INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND YOUTH IN THE SEX TRADE: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF CULTURALLY RELEVANT SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR EXITING THE TRADE

By

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminology in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of Windsor

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate and summarize existing research and information regarding culturally relevant services for commercially sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth. This study attempts to address the gaps in the literature on culturally relevant services for exiting the sex trade and suggest areas for further investigation. The systematic review sought to understand how existing literature defines culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous cultures, the range of culturally appropriate services that are currently implemented for sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth, and the evaluation and effectiveness of available Indigenous-specific services. This systematic review was composed of two phases. Phase 1 consisted of two scholarly literature searches in Google Scholar and one scholarly search in ProQuest: Social Services Abstracts. Phase 2 consisted of two grey literature searches in Google Search engine. In total, seventeen articles were selected for review based on inclusion criteria. The findings from the seventeen studies were analyzed and synthesized. Core concepts and themes across the findings were extracted to identify five main themes. While all seventeen studies reported findings on culturally appropriate interventions for Indigenous women and youth exiting the sex trade and sexual exploitation, some articles addressed additional services. The additional issues addressed were common among the literature, creating the basis for the themes: Indigenous-led services, drug and alcohol abuse, trauma and mental health issues, education, and transitional housing.

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, I thank my parents for their unconditional love and support. Thank you for teaching me the value of hard work and giving me the strength to push through any obstacle that comes my way. Your sacrifices will never be forgotten. To my brother – thank you for being someone I can always look up to.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a systematic review of both published and grey literature about programs and interventions that address cultural-specific exiting services for sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth. Literature on Indigenous youth is prioritized in this systematic review, however, studies focusing on Indigenous women or both Indigenous women and youth are included based on the lack of youth-specific services. The goal of this systematic review is to summarize the existing research and information to provide a picture of the current knowledge on this topic in order to identify gaps and suggest areas for further investigation. As work expands with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, more attention is being paid to the victimization of Indigenous women and youth. Therefore, it is important to assess what is currently known to contribute to the discussion. In addition, there has been no systematic review of the published and grey literature on what might be available to inform further research about Indigenous women and youth in the sex trade.

As a country, we have taken so much from Indigenous peoples, leaving them with few alternatives or resources. Although Indigenous women only make up about 4% of the total female population in Canada, they are severely overrepresented in the sex trade compared to the general Canadian population (NWAC, 2014). According to Kingsley and Mark (2000), Indigenous children and youth at this age are not consenting adults who freely choose to be involved in the sex trade. These are young people who have been victimized by others, so it is important to use phrases such as "sexual exploitation" in relation to young people involved in the sex trade. The buying of sex from youth is a form of child abuse and the law clearly separates youth exploitation from adult prostitution (Bennett & Krone, 2016). It is important to deconstruct the negative narratives of Indigenous girls' and womens' lives. Youth who engage in sex for

money, food, shelter, or other basic necessities are seen as those who in engage in "survival sex". This thesis uses the term 'sex trade', but it is critical to remember that these youth are not trading fairly in a free market system. Many youth in the sex trade are being exploited and abused in exchange for their survival (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). It is essential to recognize that consent does not necessarily suggest an informed choice. The freedom of choice to engage in sex work is often talked about without considering the context of inequity and oppression resulting from colonialism and intergenerational trauma as central factors that lead Indigenous women and youth into the industry. Having a choice assumes that we are all on a level playing field. Commercially sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth are in need of safe places to visit and/or live, tailored life skills, education and employment programs, and financial supports (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Exploring and promoting forms of resilience help to alleviate the persistent adversities that continue to threaten the well-being of many Indigenous families and children.

Conducting a systematic review requires following a series of steps. To begin, the scope of the research was identified, and research questions were formulated. Next, the inclusion criteria was developed and used to determine which articles would be included in the review. Google Scholar, ProQuest: Social Services Abstracts, and Google Search were the databases chosen to locate and retrieve studies and grey literature. Search results were saved in the reference management software, Zotero. Once articles and studies were selected for inclusion based on the criteria developed, data was extracted and organized into a table to allow comparison between the selected studies. During the data extraction process, the literature was scanned for specific information based on the research questions developed below which were formulated to guide the review. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the information found among the selected articles and the gaps that must be addressed for future research.

The thesis will be answering the following research questions using a systematic methodology to identify, select, and critically evaluate results of the studies included in the review:

- 1. How does existing literature define culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous cultures?
- 2. Are culturally appropriate practices currently implemented for Indigenous women and youth in the sex trade?
- 3. Does the literature address any interventions that are described as particularly effective in steering women and youth away from the sex trade?

CHAPTER 2 – BACKGROUND

Colonialism and Intergenerational Trauma

Monachalin (2016) defines settler colonialism as such: "...when foreign family units move into a place and reproduce" (p. 71). In time, settlers occupy and acquire control over lands, and attempt to destroy the people who live there (Monchalin, 2016). Settler colonialism involves ignoring or stripping away the identity of the land's first inhabitants through the forced removal of unique identities, histories, cultures, and voices (Monchalin, 2016). Colonialism had a large impact on the breakdown of Indigenous traditions and cultural values which gave rise to various social issues. Canada experienced settler colonialism as Europeans took lands from Indigenous peoples and eventually displaced and greatly outnumbered them. Indigenous peoples were displaced from their traditional territories and in some parts of Canada, pushed onto reserves with the signing of treaties. Colonialism in Canada can be understood as Indigenous peoples' forced disconnection from physical aspects such as land and traditional territories, and nonphysical aspects such as culture and community by European settlers (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014). Specific methods used by the colonizing nation, such as the implementation of residential schools, and the reserve systems create these oppressed conditions and result in a loss of identity, and a breakdown of family and nation structure.

Indian Residential School System

Residential schools were established after the 1880s when Indigenous children and youth were torn from their families by the Canadian government, sent to distant residential schools run by churches, and even given up for adoption to non-Indigenous families (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). With the intent to assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture, they were

prohibited to continue their cultural practices and speak the languages of their ancestors (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). This attempt to strip Indigenous children of their culture and language lasted for generations, with the last residential school closing in 1996.

In addition to Indigenous peoples being deprived of their language and culture, children were subjected to brutal physical and sexual abuse (Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, & Thomas, 2008). According to the Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth (2000), residential schools created an environment where physical, mental, and sexual abuse were the norm. These forms of abuse were commonly inflicted from teachers to the students. For residential school survivors, abusive and violent behaviors, often combined with alcohol and drug abuse, are legacies of their time at the schools. Residential schools not only affected the physical and social health of children who attended them, but also on the generations that followed. When residential school survivors returned to their communities, the impact of their experiences on attachment and family dynamics was profound (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014). Many survivors report that they missed out on learning their own cultural ways of coping, and practising good health, wellness and parenting. Instead, they returned to their communities with a high degree of trauma (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014).

Many residential school survivors were later targeted by the child welfare system for conditions of poverty and neglect resulting from their experiences in residential schools. The "60s Scoop" continued the residential school tradition of taking Indigenous children from their families, but instead placed them in foster homes or on adoption lists. By the 1970s, about onethird of all foster children in Canada were Indigenous and were living in non-Indigenous homes or in institutions (Monchalin, 2016). Many of the abuses and racist practices that were carried

out within the residential school system continued within the child welfare system (Monchalin, 2016). Due to their personal trauma, many residential school survivors and victims of the 60s Scoop came to accept abuse as a norm and passed this down to new generations (Monchalin, 2016).

Devaluation of Indigenous Cultures and Loss of Identity

The processes carried out by the Canadian government and Christian churches fragmented the cultures of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). A key tactic of European colonization was to portray the Indigenous culture as negative and irrelevant to society (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014). Colonized individuals and communities are bombarded with propaganda designed to try to persuade them that they are weak and unimportant (Monchalin, 2016). Physical and mental domination, and constant negative portrayals of Indigenous peoples and history play fundamental roles in creating a culture of epistemic injustice (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014). The explicit goal of residential schools was to assimilate Indigenous children and instill a sense of shame regarding their culture, therefore, these experiences affected aspects of Indigenous identity (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014).

The loss of voice, autonomy, power, and the inability to use culture as strength were strong impacts of colonialism. Especially after the events experienced since colonialism first began, culture and cultural identity is seen as an essential component to the process of decolonization and peoples' self-discovery. Culture is an important variable that influences how people approach, interpret, and respond to difficulty (Wexler, 2014). Culture provides people with particular ways to locate themselves in relation to others, to a larger shared context, and to their history (Wexler, 2014). A strong sense of cultural identity supports Indigenous peoples to

feel a sense of belonging and is key to healing the wounds in their communities. Studies have found consistent correlations between cultural identity, positive affiliation and engagement with traditional culture, and Indigenous peoples' mental health (Wexler, 2014). Cultural affiliations extend to Indigenous resilience, a process characterized by good outcomes despite threats to development or adversity (Wexler, 2014). Having a positive cultural identity appears to incite feelings of self-worth, self-efficacy, connectedness, and purpose to Indigenous peoples (Wexler, 2014).

