



UNDER **The Radar**
The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men

Saskatchewan Edition

Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men-Saskatchewan Edition

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Preface

Over the past 15 years, much of my research has been focused on young people involved in the sexual exploitation trade. This academic research extends primarily through three interconnected pieces of work.

The first piece of interviewing took place in 1991-1992, and was released as my PhD dissertation in 1994 entitled *The Youngest Profession the Oldest Oppression*. During that time, I interviewed 50 young people in Calgary. This involved 41 females and nine males, 25% of whom were Aboriginal. This research found that 82% of this population had experienced sexual abuse prior to their entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. It also demonstrated that professionals had both ignored and failed to recognize the abuse this population experienced prior to their entrance into the trade. In fact, many had failed to act while young people were being sexually exploited in front of them. Given this failure to intervene, it was in fact a form of state-supported sexual abuse. In the end, this research resulted in raising both social and political attention in The City of Calgary and The Province of Alberta.

Over time, I observed the growing acceptance of youth involved in prostitution as a form of sexual abuse. I watched The City of Calgary and The Province of Alberta embrace this shift, subsequently resulting in policy, legislative and program changes. This paradigm shift slowly spread across the country as the term 'youth prostitution' was replaced by the term 'sexual exploitation.' Today these two terms are used interchangeably.

The second piece of research was initiated by two former youth I had interviewed in 1991-1992, who challenged me to revisit the same questions I had originally asked the ten years earlier in order to see what had and hadn't worked.

I took the challenge, and in 2002 a retrospective longitudinal study titled *Strolling Away* was released.

At that point, I had accounted for and interviewed 38 of the original 50 people I had interviewed ten years previously. Some of the women had worked in the United States, primarily Las Vegas, California or Hawaii. Two women from this group ended up working in Japan for up to six months and found it difficult to escape back home. The men seemed to work primarily throughout Canada.

In this study, I learned both young women and men could survive this experience; however, painful scars remain. We also learned that for young women, the value of producing a child, or the desire to produce children, brings with it both family and state support. Eighty-two percent of women from this study had in fact produced children. On the contrary, the physical birthing of a child was not an option available to young men. From our small sample of young men, we learned that they entered the trade younger and stayed twice as long. Childbirth was not a viable opportunity to exit for young men as it is for young women. We also learned through interviewing the same men ten years later that we tend to view sexual exploitation of children through a female lens only. Young men inquired as to why we still asked them questions from a 'chick perspective'.

This second piece of research made it apparent that we as professionals, and as a society, knew very little about young men entering the sexual exploitation trade. Why and how do they enter? How do they work? How long do they stay? What is their lifestyle? How do they exit?

This lack of knowledge was the impetus to begin the following connected piece of work titled *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men*. It was apparent that looking at only one geographic site would be unfair.

The long-term plan was to examine independently the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The Alberta report was released in June 2005. The British Columbia Report was released in December 2006. This current report examines Saskatchewan. We also plan to release the Manitoba report shortly, as well as a Western Canadian report summarizing and comparing similarities and differences of each of these Western Provinces in 2008.

The following research aims to answer some important questions. Hopefully in doing so, we will be better able to assist young men by providing them with specialized support services in order to live safe, healthy, meaningful lives.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible with the support and energy of Covenant House Vancouver who provided guidance through many stages of this project, as well as many individuals, anonymous donors, the National Crime Prevention Centre, The Province of Saskatchewan Department of Justice, and First Nations and Métis Relations.

In addition, the following organizations provided invaluable support, direction, and information:

- AIDS Saskatoon
- Avenue Community Centre
- Children’s Advocate Office Saskatchewan
- Communities for Children (C4C)
- CRU Youth Wellness Centre
- EGADZ Youth Centre
- Regina Police Service
- Saskatoon Police Service
- Saskatoon Foster Families Association
- Street Culture Project
- Street Workers Outreach Program
- University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Patti MacDougall
- University of Regina Dr. Shauneen Pete
- Youth Launch-Nutana Collegiate
- White Buffalo Youth

Dedication

This project is dedicated to those young men who encouraged me to listen to their compelling personal stories. They challenged my previous research as being too “chick focused”, believing there was an imbalance to looking at the issue of sexual exploitation of children solely through a female lens. This was a fact I had to face up to and address. It was this challenge that drove my determination to have an independent story told of the sexual exploitation of young men.

Thank you Fadi, Pytor and Zac, who gave freely of their time to make sure this material moved toward a male perspective. You have created a lens for the voices of sexually exploited males to be heard.

To the Alberta Youth In Care and Custody Network who ensured the language of the questionnaires were youth friendly.

To Anna Marie who provided the essential task of transcribing and formatting of material for analysis.

To Del Williams who provided endless hours of thought and energy as the Research Coordinator for Saskatchewan. Special thanks to David Gullickson and Denise McCafferty for their guidance and support for this project.

To all the Research Assistants who embraced the value and need for such a study: Attrina, Colin, Erica, Kim, Sydney and Russ. They provided the energy, time and commitment to interviewing this population in both Regina and Saskatoon.

To the 40 young men in Saskatchewan (April 2006 – December 2007) who took the time to share their stories with the six Research Assistants, thank you for your time and honesty.

Finally, to the spirit of Ms. Adventure who continues to inspire and motivate my personal commitment towards helping sexually exploited youth.

The Researcher

With over 25 years experience in the non-profit, public and private sectors, Dr. Sue McIntyre has developed a unique set of skills and expertise.

As a scholar and educator, Dr. Sue McIntyre is well recognized for her expertise in the areas of child sexual abuse and prostitution. She has made over 100 workshop presentations and keynote addresses to provincial, national and international conferences.

As an international research and policy advisor, Dr. McIntyre appreciates the relationship between research, the law and social policy in the development of social programs.

As a social service practitioner, she has combined her human service background with entrepreneurial business flair. She clearly understands the social sector's challenge to meet mission goals, and helps them integrate mainstream business practices and accountability into their daily operations.

As a leader in effecting organizational change and development, she has established a strong track record in identifying and meeting the needs of an organization.

As a fundraiser, her ability to provide an analytical, business approach towards matching a company's community interests to high priority social issues have earned her the respect of Calgary's foundations and corporate sector.

Her broad fundraising experience includes approving foundation grants, applying for foundation grants and securing sponsorship from numerous leading national and international corporations.

As an entrepreneur, she was responsible for the start-up of 25 operations in both the private and public sectors, guiding them from concept through to the stages of implementation and evaluation. Her pioneering work in designing a management service to partner the expertise of Calgary's corporate community with non-profit organizations was just one example of her work in this regard.

As a community volunteer, Dr. McIntyre has proven her personal commitment time and again. As a strong community advocate, she has co-chaired numerous volunteer committees and task forces involving justice, social services, health services and education.

As a professional who has devoted most of her life to helping sexually exploited youth, Dr. McIntyre's commitment to helping us better understand the sexual exploitation of young men is commendable. This important body of research is long overdue.

Foreword

I grew up on a reservation in Saskatchewan with my grandmother, grandpa and uncles. There was a lot of violence and drinking between my parents so they could not look after us. I remember my mom being physically abused by my father, all bruised and giving us kids candy to make things 'OK'. My grandmother grew up in residential schools and had trouble showing us love and affection. My grandpa was the one who taught us about traditional ways of my culture. There was so much drinking, violence, poverty and sexual abuse on the reserve, we were normalized to it.

I started working the streets of Regina when I was 11 yrs old. I was introduced to it by my little cousin who was out on the street since he was eight. I stopped after a few tricks because I got scared. There were a lot of tricks or customers out there cruising specifically for very young, Aboriginal boys. They were mostly Caucasian, middle age men. One trick even asked me for identification to prove I was 'young' enough. I got started on the girls stroll first which didn't matter really because I was young and the johns didn't mind if I was a boy.

When I was 14 yrs old, I finally started really working the streets on the boys stroll. I found a lot of boys like me out there so we all became friends right away. We watched out for one another from bashers and bad dates. I did not mind being with all the older johns. They treated me so good and gave me money, so it was cool. I worked the streets until I was around 22 yrs old. I learned to leave my body when servicing a trick, disassociating myself from being there. Being high on drugs helped me cope with this lifestyle, too.

The thing that made me think a lot to get off the street was when my cousin was murdered on the stroll. I exited a few months after he died. I went up north to a cultural camp, found some spirituality and pride in myself at being an Indian who was two-spirited. So that planted a seed in me. I started to work on myself.

I was always someone who liked to help others, get involved in youth projects and volunteer to be involved in youth conferences, that kind of stuff. What made a difference for me was that I actually had to be out of the city, find some sort of higher power. I think I was ready, too. Being up north kept me away from a lot of my party friends which helped too.

As a Research Assistant doing interviews, I found people through my street connections. We have kept in touch over the years. We are like a family. The general response to the survey was very good. I think people were quite happy that someone is finally taking notice and trying to help us. A lot of agencies are not directly mandated to work with us but because we are the minority out there, we usually are forgotten or just swept aside. The most important thing for the agencies are the girls but no one has ever really thought of us guys. Sure we are given the scraps of what is left over, but if you are not one of the more outspoken ones out there, you are pretty much forgotten.

I think the reason the percentage of Aboriginal youth is high is because we are looking for belonging. In our communities, because we are gay, bi- or transsexual, and because there is so much poverty, how else can we make a decent living other than minimum wage?

As someone experiential, some recommendations would be:

- Engage experiential, exited young men who have something in common with youth who are just starting in the trade (someone who has been there) to assist in outreach programs.
- Safe houses (separate from women) which also distinguish different supports to gay and straight young men from the trade. For example, supports like detoxification, education, employment and counselling services.
- For prevention, there is a need for experiential people going out to schools and communities speaking out, telling their stories.

David

Executive Summary

In December of 2002, *Strolling Away* was released. *Strolling Away* represented a longitudinal retrospective study that examined young people from the sexual exploitation trade in 1991-1992 and then again in 2001-2002. The opportunity to interview individuals 10 years later was valuable.

One of its major findings was that we know very little about young men involved in the sexual exploitation trade. The young men I interviewed commented on how my questions were “chick questions”. It was clear that we have traditionally looked at this issue through a female lens. It became evident through this study that more research was required in order to understand young men in the sexual exploitation trade.

Interviews for *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men - Saskatchewan Edition* began in April 2006 and wrapped up in December 2006. Forty young men were interviewed in total. Twenty interviews occurred in Regina and 20 in Saskatoon. A total of 10 of the 40 interviewed had exited the sexual exploitation trade.

Characteristics of Respondents

- 85% of this population are Aboriginal
- 62% had involvement with child welfare services
- 28% completed high school
- 78% had a history of running away
- 75% had a history prior to the street of being sexually violated
- 80% had been physically violated and witnessed aggression while growing up
- 83% entered the sexual exploitation trade under the age of 18 years of age

- 10% entered the sexual exploitation trade over the age of 20 years of age
- Males enter the sexual exploitation trade younger and stay longer than young women
- 30% experienced staying in shelters
- Almost everyone felt no one should do this type of work
- The fear of gay-bashing exists
- Drug use is extensive
- Exiting the sexual exploitation trade is a long process, usually attempted more than once
- Almost everyone has in the past, and continues to access HIV / STD testing

Summary of Discoveries

- Young men have comparable histories of sexual and physical abuse to young women
- Young men in this study were gay, heterosexual and bisexual
- Young men create a construct to achieve a level of performance
- The issue of young men, as opposed to women in the sexual exploitation trade creates a sense of discomfort
- Young men begin younger and work longer
- A significant portion enter the sexual exploitation trade over the age of 18
- Young men fly under the radar of service providers
- Young men have unique service needs different from young women
- Public education on condom use and HIV testing has worked
- The connection between the street and drug use is longer and greater in the variety of drugs for young men
- Young men have strained and distant relationships with their family
- Running away often triggers entrance into the sexual exploitation trade

Summary Recommendations

1. Efforts should be directed towards supporting the future expansion of this study to other provinces. Upon completion of the four western provinces, those being British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, a report should be developed outlining the differences and similarities in Western Canada. Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia should be considered as future sites in order to allow for national, eastern, central and western perspectives. This population tends to be rather transient so the opportunity to gain a national perspective as well as regional differences will be of assistance.
2. That we publicly acknowledge both young men and women are being exploited in the sexual exploitation trade, and that we provide services to help them exit and an opportunity for their voice to be heard.
3. That staff working with young men in the sexual exploitation trade be provided with gender non-conformity training.
4. That service providers create the opportunity for young men in and out of the sexual exploitation trade to tell service providers about the services they require. We should not assume that one service will fit all.
5. That a series of detox and rehabilitation beds be established for young men exiting the sexual exploitation trade. Years of extensive drug consumption requires an intervention that will provide them with temporary accommodation while detoxification and rehabilitation takes place.
6. That safe affordable accommodation is provided for this population once they have completed drug detoxification and rehabilitation. This population requires safe, supportive living arrangements.

Coupled with this, they need help seeking alternative employment. Close to half of this population had completed high school and some college and university; however, they have limited employment skills and experience. Standard employment assistance programs will be required to assist them in supporting a successful exit from the sexual exploitation trade.

7. That we approach the issue of demand, that being customers, with an equal balance for both young men and women who are being sexually exploited. Like women, these men are young people who are in need of our assistance.
8. That prevention information is directed towards both young men and women. We need to provide information that both young men and women in the sexual exploitation trade experienced sexual abuse.
9. That the community-at-large recognize the damaging effects of sugar daddy relationships on this young and vulnerable population. In addition, an awareness of the economic disadvantages facing young males involved in the sexual exploitation trade must be taken into account and considered as a symptom of the differential power relationship existent in sugar daddy relationships.
10. Develop mentoring connections for the population who are exiting. A need exists for those exiting to have support from those who have exited. An experiential voice can assist an individual who is in the process of exiting the sexual exploitation trade. There are many questions, and those who have been through such a journey can better answer challenges facing those who are exiting.

This type of service could be set up in a formal structure through an agency that works with this population or informally within the volunteer community network. This network could be set up in formal face-to-face meetings, telephone or online support.

11. Prevention, intervention and re-integration materials be reviewed, and materials adjusted to speak to the sexual exploitation of youth regardless of gender. Materials must recognize the differences facing young women and men in the sexual exploitation trade. Education for both genders needs to be covered in these materials, emphasizing that the sexual exploitation trade is a risk for both genders.
12. That an evaluation occurs of harm reduction approaches such as distributing bad date sheets, mobile support services to sexually exploited youth. The opportunity exists to move into a more direct approach to intervention. The ultimate goal must always remain moving someone out of the sexual exploitation trade.
13. That the National Youth In Care Network embrace the topic of sexual awareness. There is a need to ensure that youth from care have the same knowledge base as the general youth population. This information could be delivered through DVD, booklets or lectures.
14. That we pay closer attention to youth who are running away. We need to recognize this as an early warning sign for possible entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. For youth, service providers and professionals, the opportunity to support and stabilize a situation is more likely to occur prior to years of abuse and drug use on the street.

