusting relationships. Like Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution, Aboriginal women with hardships differed from non-Aboriginal women with hardships in their family experience with residential schools, in being more active within their faith and having greater contact with family. Furthermore, Aboriginal women with hardships also had more family and friends living in a First Nations community, had lived in a First Nations community at some point and had more knowledge of Aboriginal teachings. Additional results outside of identified differences were also included to help define the local populations. The findings, in relation to Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution, are discussed within the context of historical antecedents, community development and political policies.

Keywords

prostitution, sex work, Aboriginal, colonization, Sudbury, substance use, women, hardships

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Glossary of Terms

Aboriginal: Indian, Inuit and Métis people of Canada [Constitution Act, 1867, Section 35(2)] or an Indian person registered as an Indian or entitled to be registered as an Indian (Indian Act, 1985).

Action Plan to Address Family Violence and Violent Crimes Against Aboriginal Women and

Girls: A five year Government of Canada action plan to prevent violence, support Aboriginal victims and protect Aboriginal women and girls (Government of Canada, 2014).

Colonization: According to Dr. LaRocque (n.d.) of the Department of Native Studies at the University of Manitoba, colonization “can be defined as some form of invasion, dispossession and subjugation of a peoples. The invasion need not be military; it can begin—or continue—as geographical intrusion in the form of agricultural, urban or industrial encroachments. The result of such incursion is the dispossession of vast amounts of lands from the original inhabitants. This is often legalized after the fact... The long-term result of such massive dispossession is institutionalized inequality. The colonizer/colonized relationship is by nature an unequal one that benefits the colonizer at the expense of the colonized.”

Johns: Men who exchange money, food, shelter, drugs or other considerations for sex.

Missing Women Commission of Inquiry: In September 2010, the Lieutenant Governor in Council issued an order to establish an inquiry. Honourable Wally T. Oppal was named Commissioner. A hearing and study was commissioned to “inquire into and report on the conduct of the missing women investigations” which took place between 1997 and 2002 by police forces in British Columbia in response to women reported missing from Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside. The Commissioner referenced the missing women investigations as

“blatant failures” in the final report, *Forsaken: The Report of the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry*, which was published in 2012 with 63 recommendations with the “central goals of enhancing the safety of vulnerable women and improving the initiation and conduct of investigation of missing persons and suspected multiple homicides” (Oppal, 2012).

Official Plan: An Official Plan is a document produced by municipalities that outlines “long-term goals, shapes policies and outlines social, economic, natural and built environment strategies” (City of Greater Sudbury, 2017)

Reserves: According to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, a reserve is “a parcel of land where legal title is held by the Crown (Government of Canada), for the use and benefit of a particular First Nation” (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, n.d.b).

Residential Schools: According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), residential schools “were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children in a new culture – the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society, led by Canada’s first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. The schools were in existence for well over 100 years, and many successive generations of children from the same communities and families endured the experience of them”.

Treaties: Agreements between the Government of Canada and Aboriginal people that “set out promises, obligations and benefits for both parties...treaties were signed to define, among other things, the respective rights of Aboriginal people and governments to use and enjoy lands that Aboriginal people traditionally occupied” (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, n.d.).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): As part of the Indian Residential Schools

Settlement Agreement, the TRC conducted a 6 year process of speaking with the survivors, communities and others affected by the Residential School System. The final reports from the Commission were released in 2015 with 94 Calls to Action.

Women Engaged in Prostitution: Self-identified females who consensually exchanged sex for money, food, shelter, drugs or other considerations.

Women with hardships: Self-identified females accessing social services for women in need without any experience working in prostitution.

Preface

This research stems from my experience of walking through a prostitution corridor in Greater Sudbury on daily commutes to and from work. During a decade spent walking across the train tracks, over the Nelson Street Bridge, and onto Elgin Street in the mornings and back again in the early evenings, I was approached numerous times by johns soliciting the services of a prostitute. It always baffled me why I, dressed in professional office attire, would appear to be working in prostitution. I came to the conclusion that simply being a woman on that section of the street, near the hotel and under the Paris Street Bridge, was enough to suggest that I must be offering sex for sale.

I'm from the *Pretty Woman* generation that watched a fantasy of an attractive young woman working in prostitution rise from rags to riches. As a teenager, I believed in the romance of this Cinderella story. The women I actually saw working in prostitution on the streets of Greater Sudbury were a stark contrast to the role portrayed in the movie. Many had scabs on their faces from drug use, they appeared malnourished and they were not dressed in skimpy clothing with thigh-high boots. I saw women of all ages, including teenagers, and many became familiar faces. I can't say that any of the women I witnessed working in prostitution reminded me of Vivian in the movie, nor did any of the johns appear to be rich. The only commonality between the movie and my real-life experience was that the johns were older men, but they were in pick-up trucks, not sports cars.

My interests and academic background are in the social sciences; I have an undergraduate degree in Psychology and a master's degree in Human Development. I've worked in a shelter for abused women and as a welfare caseworker; today, I am a Coordinator of Community Initiatives for the City of Greater Sudbury. In my personal life, I participate on a board at the

Corrections Canada Sudbury Parole Office and I'm a wife, mother and a foster parent. As a foster parent, more than half of the children in my care have been Aboriginal. I have a genuine interest in the well-being of people and a sensitivity to issues related to women and children. Prostitution affects them both.

On my walks to work and back, I noticed that the women working in prostitution in Sudbury were either Caucasian or Aboriginal; I did not notice any that were Asian or African. Most showed signs of drug use; openly solicited men driving by; were situated at the same place on the ledge of the retaining wall; and appeared more often in the evening than in the morning. More of the Aboriginal women appeared to have children (tattoos with children's names, keychain pictures hanging from purses); Aboriginal women appeared to be more strongly motivated (observed by more focused and serious approach to attracting clients); Aboriginal women appeared older on average and Aboriginal women always worked alone without a friend, pimp or boyfriend in sight. Thinking about what I saw led to this thesis.

Researching prostitution in general was easy; researching Aboriginal prostitution was not. Finding references to connect history, prostitution and Aboriginal women was a challenge. Informal sources I found included newspaper articles and personal stories recounted in a book titled *Me Sexy* by Drew Hayden Taylor. The history of Aboriginal women and their connection to prostitution was murky; most credible sources (such as Sangster, Williams and Carter) were professors within universities. I found local references for the history of the community, like the books written by Dr. Oiva Saarinen from Laurentian University.

After writing this thesis, I still don't feel strongly one way or another about prostitution itself. I believe that adult women can use their bodies for their own purpose and that underage girls should be protected from being procured. I believe that violence towards women under any

circumstance, including in prostitution, is unacceptable. I know that the johns, the consumers of prostitution, are part of the story and I have a vague hope that advances in technology will eventually assist in meeting their sexual needs.

My thoughts about Aboriginal women are more defined. Truthfully, I empathize with them. I know that Aboriginal women, in general, are disadvantaged in Canada relative to non-Aboriginal women. Colonization is not over and Aboriginal women continue to be dispossessed from their lands and systematically oppressed. These views about Aboriginal women stem from my experience as a foster parent, as a volunteer in corrections, living in a community with adjacent reserves, working in social services and media reports, especially about the Attawapiskat First Nation and the Kashechewan First Nation. Through this research process, my opinions about prostitution and Aboriginal women have changed very little. Mostly, I was surprised at the strength and determination of women working in prostitution – both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. This was not measured directly, but was perceived during my time conducting interviews and talking about difficult and challenging circumstances.

Chapter 1

1 Introduction

The City of Greater Sudbury is located in northeastern Ontario, approximately 350 kilometers north-west of Toronto along the Trans-Canada highway. With a population of 160,000, the City boasts “world-renowned attractions, urban comforts and four-season outdoor adventures” (Sudbury Tourism). Sudbury is unique in that it’s geographically the largest municipality in Ontario and second largest in Canada with over 3,200 square kilometers of area.

As in many Canadian cities, there are social issues in Sudbury. The Aboriginal share of the homeless population, 45%, is over five times the Aboriginal share of the population in Greater Sudbury (8.2%) (Statistics Canada, 2013; Kauppi, Pallard & Faries, 2015). The unemployment rate is at 8.6%, which is higher than both provincial (6.8%) and national (7.2%) averages (City of Greater Sudbury, 2016a). The social housing waitlist was at 1,063 in December 2015 and the average wait-time that same year was 59 weeks (City of Greater Sudbury, 2016). Between 150 and 200 meals are served daily at the local soup kitchen and the emergency homeless shelters for men and women/ children have nightly occupancy rates of 86% (City of Greater Sudbury, 2016b). There is street prostitution in Sudbury and it appears that the Aboriginal share of this group is also disproportionately high.

The primary goal of this research project is to empirically identify statistically significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury. Differences could potentially include motives for engagement, experiences working in prostitution, relations with the legal system, experience with customers, relationships with family or experiences in the community. It could also be supposed that one group might work within prostitution for longer or shorter periods of time, might have different attitudes towards work in

prostitution, might suffer more or less harm within their work, receive more or less pay for their services or be more or less likely to be supporting children. The goal of this thesis, however, was not to provide evidence on a comprehensive list of differences. It was simply to determine, based on interview data, whether Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women working in street prostitution do in fact differ systematically in Sudbury.

This thesis does not attempt to answer why differences exist between Aboriginal women and non-Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution. A variety of cultural, economic and social models predict differences. Women may enter into street prostitution in Sudbury for quite different reasons and conditioned by quite different social circumstances. Economic theory suggests that poor women without access to alternative economic opportunities or without good marriage prospects are more likely to enter into prostitution (Della Giusta et al., 2008). Women who suffer economic or marital hardships may find that prostitution is the only available means of support. Culture and education may make some women or some communities more accepting or more adverse to prostitution. A history of ethnic repression and discrimination of the sort that Canadian Aboriginals have experienced and continue to experience as a group may reduce the opportunity-set for Aboriginal women more than non-Aboriginal women, resulting in increased selection into prostitution. The residential school system may have caused such harm to some Aboriginal women that they are especially vulnerable to recruitment into prostitution. Sudbury may be a community in which access to prostitution as a source of occasional or regular income is well established in the surrounding reserve communities. There exists a large number of potentially causal processes.

The results reported in this research document do not permit the reader to discriminate among possible causes of the differences between Aboriginal women and non-Aboriginal

women engaged in prostitution; it would be inappropriate to use the results to make general statements about why the differences exist. Further research would help establish whether that is the case. This research has identified specific differences, making it possible to design studies to test causal hypotheses.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine in some detail the specific circumstances of Aboriginal women: the colonial history of Canada, with systematic dispossession of and discrimination against the Aboriginal population, the available history of Aboriginal women and prostitution in Sudbury, and the impact of the residential schools described by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. There is no question that the history of Aboriginal women as a group differs from that of non-Aboriginal women; this difference provides sufficient reason to expect to find differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution.

The nature and history of Sudbury are also somewhat unusual, as shown in Chapter 3. It has been a frontier boomtown with a large surrounding Aboriginal population. Differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women working in prostitution may be intensified in this situation and therefore easier to identify. At the same time, the community is quite small and, as a result, the population of women engaged in prostitution is also small compared to any of Canada's major cities. Results may or may not generalize to other locales.

A number of marginalized women without experience in prostitution were also interviewed. Based on background research, it was hypothesized that differences would be found between both of the research groups (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution) and the research and comparison group (women engaged in street prostitution and women with hardships). It was expected that the obvious differences would be cultural;

however, it was also anticipated that other empirical differences would surface through the interviews.

Background research was conducted in two directions in order to provide context. The history of Sudbury was reviewed and provides insight into the growth of a blue-collar town, long populated largely by men. Prostitution in the history of Sudbury is mentioned in books, archival letters and newspaper articles. The experiences of early Aboriginal women in Canada was also examined and related to the present-day findings related to missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls. The social differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women working in prostitution appear early in key pieces of government legislation that restrict certain Aboriginal women. The restrictions had a variety of effects, which are discussed.

Some features of the economics of street prostitution are also explained, albeit briefly because of the limited availability of academic research about the topic. Demographic differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in Canada are subsequently reviewed using a statistical focus. Lastly, the research methodology is outlined and the research results are presented with the subsequent discussion and meaning of the findings.

Opinions about prostitution are virtually dichotomous: there are those who maintain that prostitution should be illegal and eradicated and others who view prostitution as legitimate and valuable work. One of the interview tools used as part of this research was borrowed from a researcher affiliated with an organization in the first category. The interview tool was not chosen for this reason, but rather because standardized research tools on this topic are limited. In the interviews, each participant was permitted to freely answer each question, including positive or negative statements about work in prostitution. All answers were recorded and transcribed

verbatim; selections of direct quotes are noted throughout the results as illustrations and in support of and as verification of the quantitative findings.

Chapter 2

2 Prostitution Research

Prostitution is a very broad topic of research. Studies are available about indoor prostitution, such as brothels, massage parlors, strip clubs and escort services (Anderson et al., 2015; Slezak, 2016; Bellhouse, 2015) and there is also considerable research about outdoor or street-based prostitution (Basnyat, 2017; Marcus et al., 2016; Hankel, Dewey & Martinez, 2016). Research about sex tourism is present in the literature (Omondi & Ryan, 2017; Street & Norma, 2016) as is human trafficking (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016; Sharapov, 2017; Walsh, 2016; Rezaeian, 2017). Prostitution studies can be found about communities on every continent, except for Antarctica, including North America (Acharya, 2016; Oza et al., 2015; Jackson, 2016; Kurtz et al., 2005), South America (Coutinho & Luciana, 2014; de Matos et al., 2013; Carneiro, 2013), Africa (Kozma, 2016; Foley, 2017), Europe (Rios & Alexandra, 2016; Schmitt, 2006), Asia (Lau, 2008; Yang et al., 2016; Krong, 2016) and Australia (Rissel et al., 2017; Nagy & Powell, 2016; Prior, Hubbard & Birch, 2013). Research is also available, but limited, on male prostitution (Ryan, 2016; McCutcheon et al., 2016; McLean, 2015) and transgendered prostitution (Krusi et al., 2016; Moorman & Harrison, 2016; Bungay, Oliffe & Atchison, 2016). A growing body of research also exists identifying the Aboriginal ethnicity of women working in prostitution (Chettiar et al., 2010; Miller et al., 2011; Shannon et al., 2008; Shannon et al., 2007a; Romanowski et al., 2003; Miller et al., 2002; Bird et al., 2016). This thesis research study, however, is specifically focused on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.

Opinions about prostitution research differ. In an evaluation of theoretical and empirical literature on prostitution, Weitzer (2005) writes that there has been limited advancement on

theoretical views and instead a focus on the consequences of prostitution “motivated by an obvious antiprostitution political agenda”. Weitzer (2005) continues by identifying how “radical feminism” has “done the most to distort our understanding of prostitution”. Weitzer (2005) defines radical feminism “as the quintessential form of male domination over women – the epitome of women’s subordination, degradation, and victimization”. In terms of empirical evidence, he cites Farley (the creator of the Prostitution Questionnaire used in this thesis study) in the radical feminism category and adds that “authors who adopt this perspective make claims designed for maximum shock value”. Expanding his views on radical feminism, Weitzer (2005) maintains that “central to radical feminist theory is the contention that violence, degradation, and gender oppression are inherent, omnipresent, and unalterable in prostitution”. Throughout his writing, Weitzer (2005) relies on the empirical research within the literature on prostitution; he makes the following observations about women engaged in street prostitution compared to other types of prostitution: they are the most stigmatized; have less control over their working conditions; are more at risk of assault, robbery and rape; are vulnerable to victimization and exploitation; report their work more negatively and have the least increase in self-esteem after starting work in prostitution; and are the greatest source of negative community impact. Weitzer (2005) ends his critical evaluation of prostitution research by recommending more studies on indoor prostitution, male and transgender workers, customers and managers.

McCarthy et al. (2014) expand on Weitzer’s (2005) views by identifying two approaches to categorizing prostitution; “One perspective highlights a variety of negative experiences in childhood and adolescence, including physical and sexual abuse, family instability, poverty, associations with ‘pimps’ and other exploiters, homelessness and drug use. An alternative account recognizes that some of these factors may be involved, but underscores the contribution

of more immediate circumstances, such as current economic needs, human capital, and employment opportunities”. McCarthy et al. (2014) identify Farley within the first category in relation to her findings of “abuse and victimization”. McCarthy et al. (2014) used these two approaches of categorizing prostitution research to develop a comparative analysis study to identify predictors of sex work with data from 600 low-income workers from Vancouver, British Columbia and Sacramento, California working in the food/beverage and hairstyling industries. The results revealed that “both immediate circumstances and negative experiences from early life are related to current sex work involvement: childhood poverty, abuse, and family instability were independently associated with adult sex work, as were limited education and employment experience, adult drug use, and marital status”.

Like the two previously cited studies [Weitzer (2005) and McCarthy et al. (2014)], Love (2015) references Farley in a literature review of female street level prostitution with a focus on physical health, mental health, violence and resiliency. Love (2015) notes that “Farley and Kelly (2000) completed a review of the literature that demonstrated 68% of the articles from 1980 to 1984 were related to sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and from 1992 to 1996, 86% of the articles made primary reference to HIV or STD”. These findings were supported by Love (2015) who wrote that “street level prostitutes are at high risk for HIV/STIs, chronic and acute physical/mental health problems, and violence, but there is a paucity of research on resilience and coping skills”.

Closer to home, engagement in prostitution in London, Ontario, which is approximately 550 kilometers south of Sudbury and twice the population size, was studied by Orchard et al. (2012) from the perspective of developing local knowledge. In semi-structured interviews with women between the ages of 24 and 60 years working in different types of prostitution, it was

found that women struggled with drug addiction in their daily life, the primary form of prostitution was street level, the average age of entry into prostitution was 17-18 years and entry and re-entry into prostitution occurred multiple times.

A second study from Orchard et al. (2016) in London, Ontario found similar results with an interview sample of 33 women working in prostitution between the ages of 25 and 65 years. It was found that the sample predominately worked in street level prostitution and that participation in the trade fluctuated based on monetary need, the degree of involvement in drug use and life events, such as the loss of children, incarceration and abusive relationships. Additionally, most participants were mothers and many did not have legal custody of their children. It was also found that most women working in prostitution received social assistance benefits from either Ontario Works or the Ontario Disability Support Program. In terms of race, it was noted that near one-third of the sample was Indigenous. The residence of Aboriginal women in prostitution is commonly noted in Canadian research on prostitution.

Chettiar et al. (2010) used data from a study of Vancouver street youth between the ages of 14-26 years who used illicit drugs and compared the youth who exchanged sex for money with those who did not. It was found that of the 560 participants, the factors most related to the exchange of sex for money in the last six months were Aboriginal ethnicity, a median age of 23, female gendered, crack smoking, crystal methamphetamine using and positivity for Hepatitis C.

Likewise, Miller et al. (2011) compared a sample of 255 women engaged in street prostitution over the age of 25 years with women engaged in street prostitution between the ages of 14 and 24 years in Vancouver. It was found that the younger of the two sample groups were of Aboriginal ancestry (59% vs 44%), spent fewer years working in prostitution, and were homeless.

Similarly, Miller et al. (2002) compared risk factors between 13-24 year old injection drug users enrolled in an injection drug user study in Vancouver with older injection drug users 25 years and older; HIV prevalence and risk factors were also examined. The results indicated that a sample of 232 younger injectors were female, work within prostitution, inject heroin daily, smoke crack cocaine daily and need help injecting. Over half of the HIV positive youth were Aboriginal and associated factors included being female, having a history of sexual abuse, involvement in prostitution, daily injection of heroin, daily injection of a heroin/cocaine mixture and having multiple sexual partners over their lifetime.

Again in Vancouver, Shannon et al. (2007a) conducted research with a sample of 198 women to determine the prevalence of HIV among women working in the sex trade. It was found that HIV was associated with Aboriginal ethnicity, early entry into prostitution, daily cocaine injection, intensive and daily crack smoking and unprotected sex with an intimate partner.

A 2016 study in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada by Bird et al. investigated the self-reported responses of sex trade workers. The majority of the sample was of Aboriginal descent, female, never married, without a high school diploma and with earnings less than \$10,000 per year. Those in the sample who self-reported more than a 50% chance of contracting HIV/AIDS were found to have risk indicators that included experiencing sexual assault as a child, injecting drugs within the last four weeks, being homeless and a previous diagnosis of Chlamydia.