Impacts of Colonialism on Indigenous Women and Youth

The effects of colonization have greatly contributed to the high levels of violence faced by many Indigenous women today. Over five hundred Indigenous girls and women have gone missing over the past thirty years (Sethi, 2010). Their violence is normalized by assuming this to be a part of the everydayness of Indigenous spaces (Hunt, 2013). In discussions about colonial violence, Indigenous sex workers are often invoked as nameless, voiceless, placeless victims (Hunt, 2013). Violence against Indigenous women and girls is central to the issue of sex trafficking and sexual exploitation (Chrismas, 2017). While Indigenous women make up a small portion of the total population, they have a violent victimization rate that is three times higher than that of non-Indigenous women (Brennan, 2011). Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, women in many traditional Indigenous societies were honoured, respected and even given leadership roles and responsibilities (Hunt, 2013). However, patriarchy was heavily present within European societies and Indigenous women's roles began to be devalued during and after the colonization in Canada (Hunt, 2013). When the Europeans first arrived, they came with the belief that everything was property to be bought, stolen or owned, including the women and children (Monchalin, 2016).

The colonization of Indigenous peoples and its intergenerational effects on Indigenous communities are some of the many causes of the high levels of sex trade involvement among Indigenous women and children (NWAC, 2014). In a report by Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, and Thomas (2008), numerous interviewees mentioned "historical trauma" as a factor that makes today's Indigenous youth vulnerable to sexual exploitation. The origins of this "historical trauma" were identified as the forced marriages of Indigenous women to other tribes and the forcing of Indigenous children to attend Christian schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most sex workers entered the trade as adolescents. Nadon, Koverola, and Schludermann (1998) found that 89% had begun sex work before the age of 16. The average age of youth who become involved in sex work is 14, with some starting as early as nine (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Indigenous youth are overrepresented in the sex trade across various regions in Canada, as they comprise of 90% of the visible sex trade (Sethi, 2010). It was found that 60% of sexually exploited youth are Indigenous in Vancouver alone (Sethi, 2010) and the vast majority of sexually exploited youth in Manitoba are Indigenous as well (Chrismas, 2017). Because of poverty, a lack of education, and limited resources, there is a lack of awareness, acknowledgement, and understanding of sexual exploitation in some Indigenous communities (Sethi, 2010).

Up to 80% of youth who are sexually exploited in Canada report having been sexually abused (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). The incidence of sexual abuse is higher among females than males (Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth, 2000). According to Chrismas (2017), the high incidence of early childhood abuse correlates with the high number of Indigenous young women who end up in the sex trade. Shaw and Butler (1998) suggest two explanations for this relationship. The first explanation states that the abuse

results in a loss of self-worth, which leads to an indifference to how one is treated. Many youth internalize the abuse they faced from a young age, and therefore do not see their potential as they age (Shaw & Butler, 1998). Self-esteem is an issue for Indigenous youth specifically. They are often labelled as 'troubled' youth or 'high-risk' youth, which further diminishes their self-esteem (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). The second explanation by Shaw and Butler (1998) states that the abuse youth face sets in motion other events, such as running away from home, which lead the youth into risky activities including selling sex. Being a victim of abuse often leads to alcohol or drug misuse in order to dull the pain and emotions faced (Shaw & Butler, 1998).

One in four youth involved in sex work consume heavy amounts of alcohol, and one in three youth are drug users (Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth, 2000). Sexually exploited youth have been reported using hallucinogens, stimulants, and inhalants, however, the most common substances used are alcohol and marijuana (Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth, 2000). As mentioned above, substance abuse among youth could stem from dealing with early child abuse, but another common factor includes having alcohol/drug-addicted parents. For many Indigenous youth, their early years are filled with adults who were unable to break the cycle of abuse (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). In order to cope with their situations, their families and communities relied on drugs and alcohol. Out of the 87 sex workers surveyed by Kramer and Berg (2003), 67% grew up in homes in which one or more parents were abusing drugs and/or alcohol. As youth enter the streets for work, they become even more vulnerable to their addiction. Many traffickers lure young girls, have them drugged up until they are addicted, then put them out on the streets to pay for their habit (Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff, & Ursel, 2002). With time, the substance use develops into a chemical dependency, which forces girls to engage

in sex work to support their addiction. Some youth have even admitted to turning to drugs to numb the pain of the shame and humiliation they experience as a result of being sexually exploited (Sexual Exploitation of Youth in BC). Access to substance abuse support and services is essential for women engaging in street-based sex work as some of the women use sex work to support their habit (Moore, 2017).

Migration to large cities such as Calgary, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver is increasing every year (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Most youth who run away from home do so without plans and money, therefore making them more vulnerable to sexual exploitation on the streets (Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth, 2000). Alternatively, traffickers may make their way to Indigenous communities and lure girls by glamourizing life in a big city and providing them a way out of their communities. There is a trafficking pipeline of young girls and women from rural reserves into urban centres (Sethi, 2010). In major cities, Indigenous youth often suffer isolation, racism, and low self-esteem, while also losing contact with their communities and culture. Youth feel that there are few Indigenous elders and role models within Canadian communities (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Many Indigenous youth are drawn towards the street where their 'street family' looks after their needs and makes them feel wanted and protected (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Johns and pimps target young girls who do not have a strong social support system to guide or protect them (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Since it is quite possible that Indigenous youth who run away from home at a young age have not completed high school education, held a mainstream job, and do not possess advanced life skills, there are limited job opportunities available for them. Exiting the sex trade becomes difficult for youth, seeing that they rely on this form of work to meet their basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter. The absence of self-esteem, stability, and attachment

to anyone in their lives increases the likelihood that Indigenous youth will be involved in the sex trade (Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth, 2000). While it is not necessary that every Indigenous youth in the sex trade has faced the mentioned factors, these issues are interconnected and are common pathways to involvement in the sex trade. The negative impact of European colonialism on Indigenous peoples and their cultures has contributed greatly in creating and maintaining barriers of social, economic, and political inequality (Kingsley & Mark, 2000).

CHAPTER 3 – SIGNIFICANCE OF SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

This systematic review is necessary as it presents an overview of all the available evidence on existing culturally appropriate practices and interventions implemented for Indigenous youth. Based on the evidence currently available, the systematic review gives an answer on how many relevant studies exist, as well as providing information on what is currently known about culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous youth. This systematic review provides a foundation for what exists in the literature and is a major step in identifying ways to address the problems outlined in Chapter 2.

In order to adequately answer the research questions, a systematic review was chosen for several reasons. Maggin, Talbott, Van Acker, and Kumm (2017) stated that "the systematic review has become an essential vehicle for compiling and disseminating research findings on an array of topics" (p. 52). The purpose of this paper is to conduct a systematic review of published and grey literature about culturally relevant interventions and services that address sexual exploitation among Indigenous women and youth. The systematic review identifies, assesses, and synthesizes the findings of all relevant literature using reproducible methods and a series of steps and techniques to minimize bias. A systematic review also demonstrates where knowledge is lacking within a field and can prove to be a great tool to guide future research. This systematic review will examine whether enough is being done in regards to providing Indigenous sex workers with culturally relevant resources for leaving the sex trade. The gaps identified serve as empirically-based rationales for establishing the need for more culturally relevant support services. According to Harden and Thomas (2005), "systematic reviews have developed in response to a growing need for policy makers, researchers and education practitioners to have access to the latest research evidence when making decisions" (p. 258). The systematic review

will identify available interventions for Indigenous youth which will be useful for social services, organizations, researchers, policymakers, and the public. To my knowledge, this study represents the first review of the culturally relevant support services literature pertaining to sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth.

CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4 of this systematic review focuses on the methodology that was utilized for classifying, analyzing, and synthesizing the chosen studies. First, this chapter will discuss the databases that were chosen to be searched, along with the rationale for each database choice. Next, the search terms that were to be used in each database search are outlined. Third, the inclusion criteria that was applied to each article to determine its relevance to the systematic review is outlined. Finally, the processes of Phase 1, citation chaining, and Phase 2 are discussed in detail, demonstrating how relevant studies were chosen during each stage of the systematic review.

Databases Used

To locate studies for the systematic review, articles were retrieved from a variety of electronic databases. Journal articles were located from Google Scholar and ProQuest Social Services Abstract. Two main databases were chosen for Phase 1 to ensure most, if not all, relevant papers are included, since it is quite possible that one database omits relevant research. Google Scholar is a reliable database to browse and locate academic literature. This database provides a "Cited By" link which was proven to be beneficial during the citation chaining process. In addition, library links are provided in which Google Scholar can link to any university's library. If the article is available at the University of Windsor, the "Find it @ UWindsor" link allows access to the article for free. Google Scholar has also partnered with well-known databases such as PubMed, making it unnecessary to search separate databases. ProQuest Social Services Abstract is a well-established research platform that holds a wide variety of peer-reviewed journals, specifically providing current research focused on social work, human services, and related areas. It was beneficial in finding interventions and available

services for Indigenous sex workers. In addition, Phase 2 consisted of an internet search of grey literature. Government reports, health and wellness research, and documents and evaluations from service-providing organizations were found through Google Search engine, the world's most popular search engine. Google Search engine searches through all text in publicly accessible documents offered by web servers and puts the most relevant sites at the top of the results list.

Search Terms

A search strategy was created that would be applied to the electronic databases chosen above. Search terms were used to operationalize the research questions formulated for this systematic review and find as many potentially relevant articles that met the inclusion criteria. Key terms were used to identify relevant resources from scholarly journals, agency and government reports. Table 1 lists the concepts that are relevant to the search along with synonyms, alternate spellings and related terms for each concept. This process was included to ensure that relevant studies to the topic of the systematic review would not be missed due to a differentiation in language used among varying articles.