Introduction

Throughout 1991-1992, I researched the sexual exploitation trade in downtown Calgary. My goal was to observe and interact with this population in order to investigate the relationship of sexual abuse with a person's involvement in the sexual exploitation trade. Fifty young people were interviewed as part of this study which was titled *The Youngest Profession, The Oldest Oppression*.

In 2000, with the realization that retrospective, longitudinal information on prostitution did not exist anywhere in Canada or the world, I made the decision to track as many participants from this original population to determine if they were still involved in the sexual exploitation trade. In December 2002, this body of research was released as *Strolling Away*. This document included interviews that accounted for 38 of the original 50 people interviewed in 1991-1992.

During *Strolling Away* it became clear that males face very different challenges than females. It is my belief that for many years this social issue was examined through a female lens. Through *Strolling Away* it was discovered that there are differences. For example, males enter the sexual exploitation trade younger and stay longer.

My personal and professional interest in wanting to know more about this population and how we can better assist them initiated *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men*. Hopefully this research will bring this issue out from under the radar to something that we as a community can address proactively and effectively.

Section 1: Impetus & Methodology of the Research

1.1 Impetus for the research

Is there a difference between young men and women who enter into the sexual exploitation trade?

Since the early 1980s, I have been interviewing and working with young men and women involved in the sexual exploitation trade. Over that time, I have slowly come to recognize that there are differences between men and women involved in the sexual exploitation trade. In fact, for many years, this issue has been examined through a female lens only.

Often when I speak publicly about my research, *The Youngest Profession*, *The Oldest Oppression* (McIntyre 1994) and *Strolling Away* (McIntyre 2002), people would say “those poor young women”. While this is true, for the past 15 years I have always had to remind people that this sample includes men as well.

Following the completion and release of *Strolling Away* (2002), it was obvious that a study pertaining to males was needed. *Strolling Away* recommended the male study. The Alberta Government along with a series of anonymous donors recognized the need to understand this social issue from a male perspective and saw the need to further balance the scales by recognizing both young women and men are sexually exploited. This study was released early in 2005, entitled *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men*.

The momentum to address this issue has now gone into Saskatchewan, spearheaded by the Federal Government’s National Crime Prevention Centre, The Government of Saskatchewan and anonymous donors.

I am currently in negotiations to release a Western Canadian Report that will compile findings from British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In addition, this report will be accompanied by a 2-day training seminar that can be tailored for each province.

The goal of the work in Saskatchewan, and the additional provincial studies to come, is to impact youth involved in sex work at the levels of prevention, intervention and (re)integration. To do this effectively, there is a need to have a clear understanding of often-ignored males involved in the sexual exploitation trade.

While antecedents contributing towards entering and leaving the sexual exploitation trade are similar for both genders, differences occur in the following areas:

- Entering the sexual exploitation trade
- Styles of work
- Location of work
- Risk factors
- Patterns of work
- Duration
- Exiting the sexual exploitation trade
- Program requirements
- Law enforcement
- Social service intervention
- Health services

1.2 Process

Grounded Theory and feminist research principles were used in the design of the *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men* research.

The specific interview instrument was designed and reviewed in conjunction with three young men formerly involved in the sexual exploitation trade.

1.3 Methodology

Grounded Theory and feminist research principles were used in designing the research methodology.

I used the combined inductive approach of Grounded Theory and a Feminist methodology to be complementary. Grounded Theory allowed the opportunity for immersion into the sex worker's life, and the Feminist methodology insisted upon face to face interviews, recognizing this would have a direct impact upon the researcher. (McIntyre 1994:6)

The first step for me was to finalize the questionnaire. I worked with three young men formerly from the sexual exploitation trade. In order to develop each question, many of the questions used in “*The Youngest Profession: The Oldest Oppression*” were crafted to fit the male study; however, terminology had to be changed, as did many of the questions, to suit this population. In addition, health authorities indicated a strong interest to include health-related questions.

It became clear to me that I could not do all the interviewing. As a colleague said to me, “Why not provide the discoveries to others as to how to interview this population?” Originally, allowing others to do what I had done up until then made me very nervous. I questioned whether they would be able to interview with the same level of compassion and commitment I had. Would they understand the questionnaire and the method of utilizing the information? I decided that realistically, I had no other option.

Finally, in order to protect the anonymity of the interviewees, pseudonyms were utilized in all cases.

1.4 Training

A Request for Proposals for Research Assistants was circulated in both Regina and Saskatoon. The goal was to attract individuals and agencies that already had a level of comfort and connection with this population.

Six individuals were successful, representing the following two agencies:

- The Street Culture Project: This is an organization that works in the inner city and core areas of Regina. It provides pre-employment strategies, personal support programming, and general skills development activities for young people aged 15 years and older. Participants have access to 'hands-on' learning through the operation of three food service venues, a children's' entertaining troupe and a facilitation team.
- Communities for Children (C4C): This organization aims to improve the quality of life for children and youth in Saskatoon. Its current projects include: understanding the early years; stopping the sexual exploitation of children and youth; keeping kids in school; youth addictions; building resilient communities by engaging youth: a Girls Action Information Network and Kinsmen Activity Place.

A full day was dedicated to training these Research Assistants and Coordinator. Yvonne Andres from Covenant House Vancouver offered support to Del Williams, the Research Coordinator for Saskatchewan, in gaining a level of comfort and understanding of the questionnaire. Some of the Research Assistants were experiential, that is, they had previously been part of the sexual exploitation trade.

Originally there was some hesitancy in including experiential individuals in the interviewing process.

Those who helped design the questionnaire and who were themselves experiential were doubtful that an individual formerly from the sexual exploitation trade could do this interviewing without experiencing discomfort, potentially triggering flashbacks. This had not been an issue in British Columbia, so experiential persons became interviewers in Saskatchewan as well.

By the end of the day, all Research Assistants had a level of comfort with the material. Time was then spent reviewing confidentiality and legal requirements, consent forms, tape recording, snowball sampling, and storage of interview materials.

1.5 Interviews

In addition, I met with those who were experiential youth to discuss their personal and professional comfort level with interviewing. Once I had a level of confidence with their ability to interview, they began.

I also debriefed those who were experiential to establish their personal comfort after the first interview. All of those who were experiential and interviewing were at a minimum one year removed from the sexual exploitation trade.

The use of Research Assistants with an experiential background was a bonus. They brought a vast knowledge base and understanding of this population. Those who were not experiential also brought a level of comfort and understanding of this population. This combined group of Research Assistants and Coordinators brought professional expertise and comfort to those being interviewed.

The goal was to interview 20 young men in Saskatoon and 20 young men in Regina. That would mean a total of 40 interviews in Saskatchewan, 10 of which had exited the sexual exploitation trade.

Interviews began in Saskatchewan in April 2006 and ended in December 2006.
In total, we completed 40 interviews, 20 in Saskatoon and 20 in Regina.

Section 2: Demographics & Historical Background

2.1 Aboriginal heritage

When the male study *Under the Radar* was first discussed for The Province of Saskatchewan, we anticipated a significant percent of Aboriginal young men. In Alberta, 54% of those interviewed considered themselves Aboriginal. In British Columbia, 43% considered themselves Aboriginal. In Manitoba, 67% considered themselves Aboriginal. In Saskatchewan, 85% of those interviewed involved in the sexual exploitation trade were Aboriginal. This predominance of Aboriginal young men can best be described by the following quote.

While the greatest proportion of female sex workers engages in heterosexual sex work; for males, regardless of their orientation or self-identification, the sex work is usually of a homosexual nature. I suspect this more than anything prevents any real work or may explain the further marginalization of male sex workers in regards to services and awareness. I think there is also a subconscious element of awareness that most sex workers are Aboriginal, again furthering the stigmatization and marginalization. Most people who are sexually abused, assaulted or otherwise exploited when they are young are not aware of the repercussions in their choices as a result of these experiences. I would love to see some development towards awareness in this way as well. How a person views him or herself is often not an accurate portrayal of their potential and body image is often ill focused. (J. Spencer Rowe, MA)

Of those males interviewed, 85% identified themselves as Aboriginal. We can see from this that the male population has a greater number of Aboriginals. Of the forty interviewed, thirty-one (78%) were born and raised in Saskatchewan. This is clearly not an issue of transient youth; they are the young Aboriginal males of Saskatchewan being sexually exploited.

Of the 34 young men who identified as Aboriginal, 65% had spent some time on a reserve. Thirty-five percent had never spent any time on a reserve.

A further line of inquiry examined whether those 34 Aboriginal individuals had lived on a reserve or felt connected to their Aboriginal heritage. Twelve of the 34 individuals reported not feeling connected to their Aboriginal culture.

Not at all. (Ted)

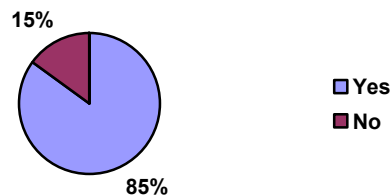
Not really. (Jasper)

The other individuals felt some connection to their Aboriginal heritage whether they were primarily urban or reserve.

I feel I do have a connection with who I am. (Greg)

The inordinately high number of Aboriginal young men in the sexual exploitation trade, and the continued marginalization of this population in Western Canada is alarming. As we have found, young men in the sexual exploitation trade are **under the radar** and marginalized. Add to this the high percentage of young Aboriginal men and this often places them even further **under the radar** and out of sight of our communities.

Aboriginal heritage



2.2 Child Welfare System

Sixty-two percent of this population interviewed had a family history with Child Welfare.

This means that just over half of those interviewed had experienced some type of professional association like the provincial system of care as children. As a result, many were not provided with proper information on sexual development.

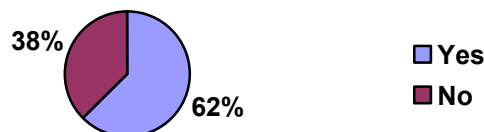
There is a sense that young men are not encouraged to talk about their physiological changes.

Boys are not encouraged to talk about the changes that are happening to their bodies. They receive less guidance about their reproductive role, despite being provided with information and support around the experiences of puberty. For girls, the onset of puberty often means the placement of restrictions on their freedom. Boys, on the other hand, are generally provided no support or information, are given more freedom, and spend more time outside of the home in unsupervised activities than do girls. (McCreary Youth Foundation, A Moment for Boyz, 2004:5)

There is an assumption that young men have received the knowledge about sexual biology and socialization that they require; however, this is not always the case. This is even less likely if they had grown up in government care according to Shauna Parks, Board Member, National Youth In Care and Custody Network.

Males are often overlooked when it comes to information about sexual development, especially if they're in care. A lot of times, people who work with these youth assume they have the knowledge or someone else has 'had that conversation' with them. (Parks, 2004)

Child Welfare involvement



2.3 Education

This population was generally well intentioned towards high school education. Over eighty percent had attended high school while only 28% had completed high school or post-secondary. Completion of high school or GED equivalency appeared to be the challenge. Only three individuals had been in grade school and gone no further.

University degree and a degree in tradition. (Matthew)

I have my GED. (John)

Grade 5. I moved around all the time. (Lawrence)

2.4 Run away

Seventy-eight percent of the population had a history of running away. Only 22% of those interviewed had never run away.

Few times, abusive mom. (Matthew)

50 plus, my mom was always trying to OD. (Ted)

More than I can remember. (Jacob)

Too many times to count. (Stu)

Quite a few. (Sal)

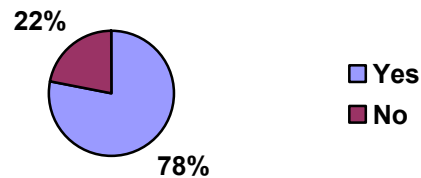
Not sure exactly. (Andy)

Running away was common. Of great importance when asked about running away was a subsequent question that referred to the offer of food and/or shelter while on the run.

Over forty percent were offered food and shelter while on the run. Many of these young men were able to stay with extended family or friends.

Their Aboriginal heritage appeared to be more accepting of supporting them in alternative housing. However; some were not so fortunate. What becomes important about this finding is that one third of those who were offered food and shelter had conditions attached by the giver. In most situations, these conditions were sexual in nature. Many of those interviewed described their first introduction to hustling/working in the sexual exploitation trade was while they were on the run trying to survive.

Run away



Of importance were the reasons provided for running away. Thirty percent cited reasons of fear and/or avoidance of family violence and abuse.

Thirty percent identified a discomfort fitting in. This is common with young men struggling with their sexual identity. They often feel uncomfortable with their gender non-conformity. If they are, often family and friends feel the same way.

I was 7 or 8 I was put down all the time and I started to question the whole adoption thing. I was always belittled. (Matthew)

I was beaten by my mom's boyfriend and she didn't do anything. (Darren)

I was 12; I didn't feel like I had a home. (Sal)

I ran away because I didn't like the people I lived with, I was 13. (Art)

2.5 Thrown Out

Over forty-two percent of those interviewed had a history of being thrown out of their homes. This often resulted in them having to seek temporary accommodation or to sleep in public places.

I was rebellious, I didn't understand and was angry all the time. (Alex)

My mom would throw me out constantly. (Darren)

Running away too much and they did not want to put up with it. (Andy)

Because I was gay. (Sam)

Because of my sexuality. (Jasper)

Because he was attacking my mom. (Jake)

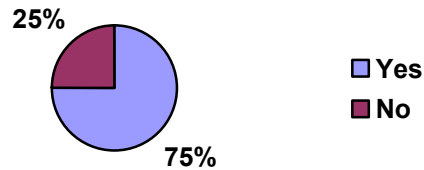
Many described running away either before or after being thrown out of their place of residence by an adult. This adult was often a parental figure.

Running away or being thrown out often ended in the same result, the need to seek a means of survival on the streets.

2.6 Sexual & physical violation

While interviewing this population, a total of 75% identified themselves as being sexually violated. In other words, many had a history of sexual abuse.

Sexually violated



Yes, the next door neighbor when I was a kid and an old man in the alley one time. He was kissing and hugging and stuff and pushed for more. (Matthew)

Yes my mom's boyfriend and an old guy I was drinking with. (Darren)

Thirty individuals were clearly identified as having a history of sexual violation.

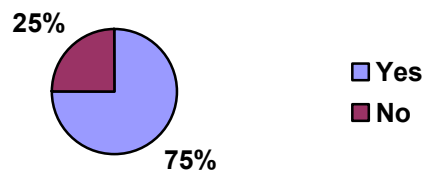
A total of 75 % reported a history of physical violation, or physical abuse.