A comprehensive American research study was conducted by Farley et al. (2016) with 105 American Indian and Alaska Native women working in prostitution in three Minnesota cities who were in contact with service agencies. A series of questionnaires were used, including the Prostitution Questionnaire applied in this thesis study. The average age of participants was 35

years, they had been involved in prostitution for an average of 14 years and began prostitution on average at the age of 21 years. Further results reported that 98% of the sample had been or was homeless, 57% had family involved in prostitution, 79% experienced sexual assault in childhood, 92% had been raped while engaged in prostitution, 65% had been diagnosed with mental health issues (78% depression, 71% anxiety disorder), 77% used drugs or alcohol, and 90% used negative words associated with feelings during prostitution. Culturally, 69% had family with boarding school experience (known as residential school in Canada), 62% connected colonization with the prostitution of Aboriginal women, 32% expressed that participating in Aboriginal cultural practices was important to their identity and many women “spoke of a desire to connect or reconnect with their cultures”.

Prostitution is a broad topic area of study that includes many dimensions from type to location to gender. It is clear from published research that there are different opinions and approaches to prostitution research. Local research in the province of Ontario exists, but not about Aboriginal women working in street prostitution in Sudbury, although Aboriginal women are cited in many studies conducted in Vancouver. The results of this thesis are consistent with findings in other studies, including that of Farley et al. (2016).

Chapter 3

3 Historical Antecedents of Street Prostitution in Sudbury

The historical antecedents of street prostitution in Sudbury will include the establishment of reserves; the development of a village around the railway; the discovery of minerals and the rise of blue-collar industry; the redevelopment of an impoverished downtown neighbourhood; and the presence of prostitution in the community. Together, these will provide a background that helps make sense of prostitution on the streets of Sudbury.

Britain took control of the Canadian empire from France through the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Saarinen, 2013). A Royal Proclamation in that same year recognized Aboriginal rights to land and title (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011) and in 1764, the Treaty of Niagara was signed permitting access to a track of land between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013). After the American Revolution in 1783, the North Shore of Lake Huron became home to increasingly more Ojibway people migrating from the United States and the fur trade and use of regional waterways also increased as a result (Saarinen, 2013). Trade continued on Lake Huron during the War of 1812 and long afterwards until European immigration intensified and Aboriginal lands came under treaty (Saarinen, 2013).

In 1850, William Benjamin Robinson was assigned by the government to negotiate a treaty for land in the whole of the Upper Canadian northwest, including the Lake Huron and Lake Superior shorelines and several islands totalling 52,400 square miles of territory occupied by 2,662 Aboriginal people (Surtees, 1986). The colony sought to legitimate its grants of mineral rights on Aboriginal land. The Robinson-Huron Treaty and the Robinson-Superior Treaty established 24 reserves. It was agreed that Aboriginals would not interfere with mining activities in the treaty area, but bands could sell precious metals on their reserves if deposits were

found (Surtees, 1986). The Atikameksheng Anishnawbek and Wahnapiatae reserves were established as a result of the Robinson Treaties; these sites are located on the periphery of what was to become Sudbury (Thoms & Kathy, 1994).

Sudbury came into being in N'Swakamok, which is Anishnaabe territory because a surveyor miscalculated the route for the transcontinental railroad being built by the Canadian Pacific Railway and re-routed the plans north of Ramsey Lake (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963). In 1883, the railway construction crew built their headquarters on the current site of Sudbury (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963). A Canadian Pacific Railway commissioner named Worthington called the village "Sudbury" after his wife's birthplace in Suffolk, England (Wallace & Thomson, 1993, p.14). The CPR opened a lumber mill on Ramsey Lake and the number of workers associated with the project grew to 1,500 (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963). The construction through Sudbury took place over 21 months and finished in November 1884 (Wallace & Thomson, 1993).

During the construction of the railroad, mineral deposits were discovered (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963). CPR workmen struck a form of iron oxide, called a gossan, but did not lay a claim. Instead the doctor, William Howey, and the magistrate, Andrew McNaughton, claimed the ore as their finding (Wallace & Thomson, 1993). Prospectors began staking claims in the area (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963).

In 1884, the Commissioner of Crown Lands made land grants in Sudbury to both the CPR and the Jesuits. For the first few years, the population of the townsite was composed almost entirely of railway employees. The CPR initially banned private enterprise and ran all the

boarding houses and other retail businesses in the village (Saarinen, 1990). The company ensured necessities were available to employees by building a company store, company office, hospital, telegraph office, black-smith shop, a carpenter's shop and a few residences for key employees; these investments were always intended to be for short-term purposes (Wallace & Thomson, 1993). In 1885 over half of the few hundred residents in Sudbury were men (Wallace & Thomson, 1993).

The CPR subdivided its portion of the site in 1886 (Saarinen, 1990). As mining developed, the population began to grow and there was an increasing demand for goods, services and land owned by the CPR. The Montreal head office drafted a plan for Sudbury that was built in a gridiron design around the railway yard (Wallace & Thomson, 1993). An underground mine was opened in Copper Cliff and Sudbury was becoming known as a mining town.

The CPR surveyed and planned the townsite of Sudbury in 1887. It laid out the main streets, including Elm, Durham, Elgin and Beech streets. The Town of Sudbury was incorporated in 1892 and the population grew (Saarinen, 1990). Mining companies constructed homes for employees reflecting their status within the organization and companies also invested in recreational facilities and parks in these areas. Mines and the "company towns" were located on the outskirts of Sudbury, near the mine sites, and did not directly benefit residents living within the downtown. This, in effect, resulted in segregating the community. According to Saarinen (1990), "Sudbury served as the external 'fringe town' for both Inco and Falconbridge Nickel" (p.59); this conclusion is supported with statistics reporting that 21% of the region's population was living within its boundaries in 1901 and 50% by 1951 (Saarinen, 1990). Saarinen reports that the effects of segregation "fostered a blue-collar dominance of community tastes and demands" (p.60).

A courthouse was built in 1908 to hear cases from the “drunks, derelicts, shady ladies and thieves of every description” (Delaplante, 1951, p.5). A jail was also constructed to house the “hawkers, peddlers and prostitutes” who “competed for the quick dollar in the hands of the isolated ‘blanket stiffs’ who built the railway” (Wallace & Thomson, 1993, p.14).

In 1930 the town became the City of Sudbury. The advent of WWII in 1939 set the stage for a mining boom in Sudbury. This era in history served to attract new residents and evolve the community towards a more balanced service-oriented economy. The changes into the 1960s included the emergence of a white-collar class, good planning practices through the development of an Official Plan and an Urban Renewal Strategy (Saarinen, 1990).

When Sudbury created its first Official Plan in 1958, it became clear that an urban renewal strategy was needed to “look inward – inward at the blight and slum conditions caused by early haphazard growth which are threatening property values and public investment” (Sudbury Planning Board, 1963, p.4). The conclusion was drawn that “slum areas” are not only unsightly, but they also have “proportionately greater incidences of health and welfare problems, fire, delinquency and crime” (Sudbury Planning Board, 1963, p.23). With support from the Federal Government, the process began and continued for two years. The final report identified areas of the City for conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963).



Building in Very Good Condition — Ramsey Road



Building in Good Condition — Cedar Street



Building in Fair Condition — Cedar Street



Building in Poor Condition — Shoppert Avenue



Building in Very Poor Condition — Wilma Street

Figure 1. Property categories in the redevelopment of the Borgia Street area (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963)

The Borgia Street area was identified as the primary location for redevelopment. Originally, the area offered popular commercial services such as a farmer's market, railway passenger station and a busy hotel (Sudbury Planning Board, 1966). This location was considered at the "bottom of the scale" in terms of housing conditions and neighbourhood quality (Sudbury Planning Board, 1963, p.5). The Borgia Area was too "run-down and poorly planned" to consider rehabilitation; being the worst area of the City, the only option believed at the time was redevelopment (Sudbury Planning Board, 1966, p.3). The purpose of redevelopment was to

“clear away the slums, re-use the land for its best purpose today and re-house the people in controlled rental housing with daylight and green space”, including demolition, repair or renovation of buildings, construction of new streets, installation of utilities and new construction to replace those demolished.

The Borgia Street area contained a mix of residential and commercial with warehouse, industrial and institutional structures, including railways, junk yards, freight yards, a lumber warehouse and other industries that were built in residential areas; this combination was identified as poor planning and the “original cause” for the development of the strategy (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963, p. 15). Adding to the deterioration of the neighbourhood was that 70% of the “shacks” in the “Old City”, which included Borgia, were tenant occupied (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963, p.18) and there were four times as many social assistance recipients in the Borgia Area in comparison to the total City of Sudbury (Sudbury Planning Board, 1966). It was also reported that foster children were not permitted to stay in certain sections of this area (Sudbury Planning Board, 1966).

The urban renewal project was considered because of Federal Government grants totalling 50% of the cost for “acquisition and clearance of blighted areas”, which included the total cost of the railway property acquisition (\$1,179,627) (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963, p. 7). It was reported that “tracks which cross the downtown area have a blighting influence on adjacent properties used for retail and office purposes” and it was believed that removing the railway tracks was paramount for the success of the project, despite its significant cost (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963, p.14).

Funding was available from Federal and Provincial governments for the construction of low rental apartments. The development of the Urban Renewal Strategy was timely (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963). The total redeveloped area was approximately 65 acres (Sudbury Planning Board, 1966). The Borgia Street station was at the end of a rail line that traveled into the downtown.

A comprehensive plan to relocate the residents of the Borgia area was developed. Measures included appointing a relocation manager to work from an office in the neighbourhood, forming a relocation committee and designating a social worker from the social assistance office to assist in the process. The City was successful in its application to the Ontario Housing Corporation to build 200 units of subsidized housing and an additional 50 units for seniors (Urban Renewal Commission, 1967). It was believed that it was necessary to monitor the relocation of welfare recipients in order to ensure they were not centralized, if not, there was fear that they would move into the Flour Mill and Donovan areas, which was also in need of redevelopment (Sudbury Planning Board, 1966).

Various sources show prostitution was present in Sudbury before the implementation of the Urban Renewal Strategy. Letters between the President of the Local Council of Women of Sudbury and the Provincial Police in 1912 reveal that “Chinaman” were keeping “houses of ill fame” above their restaurants and “one chinaman alone...made cash fifteen Hundred dollars in one month – of course that was not made in meals – as they give meals cheaper than any other place in town” (McKessock, 1912). In a later correspondence, the President also reported to the Provincial Police that “there are also [some] young girls here...’Tait’ – her father keeps the Montreal Restaurant –she calls herself 16 years old but is about 14 –they live a life of shame going once every month to Copper Cliff about the 15th of every month which is pay day out there

they go up in what is called Little Italy among the foreigners and some times stay a day and a night –taking all classes of men while they have the price...and it would be a good thing for our town to take them off the street –she is a small short very dark girl –I think you will find among the Chinamen –all dens of vice...” (McKessock, 1912).

Further evidence about sex for sale on the streets of Sudbury was through courthouse hearings about prostitution; Maclean’s Magazine reported in 1951 that there were “about 40 arrests a year for keeping bawdy houses” and that prostitutes were warned by the police to leave the City within 24 hours or face being jailed as vagrants (p.5). Borgia Street, in particular, was highlighted as “once reputed to be the toughest street in Canada” and a place where “Good Time Charlies were lured to places of assignation by squads of street walkers” (Delaplante, 1951, p.5). Prostitution is part of Sudbury’s history and continues to be today (Greater Sudbury Police Services, 2013).

It is difficult to find reports about prostitution after the downtown was redeveloped. The earliest newspaper report on the subject was in the first issue of the Northern Life in 1973. The front page headline read “Legalized Prostitution?” and discussed public reaction from a CHNO-FM radio interview in Sudbury with Xaviera Hollander, the “Happy Hooker”. The subject reappeared briefly in newspapers in 1977 and 1978 with charges against women operating a bawdy house, but disappeared from the press again until the 1990s. An article in the Sudbury Star in 1992 about “Life as a Sudbury Hooker” cites that the “Sudbury Regional Police haven’t been getting complaints, and officers haven’t arrested a hooker in years” (p.1). It was reported in the article that the police charged one woman engaged in prostitution in 1985 and another in 1987; these findings suggest that Sudbury had become a family town and at the same time sexual prohibitions had relaxed.

The 1990s brought renewed interest in prostitution. Newspaper articles from that period clearly show that prostitution was present and common in downtown Sudbury. The blighted areas of concern previous to the redevelopment of the city's centre continued to be hot spots for prostitution, namely: Elm St., Durham St., Elgin St. and the land surrounding the railroad tracks. In 1992, a front-page article in the *Sudbury Star* read that "on almost any given night in Sudbury, women can be seen strolling down Elgin Street, soliciting sex for a price" (Pender, 1992, p.1). The article continues with an interview of two women working in prostitution that talk about performing sexual acts in cars or in rented rooms on Elgin Street. An extension of that article further back in the issue refers to Elgin Street as "The Strip" and reports there are an estimated "12 other hookers" aside from the two prostitutes interviewed in the article (Pender, 1992, B3). In 1998, the *Sudbury Star* published an article about the prevalence of prostitution in an alleyway off of Durham Street downtown, it reads "the skin trade is booming on the corner of Medina Lane and Durham Street" (O'Flanagan, 1998, p.A3). In this article, it is noted that there were an estimated 25 women working in prostitution in Sudbury and that the police report conducting an annual sweep in the downtown.

More recently, news reports describe evidence of prostitution in the same areas of Sudbury with the addition of the Donovan, which is a neighbourhood adjacent to the downtown and also in close proximity of the railway tracks. As previously noted, the Donovan was also identified in need of redevelopment during the Borgia Street era. In 2008, the *Sudbury Star* reported that a "three-day sweep of the Elgin Street and Howie Drive area was in response to residents' worries" and also noted that "while prostitution rates have not risen, its presence has brought a multitude of other problems to the neighbourhood" (Scappatura, 2008). Further, in 2015, Greater Sudbury Police took action to address prostitution in the Donovan neighbourhood

because of “public complaints centred around the visible presence of sex-trade workers, associates and consumers along Kathleen Street” (Moodie, 2015). The same article states that there is “always a risk of ‘displacement’ when it comes to the sex trade”, which suggests reasoning for prostitution outside of the immediate downtown (Moodie, 2015).

The downtown, along with the Donovan, is among the lowest income areas in Sudbury. The average household income downtown in 2011 was \$39,540 and the average family income was \$55,010 – both significantly less than Greater Sudbury’s averages of \$76,772 and \$93,061 (City of Greater Sudbury, 2015). Likewise, the 2011 average household income in the Donovan was \$49,524 and the average family income was \$61,877, again lower than the municipal average. During the time of redevelopment, part of the deterioration was attributed to the high proportion of tenant occupied housing, which was noted as 70% (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963).¹

In conclusion, reserves had been established on the periphery of what was to become Sudbury. Sudbury came into existence because of the railway. Subsequently, minerals were discovered and an influx of men moved to Sudbury for work. As the population increased, poor planning practices resulted in the downtown and adjacent neighbourhood requiring redevelopment in an attempt to eliminate the concentration of poverty and crime in the area. Historical records about prostitution in Sudbury are sparse. There are some references in relation to a complaint in 1912 and arrests in the 1950s; however, there is a gap between the 1960s and

¹ Today, the downtown is 92% tenant occupied and 52% of the Donovan is rental housing (City of Greater Sudbury, 2015).

1970s. Prostitution continues on the streets of Sudbury and the hot-spots of yesterday are the same as those today.

Chapter 4

4 History of Aboriginal Women and its Relationship to Aboriginal Prostitution

Possible differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury can be approached by providing a historical account of the experiences of Aboriginal women and sexuality before and throughout colonization. We can see how Aboriginal women were characterized and viewed by society. Aboriginal women have suffered lasting effects from colonization and these issues are an important differentiation to highlight.

Colonization during the 1800s changed the economic system and adversely affected the role of Aboriginal women (Lutz, 2008). Lutz (2008) argues that a labour based economy reduced the contribution of women in general and increased their value as domestic and sexual partners (Lutz, 2008). The trading and mining eras created a gender imbalance and facilitated “the demand for sexual services” (Williams, 2008, p. 117). From the men’s perspective, the gender imbalance during mining eras, as in the preceding period of the fur trade, made the cultural background of Aboriginal women less important than their gender and sexuality (Barman, 2008).

The strategies used by Aboriginal women for economic gain included “providing sexual and household services to bachelor traders and miners, by the sale of goods and domestic services to private households, and by marketing handmade goods to tourists” (Williams, 2008, p. 140). Aboriginal women assisted traders by working as guides, packers and interpreters (Williams, 2008). Aboriginal women also assisted immigrant women as midwives and helped them identify edible plants (Carter, 2008). These working relationships brought Aboriginal women closer to European men (Williams, 2008).

The sexual customs of Aboriginal people and colonizers differed. Europeans placed emphasis on controlling paternity, whereas Aboriginal people focused on “the principle social unit” (Barman, 2008, p.274). Sex with immigrants for payment was also observed. This was called prostitution; a European word with “sexist and moralistic connotations.” The transaction did not necessarily have the same meaning for Aboriginal women (Lutz, 2008, p.227). Marriages between Aboriginal women and fur traders occurred in exchange for gifts; however, marriages were often short-term, unlike traditional marriage customs within the Aboriginal culture (Lutz, 2008). Aboriginal women were in control of their own behaviours. Barman (2008) points to the fact, for example, that Aboriginal women chose to live with men who were not Aboriginal; this provides evidence of how Aboriginal women managed their sexual behaviour.

The colonial perception was that Aboriginal people were ‘savages’ (Barman, 2008, p.272). The ways that Aboriginal women adapted to change was transgressive according to Victorian views of ‘gender, power and race’ (Barman, 2008). Sexual freedom was threatening to European patriarchy (Barman, 2008). Barman (2008) observes that all sexual autonomy by women was considered illicit by the mid 1800s. The independence of Aboriginal women created a “moral panic” and a “call to reform” among some European authorities which manifested into “the imposition of repressive, culturally biased models of femininity and domesticity” (Williams, 2008, p.140). Barman (2008) suggests that “the campaign to tame Aboriginal sexuality so profoundly sexualized Aboriginal women that they were rarely permitted any other form of identity” (p.279). Native women were targeted as “wild women”, “symbolizing sexual excess temptation and conquest” (Sangster, 2008, p.303).

As European women increasingly began to settle, “the idealization of bourgeois femininity” became prominent and the benefits of Aboriginal women were denounced (Williams, 2008, p.118). The increasing number of white women resulted in less need for Aboriginal women (Williams, 2008). It also resulted in some non-Aboriginal men leaving their Aboriginal partners.

After the federal government became responsible for Aboriginal people under the terms of the British North American Act, the government became allies with missionaries who were unofficially working towards the same purpose and “taught, above all, the female portion of the community to behave themselves in a modest and virtuous manner” (Barman, 2008, p.278). The goals of missionaries and the government were to ideally return Aboriginal women to the reserves to marry Aboriginal men. The less preferred option was to have non-Aboriginal men marry their Aboriginal partners; both goals were meant to mirror colonial life and “tame Aboriginal sexuality” (Barman, 2008, p.288). Williams (2008) argues that the Euro-American perceptions of Aboriginal women were constructed to reflect themselves as saviours.

By the late 1800s, the sexual behaviours of Aboriginal women were discussed openly and there was a global belief that sexually liberal Aboriginal women had to be “subdued” and “controlled” (Barman, 2008, p.277). The way of addressing this problem was through conversion to Christianity: “Whether missionaries, government officials, or Aboriginal men, the common perception was that the only good Aboriginal woman was the woman who stayed home within the bosom of her family” (Barman, 2008, p.277). Some Aboriginal women adapted to change by following the missionaries and converting (Williams, 2008).

Sangster suggests that regulating the sexuality of “Native and non-Native women alike was part of a broader project of nation-building: the creation of moral families based on Western

(largely Anglo) middle-class notions of sexual purity, marital monogamy, and distinct gender roles of the female homemaker and male breadwinner” (p.302). Laws were largely discriminatory, racist and segregationist (Sangster, 2008). The law defined race from a white superiority racial hierarchy (Sangster, 2008).

