

Alternative Solutions to
Traditional Problems:
Contextualizing the Kitchener
John School Diversion Program

by

Amrit Kaur Mandur

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Sociology

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2010
©Amrit Kaur Mandur 2010

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This thesis is an exploratory study of the Kitchener John School Diversion Program. As a primarily community-based initiative, this program has been developed in response to a particular social problem, street prostitution. The primary focus of the program is to address the problem by targeting the clients of prostitutes. Using a contextual constructionist framework, eight qualitative, semi-structured interviews and three participant observation sessions were conducted to explore and understand how the John School works within the context of its objectives and mandate. Four research questions have been developed to achieve this and focus on (1) how program objectives are implemented within the operation of the diversion program, (2) how stakeholders problematize prostitution and its social actors, (3) what the social conditions and characteristics related to the social construction of prostitution are, as perceived by the social actors, and finally, (4) how the diversion program addresses the problem of prostitution.

Through analysis of the data collected, key findings emerge that help to contextualize the diversion program within a broader understanding of its mandates and operations. Specifically, four objectives are identified as the primary goals of the school, being knowledge dissemination, accountability, diversion and change. There are notable discrepancies, however, in terms of how program staff interpret these objectives within the context of their program lectures and materials. Additionally, while strong themes and typifications emerge with respect to how prostitution and its social actors are problematized by the program staff, these themes and typifications have a tendency to conflict with one another when presented to the participants. For example, where prostitution is understood to be a social problem with a number of victims and perpetrators, the participants are frequently typified simultaneously as both victim and villain. In light of these discrepancies, however, it appears that the intended objectives and the actual operation of the diversion program both work towards the same, ultimate goal: change.

Acknowledgements

There are many people whom I wish to thank for their invaluable contributions and support:

To my committee members, Dr. Carrie Sanders and Dr. Barrie McClinchey, for taking the time to discuss my project, encourage me to continue working towards my goals, and for all of their effort in helping me complete this project. Dr. Jennifer L. Schulenberg, for always being the supervisor I needed, especially during those times when it seemed easier to go a little insane rather than focus on rationality, thank you. Your careful guidance, instruction and criticism have led me further than I could have travelled on my own.

Special thanks should also go to all of the professors in the Sociology Department who always encouraged me to pursue graduate studies. Thank you for seeking me out in class and lighting the spark that would carry me from a clueless undergraduate career into a very interesting, enlightening and sobering journey into higher learning. Your support and inspiration are invaluable.

To all of the participants of this study, thank you for taking the time to speak with me and sharing with me your experiences, ideas and interests. To the Program Director, thank you for countless hours of inspiring conversation, and for sharing with me your passions.

And finally, to my friends and family, my office mates and fellow grad students in the department, thank you for all of your support, guidance and, most importantly, laughter. To Arthur McLuhan for his constant encouragement and guidance throughout this process, and last but not least, to Nathan Albert for his wisdom and unrelenting support, in spite of everything.

Thank you.

Dedication

For my Nani-Ji, who continues to inspire. Rest in peace.

Table of Contents

AUTHOR’S DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Research Questions	3
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	6
Prostitution in Canada	6
Diversion Programs	8
Program Objectives	8
Program Recruitment.....	10
Program Implementation	11
Measures of Success.....	12
Due Process and Legal Sanctioning	13
Theoretical Framework.....	14
Social Constructionist Paradigm.....	14
Social Problems Research	15
A Contextual Constructionist Approach.....	17
Summary.....	18
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY	20
Research Setting	20
Participants	20
Sampling Methods.....	21
Data Collection Process.....	24
Participant Observation	24
Semi-Structured Interviews	26
The Ethics Review Process.....	29
Data Analysis.....	30
Summary.....	31
CHAPTER 4 OPERATING THE JOHN SCHOOL	33

Program Operation	33
Participant Recruitment	33
Pre-Interview	35
John School Day	37
Termination Interview	47
Post-Program Follow-Up.....	49
Administration	49
Program Objectives	51
Education	52
Accountability	54
Diversion	56
Change.....	57
Summary.....	58
CHAPTER 5 DEFINING, CHARACTERIZING AND RESPONDING TO A SOCIAL PROBLEM.....	60
Defining Prostitution as a Problem.....	60
Prostitution as Consequent	61
Prostitution as a Non-Victimless Crime	63
Prostitution as Dirty.....	65
Characterizing Prostitution	67
Facts and Social Conditions	68
Typifying the Johns	70
Typifying the Prostitutes	74
Identifying Other ‘Victims’ and ‘Villains’	76
Features of the Program: What it Is and What it Isn’t.....	79
Rehabilitation vs. Punishment	79
Need vs. Greed	80
Holistic vs. Narrow.....	81
Human vs. Criminal.....	82
Summary.....	84
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION.....	86
Summary of Findings	86
Limitations and Future Research.....	92
Generalizability	92
Time Constraints.....	93
Future Research	94

Concluding Comments	95
REFERENCES	97
APPENDICES.....	99
Appendix A Interviewee Recruitment Letter	100
Appendix B Interviewee Information Letter	102
Appendix C Semi-Structured Interview Schedule.....	104
Appendix D Informed Consent Form.....	105
Appendix E List of Categories and Concepts used for Data Analysis	106
Appendix F Client Information and Acknowledgement Form.....	107
Appendix G Participant Pre-Test.....	108
Appendix H Information Brochure.....	111
Appendix I STI Clinic Information Tear-Off	113
Appendix J “Condoms Make Sense” Brochure.....	114
Appendix K Group Counselling Package.....	116
Appendix L Participant Post-Test.....	139
Appendix M John School Evaluation Sheet	142

Chapter 1

Introduction

The prevalence of prostitution throughout the world may initially be best understood as a recurring social phenomenon, which has over time been constructed as a social problem (Jenness, 1990 p. 404). Over the years, approaches in North America to understanding and solving social problems like prostitution have shifted from primarily retributive or punitive tactics towards social restoration and reintegration. In Canada, the past decade has shown a considerable shift between these two approaches with a vast number of restorative justice programs being implemented across the country. What this has created is increased opportunities for alternative social justice models to be adopted and thrive where traditional hard-on-crime tactics once dominated. The following study seeks to evaluate one such alternative social justice model that has been developed to address the putative problem of prostitution.