Table 1: Search Terms

	Population	Age Group	Issue	Intervention
Keyword Terms	 Indigenous Aboriginal First Nations Inuit Metis Native Indian Native American 	 Youth Teen Children Women 	 Sex Pro Sex exp Sex 	stitution>Culturallycualrelevantbloitation>Cultural

Inclusion Criteria

For the selection process, a strategy was created to select the studies and determine their relevance to the topic of culturally relevant services for Indigenous women and youth exiting the sex trade. In this process, articles, reports and documents were screened, assessed for eligibility based on specific inclusion criteria, and either eliminated or included in the review depending on its eligibility. A PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) diagram was used to show the flow of information through the various stages of the systematic review. The PRISMA flow diagram was used to show the number of studies that were included and excluded after each stage of the selection process. In addition, the initial number of articles located through all the databases is indicated. The PRISMA diagram enables readers to view how all the references retrieved for this review were accounted for. Refer to Appendix B for the PRISMA flow diagram for the articles chosen for this systematic review.

Selection criteria was applied to the population of studies to extract relevant studies. The inclusion criteria was as follows:

- ✓ Articles are either peer-reviewed or grey literature
- ✓ Articles are published in English
- ✓ Articles focus on youth aged 13-25 and adult women are included. However, articles on youth are prioritized
- ✓ Articles include people of Indigenous descent
- ✓ Articles focus on culturally relevant and resilience-based interventions, programs, and/or services that foster healing and prevention among sex workers

There were no restrictions on study design, study duration, or sample size. While interventions did not need to focus exclusively on Indigenous populations, results needed to contain some specific information relating to Indigenous women or youth to be included in the systematic review.

Phase 1: Scholarly Literature

Phase 1 began with taking the search terms outlined in Table 1 and combining the concepts using the Boolean search operators "AND" and "OR" to create combinations that would yield the most relevant results. During this process, the citations for the results produced were saved using the reference management software Zotero. Each page of results generated by the academic search engines was examined and the citation software Zotero was used to record the articles that were most relevant to the search based on title and abstract. The articles that were deemed relevant in the first elimination process were selected if there was some mention of the Indigenous community (e.g. Indigenous women, girls, and/or youth) and some mention of a cultural intervention or culturally appropriate service. After skimming through the searches, it was found that many articles that discussed the Indigenous community and culturally relevant services focused on issues such as HIV, suicide, and drug and alcohol abuse. Although these articles did not directly mention the sex trade, these types of issues are often common among those individuals involved in the trade. Additionally, these articles were included in anticipation that there could be a very small number of articles that meet all the inclusion criteria. Therefore, keeping track of studies that met only some of the inclusion criteria was important as it ensured that this list of articles could be referred to at any point if necessary. Finally, the number of articles that were chosen and exported into Zotero were recorded.

Citation Chaining Process

After Phase 1 was completed, a total of five articles were found that met the scope of the inclusion criteria for the systematic review. Since these articles were the most accurate to the study, reference lists of each of the five articles as well as articles that had cited the five articles were searched using backward and forward chaining. Backward citation chaining refers to the examination of references lists of articles to what those articles have cited for their study. Forward citation chaining refers to the examination of articles that have cited the original article. To conduct a forward citation chaining, both Google Scholar and ProQuest offer a "Cited By" link that finds articles that have cited the chosen article.

Phase 2: Grey Literature

Grey literature can broaden the scope to more relevant studies, thus developing a more complete overview for a systematic review (Mahood, Eerd, & Irvin, 2013). Grey literature is different from peer-reviewed scholarly journal articles in that grey literature is not controlled by commercial publishers. Grey literature is important in systematic reviews as it helps to minimize publication bias and ensures that literature that is often not found in large databases is included. Dissertations, conference proceedings, government publications, reports, magazine articles, and newsletters are just a few examples of grey literature (Mahood, Eerd, & Irvin, 2013).

Two search combinations were conducted in the Google search engine as part of the grey literature. The Google search was initially limited to the first four pages of results as per established protocols reflecting typical patterns of viewing Google results (Jansen & Spink, 2006). This protocol was considered because of the large number of search results that were produced. It is also common that after a couple pages the results lose relevance to the search combination. For each combination of search term results, the pages were skimmed until it was clear that the documents being displayed were no longer relevant to the initial search. When the search results no longer contained key search terms such as "culturally relevant" or "Indigenous youth", it was an indicator that the results were no longer appropriate to my search. Ten pages were examined before it was determined that the results had lost relevance. The process used in Phase 1 was repeated as articles were chosen based on the title and abstract. These articles were exported into Zotero where the full-text version was reviewed and assessed as to whether they met the inclusion criteria. Articles were categorized into the four categories created during Phase 1 of this systematic review.

Scholarly journal articles were located through Google Scholar and ProQuest Social Services Abstract, while the grey literature was obtained through Google Search engine. Articles were chosen if they were published in English, focused on the women and youth Indigenous populations, and if the article discussed culturally appropriate interventions and services to support sex workers. From the final remaining articles that were considered relevant to the scope of the review, data was extracted. The findings from the studies were combined into tables and characterized by the authors of the articles, population characteristics, and intervention strategies. The final analysis involved an in-depth read through of each article and information was extracted to answer the research questions outlined previously.

CHAPTER 5 – RESULTS

The purpose of this systematic review was to examine the current literature available on culturally relevant support systems for Indigenous women and youth seeking to exit the sex trade. Chapter 5 will discuss the results of Phase 1, citation chaining, and Phase 2 of the database searches of the systematic review.

Phase 1: Scholarly Literature

The first search of Phase 1 conducted on Google Scholar yielded 6370 results, 51 of which were exported into Zotero as they were relevant based on the title and abstract. Table 2 outlines the search combinations used, databases in which the terms were searched in, along with the number of results that were produced after each search. Out of the 6370 results, most of the articles in the searches did not meet all of the inclusion criteria. If the title and/or abstract suggested that the work was potentially eligible for inclusion, the full-text version was obtained and read carefully. Only articles that classified as relevant or likely to be relevant after the first assessment were read in full. It was important to err on the side of sensitivity during this stage of locating and sifting through as many articles as possible so that potentially relevant articles would not be missed. In Table 2, Stage 1 includes the number of articles that contain some of the search terms which is determined through title and abstract screening. Stage 2 includes the number of articles that meet some inclusion criteria and fit into the four categories created (Table 3) which have been determined through skimming each full-length article. Finally, Stage 3 includes the number of articles that meet all inclusion criteria determined through an in-depth screening of the articles from Stage 2.

Search No.	Database	Search Combination	Results	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
1	Google Scholar	"culturally appropriate" OR "culturally relevant" AND "Indigenous" OR "Aboriginal" OR "First Nations" OR "Native" AND "youth" OR "teen" OR "women" AND "sex trade" OR "sex work" OR "prostitution"	6370	51	10	2
2	Google Scholar	"cultural healing" AND "prostitution" OR "sex trafficking" OR "sex work" AND "native" OR "Indigenous" AND "youth" OR "teen"	106	12	7	0
3	ProQuest: Social Services Abstracts	"cultural healing" OR "culturally appropriate" AND "prostitution" OR "sex trafficking" OR "sex work" AND "Aboriginal" OR "Indigenous" AND "youth" OR "teen"	4076	36	16	1

Table 2: PHASE 1 –List of databases searched, search items and articles identified

Through Zotero, 51 articles were each individually opened and skimmed through to determine their relevance based on the content of the articles. During this step, articles were chosen if they fit into the following categories: culturally relevant services for Indigenous women, culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth, culturally relevant services for Indigenous women exiting the sex trade, and culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade (Table 3). These categories were created to help organize the variety of articles that were retrieved. The categories were created based on the assumption that there would not be many results specifically on culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade. Articles that focused on Indigenous women as well were kept so they could be referred back to in the future, if needed. Search 1 in Phase 1 resulted in ten articles (Table 2) that fit into the previously mentioned categories. The ten articles remaining after elimination

made it to this part of the process because they focused on culturally relevant services for Indigenous women and/or youth, whether there was mention of exiting the sex trade or not. Finally, through an in-depth screening of the ten articles, two articles from Search 1 passed the inclusion criteria for the systematic review. In Phase 1, through the three database searches, there was a total of three articles that met the inclusion criteria.

Culturally relevant services for Indigenous women	Culturally relevant services for Indigenous women exiting the sex trade	Culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth	Culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade
Oliver et al. (2015) Reeves (2013) Reeves & Stewart (2015) Wahab & Olsen (2004) Unsworth (2012) Flynn (2011) d'Abbs & Chenhall (2013) Faulkner (2018) Moorehead et al. (2015) DeBruyn et al. (2001) Moghaddam et al. (2015) Rasmus (2014) Gone (2011)	Hintz (2016) Chanssoneuve (2008)	Regnier (1994) Ansloos (2014) McKenzie & Morrissette (1993) Roy et al. (2015) Dell et al. (2011) Rasmus et al. (2014) Okamoto et al. (2014) Mohatt et al. (2014) Wexler et al. (2009) Colmant & Merta (1999) Wexler et al. (2015) Morrissette et al. (1993)	DeRiviere (2005) Moore (2017) Sethi (2010)
Allen et al. (2014) Benoit et al. (2003)		Garrett et al. (2014)	

Table 3: PHASE 1 – Four categories created for Stage 2 of database search

Citation Chaining Process

After the Phase 1 search of electronic databases was completed, three articles met the inclusion criteria, which meant they fit into the category "culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade" (Table 3). In addition, there was a total of two articles that fit into the category, "culturally relevant services for Indigenous women exiting the sex trade" (Table 3). The reference list of the article by DeRiviere (2005) was examined first as it provided another list of potentially relevant work. The articles in the reference list were hand-

searched and chosen based on relevance which I determined through the articles' titles. As seen below (Table 4 and Table 5), the process of backward and forward citation chaining found two new articles that fit the inclusion criteria – Kingsley and Mark (2000) and Chrismas (2017). Table 4 and Table 5 display the backward and forward citation chaining of the following five articles: DeRiviere (2005), Moore (2017), Sethi (2010), Hintz (2016), and Chanssoneuve (2008).