Yes, a couple of times. (Eddie)

Yes, punching in the nose as a kid. (Stu)

The mother of the place smacked me once or twice, because she couldn't mold me. I was having a bath and her daughter was drying me off and she played with me, she was 16. (Colin)

Physically violated



In summary, this is a population with a substantial history of both sexual and physical violation.

2.7 Witnessing aggression while growing up

While growing up, over three-quarters had personally witnessed aggression.

My step dad cracked a skull open, there was blood everywhere. (Colin)

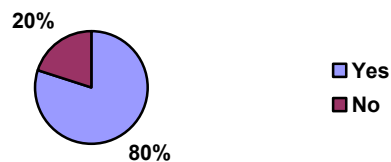
When I was a kid my grandpa burnt my uncle's hand really bad on the burner. (Brett)

My mom attacked my step dad with a hammer. Another time my mom said he pulled a gun on us, but I don't remember that's how bad it was, I blocked it out. (Ross)

Someone was stabbed; I put my siblings out the window and called the cops right away. My mom was passed out, and her boyfriend stabbed some guy. (Jamie)

Often, observing aggression can be just as challenging as being a direct victim of it. The vast majority or 80% had witnessed or had been a victim of family violence.

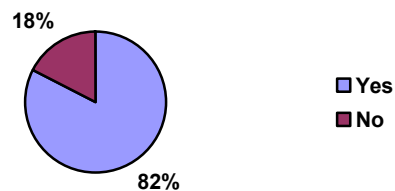
While growing up did you see aggression?



2.8 Police involvement

Eighty-two percent of those interviewed had a history with the police. This included some criminal activities, mainly involving alcohol and drugs, which had brought them into contact with the police. Survival in the sexual exploitation trade often crossed over to events with the Police.

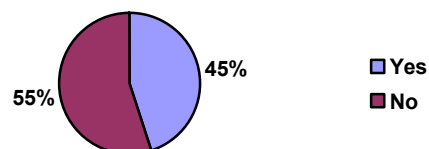
Police involvement



2.9 Self-harm

Fifty-five percent of this population identified periods where they contemplated self-harm. These periods occurred prior to their involvement in the sexual exploitation trade, but could have continued while they were entrenched in it.

Thoughts of serious self-harm



Section 3: Work Life/Hustling

3.1 Entering

One factor alone only rarely results in an individual entering the sexual exploitation trade. Often a series of circumstances result in a person ending up in this situation. No one had the goal to enter the street trade. Close to 70% saw this activity as a short-term method to make money, so they could survive.

When entering the sexual exploitation trade, a variety of factors come into play. In the previous demographics section, we said that:

- 75% reported a background of sexual violation
- 80% had a history of physical violation
- 78% had a history of running away
- 85% were from an Aboriginal culture
- 65% percent with Aboriginal history had spent time on a reserve
- 62% had a family history of involvement with Child Welfare
- 28% had completed high school or post-secondary
- 82% had a history with the Criminal Justice System

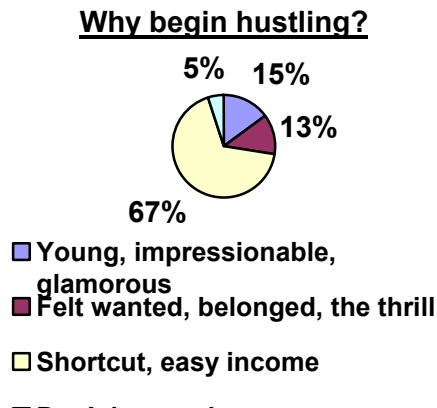
Most people see their entrance into this activity as temporary, a method of survival. Some described their entrance as a way of belonging. As many are often on the run, many find connection and camaraderie with the activity.

Easy money survival, when you are young and end up on the streets it is easy money. (Gavin)

False sense of impence. It is a liberating lifestyle. (Billy)

A lot of factors, their personal history, their trauma, a lot goes back to abuse and dysfunction, the way a person feels about themselves. There is not too many people on the street corner with high self esteem. (Ross)

For the money and being in control. (Wayne)



Understanding how an individual begins the process of working on the street is important if we ever hope to successfully intervene in this activity. Often they are introduced to this activity while on the run. Over 40% of those who had run away were offered food and/or shelter; however, there were conditions attached to this offer. Most often these conditions were sexual in nature, representing an introduction and entrance into exploitive sexual activity.

Yes, subtly. (Colin)

Hidden conditions. (Adam)

3.2 Introduction to hustling/working

When we asked how someone entered the sexual exploitation trade and learned about its workings, we were provided with three consistent answers:

- 57% learned about the sexual exploitation trade from a friend, and simply followed the process
- 27% learned what was required by observing other people

- 13% ran into a customer, or “trick” who offered them this opportunity. It became a means for survival. The offer was made, and they were able to figure it out.

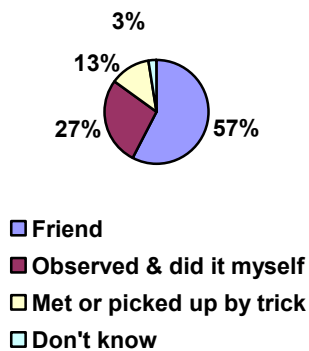
Stumbled upon a man that would provide as long as I gave him what he wanted and I went along with it. (Billy)

A guy approached me in the park. (Darren)

Nobody, I discovered it myself. (Terry)

A lesbian friend from school introduced me to a gay friend and he showed me where the guys were. (Gavin)

Introduction to hustling/working



There is a strong correlation between running away and a potential introduction to the sexual exploitation trade. Only nine of the 40 had never run away.

Often when young people are on the run they are offered food and/or shelter. Of the 78% that reported a history of running away, 30% were offered food and/or shelter with conditions attached to them, often subtle, but sexual in nature.

3.3 Age Beginning Hustling/Working

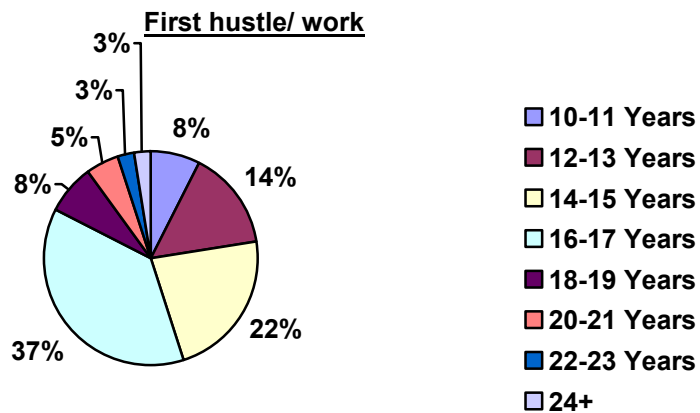
There was a broad range of ages when people began to hustle/work. The youngest person was 11 and the oldest was 28 years of age. The average age of entering the sexual exploitation trade was 15.7 years.

Eighty-two percent of this group commenced work prior to the age of 18 years. Forty-five percent began work under the age of 16 years. A total of 7 young men over the age of 18 were compelled to enter into the sexual exploitation trade with the eldest being 28 years of age. We are seeing a steady increase in the number of young men over the age of 18 entering into the sexual exploitation trade.

Close to twenty percent entered this life when they were adults (over 18 years of age). It became a way to achieve minimal survival, or something they did to survive. It can best be characterized as “voluntary desperation”. What is important is that of the 7 young men who entered over the age of 18 years of age, almost all had a background of sexual abuse. A total of 75% of those who entered the sexual exploitation trade as adults had a childhood background of sexual violation, or abuse.

The relationship of sexual abuse prior to entrance into the sexual exploitation trade was established as far back as *The Youngest Profession: The Oldest Oppression* (1994). This finding confirms that sexual violation, or sexual abuse as a child, can affect an adult and often trigger or prompt their entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. The male sexual exploitation trade is not one that just attracts children and youth. Adult young men can be at risk of entering into the sexual exploitation trade too. Of the 7 young adult men that were over the age of 18, their average age was 21 when they entered into the sexual exploitation trade.

The oldest of this group entered at the age of 28. What is important about this finding in the Saskatchewan context is that the majority were attempting to live in the city. Often the sexual exploitation trade becomes a quick secure income transition. There appeared to be a significant lack of confidence moving into employment. Many in this group appeared to be challenged by the transition from school to work.



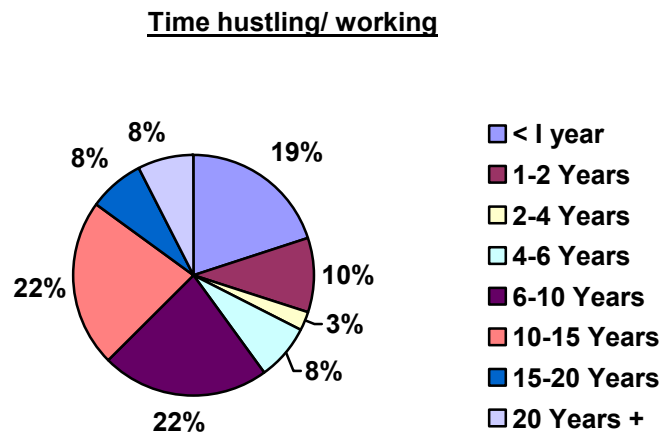
3.4 Time hustling/working

It is important to understand the length of time study participants had been hustling/working. The majority reported working for a long time, with an average of 9.1 years. Eight individuals had worked for less than one year. What is important is that these young men remain out of sight for at least one year. They are not quickly identified and provided support services; therefore, work in a very clandestine, hidden manner. They are not quick to self-identify as someone who just entered the sexual exploitation trade. Unfortunately, social services do not connect with them until they have been ingrained in the sexual exploitation trade for well over a year.

As was discovered in *Strolling Away* (McIntyre, 2002) males often enter the sexual exploitation trade earlier and stay longer than women.

This is consistent in both the Alberta and British Columbia Editions of *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men*. Sixty percent stay in the sexual exploitation trade six to twenty years plus. There was a combined total of over 358 years in the sexual exploitation trade, and this figure is growing as only 10 of the 40 young men interviewed left the sexual exploitation trade (Appendix #1). The average number of years working in the sexual exploitation trade for young men in Saskatchewan was 9.1 years.

Another important feature is that the group of eight young men had been working for less than one year, and were rather 'green' and 'fresh' in the sexual exploitation trade. Ultimately, if service providers wish to shorten their clients total time spent in the sexual exploitation trade, focusing on this group may be worthwhile.



3.5 Work locations

A variety of work locations were identified. Most worked in cars, hotels, and apartments. Some worked at truck stops and parks. Very few had worked in bathhouses.

All those places mainly cars. (Lawrence)

In Saskatoon and Regina, the main locations of work were listed as: cars, hotels, houses, parks and washrooms.

3.6 Shelter stays

Close to 33% reported staying in shelters. For many, shelters were the only option available to them. Their ability to gain government support given their age and personal circumstances was minimal. Often, entrance into and continuation of the sexual exploitation trade results in a distinct lack of options.

Within Saskatchewan many of these young men were able to find temporary accommodation with extended family or friends, decreasing the need to access shelter stays. Just over 78% of this population were born and raised in Saskatchewan, with the majority being raised in urban settings. The likelihood of having extended family to stay with was very high given that the majority were born and raised in Saskatchewan.

Homelessness is a reality for many of these young men. The sexual exploitation trade is a means to avoid homelessness and related shelter experiences. Initially the sexual exploitation trade was seen as a viable option for the short term. However, short term is not the reality for most that enter the trade. Their only other option becomes a crowded, uncomfortable shelter stay.

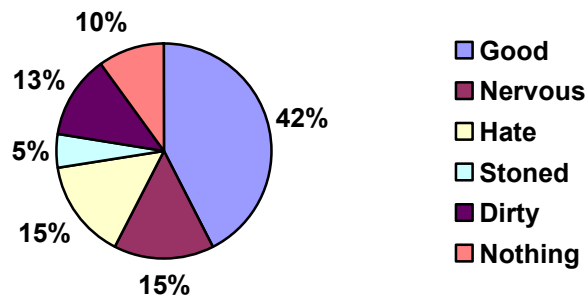
As stated in *Strolling Away*, 82% of young women had given birth to a child. This event brings back family support and can result in government support.

This is often not an option for young men. Of the 40 interviewees, ten had impregnated a young woman. Of these ten, four had been actively parenting their children. The other six pregnancies either resulted in an abortion, miscarriage or estrangement.

3.7 Feelings while working

It is important to gain some insight into how someone is feeling when they are hustling/working. How is an individual able to prepare for and sustain themselves throughout this activity?

Feelings while working



It is clear that the majority of these young men are not happy when working. It is a form of survival. They feel exposed to the public, and therefore psychologically and physically numb themselves due to the shame they feel. Substances such as alcohol and drugs help them achieve this numbness.

The fact that well over three-quarters of this population had a history of sexual violation prior to their involvement in the sexual exploitation trade plays a role in some of the disassociation and flashback episodes these young men subsequently experience. Unresolved abuse issues were a clear theme in the quotes of young men discussing their thoughts and feelings while working and after work.

Like I am living a lie, not like myself, I am a fake, a phony. (Lawrence)

Not the real me. (Sam)

Not so good. Not fun that's for sure. (Jamie)

Lost and confused and don't know where to go. (Sal)

I just make myself numb. (Terry)

Exhausted. (Billy)

Disgusting shame and guilt. (Ted)

For some, there is a clear sense of relief when they finish their time for that evening in the sexual exploitation trade. Close to one-third of the population interviewed had a sense of guilt and numbness from their experience. This is not an activity that people do proudly, or with a strong sense of safety.

Twenty-six percent work only enough to buy their drug of choice. Their goal is to get enough money to feed their drug habit.

Thirty-three percent react by numbing the experience. Their need for cleansing is important. The desire to physically wash off the shame is something that was identified.

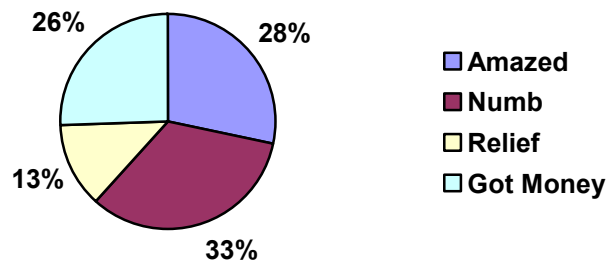
Tired, gross and dirty. (Jamie)

I feel good because I have my shot so I can escape. (Darren)

Dirty and I would shower for a good hour and half. (Kevin)

Nasty and dirty. ((Jerry)

How do you feel after working/ hustling



3.8 Family relations

Eighty-five percent of the population interviewed said at least one family member was aware of their activity in the sexual exploitation trade. It is important to note that close to half had a family member involved in the sexual exploitation trade. Although they are able to keep their work secret in the beginning, eventually family members figure out what is occurring. Fifteen percent believed that their family was unaware of their involvement in the sexual exploitation trade; they believed that no one knew.