In the prairie regions, the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) and government officials used the negative stereotypes of Aboriginal women to implement a pass system in 1885 (Carter, 2008). As lands in the West were being opened and developed for agricultural settlements, the NWMP was created and dispatched to the area (Carter, 2008). Legal access to the land was acquired in exchange for land reserves, annuities and a commitment from the government to teach the Aboriginal people how to farm since the buffalo population was nearly destroyed (Carter, 2008). In 1880, the Department of Indian Affairs was created to enforce the Indian Act of 1876, which resulted in teams of Indian agents, farm instructors and inspectors to oversee the reserve system (Carter, 2008). Reports about “improper relations between the police and Aboriginal women” surfaced, as did stories about blackmail from farm instructors as noted in an interview between a Touchwood Hills Farm instructor and a newspaper in 1885: “the greatest facilities are afforded the Indian instructor for the seduction of Indian girls. The instructor holds the grub. The agent gives him the supplies and he issues them to the Indians” (Carter, 2008, p.151, 154). The typical response to these situations was to blame Aboriginal women “who were claimed to have behaved in an abandoned and wanton manner and were supposedly accustomed to being treated with contempt, to being bought and sold as commodities, within their own society”(p.155). Similar views were expressed by the editor of the *Fort Macleod Gazette* (1886) who reported that “they were prostitutes before they went to live with white men, who did not encourage this behaviour but were simply ‘taking advantage of an Indian’s offer’” (Carter, 2008,

p.155). As the image of Aboriginal women continued to be synonymous with lack of moral standards and prostitution, government policies were created accordingly (Carter, 2008). Through government regulations, Aboriginal women were marginalized and prohibited from entering some towns and settlements (Carter, 2008). Aboriginal women were “classified as prostitutes” and “their presence was seen as incongruous, corrupting and demoralizing” by settlers (Carter, 2008, p.158). Aboriginal people were issued passes by farm instructors or agents to leave the reserve (Carter, 2008). It was claimed that a “central rationale for the pass system was to keep away from the towns and villages Aboriginal women ‘of abandoned character who were there for the worst purposes’ ” (Carter, 2008, p.159). In Edmonton, Cree chiefs brought concerns forward to the Prime Minister in 1883 that their young women were prostituting as a result of starvation; the complaints were disregarded as a flaw in personal character or “inherent immorality of Aboriginal women” rather than an issue with the system (Carter, 2008, p.159). Aboriginal women without passes or financial support were arrested and sent back to their reserve (Carter, 2008). This system restricted their economic pursuits, independence and access to resources. Carter shares one story of a Métis wife who rubbed flour on her face to seek medical care for a sick child (Carter, 2008).

Aboriginal women have generally been negatively portrayed in history (Carter, 2008). The images of Aboriginal women as “dissolute, dangerous and sinister” and as “lewd and licentious” functioned to create policies that restricted their movements off of reserves after Confederation (Carter, 2008, p.147). Carter (2008) notes that the Indian Act and the Criminal Code, after 1892, contains language that makes it easier for officials to convict Aboriginal women, specifically, as prostitutes. Carter (2008) notes that the confessed murderer of a Cree prostitute was released because it was impossible to form a jury willing to convict a White man

of the crime. As a further insult to the victim, she was denied a Christian burial, despite being baptized, because “they (presumably the Christian officials) regarded her as a prostitute who had died in sin” (p.161). Moral judgments were prominent in the Indian Act. Carter provides an example where if a government official does not believe an Aboriginal woman is of good moral character, she can lose her one-third interest in her husband’s estate. Further, in 1921, Carter (2008) notes an unsuccessful House of Commons debate to amend the Criminal Code to include an offence for a White man to have ‘illicit connection’ with an Aboriginal woman; the argument was that ‘the Indian women are, perhaps, not as alive as women of other races in the country to the importance of maintaining their chastity’ (p.163). Francis (1992) adds to the literature by discussing the juxtaposition between the images of a princess and a ‘squaw’ by writing:

“Opposed to the princess there was the *squaw*, a derogatory epithet widely applied to Native women by non-Natives. In all ways the squaw was the opposite of the princess, an anti-Pocahontas. Where the princess was beautiful, the squaw was ugly, even deformed. Where the princess was virtuous, the squaw was debased, immoral, a sexual convenience. Where the princess was proud, the squaw lived a squalid life of servile toil, mistreated by men. Non-Native writers described Indian women hanging around the margins of White settlement, drinking and prostituting themselves. This stereotype of the Indian woman as a low, sexual commodity – a “bit brown” as the fur trade governor George Simpson put it – became increasingly common as Native people were pushed to the fringes of White settlement, neglected and powerless” (p.121).

The stereotypes of Aboriginal women have endured to the detriment of Aboriginal women, their agency and their sexuality (Barman, 2008).

Removing Aboriginal children from the care of their mother and placing them in residential schools was another way of restricting control over the agency of Aboriginal women and ensuring that future generations, especially those of girls, conformed to colonial standards (Barman, 2008). The physical and sexual abuse which happened in the process of assimilating Native people had an intergenerational impact (Tungilik, 2008). The dysfunctional manner of coping with problems over an extended period of time affected how subsequent generations coped with life (Tungilik, 2008). Native people were made to feel shame about their culture and for some, their language, cultural values and identity were lost (Tungilik, 2008). Tungilik (2008) recounts that: “Before I was taken away from my parents to school at the age of five, my family discussed sexuality openly, as I recall. They talked about it both jokingly and seriously. They warned us about incest, sexual relations with animals, rape or sexual assault and sexual relations with close relatives. Sometimes, they clearly had fun joking about sex. After our experience with sex as children and because of the religious perimeters that the missionaries established, sex was hard to talk about or not discussed at all.” (p.55). McGeough (2008) believes that “the residential school experience was one of the most invasive tools used to eradicate traditional Aboriginal beliefs and practices” (p.61). Western views imposed a sexual hierarchy with men dominating women. The negative portrayals of Aboriginal women by the press and the government have endured (Carter, 2008). Only within the last fifty years has Native sexuality surfaced as a legitimate and acceptable topic of conversation (Taylor, 2008).

Some new information has emerged through a national inquiry launched by the Canadian Government’s Action Plan to Address Family Violence and Violent Crimes Against Aboriginal Women and Girls. This work has only just begun; however, there have been other consultations,

reports and recommendations on this same topic over the last several years which will be reviewed in relation to Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution.

The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) compiled a database and analysis of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls and produced a fact sheet with the results using data collected up until March 31, 2010. They reported that "Aboriginal women are almost three times more likely to be killed by a stranger than non-Aboriginal women, and that "Aboriginal women experience violence by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders, and the vast majority are men". The NWAC added that women engaged in prostitution, in general, experience increased levels of violence. The Association maintains that involvement in prostitution "is not a cause of violence; rather, many women experience prostitution in the context of limited options and after experiencing multiple forms of trauma and violence". It was found through their research that 70% of the missing women and girls disappeared from an urban area and were known; approximately 88% of the women were mothers.

Like the NWAC, the province of British Columbia recognized the urgent need to bring attention to the crisis of missing and murdered Aboriginal women. In doing so, a Commission of Inquiry was held and led by the Honourable Wally T. Oppal. The final reports offer personal and expert insight into the challenges experienced by marginalized women. The Commission explains that "many social factors contribute to an individual or group being marginalized or vulnerable including a history of being subjected to abuse and violence, health issues, drug and alcohol abuse, mental illness, economic insecurity, housing issues and homelessness, sex discrimination and racism. These factors often cluster together, causing increased vulnerability and marginalization" (Oppal, 2012, p.78).

Specific to violence, the inquiry reported that “Aboriginal women experience higher levels of violence in terms of both incidence and severity and are disproportionately represented in the number of missing and murdered women across Canada” (Oppal, 2012, p.94).

Researchers of the MAKA Project who conducted a study with 255 women engaged in survival sex² in Vancouver between 2004 and 2008 reported to the Commission that women engaged in prostitution are “at extremely elevated risk for various forms of severe violence” and that “their research showed that homelessness is a predictor of increased risk of violence” (Oppal, 2012, p.84).

Expert testimony at the Commission of Inquiry was also included to highlight the link between engagement in prostitution and substance use. Again, researchers with the MAKA Project reported that “sex work has been associated with high risk injecting practices” and that “approximately 60% of participants in the MAKA health study said they would give up sex work if they did not need it for drugs or if they could be involved in ‘low threshold employment’” (Oppal, 2012, p.103). The Commission of Inquiry directly states in their final report that “poverty is directly connected to both drug addiction and participation in the sex trade” (Oppal, 2012, p.86).

Similar findings were reported in 2014 by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). They conducted a national operational overview of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and found that the use of intoxicants was prevalent before the occurrence of an incident. More specifically, they reported that “between 1997 and 2012, Aboriginal females were more likely

² Survival sex: “substance-using women who exchange sex for money, drugs or shelter as a means of basic subsistence” (Shannon et al., 2007)

than non-Aboriginal females to have consumed some form of alcohol and/or drugs or other intoxicating substances prior to the incident (63% versus 20%)” as determined through toxicological results from Coroner’s Reports and witness accounts.

The national focus on missing and murdered Aboriginal women is moving the country beyond passivity and into action. Further research is clearly needed to enhance safety and social networks for Aboriginal women in Canada. A list of non-profit organizations, government organizations and informal social interest groups in Sudbury is listed in Appendix A.

Chapter 5

5 Political Institutions Involved with Street Prostitution in Sudbury

The 1876 Indian Act remains the single most influential piece of legislation affecting Aboriginal women. It was created to consolidate the various regulations throughout the country that affected Aboriginal people (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011). It also gave increased authority to the Department of Indian Affairs to “make sweeping policy decisions across the board such as determining who was an Indian, managing Indian lands, resources and moneys, controlling the access to intoxicants and promoting ‘civilization’” (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011, p.8). The government used this authority to create day schools and residential schools with the assistance of Catholic, United, Anglican and Presbyterian churches across Canada to educate Aboriginal children in the same subjects as their non-Aboriginal peers. Attempts were also made to force Aboriginal children to “abandon their traditional languages, dress, religion and lifestyle” (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011, p.8). An excerpt from Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (2011) reads:

“Life at residential school was hard for many children. Students were forced to speak English or French, and were punished if they spoke their own native languages. Often these children were taken from their families and placed in schools far away from their communities, sometimes for many years at a time. Many children were not given enough clothing or food. A lot of the schools were crowded and dirty. Some children died of disease. Others tried to run away.”
(Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2011)

The last residential school in Canada closed in 1996 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2011). In 1998, the federal government acknowledged the physical and sexual abuse of Aboriginal children in its residential schools and in 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada offered a public apology for its role (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011). The residential school experience has had lasting effects on Aboriginal communities, families and the children of survivors.

In 2009, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, as part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, began a multi-year process of speaking with the survivors, communities and others affected by the Residential School System. The final reports from the Commission were released in 2015. Volume 5, titled “Canada’s Residential Schools” reads:

“The closing of residential schools did not bring their story to an end. The legacy of the schools continues to this day. It is reflected in the significant educational, income, and health disparities between Aboriginal people and other Canadians – disparities that condemn many Aboriginal people to shorter, poorer, and more troubled lives. The legacy is also reflected in the intense racism some people harbour against Aboriginal people and the systemic and other forms of discrimination Aboriginal people regularly experience in Canada...The survivors are not the only ones whose lives have been disrupted and scarred by the residential schools. The legacy has also profoundly affected their partners, their children, their grandchildren, their extended families, and their communities.”

Evidence of the ongoing effects of the Residential School System is evident in the continued marginalization of Aboriginal women nationally.

The 1876 definition of “Indian” in the Indian Act discriminated against Aboriginal women. Status was granted to “any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; any child of such a person; and any woman lawfully married to such a person” (Furi & Wherrett, 2003, p.2). The definition did not include Aboriginal women married to non-Aboriginal men. In 1973 Jeanette Corbiere Lavell and Yvonne Bedard challenged the Supreme Court of Canada that section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act violated sex equality in the Canadian Bill of Rights (Day & Green, 2010a). The Supreme Court ruled that Aboriginal women were not entitled to status if they married non-Aboriginal men because this particular section of the Indian Act applied to all Aboriginal women and was, therefore, equal (Day & Green, 2010a).

Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act was again challenged in 1981 by Sandra Lovelace. Lovelace married a non-Aboriginal man and lost her status; when the marriage ended, Lovelace could not return to her reserve (Furi & Wherrett, 2003). Lovelace claimed that this denial violated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which provides that minorities have the legal right to enjoy their culture (Furi & Wherrett, 2003). The United Nations Human Rights Committee agreed and equality provisions in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms came into effect. As such, the status provisions of the Indian Act were amended with Bill C-31.

Bill C-31 received Royal Assent in June 1985 (Furi & Wherrett, 2003). This new bill retained the full status provisions of Aboriginal men and their wives, children and grandchildren, and also reinstated women and children who lost their status. However, women and children denied status because of section 12(1)(b) were reinstated to a “second-class” category rather than to the same status afforded to Aboriginal men, their wives and descendants (Day & Green, May

2010). Reinstated Aboriginal women were subject to a second generation cut-off and could not confer status to their grandchildren, unlike Aboriginal men (Day & Green, 2010a).

The continued sex discrimination of Bill C-31 was challenged by Sharon McIvor (Canadian Bar Association, 2010). She claimed that Bill C-31 violated section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which reads: “Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability” (Constitution Act, 1982). McIvor won her case in the British Columbia Supreme Court in 2007 and in the British Columbia Court of Appeal in 2009 (Day & Green, 2010b). As a result, the federal government amended the Indian Act with Bill C-3, the Gender Equity in Indian Registration Act.

Bill C-3 received Royal Assent in December 2010 and it provides status to grandchildren of women who married non-Aboriginal men (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2011). However, it is reported that the Indian Act continues to discriminate because Bill C-3 excludes grandchildren descended from status Aboriginal women who parented with non-status men in a common-law relationship (Day & Green, 2010a). Also excluded are female children and grandchildren of Aboriginal men who parented with a non-status woman in a common-law relationship; although, male children and grandchildren of the same family type are entitled to status (Day & Green, 2010a).

The introduction of Bill C-31 and Bill C-3 resulted in an increase of Aboriginal people eligible for federal assistance under the Indian Act. According to Furi & Wherrett (2003), the estimated number of Aboriginal people expected to gain status was 56,800 whereas the actual total was 114,512 by the end of December 2000. It is noted that the majority of those who

gained status were women; further, the off-reserve Aboriginal population more than doubled between 1981 and 1991 (Furi & Wherrett, 2003). Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (2011) estimated that 45,000 Aboriginal people would be eligible for registration with the passing of Bill C-3. Status Aboriginal people living off-reserve are entitled to non-insured health benefits and post-secondary assistance (Furi & Wherrett, 2003). On-reserve federal funding is provided for housing, elementary and secondary education, health services and social assistance (Furi & Wherrett, 2003).

It is estimated that over 25,000 women lost their status between 1876, with the introduction of the Indian Act, and 1985, when the definition of “Indian” was amended; women who lost their status were required to leave their communities (Bourassa et al., 2005). Bourassa et al. (2005) state that “accumulated disadvantage from past colonization and contemporary processes of ongoing colonization have a direct affect on Aboriginal women’s access to social determinants of health and impedes their ability to develop a healthy sense of identity that can contribute to personal well-being” (p.24). The authors use Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside as an example of where thousands of Aboriginal women live after being displaced from their reserves; in this neighbourhood, “they are socially and culturally isolated, living in poverty, and often driven to substance use, violent relationships, and the street sex trade to survive and provide for their children” (Bourassa et al., 2005, p.27). In a prostitution study conducted by Farley et al. (2005), this area of Vancouver was referred to by its residents as the “urban reserve” (p.257). Of 100 prostitutes that were interviewed, 52% were First Nations, which is a significant overrepresentation in prostitution compared to the ethnic composition of the City where Aboriginal people account for 7% of the population. This finding is also supported by Harper (2006) who adds that “the status quo continues to place Aboriginal women at a much greater risk

of social and economic marginalization, laying fertile ground for higher risks of victimization from all types of crimes – but most likely physical and sexual crime at the forefront”. Similarly, in a report produced as part of the National Aboriginal Consultation Project, 150 commercially sexually exploited Aboriginal children and youth participated in consultations in 22 communities across the country and revealed that “all of the Aboriginal youth who were consulted during the focus groups spoke of the physical, sexual, and/or emotional abuse they experienced in their home lives, as parents, relatives, care givers, and neighbors continued to suffer from the legacy of cultural fragmentation” (Kingsley & Mark, 2000, p.13).

The Edmonton Police Commission Task Force on Prostitution reported that “many Aboriginal prostitutes are not involved regularly in prostitution, but rather use it as a last-resort, stop-gap financial measure” (Chalmers, 1999, p.133). Jeffreys et al. (2004) discuss the results of interviews with women working in prostitution from three different Canadian provinces and note that Aboriginal women were the majority of the sample and many viewed the trade as “ordinary” because of the involvement of their family and friends in prostitution. In fact, several women engaged in prostitution still lived at home. The authors suggest that Aboriginal women working in prostitution experienced racism and exclusion. “Colonization left many First Nations people in extreme poverty that has endured for generations” (Farley et al., 2005, p.257). Prior to government involvement, Aboriginal women were the matriarchs of their families and the pillars of strength and support; however, Aboriginal women today suffer from poorer health and greater economic disparities than non-Aboriginal women (Bourassa et al., 2005).

Despite the hardships of Aboriginal women as a result of discriminatory laws and political practices, the successes of urban Aboriginal women cannot be ignored. According to the Toronto Aboriginal Research Project, there are an increasing number of Aboriginal women

earning over \$40,000 annually in full-time permanent and contract positions (McCaskill, FitzMaurice & Cidro, 2011). It is further noted that, Aboriginal women are organizational leaders; in 2011, Aboriginal women were the executive leads of five social service agencies of the eleven in Toronto (McCaskill, FitzMaurice & Cidro, 2011). Special attention is drawn to the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto “where community members, primarily women, began to gather and formulate how they could build an Aboriginal community within an urban setting” (McCaskill, FitzMaurice & Cidro, 2011, p.153). Similarly, successful organizations throughout Canada, including the Native Women’s Association of Canada, the Ontario Native Women’s Association and the Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada are each leading, supporting and advocating on behalf of our nations Aboriginal women. Locally, an Urban Aboriginal Task Force commissioned to identify issues facing urban Aboriginals reported that Aboriginal women in Sudbury were “both the most violently oppressed and vulnerable members of the community in the most need, but they are also the most active and influential in working to end that oppression” (Urban Aboriginal Task Force, 2007. p. 109).

In conclusion, there is considerable support that the residential school experience was detrimental to Aboriginal people and their culture. The Canadian government has acknowledged its role; however, the effects remain. Bill C-31 and Bill C-3 specifically targeted the rights of Aboriginal women. Although these pieces of legislation sought to end some forms of discrimination under the Indian Act, they didn’t go far enough. The laws that differentiate status from non-status have created a divide between Aboriginal women. More benefits are afforded to Aboriginal women with status, including their right to cultural participation on-reserves. Although, the Canadian government has amended the definition of those who qualify for status, the changes do not undo the negative experiences of Aboriginal women and their descendants

who were denied status. There is evidence of growing prosperity amongst urban Aboriginal women; however, overrepresentation of Aboriginal women continues in street prostitution.

Chapter 6

6 Economics of Street Prostitution

Prostitution is an economic activity. Women working in prostitution sell sex; johns buy sex.

There are different types of prostitution and the financial compensation of each varies.

Motivations for entering into the sex trade and characteristics of the work also differ. This section reviews these differences as they relate to economics.

Edlund and Korn (2002) state that “prostitution is low-skill, labour intensive, female, and well paid” (p.181). This finding is despite the hierarchy within the industry that places earnings from street prostitution at the bottom³ (Table 1); as noted by Scott (2002), “the price can be as low as the market price for a single rock of crack cocaine”. This combination of skill and earnings is considered unusual in the labour market (Edlund & Korn, 2002). Edlund and Korn (2002) note a study that found women working in prostitution in Los Angeles in the 1990s were earning on average of \$23,845 annually whereas their counterparts in the service industry had annual earnings of \$17,192. Added to the economic benefits of sex work are that women working in street prostitution only spend short amounts of time with customers, unlike other forms of prostitution; however, they also have less ability to decline clients or their requests (Weitzer, 2009). Additionally, earnings from prostitution are unregistered and untaxed. In addition, women working in prostitution often can collect welfare benefits while working on the streets (Sanders, 2008). However, Park (1994) reported that “the distribution of income is regressive with increased age and time spent prostituting”. Statistics Canada (1997) reports that

³ Street prostitution accounts for 10-20% of all prostitution types (Della Guista et al., 2008).

the demand for young women working in prostitution is high; they pose less risk, they are less threatening and they are less likely to spread diseases.