Table 4: PHASE 1—Backward citation chaining

	DeRiviere (2005)	Moore (2017)	Sethi (2010)	Hintz (2016)	Chanssoneuve (2008)
Culturally relevant services for Indigenous women exiting the sex trade	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade	Kingsley & Mark (2000)	n/a	Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth (2000)	Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, & Thomas (2008)	n/a

Table 5: PHASE 1—Forward citation chaining

	DeRiviere (2005)	Moore (2017)	Sethi (2010)	Hintz (2016)	Chanssoneuve (2008)
Culturally relevant services for Indigenous women exiting the sex trade	n/a	n/a	Farley et al. (2011)	n/a	n/a
Culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade	Chrismas (2017)	n/a	Pierce (2012)	n/a	n/a

Phase 2: Grey Literature

The first search of Phase 2 conducted on the Google search engine yielded 1,000,000 results, seventeen of which were exported into Zotero as they were relevant based on the title and abstract. Table 6 outlines the search combinations used, databases in which the terms were searched in, along with the number of results that were produced after each search. In Table 6, Stage 1 includes the number of articles that contain some of the search terms which is determined through title and abstract screening. Stage 2 includes the number of articles that meet some inclusion criteria and fit into the four categories created (Table 3) which have been determined through skimming each full-length article. Finally, Stage 3 includes the number of articles that meet all inclusion criteria determined through an in-depth screening of the articles from Stage 2. The first search conducted was not as specific with the search terms used, therefore it produced many more results than the second search of Phase 2. Because the search terms used were not very detailed, out of the 1,000,000 results, only seventeen met some of the inclusion criteria. Nine full-text versions were obtained and read carefully, of which seven met all of the inclusion criteria. After the same steps were repeated for search 2, a total of nine articles passed the inclusion criteria during Phase 2.

Search No.	Database	Search Combination	Results	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
1	Google Search	Aboriginal youth exit prostitution "culturally relevant"	1,000,000	17	9	7
2	Google Search	("culturally appropriate" OR "culturally relevant") ("prostitution" OR "sex trafficking" OR "sex work") ("Indigenous" OR Aboriginal) ("youth" OR "teen")	595,000	24	6	2

Table 6: PHASE 2 –List of databases search, search items and articles identified

Table 7: PHASE 2 – Four categories created for S	Stage 2 of database search
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Culturally relevant services for Indigenous women	Culturally relevant services for Indigenous women exiting the sex trade	Culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth	Culturally relevant services for Indigenous youth exiting the sex trade
Oliver et al. (2015) Reeves (2013) Reeves & Stewart (2015) Wahab & Olsen (2004) Unsworth (2012) Flynn (2011) d'Abbs & Chenhall (2013) Faulkner (2018) Moorehead et al. (2015) DeBruyn et al. (2001) Moghaddam et al. (2015) Rasmus (2014) Gone (2011) Allen et al. (2014) Benoit et al. (2003) *Making a Difference: Ending Violence Against Aboriginal Women (2013)	Hintz (2016) Chanssoneuve (2008) Farley et al. (2011) *Farley et al. (2016) *MacKay (2016)	Regnier (1994) Ansloos (2014) McKenzie & Morrissette (1993) Roy et al. (2015) Dell et al. (2011) Rasmus et al. (2014) Okamoto et al. (2014) Mohatt et al. (2014) Wexler et al. (2009) Colmant & Merta (1999) Wexler et al. (2015) Morrissette et al. (1993) Garrett et al. (2014) *Cultural Survival (2016) *Urban Aboriginal Youth: An Action Plan for Change (2003) *Roy et al. (2015)	DeRiviere (2005) Moore (2017) Sethi (2010) Kingsley & Mark (2000) Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth (2000) Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, & Thomas (2008) Chrismas (2017) Pierce (2012) *Barrett (2010) *Bennet & Krone (2016) *Review Of Research On Criminal Victimization And First Nations, Métis And Inuit Peoples (2006) *Rabinovitch (2004) *Alluriarniq: Stepping Forward (2018) *UNYA (2002) *Seshia (2005) *Boyer & Kampouris (2014) *AMR Planning and Consulting Inc. (2012)

A preliminary search of the literature for culturally relevant interventions for exiting the sex trade in Indigenous youth revealed 10,552 articles from Phase 1 which consisted of the scholarly databases Google Scholar and ProQuest: Social Services Abstracts. Phase 2 yielded 1,595,000 articles from the Google search engine. In total, forty-eight full reports from Phase 1 and Phase 2 were examined, of which twelve met all inclusion criteria. Five relevant studies were found through the citation chaining of already included studies. The final number of studies included from Phase 1, Phase 2, and the process of citation chaining were seventeen articles. The seventeen articles were thoroughly read and examined to answer the research questions of the systematic review.

CHAPTER 6 – THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION

The research questions formulated for this systematic review seek to determine the way in which the literature defines culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous cultures, as well as the programs and services currently implemented for Indigenous women and youth in the sex trade and their effectiveness. In addition, the way in which culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous cultures are defined in the literature will be examined. Finally, an overview of the available culturally relevant programming, effectiveness of outlined programs, and the recommendations found in the literature for Indigenous women and youth involved in the sex trade are discussed and organized by the themes: Indigenous-led services, substance abuse, trauma and mental health issues, education, and transitional housing.

Definition of Culturally Relevant Practices

According to the literature examined, what it means to deliver culturally appropriate services was defined in a variety of ways. A report written by the Urban Native Youth Association (2002) discussed the Circle of Courage as an essential part of culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous youth. Traditional beliefs address the significance of belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity in building self-esteem, which all make up the components of the Circle of Courage (Urban Native Youth Association, 2002). Organizations that connect Indigenous youth to programs that offer traditional ways are defined as culturally appropriate. Sweat lodges, pow wows, smudging ceremonies, artwork, and healing circles are a few culturally appropriate services evident in the literature (Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Chrismas, 2017; Pierce, 2012; Public Safety Canada, 2018). These ceremonies and traditional practices help to connect Indigenous youth back to their culture.

The literature also noted the importance of cultural sensitivity when providing services for people of different backgrounds. When discussions about cultural sensitivity first began, particularly regarding Indigenous groups in Canada, many social service organizations were adding the medicine wheel or the eagle feather on their letterhead, but they were not actually addressing the needs of Indigenous peoples (Chrismas, 2017). The symbols added to their letterheads gave an impression that the organizations provided culture-specific programs to Indigenous peoples, however, that was not the case. Culturally appropriate services are not defined solely by the representation of a few Indigenous-related images on a letterhead and/or website, but by meaningful traditional healing services provided to address the intergenerational trauma faced by Indigenous communities.

Chrismas (2017) defines culturally appropriate services through the way in which these services are executed. In order for programs and services to be deemed culturally relevant, they must be implemented and carried out by those belonging to the specific cultural group. Chrismas (2017) discusses the importance of culturally appropriate services for Indigenous youth being provided by Indigenous peoples themselves. Culturally appropriate practices are defined by who is in charge of Indigenous-specific organizations and the way in which their services are implemented. Indigenous people know what is best for themselves. Leslie Spillett, Executive Director of Ka Ni Kanichihk says that rather than providing culturally appropriate services, the funding that is given to service providers should go directly to the Indigenous community, so they can be in control of their own services in the way that is most beneficial for the people of their community (Chrismas, 2017).

Executing culturally appropriate services involves being knowledgeable about the diversity that exists within the Métis and Indigenous communities (Chrismas, 2017). There are

multiple languages and cultures among various Indigenous groups themselves, so it is important to address the specific needs of each community when providing services (Chrismas, 2017). Furthermore, the same community can have within it people with multiple languages and religious beliefs. Among them, some might be more orthodox, while others are more relaxed within the traditional Indigenous ways (Chrismas, 2017). Providing services that are culturally appropriate requires being well-informed and educated about the variety of cultures within Indigenous culture itself.

Western programs that are not cultural-specific can cause confusion for Indigenous youth regarding identity and complicate the healing processes provided to them (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). In some non-cultural placements, Indigenous youth are being told that "ceremony is bad" (Bennett & Krone, 2016). Some youth placed in non- Indigenous programs are not being allowed to participate in smudges or go to sweat lodge ceremonies (Bennett & Krone, 2016). These approaches which deter s Indigenous youth from connecting with their identity and can be seen as a continuation of the type of oppression which occurred in residential schools and the sixties scoop in which Indigenous children were restricted from expressing their culture and forced to assimilate.