Sixty-nine percent said they had a good relationship with their family. Once the family knows about their son or sibling being in the sexual exploitation trade, it can bring about a great deal of familial strain. The remaining 31% had strained relations, resulting in some having no contact whatsoever with their family.

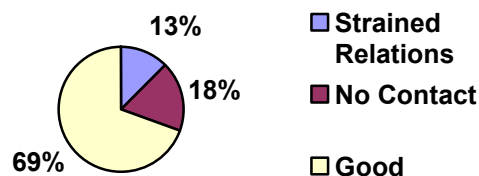
I don't have a relationship with my family. (Jacob)

Very open and honest about boundaries and they respect that, it is more comfortable than it has ever been. (Billy)

It seems to be okay because not many know what I do. (Ron)

It's alright. They mind their business and I mind mine. (Sal)

Family relations



3.9 Female customers

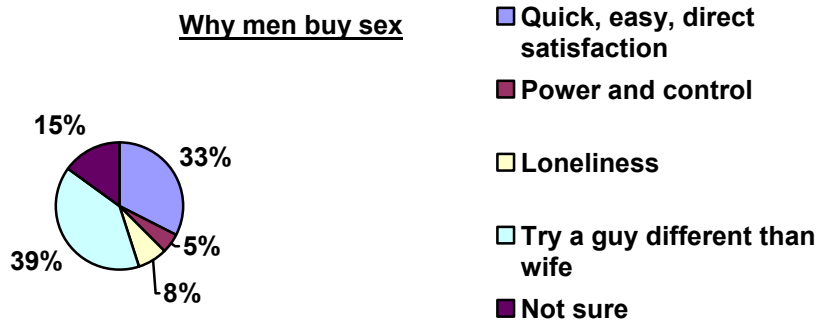
Just over forty percent had been approached by a woman, and this often involved the request for a threesome with another male. The remainder were never approached by a woman. In many situations when approached by a woman it was to be with a heterosexual couple. There was also the request for someone to observe their significant other having sex with the male sex worker. Some young men, who were gay, were not prepared to involve a woman. Some were also approached by a gay couple for a threesome.

3.10 Why men buy sex

Those interviewed were very clear about why men purchase sex. They saw this as a quick, easy process for them to go through. A transaction. It was something that was easy and different.

Older. They are usually, sick with some type of addiction. (Sam)

Society is not ready to accept male-on-male action, loneliness is the biggest reason. (Alan)



Laud Humphreys (1970) completed a study on male sexual encounters in public bathrooms. What is important from his study, and the information offered from those interviewed, is that many of these men are not considered to be gay or bisexual but heterosexual in orientation. His thoughts reflect that many of the male customers of these young men are not seeking a gay relationship just something quick and different.

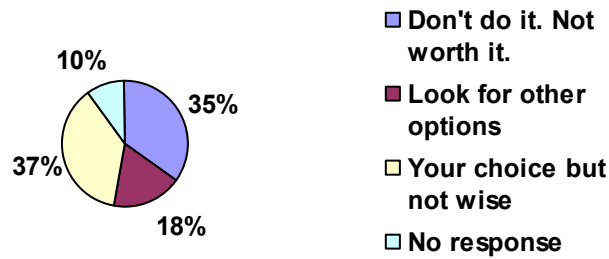
I find no indication that these men seek homosexual contact as such; rather, they want a form of organ-producing action that is less lonely than masturbation and less involving than a love relationship. (Humphreys, 1970:115)

The young men were asked what is the most sought after request from customers. They were very clear. Oral sex or 'blow jobs' were most prevalent, at over 80%. What is important to understand for young men who are working/hustling is that the customer can request a blow job from a young man, or vice versa. The customer then would perform oral sex on the young man. The roles can be described as the provider or the deliverer and are interchangeable. This is something unique to males in the sexual exploitation trade. This can include both oral and anal sexual acts.

3.11 Tell someone entering

The vast majority were crystal clear that this activity was something individuals should not do. They were clear about the negative impact of this activity, and strongly suggested people explore other options.

Tell someone entering



Don't start, you will never quit. (Jamie)

Take a hard look at the people around you. (Alex)

Your decision but a bad life to get into. (Dan)

Think again. (Ron)

Don't do it, stay in your life. (Sam)

Don't do it, you will regret it. Think before you actually do it. (Ted)

*Be safe, know what you are doing. Always use protection.
Guys are dirty out there. (Jamie)*

This finding is significant because those involved in the sexual exploitation trade are adamant that others should be warned of the danger of entering.

Section 4: Staying

4.1 Staying in

This group of young men stayed in the sexual exploitation trade for an extensive period of time. Forty percent of males stayed in the sexual exploitation trade from under one to six years. A total of 62% lasted up to 10 years. The average length of time was 9.1 years in the sexual exploitation trade, and the range extended from six to ten years. The least amount of time in the sexual exploitation trade was under one year and the longest period exceeded 20 years for three individuals.

4.2 Gay bashing

Both males and females in the sexual exploitation trade fear violence while working/hustling. Both experience violence and humiliation from customers and from the general community; however, the primary source differs.

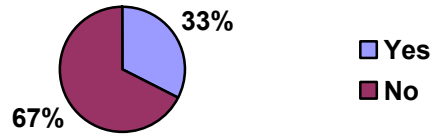
For women, the main source of violence emanates from customers seeking their services. For men, the main source of violence is onlookers. Males are at risk of gay bashing from homophobic onlookers. Onlookers choose to physically damage and humiliate young men attempting to survive on the street. There is a perception that all these young men must be gay.

The fear of gay bashing is prevalent at all times for young men involved in the sexual exploitation trade. Forty-three percent have experienced gay bashing, but all are fearful. It is an activity that people react to whether the young man is gay or not. The classic homophobic belief system places these young men at risk from heterosexual males who react to their behavior.

Fifteen years old a guy came by and he was threatening to kill us. Found out later he was a closet gay. (Brett)

Yes, I have been beaten up. It's more about being gay or two spirited. You're both Aboriginal and two spirited there is a lot of abuse. (Ross)

Have you ever been gay bashed?



All those interviewed saw the sexual exploitation trade, hustling/working, as dangerous. They saw, experienced and lived the reality of this fear and the dangers of the sexual exploitation trade. Eighty-five percent feared abuse from customers and the other 15% feared gay bashing. It seems that the longer someone works, the greater the level of comfort and skill they develop in avoiding gay bashing. The fear of abuse and danger from customers is always paramount.

4.3 Worst date

This population was quick to identify the following worst experiences hustling/working. There was a general level of fear they had experienced from bad dates.

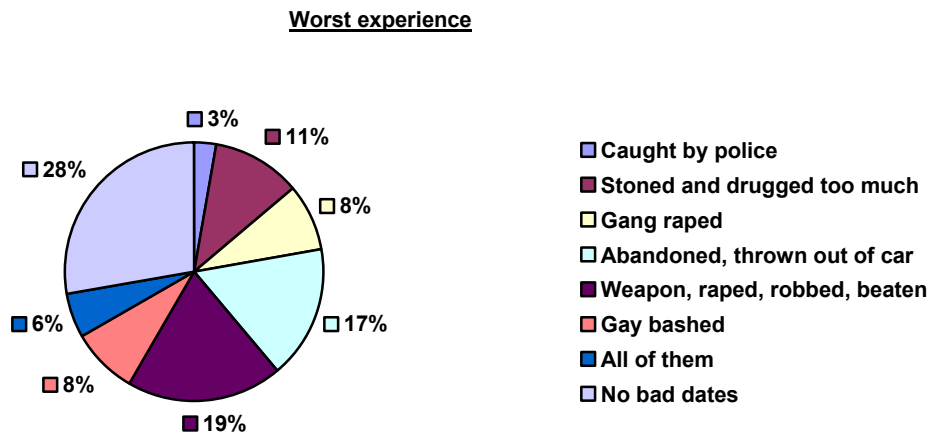
Although 14% had not experienced a bad date all lived in fear of such a situation occurring.

Tied to a chair and degrade, confined in a room. The guy would come in every once in a while, slap me around and make me perform different sex acts on him. (Terry)

I jumped into a car one time and a guy in the back seat wrapped a wire around my neck. I went ballistic and got away. I had a bruise on my neck for a long time. (Billy)

Passed out from pills and the trick took pictures. (Ted)

I got driven out of town, slapped around and ditched. (Will)



4.4 Fear the most

During the interviews, we asked individuals what they feared most while they were hustling/working. Their fears extended from public exposure to drive-by shootings. The greatest fear was a bad date, or someone that would harm, or potentially kill them. As a result, the level of fear these young men have is both real and constant.

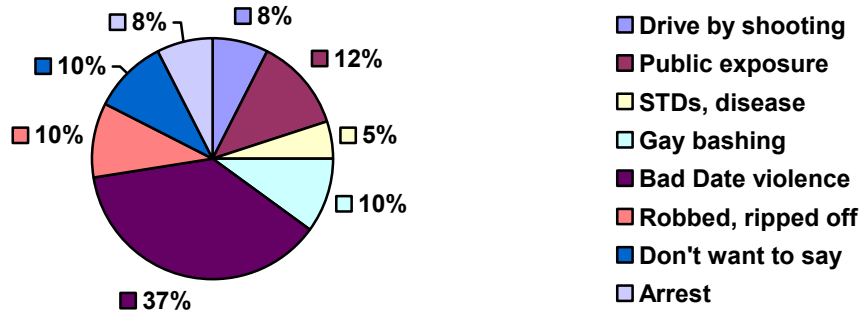
A total of 85% of those interviewed saw hustling/working in the sexual exploitation trade as dangerous. They saw, experienced and lived the reality of this fear and the dangers of the sexual exploitation trade.

Being held at gunpoint and being abducted. (Alan)

Getting stabbed. (Eddie)

That my family will find out and I will be shamed out of my family. (Adam)
Police. (John)

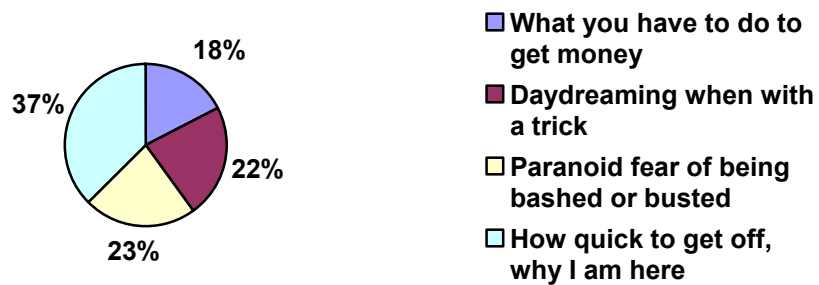
Fear the most working/hustling



4.5 Thoughts when hustling/working

Given the length of time most of these young men have been involved in the sexual exploitation trade, there is value in understanding what they think about when they are and are not hustling/working.

Think about when hustling/working



Thirty-seven percent think about how quick they can get off the street and why they are there. This speaks to the continual grind of this type of sexual exploitation trade. Absolutely no one spoke highly of what they were doing. It is simply a form of survival for many and they are not proud of it. They also acknowledge it is difficult to exit.

Money and how long is it going to take. (Matthew)

Money, party, clothes, how long will I be out here, is tonight the night for the bad date. (Adam)

God, get this over with, I want to get the hell out of here. (John)

Getting money and getting high on drugs. (Brett)

Feeling dirty and if it wasn't for the money I wouldn't do it. (Jerry)

4.6 Thoughts when not hustling/working

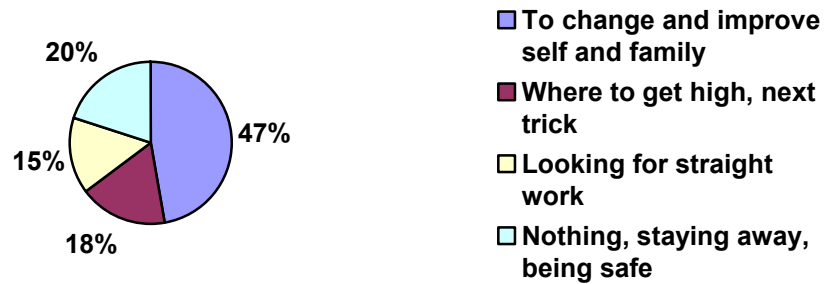
It is also important to understand what people think about when they are not hustling/working. Close to half think about making changes, to improve themselves and family. A small portion, 18% think about their next fix or supply of drugs. Many are thinking about getting away and making changes and improvements. Again, this is not an activity they seem to be proud of. They are either looking for routes to exit the sexual exploitation trade or they are using drugs to numb themselves.

My future, what will I become, where is the money at. (Sam)

What I can do to stay away. (Jackson)

I realize how many years I have wasted with those false ideas. (Billy)

Think about when not hustling/working



4.7 Refusing a date

It was important to understand that the majority of young men had refused a date at some point. Eighty-eight percent of those interviewed had refused a customer at some point. Over 40% refused a customer because of a bad feeling they got, an uncomfortable 'vibe'. The use of gut feelings and intuition are important protection mechanisms for those in the sexual exploitation trade. It is an important skill that other peers in the sexual exploitation trade can teach them. Outreach and support services can play a critical role in encouraging and reinforcing the use of this gut instinct.