The earnings of street prostitution may have to be shared. Earnings may have to be directed to pay for fines, lawyers or pimps (Sanders, 2008). Other beneficiaries from street prostitution include ancillary services, such as outreach services and social services (Sanders, 2008). Sanders (2008) also highlights unregistered profits, taxi drivers being an example.

Table 1

Types of Prostitution and Prices Charged

	Business Location	Prices Charged
Call Girl	Independent operator, private premises/ hotel	High
Escort	Escort agency, private premises/ hotels	High
Brothel Worker	Brothel	Moderate
Massage Parlor Worker	Massage Parlor	Moderate
Bar or Casino Worker	Bar/ casino contacts, sex elsewhere	Low/ Moderate
Streetwalker	Street contact, sex in cars, alleys, parks, etc.	Low

(Weitzer, 2009)

The financial motives in prostitution range from a means of “survival” to a “desire for financial independence or upward mobility” (Weitzer, 2009, p.218). Weitzer (2009) identified women in street prostitution as working in poor conditions and likely motivated by survival and drug dependency. Women working in street prostitution are not limited to only working on the streets; “it is rare, however, for workers to experience substantial upward or downward mobility” (Weitzer, 2009, p.222). Sanders (2008) cites three reasons why women enter into prostitution: migration, economic constraints and choice. Migration refers to an escape from their homes and

families; economic constraints are related to limited skill and education; and choice is an independent economic decision based on personal circumstance.

Della Guista et al. (2008) explain that prostitution differs from other types of work because it involves “the invasion of the sex worker’s internal space” (p.7). Sanders (2008) adds that women “take on sexual and emotional labour for monetary exchange”. Also, street prostitution may be viewed as more appealing to clients than other forms of prostitution because of “easy access, low prices, or the excitement of cruising for sex” (Weitzer, 2009, p.227). Weitzer (2009) reports that women working in street prostitution view their work more negatively than women involved in other forms of prostitution; further, they also experience the least increase in self-esteem after entering into the industry. These views are supported in this current research project whereby participants used words, such as dirty, useless, scared, angry, frustrated, disgusted and hopeless to describe feelings during prostitution (Figure 2). An Aboriginal woman was recorded as saying “I just shut down, I just try to be emotionless I guess. But every time I feel disgusted, frustrated, annoyed.”



Figure 2. Words used to describe feelings during prostitution⁴.

⁴ The more frequently a word is used by participants, the larger and more prominent in this Word Cloud.

There are commonalities between women who work in prostitution. Earls and David (1989) conducted a literature review and found that money, early sexual experience, running away from home and drug use were prominent findings from research studies. Money was cited as the primary motivation for prostitution and sexual experiences were noted to have happened earlier with women working in prostitution, whether the sex was consenting or not (Earls & David, 1989). Similar evidence was presented in British Columbia's Report of the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry noting "high rates of childhood trauma with sexual and emotional abuse being associated with the initiation of sex work" (Oppal, 2012, p.102). Women working in prostitution identified in the literature as runaways lacked access to financial resources and turned to prostitution as a means of support (Earls & David, 1989). Drug use was another factor highlighted in the literature review, although it was not clear if drug use was related to exposure in the family, current drug usage by the women working in prostitution or drug use as the motivation for continuing in prostitution (Earls & David, 1989). A Waterloo, Ontario study suggested that "drugs led them to work the streets and their addictions kept them working in the sex trade" (Bernier & Pender, 2004, p.8).

In conclusion, prostitution is identified as low-skill with a high wage. Not all of the profits are retained by women working in prostitution. Motives for entering into prostitution differ from motives of other work types. Also, women working in street prostitution often view their work more negatively than other forms of prostitution. There are shared experiences of women working in prostitution, of which drug use is most frequently referenced. Della Guista et al. (2008) suggest that more economic research by the discipline is needed.

Chapter 7

7 Demographic Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women in Canada

The historical and political review of Aboriginal women in Canada highlights their marginalization in society. This section brings attention to the differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in present-day Canada. The use of demographic data broadens the understanding of the challenges experienced by Aboriginal women compared to their non-Aboriginal counterparts. An in-depth statistical review of Aboriginal women in Sudbury is provided in Appendix B.

7.1 Population

The female Aboriginal population between the ages of 0 and 39 years (67.5%) was proportionally greater than the female non-Aboriginal population (53.2%) in Canada in 2006 (Figure 3). Further, there was a 12% smaller proportion of Aboriginal women 60 years and older than non-Aboriginal women. This reflects the age distribution in the Aboriginal population as a whole.

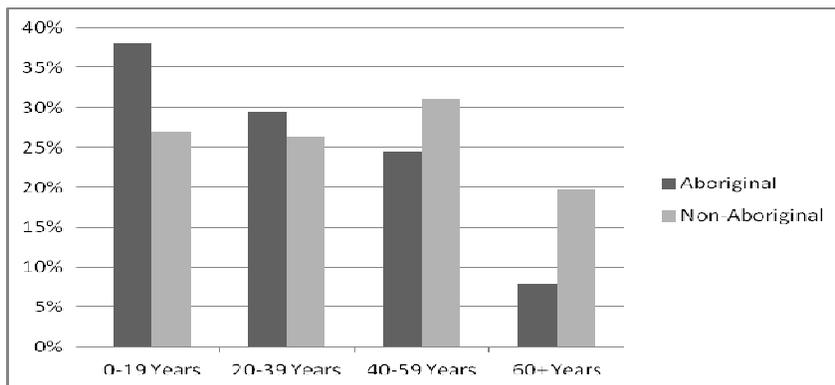


Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Female Populations by Age in Canada, 2006 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

7.2 Lone Parent Families

The proportion of Aboriginal lone-parent families in Canada (19.5%) is greater than that of non-Aboriginal female lone-parent families (12.4%); a 7.1% difference (Figure 4). The on-reserve rates (27.2%) were slightly higher than off-reserve lone-parent families with status (22.5%). Métis female lone-parent families had the lowest percentage of female lone-parent families (14.1%); however, it remained slightly higher than non-Aboriginal lone-parent families (12.4%).

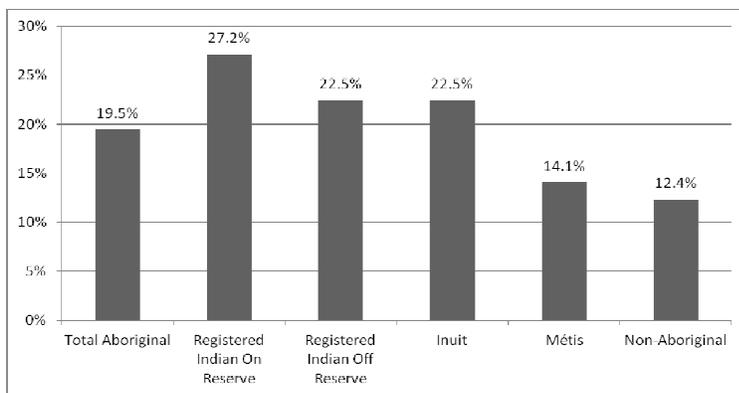


Figure 4. Percentage of Female Lone-Parent Families by Identity Group in Canada, 2006 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

7.3 Unemployment Rates

Aboriginal women had approximately twice the unemployment rate compared to non-Aboriginal women at all levels of educational attainment (Figure 5). The largest discrepancy is the unemployment rate of Aboriginal women with no degree, certificate or diploma (22%) compared to non-Aboriginal women (11%).

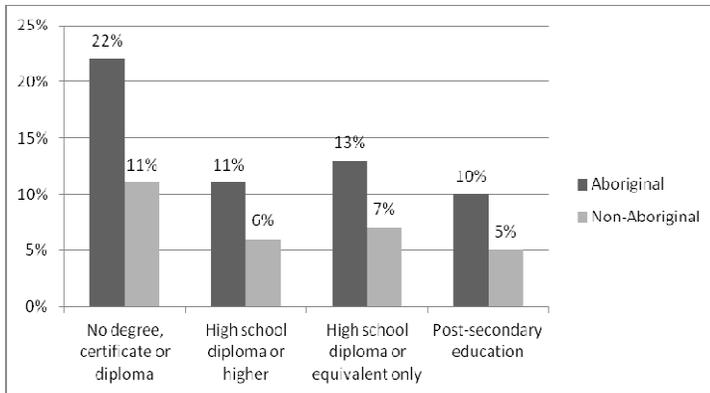


Figure 5. Percentage of Unemployment Rates for Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Aged 15 Years and Over by Highest Level of Schooling in Canada, 2006 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

7.4 Income

Women in Canada earn less than men (Figure 6). Further, non-Aboriginal men and women earn more than registered, Inuit and Métis Aboriginals. Registered Aboriginal women have the lowest average individual income in Canada.

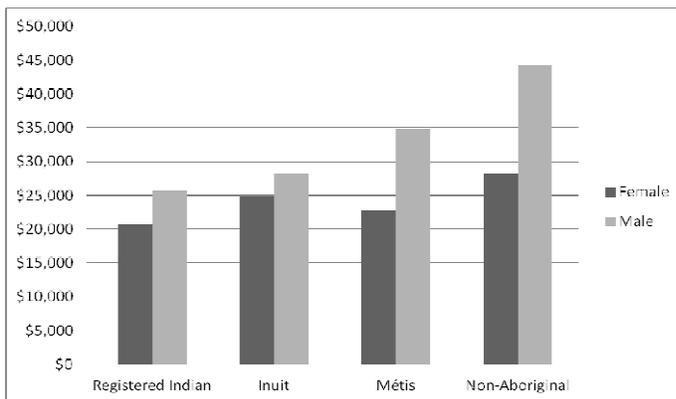


Figure 6. Average Individual Income for the Population Aged 15 Years and Over, by Sex and Identity Group in Canada, 2006 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012)

7.5 Mobility Rates

Registered Aboriginal women in Canada who live off-reserve move significantly more than on-reserve registered Aboriginal women (Figure 7). Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (2012) cite reasons that are “most likely attributed to a host of interrelated factors, such as low income, employment opportunities, inadequate housing and housing affordability, childcare, as well as access to various social services and networks of care”.

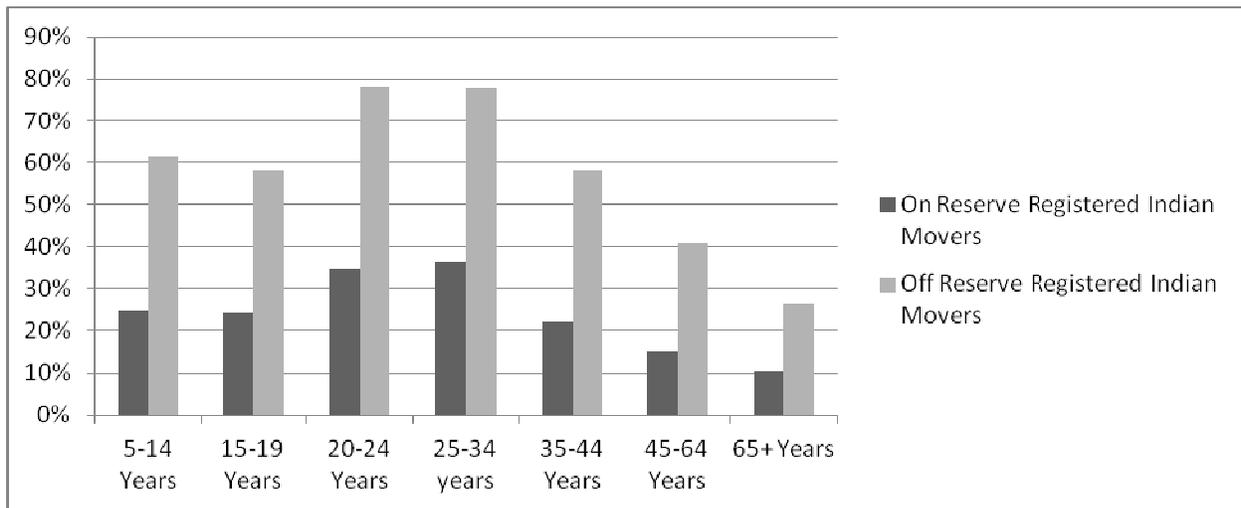


Figure 7. Five-Year Mobility Rates for Female Registered Indian Movers, by Age Group and On/Off Reserve in Canada, 2006 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

7.6 Health

Fewer Aboriginal women living off-reserve reported their health as excellent or very good compared to non-Aboriginal Canadian women (Figure 8). Research has shown that this perception is accurate and that Aboriginal women do have more health concerns than non-Aboriginal women. In fact, 60% of Aboriginal women aged 20 and over had been diagnosed by a health professional with a chronic condition in 2006 (O'Donnell and Wallace, 2011).

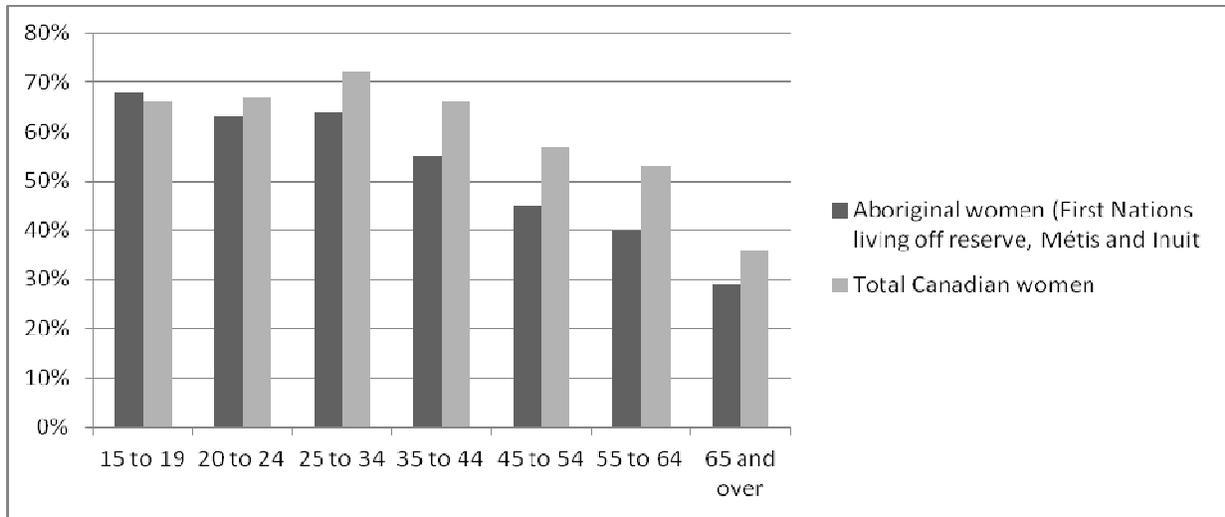


Figure 8. Percentage of Women Reporting Excellent or Very Good Health, by Age Group, Canada, 2006/2007 (O'Donnell & Wallace, 2011).

In conclusion, there is a growing population of young Aboriginal women in Canada. There are also more single Aboriginal mothers than single non-Aboriginal mothers, with more single Aboriginal mothers on-reserve than off-reserve. Aboriginal women have higher unemployment rates and registered Aboriginal women have the lowest income in the country. Registered Aboriginal women living off-reserve move considerably more often than Aboriginal women living on-reserve. Lastly, off-reserve Aboriginal women report being less healthy than non-Aboriginal women.

Chapter 8

8 Indigenous Research Paradigm

The Indigenous Research Paradigm was used as the framework for this study and to investigate the following research question: “Are there differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury?”

The Indigenous Research Paradigm is an ethical framework for research rather than a theoretical model. Wilson (2008) explains that an Indigenous Research Paradigm has value for respecting culture and identifying areas for improvement. There are four interrelated concepts that form the paradigm: ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology (Figure 9). The connection between each of these four concepts is circular; each is unique and none are more or less important than the other.



Figure 9. Indigenous Research Paradigm (Wilson, 2008).

Wilson (2008) defines ontology as “the theory of the nature of existence, or the nature of reality” (p.33). Once the realities are defined or understood, the researcher is able to explore them more deeply. Epistemology builds on ontologies and involves relationships and

understanding how information is known. Wilson (2008) explains that “Indigenous epistemology is our cultures, our worldviews, our times, our languages, our histories, our spiritualities and our places in the cosmos” (p.74). Methodology is the process by which information or knowledge is gained about the ontology (reality) and is used to explain the epistemology (relationship). Lastly, axiology guides the research to be respectful and ethical by questioning motives, methods and purpose. Wilson (2008) notes that “respect, reciprocity and responsibility are key features of any healthy relationship and must be included in an Indigenous methodology” (p.74).

8.1 Indigenous Research Paradigm as it Relates to this Research

Ontology

Historical research for this thesis was conducted to understand the history of prostitution in Sudbury. Municipal documents, newspaper articles and published books were used to shape the context of the beginning and ongoing sex trade in the community. Further, treaties and laws governing reservations and the rights of Aboriginal women were explained to demonstrate the link between Aboriginal women and prostitution. These ontological sets of beliefs form the foundation of the research topic.

Epistemology

This research project explored different sets of relationships through the methodology. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women were asked about their relationships to: community, culture, spirituality, family, friends and clients. The methodology also included relationships between the researcher, participants, thesis committee members and external resources. The process of acquiring knowledge and developing relationships was pivotal to the Indigenous Research Paradigm.

Methodology

The Indigenous Research Paradigm adds value to this research study by creating respectful relationships with participants. At the outset of the interviews with participants, tobacco ties were offered out of respect for the information that women were willing to share and as a symbol of trust that their words will be used accurately for meaningful discussion on the topic. In offering the tobacco, the researcher accepted responsibility for producing results that can be shared with the community and ensure the ongoing discussion surrounding the importance of this topic. The researcher agreed to work as a “shkabewis” or helper by being an active listener in order to hear the knowledge that participants were willing to offer and use that information in this research report to support the women in this study. These research practices give thoughtful consideration to participants and hold the researcher accountable for producing relevant results that reflect the intentions and reasons for participant participation.

Axiology

Ethically, in advance of starting participant interviews, approval from the Laurentian University Research Ethics Board was received. In terms of community information sharing, social institutions involved with street prostitution in Sudbury will be given a brief synopsis of the research results to share with staff and clients.

Aboriginal communities are rightfully cautious about permitting research given the history of negative practices which objectified First Nations people. The Indigenous Research Paradigm assures communities that research projects will be conducted fairly and that researchers understand their relationships to communities (Wilson, 2008). Wilson argues that there are 6 questions that communities legitimately asked researchers:

1. How do my methods help to build respectful relationships between the topic that I am studying and myself as researcher?
2. How do my methods help to build respectful relationships between myself and the other research participants?
3. How can I relate respectfully to the other participants involved in this research so that together we can form a stronger relationship with the idea that we will share?
4. What is my role as researcher in this relationship, and what are my responsibilities?
5. Am I being responsible in fulfilling my role and obligations to the other participants, to the topic and to all of my relations?
6. What am I contributing or giving back to the relationship? Is the sharing, growth and learning that is taking place reciprocal?

The research for this thesis has been conducted in a manner consistent with the Indigenous Research Paradigm described by Wilson (2008). The researcher's answers to the questions are included in Appendix C. These answers are a reflection.

Chapter 9

9 Research Methodology

9.1 Interview Tools

The proprietary Prostitution Questionnaire, developed by Dr. Melissa Farley of Prostitution Research & Education, was used to interview women working in prostitution. The confidentiality agreement between the researcher and Dr. Farley requires that the questions not be released with the results of this research. For the purpose of this study, the Prostitution Questionnaire was expanded to include questions pertaining to cultural connections, discrimination and perceptions of services in Sudbury. Women with hardships completed an abbreviated version of the same questionnaire with additional questions included to determine reasons for non-participation in prostitution despite experience with hardships (see Table 2).

Table 2 provides a summary of the topic areas within this research document. Also included in Table 2 are symbols that denote open-ended questions and the location of the findings. The majority of questions asked of participants in this study were close-ended (Table 2); however, when comments were provided by participants, they were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim; quotes are used throughout the results for illustration. The surveys were administered to participants face-to-face.