The literature also indicated that effective programming must consider the range of ethnic and racial backgrounds (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2008). When providing culturally specific programming for young Indigenous youth, it is important to not make assumptions about their identity. Some youth who are Indigenous might have been raised Christian and not want anything to do with traditional healing (Chrismas, 2017). To presume a youth's religious and/or cultural upbringing could do the very opposite of what culturally appropriate services are meant to achieve.

Culturally Relevant Services within the Literature

Themes began to emerge throughout the literature while examining the seventeen articles that met the inclusion criteria for this systematic review. While all the included articles discussed the sex trade, sexual exploitation, and/or sex trafficking, some articles included additional services. This section will discuss the available culturally relevant services for Indigenous sex workers, the issues they address, and the recommendations provided by the literature. Themes were created based on what the literature identified as significant services that should be implemented for Indigenous women and youth seeking to exit the sex trade and sexual exploitation. The themes include: Indigenous-led services, substance abuse, trauma and mental health issues, education, and transitional housing. Some of the themes provided overlapping ideas, but overall, the five main themes identified were determined to be prevalent in the literature.

Indigenous-led Services

Current programs. An overarching issue addressed among the literature examined is the problem of Indigenous services led by non-Indigenous peoples. The importance of services for Indigenous peoples being managed and carried out by Indigenous peoples themselves can be seen in the organization PEERS (Prostitution Empowerment Education and Resource Society). PEERS in Victoria, B.C. is an organization that provides resources, support and services for male & female sex workers by former sex workers (Rabinovitch, 2004). The staff is made up of a mix of people who have recently exited and people who have had some distance from their time in the sex trade (Rabinovitch, 2004). While PEERS is not an Indigenous-only program, it is mainly made up of Indigenous women and youth participants and workers. The Indigenous Community

Empowerment Vision workshop led by PEERS ensures that an Indigenous-specific program led by Indigenous workers is provided. PEERS' staff are knowledgeable and understand the importance of supporting people wherever they are in their process. The staffs' knowledge and understanding stems from their own personal experience within the sex trade and as former PEERS' clients (Rabinovitch, 2004). 250 women and men have participated in the various employment training projects PEERS has offered over the years, of which 86% have moved on either into employment, further training or education, or into a treatment program for alcohol and drug misuse, or into mental health services (Rabinovitch, 2004).

The Ndaawin Project provided culturally relevant services for sexually exploited Indigenous girls managed by Indigenous peoples themselves. The leaders of this program provided positive role modelling to deal with circumstances that make youth more susceptible to enter the sex trade to being with. This program consisted of a fun and safe environment where children could drop-in and have access to individualized support systems (DeRiviere, 2005). Ndaawin received outstanding reviews from its young participants who revealed that they felt a sense of belonging and caring from Ndaawin's staff (DeRiviere, 2005).

Recommendations. Indigenous communities should be provided with the power to deliver their own services. It is important that Indigenous peoples have more control over the administration and their participation in programs and healing (Chrismas, 2017). Programs that are culturally safe and appropriate must be Indigenous-focused and from an Indigenous perspective, inclusive of Indigenous spirituality and healing modalities (Chrismas, 2017). It is recommended that funding that is normally given to the police and social services to support core services for Indigenous peoples should go directly to Indigenous communities (Chrismas, 2017).

This allows Indigenous communities to decide exactly what services they require, rather than other agencies telling Indigenous peoples how they can serve them.

Adequate support services for Indigenous youth involved in the sex trade include having someone who had previously been in their position to talk to and guide them (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Youth having the opportunity to interact with former youth sex workers as peer support was viewed as extremely important to their comfortableness in the program (Government of British Columbia, 2000). Former sex workers providing help to youth currently in the industry can allow them to relate to similar experiences. In addition, being of the same cultural background as the youth they are assisting is important to build trusting relationships with victims (Barrett, 2010). The use of Indigenous outreach workers trained in sex trafficking who can work as cultural mediators is most beneficial when reaching out to Indigenous victims and informing them of their rights and options for exiting (Barrett, 2010). If Indigenous peoples and former sex workers are not available to provide these services all across Canada, then substantial training directly from Indigenous communities would assist outreach personnel in gaining training and Indigenous knowledge (Government of British Columbia, 2000).

In the study carried out by Bennett and Krone (2016), a grandmother suggested that Indigenous girls should spend time with elder women and encouraged that they be in an environment where they are told they are valued. The report recommended having grandmothers on-site at a program or having them visit foster homes to check in on girls in care to ensure Indigenous girls are kept safe. Creating a grandmother program in group and in residential homes where grandmothers visit to spend meaningful time engaging in talk and activities with youth would be beneficial. Youth require "grandma love" as grandmothers are known to provide unconditional love, respect, and kindness (Bennett & Krone, 2016).

While the importance of creating Indigenous-led services for Indigenous youth in the sex trade is highlighted above, it is also significant to have options available for each individual. Not all youth will necessarily benefit from the programming that incorporates the culture that they are born into or the cultural background they come from (Chrismas, 2017). They might eventually want to connect to their culture when they are ready, so it is important to make sure those services are available to them when they require it. Culturally responsive services should be present for youth, but they should be allowed to find their own way and make their own decisions on whether they want to use the services available to them (Chrismas, 2017). None of these services should be forced on them because not all Indigenous peoples are ready for cultural programming at the time they are admitted into treatment and healing. All in all, it is important to look for answers to Indigenous issues in the Indigenous community because they will truly understand how Canada's colonial history impacts them and how survivor-oriented intervention and prevention programming can assist sex workers (Chrismas, 2017).

Substance Abuse

Current programs. Klinic Community Health Centre's program, Dream Catchers is implemented in Winnipeg, Manitoba and is designed to help participants exit from the sex trade and connect to resources within their community that help those within their situation. Help for substance abuse and domestic violence issues is also provided for the young women involved in the sex trade. A group therapy setting is held for young women and an elder comes to the drop-in every day (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012). Klinic Community Health Centre's program, Dream Keeper also offers services for women and youth transitioning from the sex trade. This program allows the graduates of Dream Catchers to become peer mentors. Former women and/or youth who had exited the sex trade are trained as peer mentors who then go on to

deliver outreach preventative peer support to at-risk youth (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012). These two programs hold weekly sobriety and support groups that are specifically tailored towards sexually exploited youth and women (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012).

Recommendations. It is recommended by service providers and participants of programs for Indigenous youth seeking to exit the sex trade that programs need to be of a sufficient duration to make a difference. Services should take a long-term approach to the needs of youth in exiting and healing from the sex trade (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Indigenous youth should have access to culturally relevant services that are long enough to help them successfully transition to a safer and healthier life (Sethi, 2010). Many youth involved in the sex trade or victims of sexual exploitation struggle with alcohol and/or drug addiction (Boyer & Kampouris, 2014). Culturallyspecific detox centres are needed with programs that last long enough to make a difference with a response team that looks after the safety of Indigenous women and girls (Boyer & Kampouris, 2014). Long-term interventions should provide detox and treatment beds for youth that allow them to stay and receive support from staff.

Trauma and Mental Health Issues

Current programs. Nokomis Endaad ("Grandmother's House") provides culturalspecific healing for Indigenous women challenged by mental health, sexual trauma, and cultural disorders. This program focuses specifically on Indigenous youth in Minnesota. The goal of the model is to heal Indigenous youth of trauma by re-centering Aboriginal values and cultural practices and rebuilding youth in their culture (Barrett, 2010). Some culturally specific therapies in their model include an Elder in residence, extensive ceremonial practice, equine facilitated

learning/therapy (which has shown to have positive results for youth with mental or emotional disorders), art therapy, and traditional food ways (Barrett, 2010).

Alluriarniq: Stepping Forward assists Inuit adults and youth who are involved in prostitution or who are victims of sexual exploitation to safely exit the sex trade or reduce the associated harms. In the early stages of change, clients are engaged in weekly, culturally-specific healing circles. Peer support groups are also implemented to provide cultural connection and reduce isolation among Inuit women and youth. For those who have experienced trauma and are battling addictions, intensive culturally-specific residential and day treatment services are provided. Clients receive individualized plans of care and are assisted to develop plans to exit prostitution and sexual exploitation.

Recommendations. Research participants in the study conducted by Chrismas (2017) expressed mixed opinions about whether existing addiction, medical, and other counselling services for sex workers are culturally sensitive. Most agreed that cultural sensitivity in services has improved over the last decade. Advocates who serve trafficked women from minority ethnic and racial groups state a need for training, education and money for staffing a model that works for their particular communities (Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, & Thomas, 2008). Recommendations for culturally sensitive programs could include bilingual and ethnic staff members, therapy rooms large enough to accommodate family members, and traditional ceremonies such as smudging, talking circles and sweat lodges (Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, & Thomas, 2008).