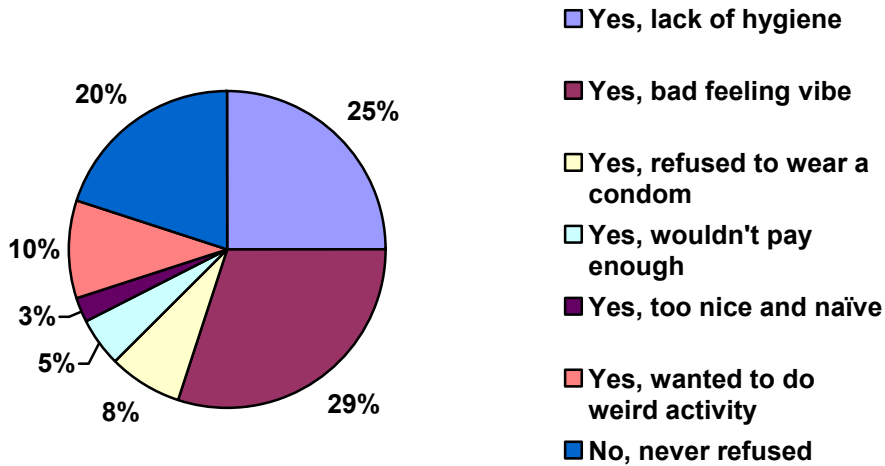
When asked why people refused certain customers the following responses were provided:

Yes because they were ugly, gross, smelled, looked scary, we get the rape vibe. (Adam)

Yes. Just body odour and bad vibes. There are things you just cannot do no matter how hard you are trying. (Billy)

Yes, I did not trust them. (Jacob)

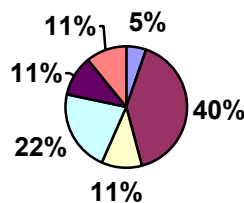
Refusing a date



4.8 Working safely

It is important to gain insight into how someone works safely. There are specific techniques young men rely on to keep them safe. These techniques are far from foolproof; however, they allow them a sense of control and safety. It is the best they can do in the circumstances and nature of the sexual exploitation trade.

Working safely



- Someone knows where I am
- Not alone, friends, stand in lights
- Condoms
- Keep moving around
- Weapons, fists, metal keys
- Use intuition, gut feelings

The only method of support for this population comes in the form of outreach programs. Both Saskatoon and Regina provide these services through various programs. These services provide condoms and support. As helpful as the

services are, respondents felt these were the only services they could access, and they were somewhat female-focused. These young men stated they felt they received the leftovers. They were not a priority.

4.9 Getting paid

About four in five respondents seek payment before the activity to make sure they are paid and not taken advantage of financially. This is similar to women in the sexual exploitation trade. It could be argued that the financial transfer of money motivates young people to close the deal as quickly as possible.

Twenty-one percent will take payment after the act. This often happens with regular customers in familiar territory.

Some young men felt that taking money first made them look weak and vulnerable. They wanted customers to think they could handle themselves if a customer tried to rip them him off. Others said payment after the sexual exchange brought a level of insurance that this person was not a police officer. This brought a different form of protection for young men in the sexual exploitation trade.

Right after. (Alan)

Before. Once I took a cheque from a guy and it didn't bounce. I don't know why I trusted him. (Ross)

Sometimes before and sometimes after. (Gavin)

When do you get paid?



4.10 Sugar daddy

Young men in the sexual exploitation trade often seek out a 'sugar daddy'. This protects them, and has the potential to limit the time and risk they experience on the street.

There is a vast difference between a regular customer and a sugar daddy. A sugar daddy will seek a public relationship with the chosen young man. It often involves exclusivity and means a live-in role.

Over three quarters of those interviewed had experience with sugar daddies. This experience resulted in rewards such as food, shelter, clothing, movies, trips, cash, and for some, whatever request they sought. However, one's position of being taken care of is usually a short-term one. Often these young men are replaced with other young men.

Significantly, in this case, the young man's sexual orientation is gay, as is the sugar daddy's. A sugar daddy will profile the young man he chooses. This often happens in public places or at events.

Roof over my head and food and clothing. (Gavin)

A "gay for pay" young man would not seek out such a public display; they are clearly heterosexual but work as a gay young person to earn money.

I did not want to be controlled or have anyone close to me. (Ross)

Their sexual orientation is gay only when they are involved in the sexual exploitation trade. They would be more inclined to seek a regular customer in private and have an impersonal relationship with them.

A “gay for pay” young man could be inclined to have a regular customer as depicted by the actor River Phoenix in *My Private Idaho* (1991).

This type of relationship offers limited protection from the unknown. A total of 93% had a history of having either a sugar daddy or a regular customer. Some young men seek impersonal relations from their customers, but very few young men did not want any type of personal relationship with their customer. A sugar daddy or a regular customer brings with it a sense of safety and security.

Yes, they are the best. (Martin)

Free trips, various things you could not afford yourself. (Terry)

Rent, bills, spending cash, all amenities. (Jamie)

4.11 Types of hustling/work activities

We asked about different venues for work. Over forty percent of the young men had been approached to model for pornography. A third had worked private parties and escort services. Just over a quarter had experience in massage parlors.

4.12 Hustling/working & drugs

The relationship between drug use and the sexual exploitation trade was explored. Often when speaking with those involved in the sexual exploitation trade, substance abuse (drugs and alcohol) entered their lives once they worked in the sexual exploitation trade. Some people had histories of partying involving drugs and alcohol; however, it was not their primary focus.

Many times, once people enter the sexual exploitation trade, drugs become a way of life. They are initially a reward of life on the street because they assist in blocking out or numbing the continual sexual exploitation and humiliation they experience. As time goes on, the relationship between the sexual exploitation trade and substance abuse becomes stronger. These two usually mutually exclusive experiences become associated. When asked if they hustled straight the following comments were stated:

Yes, if I have to. (Martin)

Kind of. (Jamie)

Not all the time. (Colin)

The initial introduction to work can be driven by money to survive; however, this often becomes replaced or adjoined with a need to feed the drug addiction. What is important to understand is that only 5% work without alcohol or drugs. The use of alcohol and pot is most common while working. Nearly everyone interviewed spoke of some drug use in their private time. It is clear that drug use in their private life often fuels their need to work. A total of 77% of this population had injected drugs at some point.

For some, substance use enables them to work in the sexual exploitation trade. Potentially, for a limited number, substance addiction drives them and keeps them in the sexual exploitation trade, as they work to feed their habit.

It is important to acknowledge the strong relationship between drug use and the sexual exploitation trade. The possibility exists that the longer someone stays in the sexual exploitation trade, the greater and more intense the drug use becomes. The need to disassociate oneself and from the actual day-to-day degradation of the sexual exploitation trade intensifies over time. This will occur regardless of sexual orientation. When asking young men what they spent their money on, 65% said drugs before necessities like accommodation and food.

4.13 Other jobs

This population has limited work experience outside of hustling. The opportunity to turn to mainstream, well-paid work is not there. Most tried working either in retail services, restaurants or landscaping. These were part-time positions paying minimum wage. Even for those who had completed high school, their lack of work experience resulted in a hand-to-mouth existence. There appears to be a gap regarding their education level and employment skills.

The sexual exploitation trade offered consistent, non-taxable work, with no specific skills, education or training required. In other words, it was something that brought short-term financial gain. Unfortunately, with that comes long-term pain. When consistent cash flow is achieved, it is often easier to remain in the sexual exploitation trade.

4.14 Charged

One quarter of this population has been charged with 'Communicating for the Purpose of Prostitution'. To repeat, the average tenure for those in the sexual exploitation trade is 9.1 years. It is significant then, that so few have been subject to Criminal Justice intervention even though they have spent close to a decade on the stroll. If the Criminal Justice system does not respond to these young men, it is logical to say they are not approaching the customers of these young men either. It remains a hidden issue. Customers of these young men are neither identified nor targeted for criminal prosecution. Most stings resulting in charges of 'Communicating for the Purpose' involve women from the sexual exploitation trade and their male customers.

Once again, these young men are being sexually exploited under the radar, which results in no social supports or intervention, and their customers escape any legal responsibility, leaving them vulnerable without any detection or support.

4.15 Various cities

This tends to be a transient population but most return to Saskatchewan.

Seventy-seven percent of this population was from Saskatchewan and many had close relationships with their families, so working and returning to Saskatchewan was important. One quarter remained working in just one city – either Saskatoon or Regina.

The other 23% moved around primarily in Western Canada. Some had worked in Toronto and Montreal but no further east. One person had worked in Seattle.

4.16 Sexual orientation when hustling/working

What became clear to this author over time was that there is a difference between how an individual describes their sexual identity while working/hustling as opposed to their private time. Calgary Sexual Health Centre (formerly CBCA) defines sexual identities in the following ways:

Gay: Men who are emotionally, physically and sexually attracted to men.

Bisexual: People who are emotionally, physically and sexually attracted to people of either gender.

Heterosexual: People who are attracted to the opposite sex.

Transgender: Refers to individuals whose sense of being a man or a woman does not correspond to their biological sex.

Two Spirited: Refers to First Nations people whose sexual and romantic feelings are primarily for the same gender who, historically, were revered as embodying both female and male spirits. (*Calgary Birth Control Association, Celebrating Diversity, 2004*)

Some of these individuals labeled themselves as being 'two spirited'. The following is a specific description that was crafted at a conference in the late 1990s:

The term two spirited has a number of meanings within several different contexts. “Two Spirited” means Aboriginal people who identify themselves as gay or lesbian. The terms gay or lesbian are of European origin. Therefore, “two spirited” is preferred because it is more culturally relevant to Aboriginal lesbians and gays. (Two Spirited People of the 1st Nations, We Are Part of a Tradition, 1998)

There is value in clarifying sexual identities prior to the actual discussion of selecting sexual identities when working/hustling and private, non-work time. The following hustling/working sexual orientations were identified:

- Gay
- Gay for pay
- Straight for pay
- Tranny
- Bisexual
- Confused

Gay refers to a young man who has embraced and accepted a gay (homosexual/same sex) sexual identity while he is hustling/working.

Gay for Pay refers to a young man who is heterosexual in his off-street sexual identity; however, to survive he will be ‘gay for pay’, becoming involved in sexual activities with male customers. This also means that only during the time they are hustling/working will they demonstrate and/or perform gay sexual activities. Often customers find the potential opportunity to alter a young man's heterosexual orientation very attractive.

Straight for Pay refers to a young man who is gay in his off-street sexual identity; however, to survive he will become ‘straight for pay’. They appear as very “macho” young men while they are on the street, and approach customers as straight. Some male customers find it attractive to engage a young straight macho man in sexual activity. Some customers find it very satisfying to think a young straight man would be prepared to alter their orientation to be with them.

Tranny refers to a young man who has entered the world of being a woman or a 'transvestite'. This means they will dress and conduct themselves as a woman. They wear women's clothing and makeup, and style their hair as a woman. Some of those interviewed appear as women at all times. Others interviewed described themselves as being a Tranny in their personal life but not while working on the street.

A total of five individuals identified as transgender while they worked. All five individuals were Aboriginal.

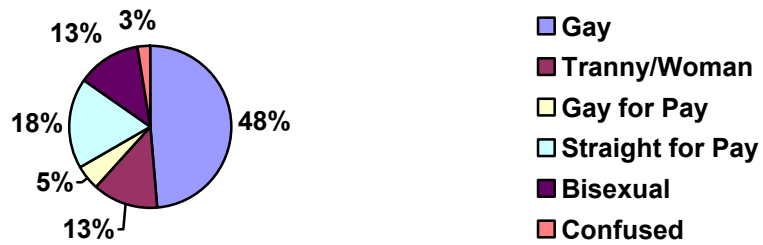
Bisexual describes a young man who is attracted to both genders. He identifies with both sexual identities. For some young men, seeing themselves as bisexual eased the transition to work with male customers. Some only saw bisexual behavior with men occurring when they worked in the sexual exploitation trade.

Others lived a full bisexual life while in and out of the sexual exploitation trade. Others identified as bisexual even though they were gay as some customers like the opportunity to see that a young man was attracted to women but chose to be with a male customer.

Confused is how five individuals saw themselves. They were unable to answer about their sexual identity when they were working, and unclear about where and how their sexual identity could fit while they were working.

Really confused. Society pressures everyone to be straight. (Darryl)

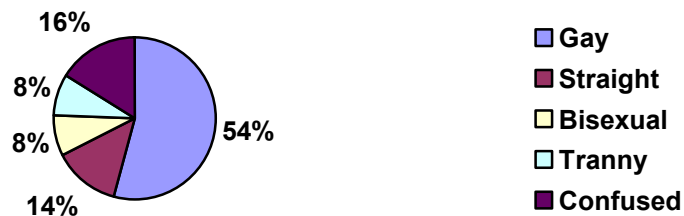
Sexual orientation when hustling/working



4.17 Sexual orientation when not hustling/working

An individual can describe his sexual identity while on the street as being different than that displayed in his private life. For example, five individuals saw themselves as being a Tranny while they were working; while three saw themselves as being Tranny in their private time, meaning two protected their Tranny presentation at work but not in their private life.

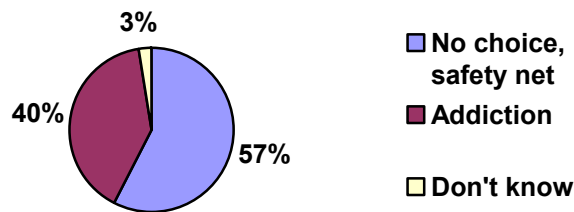
Sexual orientation when not hustling/working



4.18 Why people stay hustling/working

To understand why people stay hustling/working in the sexual exploitation trade it is important to understand why they return. If we are going to be effective in assisting individuals leave the sexual exploitation trade for good, then we need to understand exactly what keeps someone in the sexual exploitation trade in the first place.

Why people stay



Fifty-seven percent did not believe they had other options or choices. The sexual exploitation trade represented a safety net to them and they relied on it for their immediate survival.

No where else to go, it is all they know, the money and a sense of belonging. I was 14, gay and felt isolated. I needed to be around my own people. The street is where people like me hung out. They were all just as damaged as me. (Ross)

They don't feel worthy of a regular job. Low self-esteem. No confidence to do something else. (Lawrence)

A large minority, 40%, saw their addiction as playing a key role in why they stayed in the sexual exploitation trade.

Money and control. They are out there working for their fix. (Sam)

To support a drug habit. (Jasper)

Kids go to the street life, they get addicted to drugs and it's hard to get out. (Gavin)

A similar line of questioning was part of *The Youngest Profession: The Oldest Oppression* (McIntyre, 1994), where we found drug addiction for this population on the increase.

It is highly possible that access to crack cocaine and crystal methamphetamine or 'meth' has hastened the level of addiction and the numbers of those who are addicted. Crack cocaine was not a prevalent drug in use in the early 1990s. Expensive cocaine was certainly a drug of choice; however, the cost of cocaine limited its use.

The inexpensive nature and highly addictive character of smoking crack cocaine and crystal meth has amplified the level of addiction; hence, the reliance on and entrenchment in the sexual exploitation trade.

They get stuck in it, the drugs and the lifestyle. (Dan)

Addicted to the money or the things the money brings like drugs or alcohol. (Jamie)

Addiction and that's all they knew growing up. (Jacob)

4.19 Services You Wish Existed

Throughout the interviews, we were curious about the type of services these young men felt should exist; however, there was a clear sense they felt that existing services were more female-oriented.