Table 2

Questionnaire Topics for Women Working in Prostitution and Women with Hardships

◆ • Early First Sexual Experience	• Rape while Working in Prostitution
• Physical Abuse During Childhood	• First Sexual Experience
◆ • Experience with Homelessness	• Verbal Abuse While Engaged in Prostitution
• Foster Care/ Guardianship	◆ Discrimination because of Prostitution
• Current Aboriginal Friendships	◆ Economic Motivation
• ∇ Discrimination Living in Sudbury	◆ Desire for Legalization of Prostitution
• Comfort Accessing Social Services in Sudbury	◆ Alcohol Use
◆ • Familiarity with Aboriginal Teachings	◆ Criticism from Others about Alcohol Use
• ∇ Discrimination Living in Sudbury	◆ Desire to Reduce Alcohol Consumption
• ∇ Satisfaction with Social Services	◆ Prolonged Substance Use
◆ • Drug Use	◆ Desire for Substance Use Treatment
◆ Family with Residential School Experience	* ◆ Words Describing Feelings During Prostitution
◆ Desire to Deepen Cultural Heritage	* ◆ Location of Solicitation
◆ Actively Practicing a Faith	* ◆ Competition within Street Prostitution
◆ • Contact with Family	◆ Customer Estimates
◆ Someone to Trust	* ◆ Duration in the Profession
* ◆ Areas of Pride or Success	* ◆ Current Life Challenges
* ∇ Self-Esteem	* ∇ Interests Outside of Prostitution
◆ Experience Living/ Visiting First Nations	* ◆ Ideas that Could End Prostitution
• Discrimination Accessing Social Services	• Sexual Assault (Rape)
• Types of Drugs Used	• Requests for pornographic acts
• Some Drug Use for Calming Nerves/Withdrawal	• Pictures within Prostitution
• Earnings Kept	• Health Issues
• Wanting to Return to Family	• Opinion Questions
◆ • Physical Assault while Working in Prostitution	• Experience with Specific Symptoms
• Ways of Soliciting Customers	• Assistance Finding Customers
• Time of Physical Assault	■ Age of Engagement in Prostitution
• Time of Physical Threat	* ◆ Abstinence from Prostitution
• Desire to Exit Prostitution	* ◆ Difficult Times in Life
• Types of Prostitution	* ◆ Dealing with Challenges in Life

Light Highlights = Asked of both women working in prostitution and women with hardships

No Highlights = Asked only of women working in prostitution

Dark Highlights = Asked only of women with hardships

* Open-ended questions

◆ In Results

• In Appendix D

∇ In Appendix F

■ In Table 4

9.2 Participants

Data for this study included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women with experienced hardships living in Sudbury (Table 3). A total of 21 interviews were conducted; 12 with women engaged in prostitution and 9 with women with experienced hardships. From here within, the two sample groups will be referred to as “prostitution” and “hardships”.

Table 3

Research Sample Summary

SAMPLE	ABORIGINAL	NON-ABORIGINAL	TOTAL
Women Engaged in Prostitution	7	5	12
Women with Experienced Hardships	5	4	9
TOTAL	12	9	21

For the study, women in prostitution were self-identified females who consensually exchanged sex for money, food, shelter, drugs or other considerations. Women with hardships were self-identified females accessing social services for women in need without any experience working in prostitution. Each of the two sample groups, prostitution and hardships, were divided by cultural identity: Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. Aboriginal for the purpose of this study was defined as Indian, Inuit and Métis people of Canada [Constitution Act, 1867, Section 35(2)] or an Indian person registered as an Indian or entitled to be registered as an Indian (Indian Act, 1985).

All sample participants were required to be 18 years old or older and English speaking. The minimum age for consent to sexual activity in Canada under the Criminal Code is 16 years old; however, the minimum age increases to 18 years when sexual activity is exploitive, including involvement in prostitution, pornography or when there is an element of authority,

trust or dependency in the relationship (Government of Canada, 2015). The average age of women in prostitution was 31.41 years (min = 18, max = 48) and the average age of women with hardships was 43.30 years (min = 18, max = 57). Table 4 provides additional demographic details about the sample population.

Table 4

Demographics of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Prostitution; and Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women with Experienced Hardships

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES	WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROSTITUTION (N=12)	WOMEN WITH HARDSHIPS (N=9)
Age	Mean 31.41 (min=18, max=48)	Mean 43.3 (min=18, max=57)
Children Living with Participant	0	0
Children in the Care of Someone Else	Yes=41.67% (N=5), No=33.33% (N=4), Adults=25% (N=3)	Yes=37.50% (N=3), Adults=62.50 (N=5)
Income	OW=58.33% (N=7), ODSP=25% (N=3), WSIB=8.33% (N=1), Self=8.33% (N=1)	OW=33.33% (N=3), ODSP=66.67% (N=6)
Education	Primary School=8.33% (N=1), Some Highschool=66.67% (N=8), Completed Highschool=16.67%(N=2), College=8.33% (N=1)*	Some Highschool=55.56% (N=5), Completed Highschool=11.11% (N=1), College=33.33% (N=3)
Relationship Status	Single=58.33% (N=7), In a relationship=25% (N=3), Separated =8.33% (N=1), Divorced=8.33% (N=1)	Single=44.44% (N=4), In a relationship=33.33% (N=3), Separated=11.11% (N=1), Divorced =11.11% (N=1)
Age of First Engagement in Prostitution	Mean 18 years (min=18, max=26)	N/A

*Participant also worked as an escort

OW=Ontario Works

ODSP=Ontario Disability Support Program

WSIB=Workplace Safety and Insurance Board

9.3 Sample Size

Determining an appropriate sample size for this research topic was a challenge. Shaver (2005) from Concordia University writes that one of the challenges of sex work research is that “the size and boundaries of the population are unknown, so it is extremely difficult to get a representative sample”. Studies have, however, referenced the concept of saturation: “when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation” (Mason, 2010).

Guest et al. (2006) conducted a study to determine when data saturation is achieved with a sample of 60 female West African sex workers. They found that saturation was achieved within the first 12 interviews. The researchers attributed this finding to the interview structure, interview content and participant homogeneity. That is, all participants were asked the same questions, the content of the interviews was directly related and relevant to the sample population and the sample was comprised of a specifically defined group of participants (Guest et al., 2006). As with the Guest et al. (2006) study, the researcher for this study revisited several sites until there were no more new participants presenting for interviews; furthermore, the interview tool was relevant to the sample and the sample population was homogenous.

9.4 Recruitment

Participants were recruited with the assistance from community social service agencies in Sudbury. Agency administration was familiarized with the study and they were asked permission by the researcher to use their site and a private office space for the purpose of interviewing participants. Predetermined interview dates and times were scheduled with agencies. Before the researcher arrived at the agency to conduct the interviews, posters were placed within the agencies advising of the purpose, date and time of the study. One agency used

business cards with the poster details to distribute through community outreach workers. All interviews were conducted on an unscheduled drop-in basis during agency business hours. Agency staff were invited to inform clients about the survey; participation in the study, however, was completely voluntary and services from agencies was not contingent whatsoever on participation.

9.5 Interviews

Interviews were conducted in a private office space within social service agencies. Each interview followed the same format: an initial screening tool was used to determine if participants were eligible within the established definitions outlined for the study. If eligible, participants were immediately paid a volunteer honorarium of \$10 and then were read the consent forms for the collection and use of their information; a separate consent form was used to secure permission to audio record the interviews. The consent forms (Appendix E) informed participants about the purpose of the study; referenced an emergency contact number for a 24 hour crisis intervention service; outlined the rights of the participants to refuse questions, skip questions or terminate the interview; highlighted reasons when the interview survey and audio recording would be given to the authorities as required by law; and detailed the rights of the participants, including confidentiality and complaints. At the conclusion of each interview, participants were given a resource guide with contact numbers and addresses for counselling and social services and a tobacco tie, as recommended by an Aboriginal Elder.

9.6 Limitations

Research participants were interviewed at the site of established social services and were not recruited from their places of work or living. There was a high likelihood that suitable participants were missed. Also, women working in prostitution were not asked to provide

verification of this fact, nor were women with experienced hardships asked to qualify for participation. Lastly, there was a possibility that participants provided false information and/or lack of disclosure during the interview process.

Chapter 10

10 Results

The results were analyzed using a minimum statistical significance level of 0.10. Although this is not the conventional level of significance used broadly within research, it was deemed appropriate in the context of the limited and unique sample of this study. Significance levels are recorded throughout the results section and it is noteworthy that the large majority of the results are significant within 0.05. Schoenfeld (as cited in Moore et al., 2011) noted that an elevated error rate of up to 0.25 for pilot testing with a small sample size is acceptable in order to inform researchers if a larger and more thorough study should be completed; it further assists researchers identify variables that merit further study. This assertion supports the use of a 0.10 probability rate for this present study.

All data collected during this research was entered into SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Chi-Square and Independent t-values were calculated for each question separately. Chi-Square was used as a result of the large number of categorical variables collected within the research (alcohol use, discrimination, assault, etc.). The use of t-tests was selected to test the equality of means between different sample groups (i.e. Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal prostitution and first sexual experience). Additionally, a Z-Score calculator for two population proportions was used to determine if there were any significant differences between women in prostitution and women with hardships. Descriptive statistics were also calculated and included where appropriate, including for non-significant results reported in Appendix D.

A descriptive tool, called a Wordle (Feinberg, 2014) was also used to create “word clouds” from text entered into the program. The program is designed to give prominence to words that appear frequently within the entered script; the larger the word, the more frequently

repeated by participants (the colours are for esthetic purposes only). The words expressed by participants were entered directly as stated and unaltered; therefore, there is similarity between several of the words used in the word clouds (disgusting/disgusted, my kids/my son).

The results are presented under five separate headings. The first two sections specifically outline the open-ended findings from both women engaged in prostitution and women with hardships. Excluded are the responses about self-esteem and the interests of participants outside of prostitution; the responses to the questions varied across a wide spectrum without any identifiable patterns and have thus been included in Appendix F in the form of a sample of responses from participants. Included in the first two sections are word clouds to illustrate qualitative answers to open-ended questions. The next two sections specifically present the significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution and the significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women with hardships. The final section highlights the significant differences found between women in prostitution and women with hardships. Direct quotes are used throughout for illustration purposes and as a means to personalize the data responses (additional interview excerpts are noted in Appendix F).

10.1 General Findings from Women Engaged in Prostitution

10.1.1 Current Life Challenges

“Not having my own place. To stay at people’s places you got to pay them or something, so I have to go out to work make money and to buy my food and stuff, you know. I’d be nice to have a place and then I can get groceries and I won’t have to worry about, you know, then I won’t have to be on the street and working.”

(Aboriginal woman discussing her current life challenges)

~

“Just staying clean, it’s hard because, like a lot of places we go to, there’s still a lot of people who are using and you know, some places I have to access knowing that people are either high in the washrooms, or are high.”

(Aboriginal woman discussing her current life challenges)

~

“Finding a job, honest to god, it’s like pulling teeth. Finding appropriate counselling, the wait times for counselling.”

(Non-Aboriginal woman listing her challenges in life)

~

There were 11 responses received when participants were asked in an open-ended question about some of their current challenges or difficulties in life. Of the 13 challenges cited (two respondents listed two challenges), addictions was highlighted by 45.45% (5/11) of the sample, housing and homelessness was discussed by 36.36% (4/11) and the other answers were related to leaving the streets and securing employment and counselling. A final respondent referred to past issues with finding shelter and clothing “If it weren’t for the Samaritan Centre, there was a time when I wouldn’t have someplace warm to sleep, clothes to wear.”.

10.1.2 Areas of Pride or Success

“My son. Finishing school. No matter what happens, you can’t take that away from me. Not being on drugs, not having to do this kind of shit for drugs, you know what I mean.”

(Non-Aboriginal woman discussing what she’s most proud of in her life)

~

“My children. I have two. My daughter’s been four years clean and my son has never done any drugs or anything, he just graduated top honours from high school, I’m proud of him.”

(Aboriginal woman discussing what she’s most proud of in her life)

~



Figure 10. Words used to describe what women in prostitution are most proud of in their lives.

Participants were asked in this open-ended question to provide examples of what they are most proud of in their life or some of their successes. The study findings resulted in the explicit mention of children (73%, 8/12) as noted in the prominence of the terms in Figure 10. None of the participants surveyed had children living with them during the time of the study (Table 4). Educational achievements were the second most mentioned area of pride or success (3/12); other responses to this question varied without any notable consistency.

10.1.3 Location of Solicitation

This open-ended question asked participants about the primary streets in Sudbury they use for soliciting customers; the responses included: Kathleen, Elgin, College, Melvin and Lorne. Additionally, specific neighbourhoods of the city were mentioned, including: the Donovan, West End and the downtown. Of the 11 responses received, Kathleen Street and Elgin Street were both identified 6 times (54.55%); 5 participants mentioned both streets within the same response. The Donovan neighbourhood was identified 4 times by 11 respondents (36.36%) and was paired

twice with the downtown, once with the West End and once as a standalone response. A final respondent identified the South End and talked about the use of hotel rooms; she shared a story about rooms that were rented by an individual for women to use in order to earn payment for drugs that they were given by this same individual.

10.1.4 Competition within Street Prostitution

“For me none. Some of the girls I see like are all, uh, they don’t really take care of themselves. And, they’re just like, god, I feel bad for them, because they’re, I don’t know, like, they’ll go out for five bucks, you know what I mean, like they need a med or something like that. Like, I’m not on those anymore, so.”

(Aboriginal woman in prostitution discussing competition)

~

“Lots. You’re looking at, some nights, there could be 10 to 15 girls out there, I can name them all too. Not every night though. It all depends, like you know what I mean, like there’s quite a few of them in jail right now, so ya.”

(Non-Aboriginal woman in prostitution discussing competition)

~

Participants were asked in an open-ended question about the level of competition within street prostitution in Sudbury. No significant degree of competition was reported by 66.67% of participants (8/12); three of the participants (25%) indicated that there was quite a bit of competition and the final participant reported having regular customers.

10.1.5 Customer Estimates

The majority of participants (66.67%, N=8) reported seeing fewer than 5 customers per day. A quarter of the sample (25%,N=3) stated that they had between 6 to 10 customers per day and the last participant (8.33%, N=1) reported seeing between 11 to 20 customers per day. There was a significant variation in the total number of customers reported since starting work in prostitution. Three participants (25%) reported having had fewer than 100 customers, two participants (16.67%) reported between 100-300 customers, one participant (8.33%) between

400 and 500 customers and the remaining six participants (50%) reported upwards of 800 customers since working in prostitution.

10.1.6 Duration in the Profession

“I just started working again, I didn’t work for 6 years. I did it because I need money, welfare doesn’t pay. I have like \$30 left over after I pay my rent. \$30 doesn’t buy a lot of groceries.”
(Aboriginal woman responding to how long she plans to work in prostitution)

~

“I just got on methadone yesterday, so I’m trying to turn my life around.”
(Aboriginal woman responding to how long she plans to work in prostitution)

~

“Not long, not much longer at all.”
(Non-Aboriginal woman responding to how long she plans to work in prostitution)

~

In an open-ended question, participants were asked the length of time they planned on working in prostitution. Responses were shared by 11 of the 12 participants; three women (27.27%) indicated that they work as needed, two women (18.18%) were hoping to quit since recently starting a methadone program, five participants (45.45%) do not want to continue much longer and the last woman stated “forever”, which was conveyed to the researcher in a tone of disappointment.

10.1.7 Economic Motivation

“Purely for drug use...and rent, ya rent, bills you know, but mostly drugs.”
(Non-Aboriginal woman talking about reasons for working in prostitution)

~

“To buy my drugs and alcohol and to pay for food.”
(Aboriginal woman talking about reasons for working in prostitution)

~

In a separate question participants were asked reasons for their participation in prostitution. Of the 7 participants who volunteered to answer the open-ended question, 100% reported working to purchase drugs and/or alcohol. Other reasons asked within a close-ended question, included to support family (41.67%, 5/12) and to pay off debts (25%, 3/12).

10.1.8 Ideas that Could End Prostitution

“Shit, that’s like saying we’re going to feed hungry children. Honestly, as long as there’s customers, there’s workers.”

(Non- Aboriginal woman working in prostitution talking about ending prostitution)

~

“More charges, like, should be laid on the Johns and like their identity, like license plates, make of the car, their first names. I honestly think that’s the only way we are going to get men from straying from their wives.”

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution talking about ending prostitution)

~

“Maybe help those that have less of an income with more of an income. After I pay my rent, like I can barely buy food. I can go to the food bank and things like that, but you don’t really get what you need from them, like as far as nutrition. It’s sad you know.”

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution talking about ending prostitution)

~

Women were asked to provide some ideas about what could end prostitution in an open-ended question. All women in the sample answered the question. The responses varied from being impossible by stating that it’s an old profession and customer driven (33.33%, 4/12) to suggesting legalization (25%, 3/12), jobs or increased income availability (25%, 3/12), opening a safe house (16.67%, 2/12), education (8.33%, 1/12) and increased charges for customers (8.33%, 1/12). One participant did not have any specific ideas to share.

10.2 General Findings from Women with Hardships

10.2.1 Difficult Times in Life

My mom hit me with a broomstick, like, uh, in my ribs and broke my ribs and then she was threatening to kill me. She has assault charges pressed against her and she, like, wouldn't let me leave the house and stuff.

(Non-Aboriginal woman with hardships)

~

I was physically beaten by my common-law husband, thrown through glass windows, beaten to a pulp, he yanked hair out from my head, punched out in front of my kids, dragged down the street by my hair, that's just some of them.

(Non-Aboriginal woman with hardships)

~

I've been homeless. I was pregnant when I was 16, that's when my mother kicked me out.

(Aboriginal woman with hardships)

~

The nine participants of this research sample responded to an open-ended question about hard times during their life. A categorization of the responses revealed that 55.56% (5/9) of the sample experienced physical abuse either from a partner (3/5) or a parent (2/5); 44.44% (4/9) reported homelessness at some point during their life; 33.33% (3/9) highlighted teen pregnancy; rape and suicide were each mentioned twice; and incarceration and substance abuse were each mentioned once.

10.2.2 Abstinence from Prostitution

"It was never my interest. If somebody say 'eh, I'll give you a hundred bucks', I wouldn't even budge. I wouldn't even go there."

(Aboriginal woman with hardships discussing reasons for abstaining from prostitution)

~

“Oh, no. I feel dirty and gross and I would never do it and plus you can get all kinds of diseases. I like to be clean. I don’t have any partners in my life. Because I’ve already got raped, I didn’t like the feeling of it and I have friends to help me out. And I’ve seen my friends go through prostitution and they got into needles and shit, and that’s just nasty and I seen how sick they got. Some of them got AIDS, some of them got Hep C. I’ve seen all my friends go through it. And one of my friends was a pimp and he beat up his girls, so it’s like I witnessed it and I’m like I ain’t goin’ through this shit, I’d rather just sell weed and have happy people.”
(Aboriginal woman with hardships discussing reasons for abstaining from prostitution)

~

“No. Cause I just don’t want to.”
(Non-Aboriginal woman with hardships discussing reasons for abstaining from prostitution)

~

Women with hardships were asked in an open-ended question if they have ever thought of turning to prostitution. The overwhelming response was “no” (88.89%, 8/9). There was no single reason given, there was simply a general disinterest expressed by participants. Two of the common terms in the narratives included “gross” and “diseases”. One participant thought about turning to prostitution, but did not, citing sufficient access to social services: *“And if it wasn’t for certain resources, I probably would have ended up prostituting or committing crimes, but there wasn’t a need to. If I’m hungry, I come down here.”*

10.2.3 Dealing with Challenges in Life

I’ve been in Kirkwood (mental health facility), like I went to the hospital and I’ve been at crisis many times.”
(Non-Aboriginal woman discussing how she’s coped through difficult life challenges)

~

“My friends helped me out a lot and they’re still around.”
(Aboriginal woman discussing how she’s coped through difficult life challenges)

~

“My kids. I figured that if I didn’t come through, if I wasn’t strong, then my kids would be weak and I’d get my kids taken away. My kids have always been my safety guard to help me get through things. That’s my safety, my kids.”
(Non-Aboriginal woman discussing how she’s coped through difficult life challenges)

When asked in an open-ended question about how they have coped during the difficult times, women with hardships discussed accessing social services and programs (66.67%, 6/9); relying on assistance from friends (22.22%, 2/9); and doing whatever necessary for the sake of their children (11.11%, 1/9). One participant added that she also received assistance from her parents while they were living.

10.2.4 Areas of Pride or Success

“My kids, that’s all. They’re all working, they’ve never gone on welfare, never turned to prostitution, my daughter never turned to it, that’s what I’m proud of...and none of them are in a bad relationship.”