Education

Current programs. Oshkiniigikwe ("young woman" in the Ojibwe language) serves adolescent American Indian and Alaska Native (AI/AN) girls and young women from 11 to 21 years old in Minneapolis. In the study conducted by Pierce (2012), participants of Oshkiniigikwe disclosed that they or their friends were involved in the sex trade. Because there was very limited information on this subject, the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center (MIWRC) published a report titled Shattered Hearts: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of American Indian Women and Girls in Minnesota (Pierce, 2009). This report caused an expansion in the Oshkiniiqikwe program to focus on reducing AI/AN girls' vulnerability to commercial sexual exploitation. Outreach workers and case managers at Oshkiniiqikwe have training and experience in working with young women, including knowledge of AI history and cultural perspectives. Moreover, Oshkiniigikwe staff serve as liaisons to County Child Protection workers when a girl has an open case or requires intervention due to sexual abuse or commercial sexual exploitation. Emphasis is put on meeting girls "where they are" to build on existing strengths and reduce any exposure to potential harm (Pierce, 2012). Girls in the support groups received education about commercial sexual exploitation, sex traffickers' deliberate targeting of vulnerable girls, and methods used by traffickers to force or trick girls into prostitution, stripping, and pornography.

Oshkiniigikwe provides a commercial sexual exploitation risk assessment component to the program's intake and follow up assessment process. In addition to helping girls exit, the program also focuses on providing outreach programming to reduce the likelihood that girls will become involved in commercial sexual exploitation. The outreach programming by Oshkiniiqikwe was held at two Minneapolis alternative high schools that were specifically

designed to serve AI/AN youth. Support services were offered to all youth that disclosed involvement in or exposure to commercial sexual activity. For example, Oshkiniiqikwe worked with school personnel to help girls develop individual education plans that support school completion; monitored their medical, mental health, and dental care needs; and linked them to culturally responsive providers.

Pierce (2012) outlined the programming provided by Oshkiniigikwe and the after-effects. In the study, 17 Oshkiniigikwe girls completed anonymous participant feedback surveys. In response to the effectiveness of the program, all girls felt that it helped them "a lot" or "some" in having happier and healthier romantic relationships, free of abuse or violence (Pierce, 2012). Two thirds (67%) of the girls said that they had "improved a lot" in taking care of their own physical, emotional, and spiritual needs. This meant that they were respecting themselves and recognized their right to be treated well (Pierce, 2012). Through the study, it appeared that Oshkiniigikwe has had a positive impact in girls' lives. Some of these impacts include improved safety and stability in housing situations, healthier sources of social support, and improved relationships with parents/adult caregivers (Pierce, 2012). While there was not much information available about the effectiveness of Oshkiniigikwe programs specifically steering girls away from the sex trade, girls reported that the program helped a lot with staying sober for long periods of time (Pierce, 2012). Over half of the 17 girls who took follow-up assessments had reported using alcohol 6 months prior to entering the program. However, 6 months after entrance to the program, 47% of the girls reported alcohol use in the previous 6 months (Pierce, 2012).

Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad is an organization for at-risk youth in Winnipeg. The Ndinawe Youth Resource Center is a culturally based resource centre that offers communitybased programs to youth involved in or at risk of sexual exploitation. The components of the

program include Aboriginal cultural supports such as Elder guidance, regular sharing circles, and drum groups, in addition to therapeutic counselling, teaching assistance, and employment preparations (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012). A major component of this organization is the Ndinawe/Red River Child and Youth Care Program, a funded joint program between Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad and Red River College to recruit and train former sex trade workers in the field of child and youth care. Students who complete the program receive a Red River College Certificate in Child and Youth Care. Providing education and job opportunities gives youth an incentive to exit the sex trade. Since the report was published by AMR Planning & Consulting Inc (2012), 36 students have graduated; 28 of them are employed and off of social assistance.

Recommendations. Children need to be supported and kept in the school system through family support, counselling, homework clubs, and culturally appropriate classes (Sethi, 2010). Schools and community service providers should be proactively engaged to decrease the dropout rates of children and youth. The education that Indigenous youth receive should place importance around community and culture. Learning the value of traditions and culture shapes the way in which one values themselves (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). In addition, raising awareness about sexual exploitation and the dangers of the sex trade for youth through education and discussion could further deter involvement (Kingsley & Mark, 2000).

Providing education about sexual exploitation and the sex trade is an essential step of prevention for vulnerable youth, but it can also prove to be beneficial for steering away individuals already involved. As mentioned earlier, Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad provides a fully funded college program for former sex trade workers who will receive a Certificate in Child and Youth Care upon completion (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012). This form of

incentive for sex workers allows them to leave the sex industry behind with hopes of a different career path given the knowledge and Certificate obtained (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012).

Transitional Housing

Current programs. Honoring the Spirit of our Little Sisters is a program also outlined in the literature examined. This is a cultural-specific, safe, transitional housing program created by Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Center in Winnipeg. According to Sethi (2010), this healing center and shelter specifically meets the needs of trafficked Indigenous girls. Young women and transgendered youth aged 13-17 who are currently victims of or at risk for sexual exploitation are welcome to this open-door, 24 hour a day, seven day a week home (Barrett, 2010). Youth are given help to build a strong foundation of self-worth through a process of self-discovery and self-esteem building (Barrett, 2010). This program emphasizes the importance of physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual development of each resident

Ka Ni Kanichihk Inc. ("Those Who Lead") offers the program, At Our Relatives' Place (AORP) in Winnipeg. AORP uses traditional Aboriginal practices of child protection where grandparents, aunties and uncles, sisters and brothers, and extended community members provide the role of caregivers to Aboriginal children and youth who are being sexually exploited. According to Ka Ni Kanichihk Inc., cultural roots, families, and communities of origin are of utmost importance to the well-being of children and youth (AMR Planning & Consulting Inc., 2012). The program offers a twelve bed foster care program, and a four bed transition home for sexually exploited girls.

Recommendations. Transitional housing should be widely available for youth looking to exit the sex trade. To have an effective holistic housing program for homeless youth engaging in street-based sex work, a well-established community outreach program needs to be implemented (Moore, 2017). Housing programs should be culturally appropriate and safe for sexually exploited girls and their children (Sethi, 2010). Transitional housing for Indigenous youth should focus more on language and art, the inclusion of elders, and talking circles to effectively support these individuals (Moore, 2017). It is important that housing models recognize the intersectional racism and sexism that Indigenous women face (Moore, 2017). Housing programs should also have mental health supports and trauma-informed care. Many street-based young women engaging in sex work have been exposed to early childhood emotional, physical and sexual abuse resulting in trauma and other mental health effects (Moore, 2017). In the Sexual Exploitation of Youth in British Columbia (2000) report, it was proposed that an Indigenous healing camp would be beneficial for sexually exploited youth. This form of transitional housing would give individuals the opportunity to engage in a variety of traditional activities, such as hunting and fishing. Additionally, it would provide youth with an appreciation of lifestyles other than addiction and violence. Low barrier housing options should be provided for youth who are not yet ready to leave sex work. These options will help reduce some of the harms associated with street-based survival sex and allow youth to access non-judgemental supportive services, even if they do not wish to leave at this point in time (Moore, 2017).

A drop-in centre for Indigenous youth sex workers open during late-night hours should be widely available. This recommendation is beneficial as sex workers do not work a normal 9-5 job (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Many youth in the sex trade work late night and need services available at night should they choose to seek help (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). A useful drop-in

centre offers support, shelter, and activities that would enable youth to find alternatives to a life on the street (Kingsley & Mark, 2000). Chrismas (2017) highlights the need for a cultural hub to service all agencies. The cultural hub should consist of a full range of cultural services that ensure quality and inclusion of various Indigenous cultural resources. This allows for individuals to easily access cultural resources, training, and advice through a shared resource hub.

CHAPTER 7 – DISCUSSION

This systematic review strives to address the available culturally appropriate services for Indigenous women and youth, how these services are defined by the literature, and whether or not they are effective in helping Indigenous women and youth exit the sex trade. Chapter 7 will provide a discussion on the importance of including a decolonizing perspective in research regarding Indigenous communities.

Decolonization in the Literature

It is critical to discuss how non-Indigenous researchers examining Indigenous cultures speak on behalf of Indigenous peoples. My goal is to try my best to speak from the position of a non-Indigenous researcher, without providing a Western ethnocentric view. While significant steps towards resisting colonialist assumptions have been made, most research in the social sciences continues to be structured by the limits of Western ideologies that delegitimize Indigenous ways of being and knowing (Fortier, 2017). The literature examined for this systematic review provided some programs and services that were created from a decolonization perspective. While the authors of the literature were not Indigenous themselves, studies were conducting which involved consultation with individuals from various Indigenous communities to discuss the culturally appropriate exiting services they desired.

By focusing on exiting approaches, this thesis does not intend to diminish the fact that many women enter sex work willingly and instead of leaving the trade, they would prefer support to do their job safely. Addressing harm reduction in the sex trade is much needed, however the concept of choice is important to recognize, especially in the context of sex work. Assuming that most sex workers choose to engage in the sex trade does not allow us to address the reality that many do not actually have a choice. This assumption avoids asking very

important questions about the kinds of systems and injustices that lead Indigenous women into sex work. The focus is shifted away from systemic issues that must be addressed. This points to the importance and need for providing culturally relevant services. Reconnecting Indigenous women with their culture, family, and communities can be essential in aiding them to exit the sex trade. The Royal Commission Report suggested that a general health strategy for First Nations should include 1) equitable access to health services, 2) holistic approaches to treatment, 3) Indigenous control of services, and 4) diverse approaches which respond to cultural priorities and community needs (RCAP, 1996). These four basic strategies are applicable to the healing of those involved in sex work. Western medical treatment must be combined with traditional healing practices for urban Indigenous women and youth who want to exit the sex trade.