For boys I wish there was more stuff for males. Most focus on females. (Brett)

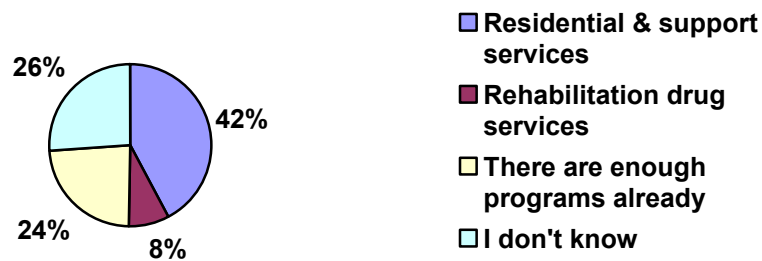
Yes, for male workers, everything is for women shelters. (Alex)

The delivery of services to young men has been hampered because we know very little about the different working styles or needs of these young men.

It is hoped that this study will provide the needed additional information for all these young men regardless of their sexual identity while working or in their personal lives.

In revisiting the male population from *Strolling Away*, they clearly stated they were different and we needed to hear their differences. Over 40% from the Saskatchewan study felt strongly there needed to be residential programs and support services for males that addressed the unique issues facing sexually exploited males. Residential services should include services for drug rehabilitation.

Services wish existed



Section 5: Attempts At Exiting

From our research, it is clear: people want to exit the sexual exploitation trade. They do not perceive the sexual exploitation trade as a long-term lifestyle for themselves; however, knowing how to leave is a process we need to understand, and we must design supports accordingly.

5.1 Leaving

Everyone we interviewed wanted to leave the sexual exploitation trade. No one spoke of positive benefits or the desire to remain. Ten percent felt they looked and felt worn down physically and mentally. Close to one third felt emotionally empty. Many felt lost and that they had gone over the top. Six in ten felt it was time for a normal life and that they needed to find some support. Significantly, all had a reason to want to exit. All of these individuals had taken a time out, but most had slipped back into the sexual exploitation trade.

Trauma, you are basically a sex object, it is demeaning. Depends on your self-esteem. (Alan)

They want something better; sometimes they hit a wall. For me, I just got old. (Ross)

They die. (Martin)

They recognize the emotional impact they are having on themselves and the false sense of security, the reality of it all hits you pretty hard when it comes. (Billy)

They get sick of the lifestyle and the emotional torture, they find something better. (Adam)

Get away from the abuse and discrimination. (Ron)

Violent attacks on them. (Terry)

Why people leave



5.2 Best thing not hustling/working

Only 10% of people that had exited were unable to identify the best thing about not working. Others who had short-term or multiple experiences with exiting were able to quickly identify the benefits.

Best thing not hustling/working



The sense of dignity was something that was quickly identified. A sense of self-esteem returned to individuals who had exited. The sense of fear disappeared and was replaced with a sense of safety.

The feeling you get about yourself, you feel good about yourself. (Gavin)

My self-esteem and self worth, the ability to recognize my potential. (Billy)

Spending time with family members. (Greg)

5.3 Returning

Unfortunately, many of those who had exited experienced a sense of relief for only a brief period of time. Almost half felt they returned to hustling/working because they were stranded, unemployed and/or feared becoming homeless.

It is important to remember that the majority of these young men had lived either as runaways, or had been homeless and had experience in the shelter system. Some saw that their only option was to return to shelters or to the sexual exploitation trade.

Some realized friends and roommates were significant factors in returning. Although they had decided to stop working/hustling, they still continued to be part of the lifestyle through roommates, etc. Unfortunately, this peripheral lifestyle becomes a slippery slope and most end up re-entering the sexual exploitation trade.

I went back the second time, I met my first partner, I was getting into drugs and I didn't have an income. (Gavin)

It seemed like the only job where people accepted me. (Alex)

I started hanging around with friends that were still working. (Darren)

The level of addictions also played a significant role in re-entering the sexual exploitation trade.

Easy money, good drugs, the attention. (Colin)

My addictions brought me back. (Liam)

5.4 Stress

Just over 50% had difficulty with stress once they ceased work. This stress most often occurred due to worry about survival.

How exactly were they going to survive? Many were concerned with their ability, or lack thereof, to be a provider.

All of the individuals had limited experience with other forms of work. Minimum wage jobs require strength and endurance. Recent experience in the sexual exploitation trade did not prepare any of them physically or mentally to return to this type of 'legitimate' work. There was a sense of loss and abandonment from their friends on the street.

Yes more stressed out having a 9-5 job. (Alan)

5.5 Problems sleeping

During periods of time when young men exited the sexual exploitation trade, over forty percent experienced difficulty sleeping. Street life entails long, late hours. It was not just the adjustment to change. Often it had to do with other physical changes from drug withdrawal or sleep disturbances from dreams and nightmares.

Yes, I was using coke and designer drugs to stay up all night to work. (Alan)

Yes, restless in the night because I felt I should go out there. (Darren)

5.6 Flashbacks

Forty-five percent experienced flashbacks once they left the street. Flashbacks are a very real disturbance for many individuals. Often they recall some of the difficult times that occurred while in the sexual exploitation trade or experience unresolved issues they suppressed while in the sexual exploitation trade.

Yes everything I never dealt with as a kid started reappearing. (Alex)

Yes when I seen an old trick. (Jackson)

5.7 Anger

Over 50% who had exited experienced problems with anger once they left the sexual exploitation trade. Some describe how they get angry now because they were once so guarded and/or stoned. Previously their anger was buried.

Somewhat anger to other people who say you're still a hooker. (Jamie)

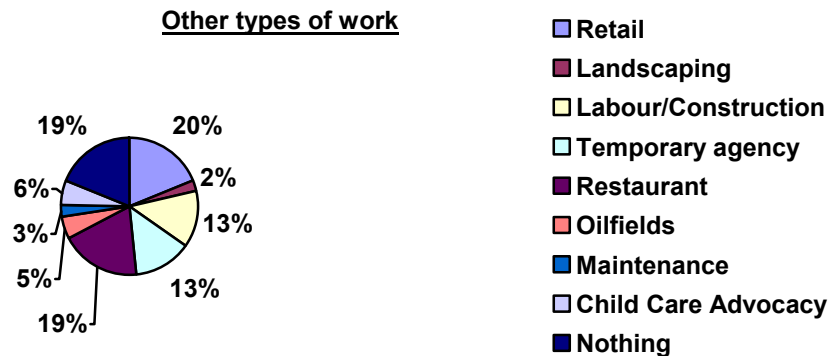
Yes, I was very aggressive when I quit the drugs and everything. Just a lot of shit. (Darren)

Yes, because of my childhood and all that repressed anger. When I look back I was a violent person. (Ross)

5.8 Other Work

This population had dabbled in other types of work. Most times it was short-term, minimum-wage employment. As noted earlier, this is a group where 38% had completed high school.

The issue seems to be in the transition from school to work. The skills required to secure stable, suitable employment seem to be absent. The ability to find short-term, minimum-wage employment is easy, even though it is insufficient when living in expensive urban cores. This group appears to have a gap between school and consistent employment.



5.9 Messages for service providers

It is important to hear what these young men wanted to tell service providers. An overwhelming number wanted to let them know that it is not easy to leave the sexual exploitation trade. As was found in *Strolling Away* (McIntyre, 2002), nearly everyone left at least once. The process of leaving is a challenge; they often do not have the resources to exit. Add to that their level of addiction, lack of employment and limited resources, and a successful exit often includes homelessness and/or shelter stays.

Most males do not have children or child care responsibilities. While the birth and caring of a child often brings with it government aid and a renewed family connection for females, this is not an option for young men.

The young men in this study felt there was a need for service providers to understand them. They did not feel understood by service providers, nor did they believe program options were available to them.

Don't judge them. Find out who they are, who they really are. (Matthew)

We are your kids, we are your grand kids, we are human beings, we are your future, and we are real, not just a statistic. (Alex)

They are people. They have been kicked out or abused. (Martin)

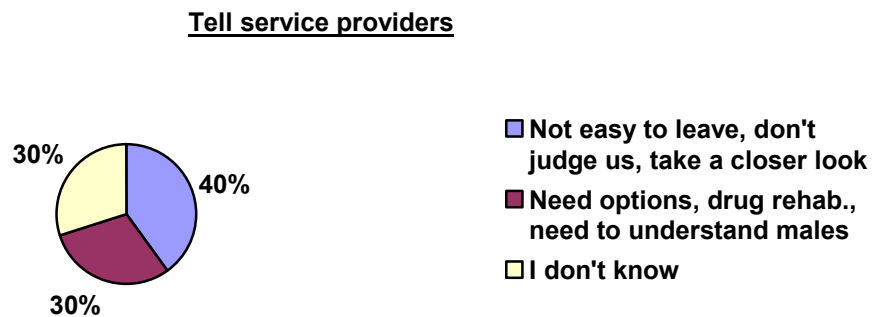
They work because it is all they know. Show them other opportunities. (Lawrence)

Get more involved. (Curtis)

The issue of drug rehabilitation programs was critical. Young men engage in sexual exploitation at a very young age and remain in the sexual exploitation trade longer than women. Consequently, they have longer and more severe experiences of drug addiction.

When asking the young men about services and service providers, the interviewers often received comments saying they were grateful for this study. Some of those interviewed sent notes directly to us thanking us for doing this study.

Finally, they felt their voice about needing services to meet their needs was being heard. Condoms and coffee programs assist but there is a desire for more in-depth services.



5.10 Story of ten who exited

A total of ten individuals interviewed had exited from the sexual exploitation trade. They had exited anywhere from three years to over 20 years. As a result, they bring with them a wealth of information on the challenges and process of leaving the sexual exploitation trade.

The majority of individuals left the sexual exploitation trade more than once. Over three-quarters exited between two and five times before they had a successful exit. We need to understand that individuals do not exit just once in most cases. Many times it becomes a cumulative learning process.

The key findings from these 10 interviews are as follows:

- The majority of individuals left the sexual exploitation trade more than once
- The issue of fear and abuse made three want to exit
- The desire to have a “normal” life created the desire for six to exit
- One person found the strength to leave knowing that people cared about them
- The need for income pressured eight to consider returning to the sexual exploitation trade
- Four missed the excitement and the thrill of the street
- Six missed the money
- When people did go back, they were quick to say things such as better housing, drug and personal counseling, moving and being drug free could have prevented them from returning
- Two stated they left because ‘enough was enough’
- Two fell in love with someone who supported their departure
- Two were fortunate enough to say they left because they found employment
- One left for health reasons
- The desire for a normal life, relationship with friends, and program support assisted some of them to leave
- Eight felt that supportive positive relationships and treatment assisted them in not returning to the street
- People talked about missing life on the edge and the money once they had left
- Many identified financial stress, missing action, relationship problems and drug addiction as factors that almost made them return to the sexual exploitation trade
- One lesson people identified after leaving the street was that they could be a valuable person

- After they left, many said they wanted to stop everyone from doing this, that we need to understand it is a method of survival, it makes people uncomfortable and it is child abuse
- When you leave, you should expect to be broke and stressed
- There are consequences for the life they were part of
- When questioned as to what surprised them after they left, they were quick to say they can leave, they have self respect

Section 6: Health Issues

The Calgary Health Region was a strong supporter of the study in Alberta and assisted in the development of the health questions which were used in Saskatchewan. There was a real desire to understand the health-related issues with this population.

In order to obtain this information, we asked questions about the need to access health services as a result of an individual's hustling/working. Close to one-third had accessed health services as a result of the sexual exploitation trade. Two-thirds of those who had accessed the services stated they received good services and their needs were addressed.

Unfortunately, not all had positive experiences with the medical community.

Some would help me when they found out I worked and some would not. (Darren)

They were not met, they told them where I was picked up and I was drunk after being bashed. (Will)

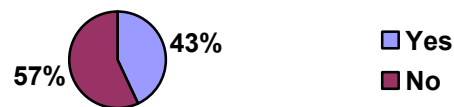
6.1 Health care workers aware of hustling/working

We then inquired about their own doctor or health care worker being aware of their involvement in the sexual exploitation trade. Forty-three percent of the population interviewed had informed health professionals of their hustling/working.

What is important is that over one-third of this population identified having a health concern. This ranged from HIV, Hepatitis C and STDs, to mental health issues which were either connected with, influenced by, or resulting from their involvement in the sexual exploitation trade.

It was of value to see that such a large percentage (43%) had kept health care professionals aware of their involvement in the street. This allowed for a greater level of awareness and proper health education and prevention.

Health care worker aware of your hustling/working



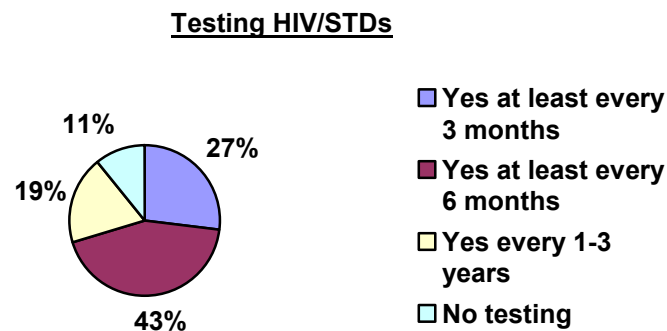
6.2 Testing for HIV / STDs

Many spoke highly of the medical services they had received to date. They felt it important to have a good relationship with health care professionals. There was a strong commitment to being responsible with respect to HIV and other STD testing. Only two people had not been tested.

What is important is that the public education on HIV testing had made a significant impact. People understand the value and importance of regular testing.

6.3 Frequency of HIV / STD testing

When we asked about the frequency of HIV / STD testing, 70% interviewed reported that they went for testing at least every six months. Over half went for testing at community clinics. Two individuals had never tested and two other individuals do not test as they know they are HIV positive.



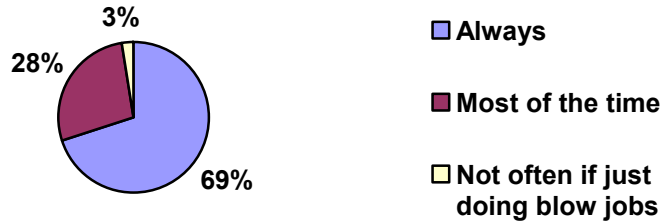
When asked what makes it easier to get testing done, close to half spoke about having a neutral, confidential and anonymous service. A number said nothing makes it easier and that they are always very nervous when they go for testing. There was a clear sense from half this population that they saw themselves as low risk for HIV. Two individuals interviewed were already confirmed as being HIV positive and four individuals identified as having Hepatitis C.

6.4 Condom use hustling/working

Next we asked about condom use while hustling/working. Public education on prevention of HIV and STDs has had some effect.