(Non-Aboriginal woman talking about what she’s most proud of in her life)

~

“My son. I spent most of his life being drunk, but I raised him properly.”

(Non-Aboriginal woman talking about what she’s most proud of in her life)



Figure 11. Words used to describe what women with hardships are most proud of in their lives.

Women with hardships, like women in prostitution, were asked in an open-ended question to talk about what they were most proud of in their life or some of their successes. The most prominent word generated by the Wordle program relates to children (77.78%, 7/9), which is a similar result produced when women working in prostitution were asked the same question. Like women in prostitution, women with hardships participating in this research did not have children living with them at the time of the study (Table 4).

10.3 Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Prostitution

10.3.1 Engagement in Prostitution

“You know, once you’re a prostitute, doesn’t matter if you’re still working or not working they think you’re still working and they harass you, you get harassed no matter what. You’re not allowed to go into bars, you’re not, you know and like for example the guy that owns the (local bar), he picks me up, but I’m not allowed to go in there and I don’t dress like a prostitute, some of those, like people, like in Las Vegas or whatever, I dress like a normal person and ya so it ain’t like I look like a prostitute you know.”

(Aboriginal woman talking about discrimination because of involvement in prostitution)

~

“ ‘Get a real job’ or just like yesterday somebody said that they seen me up on Back Page, now I’d never been put up on Back Page and he opened his pocket and pulled out three dollars and says ‘is that enough’. So things like that, they’re just jokes.”

(Aboriginal woman talking about discrimination because of involvement in prostitution)

~

“Just being asked to leave certain places and just because people have seen us doin’ what we’re doing and they don’t want to have, as they would say, ‘our kind’ in their establishment.”

(Aboriginal woman talking about discrimination because of involvement in prostitution)

~

“Two days ago...another guy that I buy drugs off of, he uh, he said that I owe him \$40, but I don’t, but he said that I did and he started to slash the tires on my vehicle, smash my house after, beat me up.”

(Aboriginal woman physically assaulted while working in prostitution)

Table 5

Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Prostitution with Respect to Engagement in Prostitution

VARIABLE	ABORIGINAL	NON-ABORIGINAL	RESULT	
	% YES	% YES	CHI-SQUARE/T-TEST	
Desire for Legalization of Prostitution	85.70%	0%	$X^2 (1, N=11)=7.54$	$p<.01$
Discrimination because of Prostitution	85.70%	40%	$X^2 (1, N=12)=2.74$	$p<.10$
Physical Assault in Prostitution	100%	60%	$X^2 (1, N=12)=3.36$	$p<.07$
Early First Sexual Experience*	100% between 6 and 15 years old	100% between 0 and 10 years old	$t(10)=2.62$	$p=.03$

*The significance reflects non-Aboriginal women with an earlier first sexual experience than Aboriginal women.

It was found that there is a relationship between variables related to engagement in prostitution and race. Aboriginal women in prostitution expressed a stronger desire for the legalization of prostitution than non-Aboriginal women in prostitution (Table 5). Aboriginal women in prostitution also reported more discrimination because of involvement in prostitution and reported more physical assault while working in prostitution than non-Aboriginal women (Table 5). Non-Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution reported an earlier first sexual experience than Aboriginal women in prostitution (Table 5). Aboriginal women did note early first sexual experiences but differences were not significant in this study.

10.3.2 Drug and Alcohol Consumption

“My Dad was a heroin addict, my real Dad. I used to like shoot him up when I was like 10. He used to get me to help him, so because he couldn’t hit himself anymore. So, I don’t know, when I was about 12 there, I took a look and tried it on my own. I uh, got addicted pretty quick.”
(Aboriginal woman in prostitution discussing her prolonged substance use)

~

*“For two years straight now, but before that I was 17 years clean, so off and on for twenty something years”
(Non-Aboriginal woman in prostitution discussing her substance use)*

Table 6

Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Prostitution with Respect to Drug and Alcohol Consumption

VARIABLE	ABORIGINAL	NON-ABORIGINAL	RESULT	
	% YES	% YES	CHI-SQUARE/T-TEST	
Alcohol Use	71.4%	20%	$X^2(1, N=12)=3.09$	$p<.08$
Criticism from Others about Alcohol Use	100%	0%	$X^2(1, N=6)=6.00$	$p<.01$
Desire to Reduce Alcohol Consumption	100%	0%	$X^2(1, N=6)=6.00$	$p<.01$
Desire for Substance Use Treatment	85.70%	20%	$X^2(1, N=12)=5.18$	$p<.02$
Prolonged Substance Use	18.33 (Mean)	7.50 (Mean)	$t(8)=2.31$	$p=.05$

Statistically significant differences were found between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in prostitution in relation to drug and alcohol consumption. Aboriginal women reported more alcohol use, more criticism from others about their alcohol consumption and a stronger desire to reduce alcohol consumption than non-Aboriginal women (Table 6). Aboriginal women in prostitution also reported more prolonged substance use and a stronger desire for treatment of substance use than non-Aboriginal women in prostitution (Table 6).

10.3.3 Culture and Relationships

*“Not now because of my drug use and prostitution and stuff. My Grandmother would kill me if she knew I’d go to a ceremony all high or whatever.”
(Aboriginal woman in prostitution talking about cultural involvement)*

~

“I’m just starting to get back into my Aboriginal background. The last time I did do it, I stayed 7 years clean and I enjoyed it a lot.”
(Aboriginal woman in prostitution discussing her interest in Aboriginal culture)

Table 7

Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Prostitution with Respect to Culture and Relationships

VARIABLE	ABORIGINAL	NON-ABORIGINAL	WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROSTITUTION (N=12)	
	% YES	% YES		
Family with Residential School Experience	85.70%	0%	$X^2(2,N=12)=8.71$	$p<.01$
Contact with Family	85.70%	40%	$X^2(1,N=12)=2.74$	$p<.10$
Someone to Trust	100%	40%	$X^2(1,N=12)=5.00$	$p<.02$
Desire to Deepen Cultural Heritage	57.10%	0%	$X^2(2,N=12)=4.95$	$p<.08$
Actively Practicing a Faith	71.40%	20%	$X^2(1,N=12)=3.09$	$p<.08$

The Chi-Square statistics indicated a relationship between race and cultural/relationship differences. More Aboriginal women reported having family with residential school experience, contact with family, having someone in their life that they trust, an interest in deepening their cultural heritage and actively practicing their faith (Table 7). Significant similarities in these responses were also found between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women with hardships (Table 8).

10.4 Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women with Hardships

10.4.1 Culture and Relationships

“My Mom did, it fucked her head up.”
(Aboriginal woman with experienced hardships referencing her mother’s residential school experience)

~

“I hand drum, but you have to be clean for three to five days or longer to hand drum, so I’m working on that.”
(Aboriginal woman with experienced hardships discussing her familiarity with Aboriginal teachings)

~

“Often, thanks to Facebook. That’s a lot of our media contact because reserves tend to not have very much long distance when you call there and so Facebook has enabled us to be more in contact with more family members than if we didn’t have Facebook.”
(Aboriginal woman with hardships discussing her contact with family)

Table 8

Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women with Hardships with Respect to Culture and Relationships

VARIABLE	ABORIGINAL	NON-ABORIGINAL	WOMEN WITH EXPERIENCED HARSHIPS (N=9)	
	% YES	% YES		
Family with Residential School Experience	100%	0%	$X^2(1,N=9)=9.00$	$p<.00$
Actively Practicing a Faith	100%	0%	$X^2(1,N=9)=9.00$	$p<.00$
Contact with Family	100%	50%	$X^2(1,N=9)=3.21$	$p<.07$
Friends-Family Living in First Nations Community	80%	0%	$X^2(1,N=8)=4.80$	$p<.03$
Lived in a First Nations Community at Some Point	80%	0%	$X^2(1,N=9)=5.76$	$p<.02$
Familiarity with Aboriginal Teachings	80%	0%	$X^2(2,N=9)=9.00$	$p<.01$

Aboriginal women with hardships, compared to non-Aboriginal women with hardships reported that they had family with residential school experience, were actively practicing their faith more often, they had more contact with family, more family and friends living in a First Nations community, they lived in a First Nations community at some point and had more familiarity with Aboriginal teachings (Table 8).

10.5 Differences between Populations

A Z-Score calculator for two population proportions was used to determine if there were any significant differences between women in prostitution and women with hardships. There were two significant findings: drug use ($Z=2.81$, $p=.00$) and experience with homelessness ($Z=1.72$, $p=0.09$). That is, the proportion of women in prostitution who used drugs (0.92) differed significantly from women with hardships (0.33). Likewise, experience with homelessness differed significantly between women in prostitution (1.00) and women with hardships (0.78).

In conclusion, the research results support the hypothesis that there are significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury. Through qualitative and quantitative analysis, differences were found in relation to engagement in prostitution (legalization, discrimination, physical assault, early sexual experience); drug and alcohol consumption (alcohol use, criticism from others about alcohol use, desire to reduce consumption, prolonged substance use, desire for treatment); and culture and relationships (family with residential school experience, desire to deepen cultural heritage, participation in faith, contact with family, someone to trust). Additional results contributing to a fuller picture of prostitution in Sudbury were found pertaining to location of solicitation, competition within street prostitution, customer estimates, duration in the profession and economic motivation. A sample of women with hardships was surveyed and the results revealed some differences in this sample group that were similar to those of the primary sample of women engaged in prostitution; namely, both samples differed from non-Aboriginal women in that they were more likely to have family with residential school experience, they reported active participation in their faith and had more contact with family. The two samples of Aboriginal

women differed from each other in comparison to non-Aboriginal women in that Aboriginal women with hardships reported having more family and friends living in a First Nations community, reported practicing their faith more often and had more contact with family. Women with hardships additionally shared reasons for non-participation in prostitution and life challenges. The two sample groups of women in their entirety differed from one another in two areas: drug use and experience with homelessness; women working in prostitution were found to significantly report both of these variables more than women with hardships. Word clouds were included throughout the results to visually demonstrate the words of participants.

Chapter 11

11 Discussion

Interviewing marginalized women in one's home community is challenging. Recording answers and listening to their stories triggers a range of questions about social, political and human responsibility. Canada, as a developed country, continues to prosper and progress with world changes and yet poverty and deprivation continue into perpetuity. Researching prostitution in Sudbury brings attention to continuing historical, social and economic issues in communities throughout the country.

There is an abundance of research worldwide about prostitution; however, there is little concerning differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in Canada engaged in prostitution. The significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women working in prostitution and identified in this study fall into three broad categories: engagement in prostitution; drug and alcohol consumption; and culture and relationships. The first broad category revealed significant differences in the desire for legalization, the experience of discrimination working in prostitution, the occurrence of physical assault and early first sexual experience.

Aboriginal women reported experiencing discrimination during their involvement in prostitution. Discrimination against Aboriginal women can again be traced back to early colonization with the historical clash between traditional practices and Victorian views. Sangster (2008) writes that Aboriginal women were seen as “wild women” and “symbolizing sexual excess temptation and conquest”. Barman (2008) adds that they had to be “subdued” and “controlled”. Likewise, Carter (2008) reported that the *Fort Macleod Gazette* wrote that “they

were prostitutes before they went to live with white men”. These pervasive views are ingrained in beliefs and unfairly carried through generations. Added to the sexual discrimination of Aboriginal women are Canadian laws, like Bill C-31 and Bill C-3, which deny women equal rights based on their gender. The finding that Aboriginal women in this study report more discrimination cannot be surprising when the historical context of the issue is considered; again, however, a study designed to test causal hypotheses would be needed.

Over the last several years, there has been notable news coverage of the violence experienced by Aboriginal women across the country. It is therefore again not surprising that Aboriginal women in this study reported experiencing more physical assault while working in prostitution than non-Aboriginal women in this study. This finding is supported by research conducted by the Native Women’s Association of Canada which identified that violence directed towards Aboriginal women is both from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders who are typically men. Likewise, a Commission of Inquiry in British Columbia directly reported that “Aboriginal women experience higher levels of violence in terms of incidence and severity” and that women engaged in prostitution are “at extremely elevated risk for various forms of severe violence” (Oppal, 2012). This research from the Commission of Inquiry suggests that Aboriginal women are doubly at risk based on their race and profession.

Early first sexual experience is noted in academic research as being related to engagement in prostitution (Earls and David, 1989). It was found in this research study that non-Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution reported an earlier first sexual experience than Aboriginal women working in prostitution. It is noteworthy that all Aboriginal participants in this study experienced their first sexual experience between the ages of 6 and 15 years old.

Multiple sources have linked the present status of Aboriginal women back to the intergenerational effects of residential schools (Oppal, 2012; Tungilik, 2008; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Farley et al., 2005). Historically, it is known that many Aboriginal children attending the residential school system were physically and sexually abused. In 1998, the federal government attested to this fact in its apology to survivors (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011).

The second category of significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women working in prostitution is drug and alcohol consumption. This category revealed that Aboriginal women, compared to non-Aboriginal women, reported more alcohol use, more criticism from others about alcohol consumption, more prolonged substance use and a stronger desire for treatment of substance use. The Indian Act of 1876 gave authority to the Department of Indian Affairs for “controlling the access to intoxicants” (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011). Bourassa et al. (2005) stated that Aboriginal women have been “driven to substance use”. Likewise, the Commission of Inquiry in British Columbia reported that “sex work has been associated with high risk injecting practices” and “poverty is directly connected to both drug addiction and participation in the sex trade” (Oppal, 2012). Further, the RCMP concluded in a national operational review of missing and murdered Aboriginal women that “Aboriginal females were more likely than non-Aboriginal females to have consumed some form of alcohol and/or drugs or other intoxicating substances prior to the incident” (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2014). In general, fewer Aboriginal women living off-reserve in Canada report their health as excellent or very good compared to non-Aboriginal women (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

The final category of significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women working in prostitution is culture and relationships whereby Aboriginal women reported

having family with residential school experience, more interest in deepening their cultural heritage, actively practicing their faith more often, having more contact with family and having someone in their life that they trust. In terms of family with residential school experience, it is of no surprise that Aboriginal women differed from non-Aboriginal women in this category since it is a history that is unique to Aboriginal people. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) clearly states in their report that “closing residential schools did not bring their story to an end”. It may be relevant that there is a sample of women working in prostitution that have immediate family affected by this national tragedy. It is clear from the findings that Aboriginal women continue to maintain social relationships with family and friends and have an ongoing desire to connect with their culture and pursue active participation.

Additional results were collected during the research study about the economics of street prostitution in Sudbury. The most popular sites for solicitation conform with the “blighted” historical locations detailed in the city’s Urban Renewal Strategy and with subsequent news reports of prostitution downtown. The areas indicated by research participants continue to be deprived low-income neighbourhoods. The findings pertaining to economic motivation, namely money and drug use, were similar to those in other studies. Earls and David (1989) found that money was noted as the primary motivation for prostitution and drug use was another factor noted within the literature review. A study of prostitution in Waterloo, Ontario found that “there was a direct relationship between prostitution and drugs”. Likewise, the Commission of Inquiry in British Columbia reported that “approximately 60% of participants in the MAKKA health study said they would give up sex work if they did not need it for drugs or if they could be involved in ‘low threshold employment’” (Oppal, 2012). Nationally, it is known that registered Aboriginal women face many economic challenges including higher unemployment rates for all types of

educational attainment than non-Aboriginal women; the lowest average individual income in Canada; and urban Aboriginal women are noted to move significantly more often than on-reserve registered Aboriginal women for reasons that are speculated to include “a host of interrelated factors, such as low income, employment opportunities, inadequate housing and housing affordability, childcare, as well as access to various social services and networks of care” (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012). The economic disparities of Aboriginal women are clear and the findings of this research study in relation to economics and prostitution are supported in the literature.

Significant similarities were also observed between Aboriginal women working in prostitution and Aboriginal women with hardships. These similarities, not surprisingly, included family with residential school experience, active participation in faith and contact with family. Aboriginal women with hardships had more family and friends living in a First Nations community, they’ve also lived in a First Nations community at some point and were more familiar with Aboriginal teachings than non-Aboriginal women with hardships. When this sample was questioned about reasons for non-participation in prostitution despite difficult life circumstances, the answers reflected a predetermined stance with the understanding that assistance and support are available by other means. Although it was hoped that interviewing women with hardships would lead to some clear reasons for non-participation in prostitution, it wasn’t the case in this study; aside from building stronger cultural connections and linkages to Aboriginal communities, there were no definite solutions gleaned from this research.

When a statistical analysis was conducted to determine if there were any significant differences between women working in prostitution and women with hardships, the results included that women working in prostitution reported more drug use and experience with

homelessness; clearly, drug use and homelessness were two significant contributing factors to work within prostitution. Despite the common view that early sexual experience is associated with participation in prostitution, the data does not allow us to conclude that participation in prostitution is associated with early sexual experience. Lastly, the most striking similarity between both sample groups of women was feelings towards their children; despite the fact that none of the women interviewed lived with their children for various reasons, their children remained their greatest source of pride and accomplishment.

The majority of the results in this study are consistent with previous research; however, it should be noted that there were various limitations to the methodology. Most importantly, the research participants were interviewed at the site of established social services and were not recruited from their places of work or living. There was a high likelihood that suitable participants were missed. Also, women working in prostitution were not asked to provide verification of this fact, nor were women with experienced hardships asked to qualify for participation. Lastly, there was a possibility that participants provided false information and/or lack of disclosure during the interview process. All participant responses were recorded as trusted and accurate information.

Like most research on this topic, the customer perspective is missing. It was originally planned to include participation from johns through a survey delivered at the local John School for first time offenders, but changes in legislation governing prostitution during the time period of the study meant the Greater Sudbury Police Services were no longer conducting any police sweeps to populate the program by the time field work began. It is therefore suggested that the cultural preferences and prejudices of johns be researched in order to provide a different

perspective to further identify differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution.

Chapter 12

12 Conclusion

Sudbury is an industrial community on traditional Anishnaabe territory. The arrival of the railway and subsequent mining companies created a market for sex and a sex trade developed. Some Aboriginal women became commercial sex providers. The trade was persistent and even an urban renewal strategy could not erase prostitution from the streets of the city.

A number of government policies appear to have resulted in the disproportionate representation of Aboriginal women in the profession. Discriminatory Canadian laws marginalized Aboriginal women from their own communities. Residential schools tore families apart and marriage laws denied Aboriginal women their right to property, status and access to culture. These past and current injustices push a disproportionate number of Aboriginal women into poverty with all of its inherent harms including risk of violence, homelessness, drug use and disease.

It was found through this research study that there are significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in prostitution and that there are also significant differences between women engaged in prostitution and women who have experienced hardships. It is also known from the research that Aboriginal women have struggled and continue to struggle against ignorance, intolerance and injustice. Is there hope for the future? Yes. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls and public and political interest, reflect a process of change that is gathering momentum. It may take several generations to right the wrongs of history; however, change is possible.

Chapter 13

13 Afterward

In the preface to this document, I wrote about some of my personal observations about women working in prostitution. It was a tremendous honour to speak with them about their experiences working on the streets of a community where I live and work. One of the most surprising findings, for me, was the importance of children in the lives of women I interviewed. I remarked how I've seen women working in prostitution with tattoos and pictures, but what I didn't know was that these personal pieces were a reflection of their immense pride. Even more surprising to me was that this love extended beyond a direct relationship with their children since many women did not have legal custody. The bond between women and their children is a powerful force, even during difficult life circumstances.

During the time of planning and writing this thesis, the legalities of prostitution in Canada changed; there are more restrictions in some areas and fewer in others. Interestingly though, there was no direct impact on my research. I don't believe that happenings in Ottawa during my interviews had any immediate influence whatsoever on the lives of my participants at that time; I didn't directly ask, but it wasn't voluntarily mentioned either. Whatever the outcome of new government policies, the women interviewed continued with their work and didn't mention any complaints or hindrances as a result of new legislation. A minor inconvenience, however, was that I did not have the opportunity to interview customers through the local John School because of the lack of enforcement needed to populate the classes; whether this was a result of the new policies, I don't know. Regardless, there was no impact on my interviews with women working in prostitution and this was a surprise to me.