The process of decolonization focuses on reclaiming or restating the humanity and traditional cultures of colonized peoples, while taking a critical look at how colonization has affected them (Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012). The decolonization process involves challenging the dominance of Western thought and bringing Indigenous thought to the forefront (Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012). It is essential to deconstruct colonial ideologies of the superiority of Western thought and approaches (Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012). Decolonizing Western institutions requires that spaces that are inclusive and honour Indigenous peoples are created and widely available. Programs and services should focus on restoring the cultural practices and relationships that historically promoted wellness and healing in Indigenous cultures and communities. Institutions with more Indigenous people and Indigenous knowledge build on cultural strengths and contribute to a secure personal and cultural identity for Indigenous communities.

The continuing process of decolonization involves shifting the way colonized peoples view themselves. For colonized peoples, this includes learning about who they are in relation to their ancestors and communities. Western thinking and knowledge have erased the history of many colonized peoples, creating a loss of identity, especially over many generations. Among Indigenous peoples, "elder" represents an older, wise, and well-respected person in the community (Monchalin, 2016). While age does not determine what makes one an elder, elders are usually older and worldly. Being acknowledged as an elder has more to do with one's knowledge and community recognition (Monchalin, 2016). Elders possess knowledge of ancestral ways, teachings, stories, and ceremonies which they share with children, youth and families (Monchalin, 2016). Elders provide cultural strength, guidance and spiritual counselling to reconnect Indigenous peoples to their identities, and in turn, attempt to heal historical trauma. The programs in the literature addressed the importance of incorporating Elders into the culturally relevant services they provided. In some programs mentioned, Elders are brought into the centre on a daily basis to provide teachings and healing to the sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth.

The importance of acknowledging and listening to Indigenous voices in order to move towards a decolonizing process was discussed earlier. In the literature, programs and services mentioned that sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth are given choice and agency in creating their own exiting services and plans. These services are completely tailored to the needs of the Indigenous women and youth and ensure that they receive the services that they want in order to navigate sex work safely or exit the trade. In addition, Indigenous-specific programs and services in the literature examined claim to provide a place for Indigenous women and youth to feel a sense of community and belonging. These programs are meant to take away the isolation

that they face in large urban cities and on the streets. The programs and services discussed in the articles included in the review addressed the importance of Indigenous peoples receiving education about sexual exploitation and allows them to learn more information about their cultures and why they face high risk factors and vulnerability.

In terms of relevance, research conducted by Kingsley and Mark (2000) came the closest to highlighting culturally appropriate programs that Indigenous youth want in order to ease their process of exiting the sex trade. Information in the literature offers some recommendations to the provision of services for Indigenous youth in the sex trade. In addition, addiction treatment services are crucial to aid in the process of exiting the sex trade for Indigenous youth, however, discussion of these services was very minimal. Academic literature is mainly focused on the factors associated with youth entry into the sex trade and vulnerability to being sexually exploited. The literature suggested approaches to addressing the problem through culturalspecific programming, however, these suggestions were very brief and broad and were mostly discussed in the conclusion sections of the paper and research findings.

Little information has been published in the literature about the effectiveness of the existing programs available. There does not appear to be a focus on the evaluation of existing programs and services among the literature included in this review. The existing programs for commercially sexually exploited women and youth discussed in the articles need to be examined individually and systematically. While long-term intervention is the most beneficial to make a difference in the lives of women and youth, most programs examined in this systematic review tended to focus on short-term intervention. Some important questions that should be answered are: do the existing programs reduce involvement in the sex trade? How many women and youth successfully exited the sex trade? Were the changes long-lasting? Individually examining the

results and effects of each program and/or service paints a clear picture of what strategies work and what strategies need improvement.

CHAPTER 8 – LIMITATIONS

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of the evidence and of the review. Chapter 8 will discuss the limitations and biases evident in this systematic review, as well as the type of articles that were near-misses and almost included in the review.

Limitations and Biases

While the search strategy was comprehensive and included both peer-reviewed scholarly journals and grey literature, only articles written in English were included. There are possibilities of valuable research published in another language. Articles in French or in an Indigenous language could have been overlooked due to this limitation. In addition, this review of the literature only includes articles that are available on the Internet, therefore, dismissing any relevant studies that might not be found online.

Another limitation for this systematic review is the way in which articles were chosen for analysis. Although an exhaustive search of the literature was performed using specific search term combinations, manipulating the terminology and combinations used in the database searches would result in a different set of results. While this is an apparent limitation of this systematic review, future research can strengthen the findings used for this study by creating a more expansive search strategy.

The research for this systematic review was dependent on one individual researcher, therefore the selection of articles at each stage of the review was affected by the researcher's personal bias. The literature chosen to be included or excluded from the systematic review proves to be a limitation of this study. While there was an inclusion criteria specified, another individual might choose to exclude a study that has been included in this review, and vice versa.

Near-Misses

Near-misses are essential to examine in a systematic review as they account for articles that could have potentially made it to the final stage of the review process. There was a common pattern noticed when skimming through the potential articles for relevance and in turn, elimination. Some articles were initially taken from the database and exported into Zotero because they mentioned the term 'culturally relevant services'. However, upon further examination of each article, it was found that a lot of articles merely mentioned that culturally relevant services were important and suggested the need for them to be further researched and discussed. Many of the articles I came across during my searches stated the fact that culturally relevant services for Indigenous peoples were needed and did not expand beyond that. These articles were not helpful for my study and therefore, were removed.

Another pattern observed was that articles that were eliminated during these stages were removed because most of them were summarizing Kingsley and Mark's (2000) study. This indicated that the Kingsley and Mark (2000) study was seminal work that others are relying on without providing additional findings or contributions. This information helped direct the systematic review as it was clear these studies that just summarized the seminal work did not need to be considered and focus could be put on other studies providing different or novel content.

CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSION

The purpose of this systematic review was to examine the literature available on culturally relevant support systems for Indigenous women and youth seeking to exit the sex trade. Specifically, this research was focused on answering the following questions using a systematic methodology:

- 1. How does existing literature define culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous cultures?
- 2. Are culturally appropriate practices currently implemented for Indigenous women and youth in the sex trade?
- 3. Does the literature address any interventions that are described as particularly effective in steering women and youth away from being involved in the sex trade?

The first question sought to understand how the seventeen articles chosen for this systematic review defined culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous women and youth. The literature discussed that in order for organizations and the programs they offer to be culturally appropriate, they must connect Indigenous women and youth to services that incorporate traditional ways. Sweat lodges, pow wows, smudging ceremonies, artwork, and healing circles are a few culturally appropriate services mentioned in the literature. Services must also be culturally sensitive in terms of addressing historical traumas faced by Indigenous peoples. Lastly, programs or services could be deemed as culturally appropriate for Indigenous peoples if the services were created and implemented by Indigenous peoples themselves.

The second question asked whether or not culturally appropriate practices for Indigenous women and youth looking to exit the sex trade are available. Based on the literature, there are culturally appropriate practices available and the organizations that were found to implement these practices included: UNYA, Ka Ni Kanichihk, PEERS, Klinc Community Health Centre, Nokomis Endaad, Alluriarniq: Stepping Forward, The Ndaawin Project, Oshkiniigikwe, Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad, and Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Center. The seventeen articles outlined a number of culturally relevant programs available for Indigenous women and youth exiting the sex trade, including the issues they address, and recommendations for future programs and services. The culturally relevant services that exist address a variety of issues faced by Indigenous women and youth in the sex trade. The services mentioned in the literature highlight the importance of Indigenous-led services, drug and/or alcohol treatment, trauma and mental health therapy, educational programming, and/or transitional housing.

The last question was focused on addressing the literature available on the evaluation and effectiveness of the programs by the previously mentioned organizations. The discussion of the success or failure rates of the interventions and programs was very minimal. Rabinovitch (2004) provided some insight about the effectiveness of the PEERS program in terms of employment within the program. Some former sex workers who completed the programming offered by PEERS went on to receive jobs as PEERS employees, therefore, leaving the sex trade. Pierce (2012) described some of the after-effects experienced by youth involved in the educational programming provided by Oshkiniigikwe in terms of being free of abuse and violence, and staying sober. Finally, a report published by AMR Planning & Consulting Inc (2012) outlined the effectiveness Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad's fully funded college program for former sex trade workers. The number of students who graduated the program and were employed after gaining their certificate were reported. There were still a large number of programs and services for whose effectiveness was not discussed at all. Therefore, my last research question could not

be answered to its full extent. The lack of information available on the effectiveness of culturally relevant exiting programs for Indigenous women and youth suggests the need for literature focusing on an in-depth evaluation of the current programs available. An evaluation plan will help to identify if there are any problems in running a certain program so necessary changes can be made. In addition, it can identify the aspects of a program that are particularly successful, so these strategies are implemented among all relevant organizations.

While the literature available is not extensive, this review demonstrates efforts being made to enhance cultural competence through culturally appropriate services and programming for commercially sexually exploited Indigenous women and youth. The findings of this systematic review suggest the need for additional research in culturally relevant support systems for Indigenous women and youth exiting the sex trade, with specific attention paid to evaluating the effectiveness of programs so they can be refined, if needed. The limited number of studies and the lack of information obtained from the literature regarding existing programs and services and their effectiveness demonstrates a need for more initiatives to address Indigenous-specific exiting services for women and youth.