The use of condoms while working/hustling was at almost 97%. Twenty-eight percent use condoms most of the time, but 3% do not use condoms often when doing blow jobs.

Condom use hustling/working



One of the questions designed by experiential youth used the terms ‘top boy/ bottom boy’. The term in the gay community is top or bottom. This term refers to the physical positioning of anal penetration. A person who fulfils the role as top will deliver anal penetration. The person who is bottom will be the receiver who is being anally penetrated.

Top/Bottom



It is revealing that the use and value of condoms is established and followed in a consistent manner according to those interviewed.

There is clarity that condom use is imperative when engaging in anal sexual intercourse, as there is an understanding that the risk is high.

There is a lack of clarity in reference to transmission guidelines via oral sex. A need exists to have a clearly established medical position on the risk of disease transmission (STD/HIV) for youth and youth serving agencies. Suffice to say, the issue of condom use for oral sex is rather cloudy and Health Canada standards should be outlined and followed.

Although we found a majority always use condoms, there appears to be a need for clarification on the use of condoms when the activity is oral in nature. It appears there is a lack of clarity as to the potential effects of unprotected oral sex.

Depends if I am doing anything that I think warrants it, I don't usually have bum fun with tricks so not very often. (Martin)

6.5 Condom use in personal life

There is a strong awareness of the importance of condom use in their personal lives as well. We found that 64% always use condoms in their personal lives.

One-quarter use condoms depending on who they are with.

Condom use in personal life



A small portion, 8%, say they do not use condoms as they are in a solid personal relationship.

What is refreshing about this information is that there is an awareness of the need for condom use even in a personal situation. Two of the individuals interviewed are HIV positive and four have Hepatitis C. They clearly understand the need to protect others.

It was important to understand the medical services this population accesses. Medical services provided by street vans play an important role in the lives of these young men. Programs in both Saskatoon and Regina provide important public health information and direct medical services. Programs such as SWAP and EGADZ provide a lifeline to this population. These programs reinforce the awareness of condom use and the importance of regular testing.

Overall, awareness and action regarding health protection from HIV and other STDs is on the radar screen within this population. They are aware of the risks, but more importantly these young men are taking action to protect themselves. Health and AIDS professionals should be praised for achieving this current awareness and practice, and it is important to keep this information relevant and updated. There is a fear some will see AIDS as curable and therefore become lax in using condoms. There is a need to keep updated and accurate health information for this population.

Section 7: Discoveries

#1: Comparable histories of abuse

Both young men and women have comparable backgrounds of sexual and physical abuse prior to their entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. What is key to understand is that these are children with backgrounds of abuse who have entered into the sexual exploitation trade. For young men, this background of sexual abuse was prominent. Seventy-five percent reported sexual abuse and 75% reported physical abuse.

#2: Creating a construct

Many young men created an image or construct that allowed them to work while in the sexual exploitation trade. A number of different methods to create constructs existed.

Young men strive to create a construct to achieve a level of performance while on the street because they are placed in the position of needing to achieve sexual satisfaction (i.e. an erection and/or orgasm) for their customers. Many talked about the pressure, need or outcome to demonstrate physical arousal whether they were the receiver or the deliverer.

Even if they are taking the lead in giving a customer a blow job, there is an expectation that some form of excitement, that is an erection, can be sighted. This becomes very challenging for a young man particularly if he identifies himself as heterosexual. Young men are expected to demonstrate 'buy-in'; whereas women have the advantage of 'faking it'. Men must show some physical evidence of being sexually aroused so they select a construct in which they can achieve what is expected of them from customers.

As a result, a variety of different constructs exist, including:

- Gay for pay
- Straight for pay
- Tranny for pay
- Bisexual
- Gay

#3: Male prostitution fear factor

The issue of young men in the sexual exploitation trade makes many uncomfortable. To ease this feeling, people presume that males work with female customers. However, when they are advised that the majority of young men are involved with adult males, there is a great level of discomfort and angst.

It has been a challenge to gain an understanding as to why and how we so readily accept young women in the sexual exploitation trade and not young men.

There is a sense that as long as the activity is heterosexual, it is therefore 'normal'.

The issue of adult men purchasing sexual services from other young men raises discomfort with both the general public and service professionals. This discomfort is raised even higher when it is pointed out that not all customers are gay men. Many are closeted married men. When we speak about young men in the sexual exploitation trade we are asking people to stretch outside of their heterosexual comfort zone.

#4: Begin young & work longer

Eighty-two percent of individuals interviewed began work under the age of 18 years. Forty-five percent of the young men interviewed began work under the age of 16.

This means that criminal charges could have been laid in 82% of those cases under Section 212(4) of the Criminal Code of Canada, which prohibits anyone from 'attempting, or purchasing the services for the purposes of prostitution of someone under the age of 18'. To my knowledge, no single case involving males was brought into the Criminal Justice System.

A group of 15 young men entered the sexual exploitation trade over the age of 18 years. They were hard pressed to find alternative options, selecting this lifestyle as a short-term solution.

Young men averaged nine years working on the street. Nineteen of these young men had been involved in the street trade for over 10 years. Eleven of these young men had been involved for over 15 years.

Overall, young men enter the sexual exploitation trade younger and work longer as part of this lifestyle of voluntary desperation. Young women are often handed a lifeline of support. A significant majority of women from *Strolling Away* (McIntyre, 2002) had birthed children. Young men do not have the option to physically birth a child and as we have seen, if they father a child they are often separated from any benefits.

Nearly every young man in this study had at one point or another spent time in a shelter or couch surfing.

The voluntary desperation of the street can often only be replaced by life in homeless shelters. Life in the sexual exploitation trade is often their only option to being homeless.

#5: Flying under the radar

Many of the young men in this study have in past and continue to fly 'under the radar' of most service providers.

The lack of awareness of males is two-fold. Some fly under to avoid contact and interaction with professionals because of their backgrounds in care and drug use. Many avoid contact with family and friends. Others are harder to identify, given the difference in demeanor and working styles of young men and women. Males do not wear short skirts or stiletto heels, nor do they circle around corners when working. They are more mobile.

#6: Unique service needs

This research provided an opportunity to listen, hear and view the service needs of young men. Clearly, they were frustrated with the services they presently receive. They feel these services are an add-on to services provided for young women in the sexual exploitation trade, are minor in scope and reflect a female lens.

#7: Public education on condom use & HIV testing has worked

It is refreshing to hear about the awareness and safety knowledge this population has gained through public education. They understand the need for condom use and have become committed to using them while working.

The message has been clearly understood. The only time they consistently identified a lack of condom use was when they were in a long-term, committed relationship with the same person.

A strong awareness exists about the need and value of consistent HIV testing. The majority realize that consistent testing is both a preventive and self-protection tool.

Again, public education on condom use and consistent AIDS/HIV testing has worked with this population. Public education around the prevention of HIV/AIDS has also resulted in a significant level of awareness amongst this population.

There does, however, appear to be a lack of clarity around the issue of choosing to use or not to use a condom when oral sex is involved. A need exists to gain a clear medical opinion on this issue in order to provide an appropriate platform for any public education awareness campaign. A great deal of inconsistency exists on this issue between service providers, clients, and other professionals in the community.

#8: Connection between street & drugs is longer and more intense

Young men spend more time on the street than young women. Many young women spend less time on the street and take breaks to birth children.

Hopefully, in most situations these breaks also disrupt drug use.

The birth of a child can often work as a catalyst to disrupt, alter and cease drug use and street involvement. Again, young men do not have this opportunity. In many cases, this results in greater and more extensive drug use. Given the second stigma role of 'gay for pay', these young men may feel a greater level of shame and therefore use drugs more.

#9: Family ties

The more time a person spends in the sexual exploitation trade, the greater likelihood it stresses and alters family relations. Thirty-one percent of those interviewed had either a strained or non-existent relationship with their family. This strain and stress often results from a family's awareness of their son being in the sexual exploitation trade. Eighty-five percent of those interviewed said that at least one member of their family was aware of their working.

#10: Run away programs

Seventy-six percent of this population had run away. Over 40% of those who had run away were offered food or shelter with sexual conditions attached to the offer.

Running away plays a vital role in entry into the sexual exploitation trade. Often it is the trigger that initiates entrance into the sexual exploitation trade.

Section 8: Concluding Discussion & Recommendations

Young men in the sexual exploitation trade

In 2002, it was recommended in *Strolling Away* that a national study on males in the sexual exploitation trade would be of value; however, it was felt that the attempt of gaining an inclusive national study would be both onerous and time consuming. As a result, a decision was taken to proceed one province at a time.

The Province of Alberta took the lead. They supported the need and provided the necessary funds required for such a study. They were joined by a series of anonymous donors.

Shortly thereafter, *Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men* caught the attention of the Province of British Columbia. As a result, we were able to move the study into British Columbia, working closely with Covenant House in Vancouver, The Federal Government National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC), The Government of British Columbia and some anonymous donors.

Funding was then secured from the National Crime Prevention Centre, the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba and anonymous donors to fund continuation of the study into the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Once both of these have been released, we will have a comprehensive picture of the issue of male sexual exploitation throughout Western Canada.

Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men- Saskatchewan Edition provided the opportunity to design, enact, implement, review and complete a study on young men in the sexual exploitation trade. It also provided an opportunity to understand this issue from a male perspective, from the design of the questions, to the printing of this document. As males enter the sexual exploitation trade younger and remain longer, it is important that we gain as much information about young men involved in the sexual exploitation trade as possible.

Recommendation #1:

Efforts should be directed towards supporting the future expansion of this study to other provinces. Upon completion of the four western provinces those being British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, a report should be developed outlining the differences and similarities in Western Canada. Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia should be considered as future sites in order to allow for national, eastern, central, and western perspectives. This population tends to be rather transient, so

the opportunity to gain a national perspective as well as regional differences will be of assistance.

Abuse services

Seventy-five percent of those interviewed had a history of sexual abuse before entering the sexual exploitation trade. This suggests that unresolved abuse is often an antecedent to entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. As found in *Strolling Away* (McIntyre, 2002), often when attempting to or actually exiting the sexual exploitation trade, unresolved original abuse resurfaces. Ninety percent had a history of being violated in a physical manner prior to entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. The vast majority of young men in the sexual exploitation trade had histories of physical sexual abuse before slipping into the lifestyle.

Recommendation #2:

That we publicly acknowledge both young men and women are being exploited in the sexual exploitation trade, and that we provide services to help them exit and an opportunity for their voice to be heard.

In over three-quarters of cases, both young men and women have a history of sexual and/or physical abuse. They are children who have been abused and are now being sexually exploited.

There is a need to ensure that children who are sexually and physically violated have the option to access treatment.

It is critical that we have services available for those exiting the sexual exploitation trade. These young men have been in the sexual exploitation trade longer and the issue of homophobia circles around them. We must offer long-term clinical services to the populations who have escaped under the radar for far too long. As was discovered in *Strolling Away* once an individual exits the sexual exploitation trade, memories of abuse before and during the sexual exploitation trade often flood individuals. There is a need to provide ongoing clinical support to this population during their reintegration back into mainstream life. This will increase the likelihood of a successful departure from the sexual exploitation trade.

Gender non-conformity training

A need exists for program staff that provide support services to this population to gain a greater level of knowledge and comfort with this population, especially regarding how they construct their own often fluid gender roles. Workers are often confused, uncomfortable or unaware of the profiles of young men in the sexual exploitation trade. We live in a culture that presumes heterosexuality as the norm.

These young men have stepped outside societal norms in order to survive. No one wants to see a young woman in the sexual exploitation trade, yet there is a greater understanding of this as it is heterosexual in nature.

As we have seen, young men create a 'construct' to survive in the sexual exploitation trade. Staff involved in programs and services need to understand and accept the constructs these populations use to survive. Training and information is required in the following constructs:

- Gay for pay
- Straight for pay
- Tranny for pay
- Bisexual
- Gay

Recommendation #3:

That staff working with young men in the sexual exploitation trade be provided with gender non-conformity training.

As discussed, there is often a level of discomfort, overtones of homophobia and a general lack of awareness and comfort amongst program staff.

Awareness of services needed for males

We need to look for and provide services specifically designed for young men. It is important that we understand they work differently than young women. Young women in the sexual exploitation trade work from a heterosexual framework.

Even when young women are under the influence of a pimp it is heterosexual.

Young men, regardless of their own personal sexual orientation, do not work in the sexual exploitation trade from the dominant heterosexual framework.

Service providers need to take the time to let a group of young men explain the types of services that would be of assistance to them. It is important that in designing such services we recognize the need to reflect both their work and personal sexual orientation. In other words, a young man who had to work as 'gay for pay', but is heterosexual in his private life will have different service needs than a young man who works and lives as a gay young man.

It is important that we understand there are many young men who are being sexually exploited in the sexual exploitation trade. We need to get these young men on our radar screen and talk to them about their service and support needs.

We need to stretch outside our standard heterosexual comfort zone.

Recommendation #4

That service providers create the opportunity for young men in and out of the sexual exploitation trade to tell service providers about the services they require. We should not assume that one service will fit all.

This type of information could be discovered through focus groups and individual interviews with young men from the sexual exploitation trade. A neutral facilitator would be a critical step. The use of experiential youth could also facilitate in attaining accurate needs.

Drug addiction

Young men remain in the sexual exploitation trade much longer than young women. They are unable to physically birth children, so this exit route, which can often lead to family and state support, is unavailable to them.

Pregnancy often leads to a decrease, if not a total elimination of drug consumption. Males cannot physically carry a child so often the drug intake is not interrupted.

As we found, young men are averaging six to nine years in the sexual exploitation trade.

We know that this is associated with extensive and multiple drug use. The attempt to mask pain is managed through long-term self-medication.

Recommendation # 5

That a series of detox and rehabilitation beds be established for young men exiting the sexual exploitation trade. Years of extensive drug consumption requires an intervention that will provide them with temporary accommodation while detoxification and rehabilitation takes place.

Housing & training

Nearly every individual interviewed had spent time living in shelters. This included shelters for adults and youth. Shelter living is challenging. Often extensive stays and involvement in the sexual exploitation trade become solutions to homelessness. This group has experienced shelter stays and found this type of living extremely difficult. Once an individual is identified as working in the sexual exploitation trade, this label sticks.

In addition to detoxification and rehabilitation, we need to provide the opportunity for low-income affordable housing, as well as employment training and support.

This group has very little traditional work experience, however, close to 50% has completed high school.

The challenge they have faced is in the transition from school to work. The challenge becomes even greater at this point, considering many of them have been in the sexual exploitation trade for an average of nine years. Assistance with basic employment skills training, and the option of trade tickets and apprentice programs is essential.