There was considerable discussion with my thesis committee about the necessity of recommendations. Recommendations are not included in the body of this thesis for a couple of reasons. Firstly, the sample size is small, although sufficient for defining the population and understanding differences for future study; however, it is too limited for making generalized recommendations for women working in prostitution in Sudbury. Further, there are detailed and in-depth reports that have been recently released with important recommendations that directly influence this population of study; in my opinion, these are priority for implementation. That being said, it is interesting that Aboriginal women working in prostitution expressed a desire for deepening their cultural heritage and Aboriginal women with hardships had significantly more familiarity with Aboriginal teachings (compared to non-Aboriginal women, although the test was not significant in the prostitution sample). I don't think the connection to culture should be understated for the purposes of policy and providing support for these women, especially with the history of Aboriginal people in Canada. Some Aboriginal women in prostitution talked about taking classes here and there, especially within correctional facilities, but this is not sufficient. Knowing the importance of ceremonies, celebrations, teachings and access to Elders, I believe that Aboriginal women working in prostitution can be best served by linking interventions and communication to their community and family experience, including their understanding of a cultural inheritance. Some culturally appropriate services are available in downtown Sudbury, but there may be barriers (location, time, worry of being judged) that are hindering their involvement.

In hindsight, I would have done some things differently if I knew then what I know now. Knowing the influence of culture, I would have asked more questions about specific interests and the best ways of securing involvement. Knowing that I wouldn't have an opportunity to

interview customers, I would have asked some of these questions to my sample. Knowing that women were so deeply proud of their children despite not acting within a parenting role, I would have asked about possible interest in visitation and reunification. Lastly, knowing there were emerging trends in the answers of women, I would have opted for an open-ended questionnaire with the option of asking more in-depth questions.

Since starting this research, I have become better aware of the presence of Aboriginal culture in my community. I've watched the building of the Indigenous Learning and Sharing Centre at Laurentian University; I've heard of the hiring of an Indigenous Liaison Officer at the Greater Sudbury Police Services; I've seen the Métis flag flying on the Bridge of Nations; and I've listened to my kids talk about Aboriginal stories they've heard at school. Sudbury is becoming a more inclusive community and I'm thankful that this generation and those in the future will learn, like I did through this study, that we each have a role in advancing reconciliation, understanding Indigenous knowledge, decolonizing established institutions and supporting the healing of Aboriginal people.

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Appendix A: Social Institutions Involved with Street Prostitution in Sudbury

The following is a list of non-profit organizations, government organizations and informal social interest groups that offer services to residents in Sudbury. The majority of services listed do not exclusively assist women working in prostitution; however, each service is accessible to active and former sex-workers depending on their needs and willingness to seek assistance.

Non-Profit Organizations

Centre Victoria pour femmes: Centre Victoria pour femmes is a francophone service for women who are victims of abuse. The agency offers a range of free services and programs, including counselling, education, referrals and workshops.

Elizabeth Fry Society: This non-profit organization assists women in conflict with or at-risk of conflict with the law. A number of programs are offered to support women with mental and physical health issues. The agency also helps women find housing and employment.

Monarch Recovery Services: This agency provides programs for women aged 16 years and older who are recovering from alcohol or drug dependency. Women entering the program have specific criteria to meet in advance of receiving assistance. Active and former women engaged in prostitution have access to this residential and day treatment program.

N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre: The N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre is a resource and program centre for urban Aboriginals in Greater Sudbury. It is located downtown and offers a range of services to individuals and families of all ages.

The Point Needle Exchange: This service provides clean needles, free condoms, counselling, information and support. It also has an outreach program whereby "Blue Coats" walk the downtown streets at night and offer their services to those in need. The Point Needle Exchange

does not work exclusively with women engaged in prostitution, although they are part of the clientele.

Réseau ACCESS Network: This organization provides supports to individuals infected or at risk of HIV/AIDS, HCV and related health issues. Programs and services include counselling, clinics, outreach, referrals, education and prevention. Women engaged in prostitution meeting this mandate can access services directly.

Rockhaven: This agency is a residential treatment facility for males over the age of 16 years. Their relevance to prostitution is linked to the affiliation between prostitution and drugs and the possible occurrence of male prostitution.

Samaritan Centre: The Samaritan Centre is located in downtown Sudbury and houses a diverse array of homelessness services to marginalized members of the community, including women engaged in prostitution. There are three tenants in the building: the Elgin Street Mission, the Blue Door Soup Kitchen and the Corner Clinic operated by Centre de Santé communautaire du Grand Sudbury.

- The Elgin Street Mission is a drop-in centre that offers meals, bathrooms, shower facilities, laundry services, clothing and spiritual support. During the winter months, this facility opens as a warming station during the extreme cold.
- The Blue Door Soup Kitchen serves free meals on weekdays.
- The Corner Clinic provides free medical and health care services to the homeless and those at risk of homelessness.

Sudbury Action Centre for Youth (SACY): The SACY is a drop-in centre for youth between the ages of 16 and 24 years. It offers a non-judgmental place where youth can access services related to housing, education, peer-support, meal programs and counselling. SACY is located

downtown in order to assist marginalized youth. Services are not geared specifically to women engaged in prostitution; however, they are welcome to attend the centre and receive support.

Sudbury Women's Centre: The Sudbury Women's Centre provides women who have experienced violence or difficult life circumstances in the community with information, referrals and support services. Free workshops centred on addressing violence against women and promoting economic independence are offered. Women engaged in prostitution are welcome and invited to use this downtown service.

Government

Greater Sudbury Police Services (GSPS): GSPS is a law enforcement organization. Although they are responsible for apprehending johns, the GSPS has taken a proactive approach to prostitution in the community by forming a discussion committee comprised of residents living in neighbourhoods frequented by women working in prostitution, landlords and social service and government agencies. Guest speakers have been invited to speak at the meetings for the benefit of educating members about the issue. Further, the GSPS has created a Community Response Team of officers who are dedicated to issues on the street, including prostitution.

Health Sciences North:

- HAVEN Program: This program is an outpatient clinic offered through Health Sciences North that provides care to individuals infected with HIV. The clinic also extends support to family and friends of infected individuals.
- Mental Health and Addiction Services:
 - Crisis Intervention Services: This free downtown service is offered 7 days per week until 10pm and no appointment is necessary. A 24-hour crisis line and a mobile crisis team are also available to those in need.

- Short Term Crisis Safe Bed Program: Individuals in crisis are given the opportunity to stay at this downtown facility for 7 to 10 days and receive case management services in a supervised setting with medical professionals.
- Withdrawal Management Services: This downtown facility offers detoxification beds 24/7 to individuals 16 years of age and older who are under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

Ontario Works (OW): Ontario Works is a government welfare program that offers financial assistance to eligible applicants. Funds are allocated for basic needs, such as food and shelter. Employment programs are also offered to assist recipients secure a job or pursue education. Women working in prostitution are required to declare their income; however, it is difficult with the current system to track cash employment. As such, the number of women engaged in prostitution receiving OW benefits cannot be quantified. Regardless, the women are entitled to receive benefits and support.

Sudbury & District Health Unit, Growing Family Health Clinic, Immunization and Sexual Health Services: The Sudbury & District Health Unit has opened a satellite office in the Rainbow Centre mall in downtown Sudbury. This site offers sexual health services, including testing, physical examinations and resources, such as condoms. Its location is ideal for inviting women working in prostitution in the vicinity. Scheduled appointments can be made with the female physician at the site; however, walk-in hours are also available in order ensure that women in need can access its services.

Informal Social Interest Groups

Angels of Hope Against Human Trafficking: This support group was started in late 2015 to assist women working in prostitution and their affected families.

Project Peace (Peers, Education, Advocacy, Choice & Equality): Established in 2012, this group of women work with a diverse range of community agencies to assist women working in prostitution connect to needed services.

Appendix B: Statistical Summary of Aboriginal Women in Greater Sudbury

Aboriginal Women in Greater Sudbury

Aboriginal women in Greater Sudbury are the primary focus of this research project and highlighting the characteristics of this population will enhance the understanding of their present day. Data for the census metropolitan area, which includes the City of Greater Sudbury, the Atikameksheng Anishnawbek First Nation reserve and the Wahnapiatae First Nation reserve provide some insight into the social and economic situation of Aboriginal women.

Population

According to the 2011 Statistics Canada National Household Survey (NHS), 8.5% (13,410) of the population in Greater Sudbury have an Aboriginal identity, including: 48.4% (6,485) First Nations; 48.2% (6,460) Métis; 0.3% (40) Inuit; 2.5% (330) other Aboriginal identity; and 0.7% (90) more than one Aboriginal identity.

Living Arrangements

In Greater Sudbury, there are more non-Aboriginal children living with both parents (70.9%) compared to Aboriginal children (43%); a difference of 28% (Table 9). There are also 21% more Aboriginal children living with a lone parent (40.4%) than non-Aboriginal children (19.3%); the majority of Aboriginal children in lone parent homes live with their mother (36.8%) and only a small percentage (3.5%) live with their father. This finding is the same for all Aboriginal identity types. The vast majority of Aboriginal women who have children are the primary caregivers.

Table 9

2011 Living Arrangements of Aboriginal Children Aged 14 and Under in Greater Sudbury

Living Arrangements	Total Aboriginal Identity	Non-Aboriginal Identity
Children of Both Parents	43.0	70.9
Stepchildren	12.4	9.1
Children of Lone Parent	40.4	19.3
Of Male Lone Parent	3.5	3.3
Of Female Lone Parent	36.8	16.0
Foster Children	2.3	0.3
Children Living with Other Relatives	0.5	0.1

(Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Focus on Geography Series)

Marital Status

There are nearly as many Aboriginal women who are married or living common-law (2,835), than there are who are not (2,645) in Greater Sudbury (Table 10). The separated, divorced and widowed rates are higher for Aboriginal women (850) than they are for Aboriginal men (305).

Table 10

2011 Marital Status of Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 Years and Over in Greater Sudbury

Marital Status	Total	Male	Female
Married or Living with a Common-Law Partner	5,545	2,710	2,835
• Married (and not separated)	3,970	1,965	2,005
• Living Common Law	1,575	745	825
Not Married and Not Living Common-Law	5,045	2,400	2,645
• Single (never legally married)	3,885	2,090	1,790
• Separated	335	85	245
• Divorced	555	165	395
• Widowed	270	55	210
Total	10,585	5,105	5,475

(Statistics Canada, 2011 National Housing Survey, Aboriginal Population Profile)

Education

There are nearly as many Aboriginal women with a high school diploma or less (2,535) than there are with a postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree (2,940) in Greater Sudbury (Table 11); however, there are more Aboriginal women with higher education (2,940) than Aboriginal men (2,375).

Table 11

2011 Education of Total Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 and Over by Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree in Greater Sudbury

Education	Total	Male	Female
No Certificate, Diploma, Degree	2,765	1,480	1,285
High School Diploma or Equivalent	2,505	1,250	1,250
Postsecondary Certificate, Diploma, Degree	5,320	2,375	2,940

(Statistics Canada, 2011 National Housing Survey, Aboriginal Population Profile)

Labour Force

There are 3,445 Aboriginal women in Greater Sudbury in the labour force and 2,035 who are not in the labour force (Table 12). There are more Aboriginal women who are not in the labour force than Aboriginal men (1,750); however, there are more Aboriginal women employed (3,095) than Aboriginal men (2,895).

Table 12

2011 Labour Force Status of Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 and Over in Greater Sudbury

Labour Force Status	Total	Male	Female
In the Labour Force	6,800	3,360	3,445
• Employed	5,990	2,895	3,095
• Unemployed	805	460	345
Not in the Labour Force	3,790	1,750	2,035

(Statistics Canada, 2011 National Housing Survey, Aboriginal Population Profile)

Income

The average income of Aboriginal men (\$36,188) was greater in 2010 than that of Aboriginal women (\$29,621) in Greater Sudbury (Table 13). Additionally, there are more Aboriginal women (4,190) earning less than \$49,999 than Aboriginal men (3,340); however, there are more Aboriginal men (1,500) earning more than \$50,000 than Aboriginal women (935). Further, there are no Aboriginal women earning more than \$125,000 in Greater Sudbury, whereas there are 65 men who are.

Table 13

2010 Income of Total Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 and Over in Greater Sudbury

Income	Total	Male	Female
Under \$5,000	1,290	720	570
\$5,000 - \$9,999	730	295	435
\$10,000 – \$19,999	2,000	635	1,365
\$20,000 - \$39,999	2,405	1,080	1,325
\$40,000 – \$59,999	1,895	1,110	785
\$60,000 – \$99,999	1,200	650	540
\$100,000 and over	235	175	60
\$100,000 to \$124,999	155	110	45
\$125,000 and over	80	65	0
Median Income (\$)	26,363	34,096	22,626
Average Income (\$)	32,764	36,188	29,621

(Statistics Canada, 2011 National Housing Survey, Aboriginal Population Profile)

Shelter Costs

Approximately 27% of Aboriginal households spend more than 30% or more of household total income on shelter costs (Table 14). There are more Aboriginal households that own their own home (4,100) compared to those that rent (3,120). Further, fewer Aboriginal home owners (14.4%) spend 30% or more of total income on shelter compared to Aboriginal households that rent (43.5%). 25% of tenant Aboriginal households are in subsidized housing.

Table 14

2011 Shelter Costs of Owner and Tenant Aboriginal Households in Greater Sudbury

Shelter Costs	Total
Total Number of Owner and Tenant Aboriginal Households	7,220
• Spending less than 30% of household total income on shelter costs	5,275
• Spending 30% or more of household total income on shelter costs	1,940
Total Number of Owner Aboriginal Households	4,100
• % of owner households with a mortgage	71.1
• % of owner households spending 30% or more of total income on shelter	14.4
Total number of tenant Aboriginal Households	3,120
• % of tenant households in subsidized housing	25.0
• % of tenant households spending 30% or more of total income on shelter	43.5

(Statistics Canada, 2011 National Housing Survey, Aboriginal Population Profile)

In summary, nearly 9% of the population in Greater Sudbury is of Aboriginal identity. Almost half of Aboriginal children are being raised by single mothers. There are nearly as many married and common-law Aboriginal women as there are separated, divorced or widowed Aboriginal women. Further, there are as also as many Aboriginal women with a post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree as there are without. The earnings of Aboriginal women are less than that of Aboriginal men in Greater Sudbury. Over a quarter of Aboriginal households spend more than 30% of their total income on shelter costs and a quarter of tenant Aboriginal households are in subsidized housing.

Appendix C: Research Evaluation Using the Indigenous Research Paradigm

Wilson (2008) explains that there are six key questions of an Indigenous Research Paradigm that must be answered by researchers. The following is a list of the questions with the answers that were completed prior to the start of this research project and verified throughout the process:

1. How do my methods help to build respectful relationships between the topic that I am studying and myself as researcher?

Early Reflection: Respectful relationships between the topic of this research study and myself will be achieved through research, consultation and introspection. The topic will be researched using credible and relevant sources chosen carefully with the assistance and guidance from the committee members. The committee members each represent different areas of expertise and their advice is critical for ensuring respect of the topic. Further, I will look inwards at my own personal thoughts about the topic and ensure that biases are expressed and that my experiences are recorded truthfully and accurately in order to respect the research process.

Final Reflection: During the process of completing the background research for this thesis document, an effort was made to use reference material written by Aboriginal Canadians. Thesis committee members were helpful to direct me to specific sources that were relevant and important pieces for inclusion. I was very appreciative of these references since it's likely they would have otherwise been overlooked in my search for documentation. I particularly enjoyed Frances' *Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*; as a non-Native, the book shared a perspective that made me question the portrayal of history and the inaccurate construction of history. I believe that

the references selected for this research helped to build respectful relationships between the topic that I studied and myself as a researcher.

2. How do my methods help to build respectful relationships between myself and the other research participants?

Early Reflection: It is imperative that culturally appropriate methods are used to solicit information from research participants. Knowledge of such methods will be sought from members of the thesis committee and appropriate external sources with experience. These steps are part of the axiology of the Indigenous research method that will be incorporated into the research methodology. Following the paradigm will result in respectful relationships between the research participants and myself.

Final Reflection: In developing the methodology for this research study, I met with an Elder at Laurentian University to explain the project and ask for her thoughts on the subject. The Elder shared some personal stories with me about the topic and offered question ideas. Additionally, the Elder made two suggestions. The first was to offer tobacco ties to participants. This particular action had an impact beyond what I expected; Aboriginal women, in particular, were visibly thankful for the gift and understood its significance without explanation. It was clear that this gesture effectively communicated respect and resulted in open communication with participants. I was very glad for this suggestion and was thankful for the opportunity to give something to the women that was not money, especially since money in their daily life has specific meanings. The second suggestion from the Elder was to place a tobacco tie at the base of a birch tree before starting the interviews. Along with this suggestion, I was given the meaning of its significance. The experience of speaking with the Elder and hearing her ideas and

reasoning was extremely beneficial for helping me build respectful relationships with participants.

3. *How can I relate respectfully to the other participants involved in this research so that together we can form a stronger relationship with the idea that we will share?*

Early Reflection: Research participants will be respected through the sensitivity of survey questions, the tone used when asking women about their personal stories and the environment where respondents will meet for interviews. The research process will not be discriminatory, judgmental nor result in negative repercussions. These measures will assist me relate respectfully to the other participants involved in this research so that together we can form a stronger relationship with the ideas that we share.

Final Reflection: As indicated in the early reflection, before meeting with participants, it was my intention to ensure that interviews were conducted without judgment or discrimination. Truthfully, this isn't within my nature anyway; conversely, I was deeply appreciative of the participation from whoever had the courage to speak with me. I believe that I accomplished this task since participants did refer their friends to me and I received an adequate sample to complete the study. Word-of-mouth is a powerful communication tool and if the interviews were anything but respectful, I don't believe that I would have received the needed sample size. The verbal and non-verbal actions of the researcher are important for ensuring respectful relationships with participants; I believe this was accomplished in this study.

4. *What is my role as researcher in this relationship, and what are my responsibilities?*

Early Reflection: My role and responsibilities as the researcher is to use the Indigenous Research Paradigm appropriately to seek truths, explore relationships using respect, be accountable through the chosen methods and use ethical and moral standards to attain results.

Final Reflection: I believe that the statements made within the early reflection continue to hold true and that I have fulfilled these responsibilities. An indicator of success is the fact that women participating in the research study shared more about themselves and their experiences than required. Although the survey was predominately close-ended, a great deal was learned through sharing and elaboration; this was not required or necessary; however, women trusted the researcher to complete her responsibilities.

5. *Am I being responsible in fulfilling my role and obligations to the other participants, to the topic and to all of my relations?*

Early Reflection: It is important that I remain impartial and objective throughout the research process. This responsibility will allow participants to express their thoughts and opinions freely. The methods used to investigate the research topic and the oversight from the thesis committee and external sources will ensure that I am being responsible in fulfilling my role and obligations to the other participants, to the topic and to all of my relations.

Final Reflection: In reaching this point of writing a “final reflection”, I believe that I have fulfilled my role and obligation. In reading my earlier reflection, I was naive to think that my only responsibility was to “remain impartial and objective”. Although true, it was also my responsibility to ensure that the information shared by participants is reflected

accurately and that their voices are shared. There were many, many times throughout the research and writing of this document that I wanted to quit; it is an endurance test of monumental proportions. If I did quit, I would have certainly been negligent of my responsibility and obligation to participants.

6. *What am I contributing or giving back to the relationship? Is the sharing, growth and learning that is taking place reciprocal?*

Early Reflection: This research topic is being explored to finalize my requirements for the Human Studies PhD program. Initially my motivation was self-centred because I simply wanted to finish and move forward with life; however, I have learned through the Indigenous Research Paradigm that it is my responsibility to share and use the results for the betterment of the community. As such, the axiology incorporates the use of sharing information about the results of this study.

Final Reflection: I believe that I am contributing back to the literature and the topic of study by completing this thesis. I have borrowed considerably from the teachings and learnings of the Aboriginal community and I'm thankful for the opportunity to now share what I have learned through the experience. I believe that the relationship has finally become reciprocal now that I can give back through this research study.