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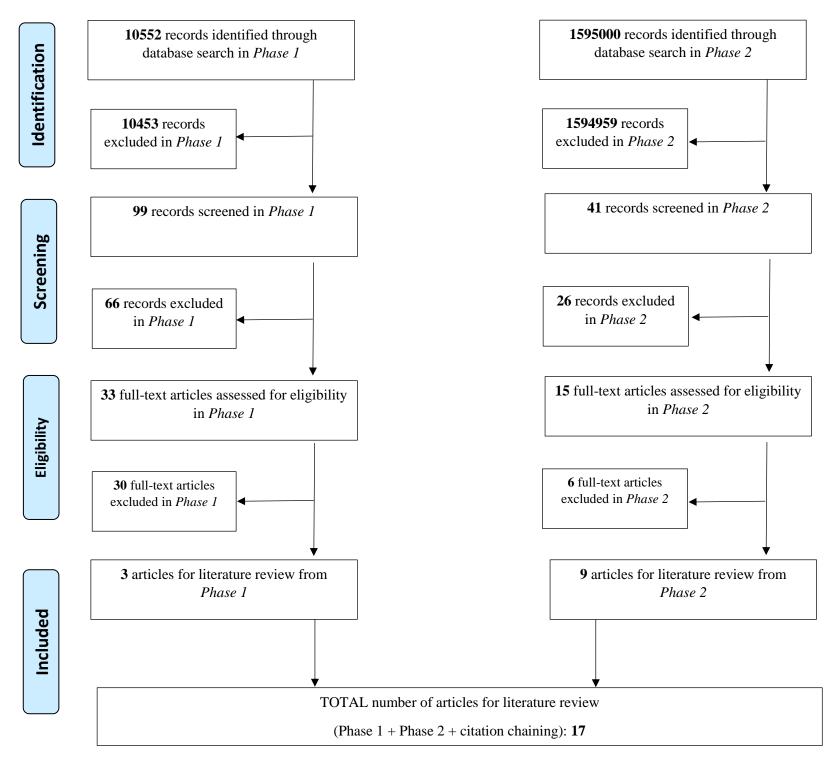
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Definition of Terms

Term	Definition
Youth	an individual who falls between the period of childhood and adulthood. Based on the United Nations definition, in this paper, youth will refer to any individual between the ages of 12 and 24
Aboriginal	refers to the first inhabitants of Canada, and includes First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples
Indigenous	a term that encompasses a variety of Aboriginal groups (including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples). The term is used to describe any person who identifies with their North American Aboriginal ancestry, regardless of status
Sex trade	engaging in sexual activity in exchange for any type of payment
Sex worker	those who willingly engage in commercial sex. Possibility of some entering the industry willingly as sex workers but eventually becoming victims of trafficking
Sex trafficking	human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation; involves force, coercion, or deceit
Commercial sexual exploitation	refers to the exchange of sex for food, shelter, drugs/alcohol, money and/or approval. This term addresses that children and youth in the sex trade are sexually exploited and moves the responsibility of exploitation to where it really belongs – those who purchase or profit from children and youth in the sex trade
Culturally relevant support systems	systems and practices that are responsive to the cultural issues of Indigenous peoples and sensitive to the multiple layers of current and historic trauma that they have experienced

Appendix B: PRISMA Diagram



Appendix C: Characteristics of Studies Included in the Systematic Review

Author (year)	Title	Province/ State, Country	Population	Issue(s) addressed	Intervention
Kingsley and Mark (2000)	Sacred Lives: Canadian Aboriginal Children and Youth Speak Out about Sexual Exploitation	Canada	Indigenous youth	Sexual exploitation (exiting and healing)	Cultural connection (sweat lodges, pow wows, fasting, artwork, and oral traditions)
Chrismas (2017)	Modern Day Slavery and the Sex Industry: Raising the Voices of Survivors and Collaborators While Confronting Sex Trafficking and Exploitation in Manitoba, Canada	Manitoba, Canada	Indigenous women and children	Sex trafficking	Exiting strategy: smudging ceremony
DeRiviere (2005)	An Examination of the Fiscal Impact from Youth Involvement in the Sex Trade: The Case for Evaluating Priorities in Prevention	Manitoba, Canada	Indigenous youth (aged 8-13)	Risk of exploitation in the sex trade; drug and alcohol addiction treatment; homelessness	Transitioning programs; vocational training; 24 hour drop-in center; assistance finding subsidized housing
Sethi (2000)	Domestic Sex Trafficking of Aboriginal Girls in Canada: Issues and Implications	Canada	Indigenous youth and children	Sex trafficking	*only recommendations given

Pierce (2012)	American Indian Adolescent Girls: Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking, Intervention Strategies	Minnesota, USA	Indigenous youth and children	Sex trafficking; chemical use; housing; mental health; medical	Holistic health care (acupuncture, acupressure and massage as a source of safe, healing touch); cultural teachings; space where participants work on traditional beading, sewing, and crafts projects; outreach programing
Moore (2017)	Specialized Supportive Housing for Young Adult Women Engaging in Street-Based Survival Sex Work: Is it needed?	B.C., Canada	Marginalized young adults (aged 19-25)	Survival sex; homelessness	*only recommendations given
Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, & Thomas (2008)	Sex Trafficking Needs Assessment for the State of Minnesota	Minnesota, USA	Indigenous women and children	Sexual exploitation	*only recommendations given
Government of British Columbia (Ministry of Attorney General, Ministry for Children and Families, Ministry of Health and Ministry Responsible for Seniors) (2000)	Sexual Exploitation of Youth in BC (2000)	B.C., Canada	Indigenous youth	Sexual exploitation	Cultural reconnection and renewal; focus on education and skill development; youth involvement in service planning

Barrett (2010)	An Exploration of Promising Practices in Response to Human Trafficking in Canada	Canada	Indigenous women and youth	Sex trafficking; mental health; substance addiction; sexual trauma	Survivor-led shelters and transition programs; culturally sensitive education provided
Rabinovitch (2004)	PEERS: The Prostitutes' Empowerment, Education and Resource Society	B.C., Canada	Indigenous women and youth	Sexual exploitation; drugs/alcohol addiction	Programming led by former sex trade workers; employment and training: 6 month youth internship program; employment at PEERS; educational programs
Bennett & Krone (2016)	On the Edge Between Two Worlds: Community Narratives on the Vulnerability of Marginalized Indigenous Girls	Manitoba, Canada	Indigenous youth and children	Sexual exploitation; Unsafe and abusive environment	*only recommendations given
AMR Planning & Consulting Inc. (2012)	Protecting Sacred Lives: Urban Aboriginal Youth Domestic Trafficking in Persons Policy Research Report	Manitoba, Canada	Indigenous youth	Sexual exploitation, drug/alcohol addiction	Grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters provide the role of caregivers (traditional Aboriginal practices of child protection); foster care program; transition home
Urban Native Youth Association (2002)	Full Circle	B.C., Canada	Indigenous youth	Sexual exploitation	Crisis counselling; affordable/safe housing; job training

Seshia (2005)	The Unheard Speak Out: Street Sexual Exploitation in Winnipeg	Manitoba, Canada	Indigenous women and children	Sexual exploitation	*only recommendations given
Boyer & Kampouris (2014)	Trafficking of Aboriginal Women and Girls	Canada	Indigenous women and children	Sex trafficking	*only recommendations given
Public Safety Canada (2018)	Alluriarniq: Stepping Forward	Ontario, Canada	Indigenous youth (aged 17-25)	Sex trade and/or sexual exploitation; alcohol and/or drug use	Intensive case management; intensive treatment for trauma and addictions (all are provided in an Inuit- specific cultural and linguistic context); counselling and social work; healing circles; peer support groups; mentoring
Government of Canada, Department of Justice (2006)	Review of Research on Criminal Victimization and First Nations, Métis and Inuit Peoples	Canada	Indigenous women and youth	Sexual exploitation; domestic violence; victimization in gangs	*only recommendations given

Appendix D: Reference Management Software: Zotero

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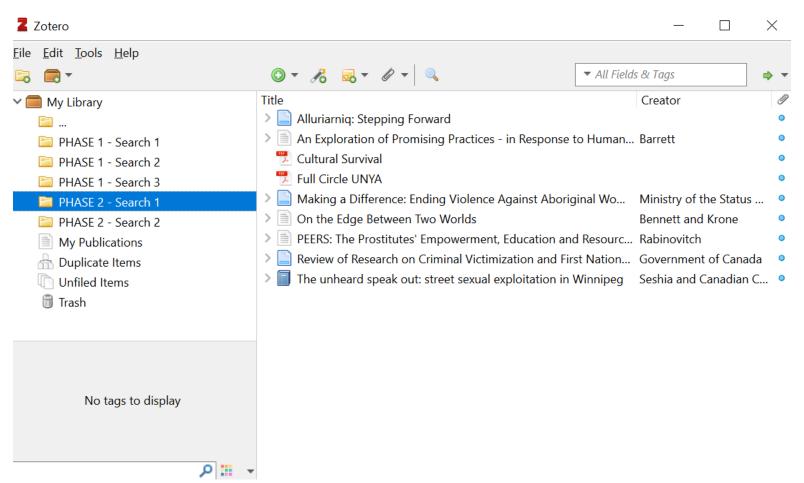
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VITA AUCTORIS

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