Recommendation # 6

That safe affordable accommodation is provided for this population once they have completed drug detoxification and rehabilitation. This population requires safe, supportive living arrangements. Coupled with this, they need help seeking alternative employment. Close to half of this population had completed high school and some college and university; however, they have limited employment skills and experience. Standard employment assistance programs will be required to assist them in supporting a successful exit from the sexual exploitation trade.

Supply & demand

As was discovered in *Strolling Away* (McIntyre, 2002), we place most of our attention on the supply end of the equation, meaning we put our energy into those young persons working in the sexual exploitation trade.

Minimal prevention materials and intervention are directed towards the supply of youth involved in the sexual exploitation trade. Outreach programs and secure treatment are designed to support or contain young people who have entered the sexual exploitation trade. These forms of intervention are directed at keeping the individual who is involved in the street, safe.

It is clear that if we are going to conquer this issue, a demand approach must be part of the equation. We need to educate with the goal of affecting and deterring present and future customers. A need exists to alter the demand for such services. During these interviews, both male and female sex workers spoke about the continual flow of customers wanting to purchase their services. This presented a challenge for those trying to escape the sexual exploitation trade (*Strolling Away*: McIntyre, 2002:37)

By ignoring them, we have also not addressed the demand side, that being the customers. Again, we have ignored both the supply and the demand side of sexually exploited young men.

The Criminal Justice System pays minimal, if any, attention to the customers of young men. If 'communicating for the purpose' charges occur, they are most often directed towards customers of women in the sexual exploitation trade. In other words, police undercover sting operations are directed towards charging the male customers of young sexually exploited women.

The reverse is also true, young sexually exploited women are more likely to be detected by the police and charged with 'communicating'.

Our view of the sexual exploitation trade is classically heterosexual. We are prepared and comfortable to intervene both from a social and legal perspective with young sexually exploited women and their male customers. This is the traditional lens, or vision we have of the sex trade and the manner in which we intervene. It is a patriarchal, heterosexual view. We are uncomfortable and reluctant to intervene with young men who are being sexually exploited by adult men. The reality is, men are having sex with boys and paying for it.

Recommendation #7

That we approach the issue of demand, that being customers, with an equal balance for both young men and women who are being sexually exploited. Like women, these men are young people who are in need of our assistance.

Peer education

A need exists to educate peers that the road out of the sexual exploitation trade is challenging. Members of both genders who have exited the sexual exploitation trade identified challenges in this process.

They attempt to return to their communities after exiting the sexual exploitation trade; however, many feel different, separate and outside their original peer group. They are often ridiculed, teased and challenged by their peers.

For young men, the ridicule of stretching outside the traditional heterosexual framework for an extended drug-addicted time can haunt them.

Recommendation #8

That prevention information is directed towards both young men and women. We need to provide information that both young men and women in the sexual exploitation trade have experienced sexual abuse..

Community responsibility

Over three quarters of young men in the sexual exploitation trade had the experience of having a “sugar daddy”. Many of the young men interviewed were clear that these relationships were sexual in nature and included an older gay man seeking a relationship with a younger adolescent. This relationship often occurred in public.

The sugar daddy uses the public arena to display the relationship he has with the young man, who often serves as a status symbol for the sugar daddy. Numerous gifts and financial rewards are attached to this often temporary role.

Many of the young men interviewed spoke about being fired or replaced by a new younger adolescent as they began to age.

While there are numerous relationships where age differences occur among both genders, the sugar daddy relationship is particularly damaging because the exploitation occurs in such a young and vulnerable population of young males. (Eric Berndt, November 2004).

Awareness must be created in all communities that exploitative relationships should not be tolerated. Given the nature of the male sexual exploitation trade, this awareness is particularly important in the gay community as this is an arena where sugar daddy's 'parade' their adolescent partner.

Recommendation #9

That the community-at-large recognize the damaging effects of sugar daddy relationships on this young and vulnerable population. In addition, an awareness of the economic disadvantages facing young males involved in the sexual exploitation trade must be taken into account and considered as a symptom of the differential power relationship existent in sugar daddy relationships.

Transitioning support

The transition from the street into the community is difficult for young persons exiting the sexual exploitation trade. As we have noted, young women often leave the sexual exploitation trade because they have birthed, or desire to birth children. This is neither a motivator, nor an opportunity for young men. During the exiting process, there is an inherent danger in socializing with peers who are still in the sexual exploitation trade. There is the risk of slipping back into the lifestyle, which involves drug consumption. Little “formal” community support exists for this population. Often I and my researchers transitioned into support people answering questions for those exiting the sexual exploitation trade. Nothing formally exists for helping this population exit the sexual exploitation trade.

Recommendation # 10

Develop mentoring connections for the population that is exiting. A need exists for those exiting to have support from those who have exited. An experiential voice can assist an individual who is in the process of exiting the sexual exploitation trade. There are many questions, and those who have been through such a journey can better answer challenges facing those who are exiting.

This type of service could be set up in a formal structure through an agency that works with this population or informally within the volunteer community network. This network could be set up in formal face-to-face meetings, telephone or online support.

Public education

When we speak about youth prostitution or sexually exploited youth, we often see this as focused around young women. Prevention, intervention and support materials are primarily if not exclusively targeted to young women.

Recommendation # 11

Prevention, intervention and re-integration materials be reviewed and materials adjusted to speak to the sexual exploitation of youth regardless of gender. Materials must recognize the differences facing young women and men in the sexual exploitation trade. Education for both genders needs to be covered in these materials, emphasizing that the sexual exploitation trade is a risk for both genders.

Harm reduction

The methods used in harm reduction approaches to drug abuse have been adopted for youth in the sexual exploitation trade.

As was noted in *Strolling Away* (McIntyre, 2002), it was suggested by experiential individuals that outreach services and professionals should directly offer respite and exiting support. There is value in offering condoms and bad date sheets; however, the offer to discuss exiting is of great value to those working in the sexual exploitation trade. The ultimate goal must always remain moving someone out of the sexual exploitation trade.

Recommendation #12

That an evaluation occurs of harm reduction approaches such as distributing bad date sheets, mobile support services to sexually exploited youth. The opportunity exists to move into a more direct approach to intervention. The ultimate goal must always remain moving someone out of the sexual exploitation trade.

Youth In Care

Over 60% of those interviewed for this study were under government care. As noted by Shauna Parks-Denton, a former Executive Director of the Alberta Youth in Care and Custody Network and a Board Member of the National Youth In Care Network, “often youth from care have gaps in their sexual knowledge and education.” This is even more pronounced with young men from care.

Recommendation #13

That the National Youth In Care Network embrace the topic of sexual awareness. There is a need to ensure that youth from care have the same knowledge base as the general youth population. This information could be delivered through DVD, booklets or lectures.

Running Away

We have seen that 76% of this population had a history of running away prior to their entrance into the street. The majority of those who had run away from home had backgrounds of physical and sexual abuse. While on the run, over 40% were offered food or shelter from a stranger with conditions attached, often sexual in nature. This often became a means for entrance into the sexual exploitation trade.

Recommendation #14

That we develop and pay closer attention to youth who are running away. We need to recognize this as an early warning system for possible entrance into the sexual exploitation trade. For youth, service providers and professionals, the opportunity to support and stabilize a situation is more likely to occur prior to years of abuse and drug use on the street.

Appendix 1: Strolling Away & Under the Radar

Background Prior Sexual Exploitation Trade (males only)

	Average Age First Trick	Total Years On The Street	Sexual Abuse	Physical Abuse	In Government Care	Aboriginal Descent
Total 38 Interviews	14 yr	260 yr Avg. 7yrs	84%	79%	61%	26%
Strolling Away						
Strolling Away	15 yr	200 yrs Avg. 6 yrs	82%	78%	61%	24%
33 Females (87%)						
Strolling Away	12 yr	60 yrs Avg. 12 yrs	100%	100%	60%	40%
5 Males (13%)		*				
Under the Radar AB	15 yr **	322 yrs Avg. 8.7 yrs	68%	86%	51%	54%
37 males (100%)						
Under the Radar BC	15 yr***	372 yrs Avg. 9.3 yrs	78%	90%	46%	43%
40 Males (100%)	17 yr***					
Under the Radar SK	15 yr	358 yrs Avg 9.1 yrs	75%	75%	63%	85%
40 Males (100%)						
Under the Radar MN	15 yr	342.5 Avg 8.5 yrs	80%	90%	55%	67.5%
40 Males (100%)						

* Sample size includes only 5 males

** 48% commenced street work under the age of 16 (18 individuals)
73% commenced street work under the age of 18 (9 individuals)
27% commenced street work as young adult that being 18 years of age and older (10 individuals)

*** The age of 15 was found for those 25 individuals that began under the age of 18. When including the 15 outliers the average age was 17.

Glossary

BAD DATE

When a customer/trick harms and/or rips off a sex trade worker. This often involves physical abuse and sometimes weapons.

BISEXUAL

This refers to an individual that is physically, emotionally and sexually attracted to individuals of either gender.

BLOW JOB

Oral sex/fellatio that a sex trade worker gives to a customer/trick. Male sex trade workers will often allow a customer/trick to give them a blow job. "French" is another term used for blow job.

BOTTOM

This term refers to the physical positioning of anal penetration. The individual referred to as bottom will be the individual who is being anally penetrated.

BUDDY

Customer/trick who purchases a man for sexual purposes in exchange for money.

CONFUSED

This refers to an individual who is confused about their sexual identity. They do not see themselves as being straight, gay or bisexual.

CONDOMS

Safe sex, sheiks, rubbers, prophylactics and covers are other terms used for condoms.

DATE

Customer/trick who purchases the man for sexual purposes in exchange for money.

DOPE PUSHER

An individual who sells non-prescription or prescription drugs illegally.

FEMINIST RESEARCH

“Feminist Research investigates the aspects of women’s oppression while seeking at the same time to be part of the struggle against it.” (McIntyre, 1995:15)

GAME

Slang term used for the activity of prostitution.

GAY

This refers to a male who is emotionally, physically and sexually attracted to the male gender. They have accepted and embraced a gay sexual identity in their personal life.

GAY BASHING

Is an activity that usually involves straight males whose homophobia results in violence towards gay males or those who appear to be gay in the sexual exploitation trade.

GAY FOR PAY

This refers to a young man who is heterosexual in their private sexual orientation, however will interact as gay strictly for pay in the sexual exploitation trade.

GLORY HOLE

This refers to a secluded private booth where a man can insert his penis and he is stimulated by a hidden individual.

GROUNDING THEORY

“At the beginning of the research, interviews usually consist of open-ended conversations during which respondents are allowed to talk with no imposed limitations of time. Often researchers sit back while the respondents tell their stories”. (Feminist Research, Glaser & Strauss, 1967:76)

HAND JOB

Sex trade worker masturbates customer.

HIGH

The physiological and mental reaction to drugs.

HOMOPHOBIA

A non-clinical term used to describe the fear of, aversion to, or discrimination against homosexuality or homosexuals.

HUSTLER

Term most often used for male sex worker.

JOHN

The customer who purchases a man for sexual purposes in exchange for money. They are also referred to as "customer", "trick", "buddy" or "date".

LINES OF INQUIRY

The method of open-ended questioning on a specific topic.

MAINSTREAM FOLKS

People who are not involved in prostitution.

PCHIP

The Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution (PCHIP) was enacted in 1999 in Alberta. This legislation recognizes that children involved in prostitution are victims of sexual abuse and require support. Police and/or the director of Child Welfare may apprehend and confine a young person in a Protective Safe House.

PROSTITUTION

An individual who engages in sexual activity for the exchange of money or products.

PUMP

The energy, activity and unpredictable nature of street life described by sex trade workers.

REGULAR

A consistent, repetitive customer who will interact with the same sexually exploited young man.

RITUALS

A pattern of behaviour that occurs in specific situations.

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION TRADE

Profession where youth engage in sexual activities with adults for money or products.

SNOWBALL SAMPLING

Results when persons interviewed tell others about the research and/or identify others to be interviewed.

SHELTERS

Large temporary accommodation that houses numerous individuals in the community.

SQUARE

A person who is not knowledgeable about the street.

STRAIGHT PEOPLE

In this case, it does not necessarily mean heterosexual. This refers to people not involved in prostitution.

STRAIGHT FOR PAY

This refers to a young man who is homosexual in his private sexual identity. For survival, this young man will perform heterosexual sexual activities for pay.

STROLL

Area where someone works on the street. Known as the 'stroll' because the sex worker walks up and down it. This constant movement was necessary historically because of the old Vagrancy charges. There is a distinction of "high stroll", meaning more expensive sex workers, like "high track". "Low stroll" is the same as "low track" meaning less expensive sex workers.

SUGAR DADDY

Refers to an older gay man who seeks a relationship with a younger gay man. This often involves sexual activity. The young man is rewarded with presents and necessities. The younger male is also often the exclusive 'ownership' of the older gay man in public places. A gay-for-pay young man would not seek out a sugar daddy relationship.

TOP

This term refers to the physical positioning of anal penetration. The individual referred to as top will be the individual who is anally penetrating.

TRACK

The street where you work is known as the "track" or "stroll". No one knows for sure why it is called track. Some relevant connotations are: that it is the wrong side of the tracks; track marks up and down arms; often by railway tracks; people drive up and down like they are on tracks. "Tracks" are sometimes seen as high and low.

TRADE

Slang term used for the activity of prostitution.

TRANNY FOR PAY

This refers to a young man who is either gay or heterosexual in their sexual orientation who presents as a transvestite while working in the sexual exploitation trade.

TRANSSEXUAL

An individual who has a consistent overwhelming need to live their life as a member of the opposite gender.

TRICK

Customers who purchase the man for sexual purposes in exchange for money. The customer is also known as 'buddy', 'john' or 'date'.

TURNED HIM

Refers to action with a customer. It means that the money is exchanged and the sex act is complete. 'Turned a trick' is another term for 'turned him'.

TURNED OUT

Refers to when a sex trade worker first began working.

TURNED A TRICK

When a sex trade worker completes a transaction with a customer. Also known as 'turned him'.

TWO SPIRITED

Aboriginal people who identify themselves as gay or lesbian. The terms, gay or lesbian are of European origin, therefore, 'two spirited' is preferred because it is more culturally relevant to Aboriginal lesbians and gays.

WORKING

If a worker considers themselves to be transsexual they will say they are working. The term "working" is one that women also use in the sexual exploitation trade.

YOUTH IN CARE

An advocacy organization for youth who are in the care of government. Adults who were youth in the care of government now manage this organization.

YOUTH PROSTITUTION

A youth who enters the sexual exploitation trade.

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