Appendix D: Survey Results

Table 15

Survey results of women engaged in prostitution and women with experienced hardships

VARIABLE	WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROSTITUTION (N=12)		WOMEN WITH EXPERIENCED HARSHIPS (N=9)	
	YES(%)	NO(%)	YES(%)	NO(%)
Early First Sexual Experience	100(N=12)	0	88.89(N=8)	11.11(N=1)
Physical Abuse During Childhood	58.33(N=7)	41.67(N=5)	66.67(N=6)*	33.33(N=3)
Experience with Homelessness	100(N=12)	0	77.78(N=7)	22.22(N=2)
Contact with Family	66.67(N=8)	33.33(N=4)	77.78(N=7)	22.22(N=2)
Current Aboriginal Friendships	91.67(N=11)	8.33(N=1)	88.89(N=8)	11.11(N=1)
Discrimination Living in Sudbury	58.33(N=7)	41.67(N=5)	44.44(N=4)	55.56(N=5)
Comfort Accessing Social Services in Sudbury	91.67(N=11)	8.33(N=1)	100(N=9)	0
Familiarity with Aboriginal Teachings	58.33(N=7)	41.67(N=5)	44.44(N=4)	44.44(N=4) ^o
Discrimination Accessing Social Services in Sudbury	72.72(N=8)	27.27(N=3)	66.67(N=6)	33.33(N=3)
Satisfaction with Social Services	63.63(N=7)	36.36(N=4)	66.67(N=6)	33.33(N=3)
Drug Use	83.33(N=10)	16.67(N=2)**	33.33(N=3)	66.67(N=6)
Foster Care/Guardianship	54.55(N=6)	41.67(N=5) ^o	33.33(N=3)	66.67(N=6)

*Significant result: More non-Aboriginal women (100%) reported childhood physical abuse than Aboriginal women (40%), $X^2(1, N=9)=3.60, p<.06$,

** Participants were part of a methadone program at the time of the survey.

^oParticipant in the sample answered “unsure” and was not included in the total sample size.

Table 16

Survey results of women engaged in prostitution

VARIABLE	WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROSTITUTION (N=12)
Physical assault in prostitution	Yes (83.33%, 10/12), No (16.67%, 2/12)
Time of physical assault	more than one year ago (50%, 6/12), less than one year (33.33%, 4/12), never (16.7% , 2/12) by a customer (90%, 9/10), by other (10%, 1/10)
Time of physical threat	within last six months (45.45%, 5/11), last year (36.36%, 4/11), more than one year ago (9%, 1/11), never (9%, 1/11) physically threatened with a weapon (45.45%, 5/11) - 60% (3/5) within last six months, 40% (2/5) last year
Sexual Assault (Rape)	Yes (91.67%, 11/12), No (8.33%, 1/12)*
Sexual Assault (Rape in prostitution)	Never (20%, 2/10), Twice (10%, 1/10), Three Times (20%, 2/10), 5 Times (20%, 2/10), 10 Times (20%, 2/10), More than 10 Times (10%, 1/10)
First sexual experience	Another my age (27.27%, 3/11), Family member (27.27%, 3/11), Friend of Family member (27.27%, 3/11), Someone much older (18.18%, 2/11)
Verbal abuse while engaged in prostitution	Yes (100%, 12/12)
Desire to exit prostitution	Yes (91.67%, 11/12), No (8.33%, 1/12)*
Requests for pornographic acts	Yes (58.33%, 7/12), No (41.67%, 5/12)
Pictures within prostitution	Yes (66.67%, 8/12), No (33.33%, 4/12)
Health issues	No (20%, 2/10), Hepatitis C (50%, 5/10 + 1 respondent awaiting results), Diabetes (20%, 2/10), Manic Depression (20%, 2/10)
Types of drugs used	Methadone (16.67%, 2/12), Opiates (50%, 6/12), Cocaine (50%, 6/12), Pills (16.67%, 2/12), Marijuana (16.67%, 2/12), Needles (8.33%, 1/12 “Anything I can poke with”)
Some drug use for calming nerves/withdrawal	Yes (100%, 10/10)
Earnings kept	All for self (83.33%, 10/12), Half for self (8.33%, 1/12), Less than half for self (8.33%, 1/12)
Wanting to return to family	Yes (41.67%, 5/12), No (58.33%, 7/12)
Birthplace	Sudbury (25%, 3/12), Other (75%, 9/12 – Ontario 6/9, Other Province 2/9, USA 1/9)
Opinion: % in prostitution who know the job before starting	Less than 10% (66.67%, 8/12), More than 10% (33.33%, 4/12)

Opinion: % in prostitution who do not start on their own volition	<50% (60%, 6/10), 50% or > (40%, 4/10)
Opinion: % in prostitution who started before 18 years	>50% (10%, 1/10), 50% or > (90%, 9/10)
Opinion: % in prostitution with childhood abuse	50% or > (100%, 11/11)
Opinion: % in prostitution that are homeless	<50% (8.33%, 1/12), 50% or > (91.67%, 11/12)
Experience the following often	Flashbacks (58.33%, 7/12), Spacing Out (50%, 6/12), Memory Problems (41.67%, 5/12)
Ways of soliciting customers (excluding on the street)	Websites/On-line (66.67%, 8/12)
Assistance finding customers	No (91.67%, 11/12)
Engagement in what types of prostitution	Street (100%), Escort (41.67%, 5/12), Massage Parlor (8.33%, 1/12)

*Participant recently became engaged in prostitution at the time of the survey

Appendix E: Research Overview Documents and Consent Forms

Letter to Service Providers



Re: Data Collection for a PhD Thesis in Human Studies

The Human Studies PhD program at Laurentian University is an interdisciplinary degree between disciplines in Humanities and the Social Sciences. The objectives of the program are to contribute and produce new knowledge and to nurture strategic alliances with governmental, business and voluntary organizations to the mutual benefit of the program and the community.

A thesis is part of my requirements in the Human Studies PhD program; I am investigating differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury. My methodology involves conducting surveys and audio recording the interviews. In addition to interviewing women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury, I will also be surveying johns and women with experienced hardships. Additionally, I will be speaking with community members familiar with prostitution in the downtown core and the former Borgia Street neighbourhood.

My research methodology has been vigorously scrutinized and approved by the Laurentian University Research Ethics Board. Further, my research will be overseen by my thesis committee members: Dr. David Robinson (Economics), Dr. Cynthia Whissell (Psychology), Dr. Kevin FitzMaurice (Indigenous Studies) and Cheryle Partridge (Indigenous Relations). Throughout the process, I have been consulting with an Aboriginal Elder for her guidance about the surveys and the research methodology.

Your assistance with my research would be greatly appreciated. As a valuable service provider in Greater Sudbury, your agency is an important point of contact for women engaged in prostitution. In order to obtain the best information possible, I would be thankful if you could please permit me to place a poster within your agency and also to provide me with a private space for a limited number of days to interview interested participants. The interviews will be completely voluntary and will be conducted on a drop-in basis; my presence will not interfere with your services or impinge on the privacy rights or confidentiality of your patrons.

The survey data collected from the interviews will be compiled and reported in a publicly accessible document. It is hoped the dissertation will assist policy makers and service providers better understand prostitution in Sudbury. It would be my pleasure to meet with you and discuss my thesis and methodology in further detail. Your consideration of this request is greatly appreciated.

With sincere thanks,
Bernadette Walicki
PhD Candidate, Human Studies, Laurentian University
bx_walicki@laurentian.ca

Information sheet for women engaged in prostitution and women with experienced hardships



Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Street Prostitution in Sudbury

Your participation is being requested to complete a survey and have the interview audio recorded. The results collected from the survey about differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women engaged in street prostitution in Sudbury will assist policy makers and service providers better understand prostitution in Sudbury.

Completing this survey might cause some anxiety. The following phone number will connect you with a 24 hour crisis intervention service for help: **705-675-4760 OR TOLL FREE 1-877-841-1101**. You will also receive a list of services in Sudbury that support people in need of physical health, mental health and social services (the blue book).

Your participation in this survey is voluntary, including the audio recording, and you can stop at any time or choose not to respond to certain questions. Your participation will not affect access to services in Sudbury.

The information you provide will remain confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Serious and imminent risk of bodily harm or death to an identifiable group or person will be reported to the police. Further, under Section 72(1) of the Child and Family Services Act, the researcher is required to contact the Children's Aid Society and report any suspicions that a child is or may be in need of protection from physical, sexual and emotional abuse, neglect and risk of harm. Your signed consent form, a copy of the written interview and the audio recording will be given to the authorities immediately after the interview if child abuse or neglect is suspected.

Your name will not appear anywhere on the survey or within the audio recording. Any mention of your name or the names of others will be deleted from the audio recording immediately after the survey. Your survey and consent form will be kept in separate file folders and locked in a filing cabinet that can only be accessed by the researcher. The encrypted audio recording and transcript will be kept on a password protected computer. The information reported in the survey will be kept indefinitely (forever) and may be used in future studies or reports. The transcript from your audio recording will also be kept indefinitely; however, the original voice recording will be deleted once the researcher has successfully completed her PhD. Direct quotes from the transcript may be used in presentations or they may be narrated (read) by someone else to create a voice clip of your statements. These voice clips narrated by someone else in your words may be used in presentations or in a future radio documentary.

The information collected during the survey will be compiled with other surveys and reported in a publicly accessible report, but no person will be identified in the reporting of the compiled information. It is impossible to withdraw the direct quotes from the transcript of your audio recording once they

become public. If the survey is terminated before finishing, the information collected up until that point will be shredded by the researcher and the audio recording will be deleted.

You are welcome to contact the researcher, Bernadette Walicki, by email at bx_walicki@laurentian.ca if you have any questions about the research or research findings. You can also contact the researcher's advisor, Dr. Cynthia Whissell, at 705-675-1151 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 ext. 4251 if you have questions related to the collection, use or disclosure of your personal information.

You can also contact a Laurentian University Research and Ethics Officer not connected to this research if you have issues or complaints about this research at 705-675-1151 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 ext. 3213 or by email at ethics@laurentian.ca.

You will be given \$ 10.00 up front for your time to complete this survey. This survey will take between 30 and 60 minutes to complete; however, additional time will be made available if needed. A summary of the research results will be provided to service providers, including at this location, and you are welcome to pick-up a copy or email the researcher directly for an electronic version.

Consent form for women engaged in prostitution and women with experienced hardships



Survey of Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Street Prostitution in Sudbury

SURVEY CONSENT FORM

I, _____, consent to the collection and use of the personal information that I provide during a survey of differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Street Prostitution in Sudbury. The information I provide will assist policy makers and service providers better understand prostitution in Sudbury.

I understand that completing this survey might cause some anxiety. As a result, I understand that I can contact the following 24 hour crisis intervention service for help: **705-675-4760 OR TOLL FREE 1-877-841-1101**. I have also received a list of services in Sudbury that support people in need of physical health, mental health and social services.

I understand that the survey is voluntary and I can stop at any time or choose not to respond to certain questions. I understand that my participation will not affect my access to services in Sudbury.

I understand that the information I provide will remain confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Serious and imminent risk of bodily harm or death to an identifiable group or person will be reported to the police. I further understand that under Section 72(1) of the Child and Family Services Act, the researcher is required to contact the Children's Aid Society and report any suspicions that a child is or may be in need of protection from physical, sexual and emotional abuse, neglect and risk of harm. My signed consent form, a copy of the written interview and the audio recording will be given to the authorities immediately after the interview if child abuse or neglect is suspected.

I understand that my name will not appear anywhere on the survey. I also understand that my survey and this consent form will be kept in separate files in a locked filing cabinet that can only be accessed by the researcher. The information I provide as part of this survey will be kept indefinitely (forever) and may be used in future studies or reports.

I understand that the information collected will be compiled with other surveys and reported in a publicly accessible report, but no person will be identified in the reporting of the compiled information. If the survey is terminated before finishing, the information collected up until that point will be shredded by the researcher.

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Bernadette Walicki, by email at bx_walicki@laurentian.ca if I have any questions about the research or research findings. I can also contact the researcher's

advisor, Dr. Cynthia Whissell, at 705-675-1151 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 ext. 4251 if I have questions related to the collection, use or disclosure of my personal information.

I understand that I can also contact a Laurentian University Research and Ethics Officer not connected to this research if I have issues or complaints about this research at 705-675-1151 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 ext. 3213 or by email at ethics@laurentian.ca.

I understand that I will be given \$ 10.00 up front to complete this survey and that this survey will take between 30 and 60 minutes to complete; however, additional time will be made available if needed. I also understand that a summary of the research results will be provided to service providers, including at this location, and I am welcome to pick-up a copy or I can email the researcher directly for an electronic version.

Please check your age category: Under 18 years old Over 18 years old

Signed _____

Dated _____

Survey Location _____

Consent form for women engaged in prostitution and women with experienced hardships



**Survey of Differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged
in Street Prostitution in Sudbury**

AUDIO RECORDING CONSENT FORM

I, _____, hereby consent to and give permission to have the interview audio recorded during the survey of differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Women Engaged in Street Prostitution in Sudbury. The information I provide in this audio recording will help policy makers and the public better understand prostitution in Sudbury.

I understand that this audio recording will be forwarded to the Children's Aid Society if child abuse or neglect is suspected.

I understand that my name and any mention of others by name will be deleted from this audio recording immediately after the survey.

I understand that the transcript of this audio recording may be used in public presentations and in a radio documentary.

I understand that if the transcript of my audio recording is used, my words will be narrated (read) by someone else or my words will be placed in quotes.

I understand that it is impossible to withdraw the transcript of my audio recording once it becomes public.

I understand that the transcript from my audio recording will be kept indefinitely (forever), but the original voice recording will be deleted once the researcher has successfully completed her PhD.

I understand that this audio recording will be protected through encryption on a password protected computer.

This audio recording is completely voluntary and I can stop the recording at any time. If the interview is terminated at any time before it is finished, this audio recording will be erased in its entirety.

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Bernadette Walicki, by email at bx_walicki@laurentian.ca if I have any questions about the research or research findings. I can also contact the researcher's advisor, Dr. Cynthia Whissell, at 705-675-1151 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 ext. 4251 if I have questions related to the collection, use or disclosure of my personal information.

I understand that I can also contact a Laurentian University Research and Ethics Officer not connected to this research if I have issues or complaints about this research at 705-675-1151 ext. 3213 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 or email ethics@laurentian.ca.

Signed _____

Dated _____

Survey Location _____

Appendix F: Additional Interview Excerpts

Women Engaged in Prostitution and their Interests Outside of Prostitution

Talking with younger students and telling them my story so they don't walk the same, uhm, end up in the same lifestyle that I have. Almost like a big sister ting, that would be...because my youngest one, she's starting to get into the drugs and its, uhm, pretty hard.

(Aboriginal woman)

~

Have a normal job, a normal life.

(Non-Aboriginal woman)

~

Well, like I said, I'm writing my book, so I would really like to do something like that. I want to help people. Hopefully they can learn something from my experiences. Not a lot of people decide to make different decisions based on somebody else's experiences though. A lot of people are crash and burn learners.

(Aboriginal woman)

~

Have a normal life.

(Non-Aboriginal woman)

~

School. Just to get my mind off of, you know, like where's my next buck is going to be. (A) I'd like to complete my high school, just to accomplish that, to get that diploma, just to say that I've actually accomplished something.

(Aboriginal woman)

~

To keep myself busy, like I want to get into the YMCA, but with all these marks right now on my hands because of my drug use, I can't, I'm embarrassed.

(Aboriginal woman)

Experience Living in Sudbury

Ya, born and raised here. I became homeless at 15, I was homeless for about a year and half because you can't collect welfare until you're the age of 17 and I became common-law with somebody and that's how I ended-up on social assistance. So, there's not really anything in the City, at that time for homeless teenagers, so us girls, we tended to just work together or rent out a small apartment and, you know, that kind of stuff.

(Aboriginal woman with hardships)

Discrimination Living in Sudbury

Yup. Anybody that does jobs and walks the streets, everybody looks at them like they're a piece of shit, which is true, you know what I mean. You see, I don't go out, I don't work during the day, you will not see me out there till after 10 o'clock when I know the kids are in bed, you will not see me working the streets till then. Mind you, if I'm walking the streets and something does come up, I'm not going to refuse it, but I'm not going to put myself out there until the kids are in bed. I don't agree with that at all. (Non-Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

Just like when you go in stores and stuff like that, like I notice when there's other Aboriginal people with me and they look Aboriginal, they tend to follow us more, ya. Not just stores, on the street, restaurants. (Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

Sometimes. I find like, one day I went into the grocery store and, like, I'm an alcoholic, but I hadn't, I can have a drink, like I stopped totally drinking when I was 21 because I was going through my photo album and I seen I always had a beer in my hand or I had a 26er or something, you know, it's like well, you know, it's affecting my kids and this and that, and no, I didn't drink till I was 27 and so now I consider myself as a social drinker, I'm still an alcoholic, you know cause once an alcoholic you're always an alcoholic, it just depends if you're a clean one or you're a drinking one, well I consider myself a social drinker. I can go out and have a beer or a glass of wine or whatever and not touch a drink for a year, but I went in, I was shopping and this was, I got out in 2008 of jail, I did 38 months, well, I went in I was buying all this stuff for my apartment, just got myself a place, I was in the aisle with the toothpaste toothbrush, well because I grabbed a bottle of Lysterine, they kicked me out of the store thinking you're an Indian and you're nothing but a drunk and they wouldn't even let me buy my groceries. I'm like, if I wanted to get drunk, I would go to the liquor store and I had all this money, I'm like does it look like, you know, I'm a bum. I was so insulted, like I even said to them, that's discrimination, I can get you, I can make you lose your job right now, I was going to, but you know what, it's not worth my time, you know, it's not, I should've done something about it because it's just going to happen again, you know and it's not right.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

Ya. Because I'm a hooker.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

Yes. Well, when I was younger especially, I was hitchhiking and cars stopped and they said "Ah, never mind, it's just another Indian" and people discriminate Native people, not just myself, because there's so many out there that are panhandling, you know.

(Aboriginal woman with hardships)

Oh, ya, I do, when my friend Cindy (pseudonym) was – this guy was knock ‘in on her door and it was early in the morning and calling her a squaw and a dirty Indian and shit and he was here , all us Natives, got together and said ‘you racist mother fucker’ and we chased him out of here. Ya, so I don’t think he’s bothering – he’s really racist and he hates Natives. He used to come and eat here, but I don’t think he’s coming back. I just can’t believe there’s still racist people, it’s 2015 for freaks sake.

(Aboriginal woman with hardships)

~

Basically, there is some discrimination, but it’s understandable, you know because I explain to people that the only Aboriginals you see are the drunk ones and the ones that are homeless and stuff. So, uh, part of this community you’re doing well as an Aboriginal, they don’t see that. So, the homelessness and the intoxication is more visible and I can kind of understand why some people think that most of us Aboriginals are disruptive, I guess. That kind of made me self-hate my own people for a long time, so I dealt with that on my own, anger issues and stuff like that, with counselling.

(Aboriginal woman with hardships)

Satisfaction with Social Services in Sudbury

No, you don’t get enough money to survive off of. Look at the rent prices, ya and then you don’t have enough for food and I save my food for my son on the weekends and I come and eat here all the time because I can’t afford food because I have to pay half of my mom’s hydro, plus I pay half, \$300 for rent and I get \$620, the rest is left for food and shit and I need school lunches now and I ain’t going to have enough, sucks ass, but I’ll get through it.

(Aboriginal woman with hardships)

~

No, I’m not satisfied. Like, they don’t even give people enough money to live on. It’s like retarded. Like, the soup kitchen, it’s uh, mind you don’t get me wrong, okay, but it’s the point where it’s always soup and sandwiches, you get sick of soup and sandwiches, okay. They were just donated a thousand cups of coffee and it’s like, for real, so.

(Non-Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

Personal Self-Esteem

I think it’s gotten better. I think once I got out of my bad relationship and like the domestic issues, like you know, getting out of a relationship with domestic violence and just trying to focus on myself and learning that I am good enough and don’t let that person take that away from me.

(Non-Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

I’m fine, can you tell.

(Non-Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

I'm happy with myself.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

It's been growing, I took like a self-esteem course through E-Fry when I was in jail and I mean I have doubt, I have lots of self-doubt, but I feel a pride in myself now, I feel like I'm not, I don't know, I feel okay about myself.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

I'm not that proud of myself.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

It's really low. I just feel like crap all the time.

(Non-Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

I feel pretty good, like I've been trying to quit drinking and the drug use, but sometimes it's just a little too much to handle.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

It's low. Especially now that I've had the rest of my teeth pulled and stuff due to the drug use. Weight gain.

(Aboriginal woman working in prostitution)

~

Oh, I don't like myself. Like, I love my hair, that's about it. I just love my hair. The rest of it, not so much.

(Non-Aboriginal woman with hardships)

~

It's very low, it's come under psychiatric care. I have a very low self-esteem, I always have because of the abuse that I went through.

(Non-Aboriginal woman with hardships)

Appendix G: Sudbury Map