As a response to criticisms of traditional approaches, “John School” diversion programs primarily focus on addressing the problem of prostitution by targeting a group of offenders who are seldom targeted by the justice system. While the structure may vary across locations, the underlying principle of these diversion programs relies on constructing prostitution as a misunderstood crime that is not as victimless as some might be led to believe. Instead, there are a myriad of victims and perpetrators involved with prostitution, such as the prostitutes themselves, members of the communities in which the phenomenon occurs, the clients (“Johns”), and other individuals associated with prostitution. The John School is then introduced as a way of re-educating the offenders on the ‘truths’ behind prostitution as a means of diverting them from reoffending.

In the late 1990’s, Toronto implemented a John School diversion program, which was somewhat similar to the original model established in San Francisco. Although the original program design calls for a six to eight-week program, both the Canadian one-day version and the United States version make use of community volunteers to assist in the education of participants on the realities of prostitution. Some types of volunteers include police officers, health workers, ex-prostitutes and members of the community harmed by prostitution (Wortley & Fischer, 2002 p. 13). Content of the

program sessions tend to focus on relevant laws, health risks, and behavioural components associated with street prostitution (Wortley & Fischer, 2002 p. 13). Offenders who successfully attend and complete the sessions will have their criminal charges withdrawn and thereby avoid further punishment and the negative consequences associated with prostitution-related offences (Wortley & Fischer, 2002 p. 13).

Understandably, this one-day program is not without its criticisms. Wortley and Fischer (2002) concluded a two-year evaluation of the Toronto diversion program and in the final report, the researchers outline many of the program strengths, depicting the Toronto location to be somewhat successful on the surface. However, the report also highlights a number of program flaws and weaknesses that, in the end, tend to raise questions as to the program's ability to educate Johns and whether or not the program's measures of success accurately reflect the program's true success.

Based on the findings of Wortley and Fischer (2002) and others (Shivley et al., 2008; Van Brunschot, 2003; Wahab, 2005; 2006), the proposed study conducts a process evaluation of the Kitchener John School, focusing on how the program does what it intends to do. This is accomplished by formulating criteria for evaluation from the findings of previous studies and by exploring the objectives and mandates of the program, as communicated by the program staff. This is then compared to how the program actually operates. The chosen research design utilizes qualitative interviews with program volunteers to explore the motivations and intentions behind the John School program, as well as participant observations of program sessions to develop an overall understanding of how the program actually operates.

Part of the process evaluation also includes exploring the ways in which program volunteers orient the diversion program towards addressing a particular social problem – in this case, prostitution. The theoretical framework of contextual constructionism, which is grounded in the social constructionist paradigm (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), is used to explore this claims-making process, wherein individuals and groups engage in a type of tactical interchange that attempts to define a phenomenon as a social problem (Best, 1989; Loseke, 2003). Using this theoretical lens, this study

focuses on the ways in which program staff define prostitution as a problem, characterize each aspect of the problem, including the conditions and groups involved in prostitution, and lastly, explore how the Kitchener John School can be a viable approach to addressing the putative social problem.

Research Questions

Incorporating both the theoretical underpinnings of contextual constructivism with the concept of process evaluations, four research questions are investigated to develop a general understanding of the program's effectiveness and suitability towards achieving its goals. The questions are thus oriented around the program's design, mandates, objectives, participants, and outcomes, as well as around the claims-making processes associated with defining prostitution as a problem.

How are program objectives implemented within the operation of the diversion program?

The first research question is a primary component of the process evaluation, as it focuses on the congruence between program objectives and design by asking how program objectives are implemented within the operation of the diversion program. The emphasis is therefore on how the Kitchener John School does what it has set out to do, and will explore how the program discourses, contexts and objectives have been implemented within the school. To address this question, the study explores all aspects of the program, including participant recruitment and screening, session debriefing, lecturing, assessment and finally, program release and follow-up, if any. Next, program objectives, as identified by program staff, are explored and measured against how the program operates.

How do stakeholders problematize prostitution and its social actors?

The second research question builds on the first question and focuses on the claims-making process of defining prostitution as a social problem. Specifically, the question looks at how stakeholders problematize prostitution and its social actors. Further, it seeks to understand how individuals involved in the operation of the John School construct discourses on the problem of prostitution. This involves investigating the claims-making behaviour of the program staff, such as

labelling individuals involved in prostitution as victims and villains, identifying risks and consequences associated with the problem, and exploring and promoting viable methods of addressing the social problem (Loseke, 2003). Each of these components will then be related back to the overall understanding of how the John School is intended to operate, in order to evaluate how defining prostitution as a problem works towards achieving the objectives of the program.

How do stakeholders problematize prostitution and its social actors?

Using the contextual aspect of contextual constructionism, the key emphasis of the third research question is to establish a point of reference for the nature of claims being made by the program staff. This is done by focusing on what the social conditions and characteristics related to the social construction of prostitution are, as perceived by the social actors. A key component of the claims-making process is to identify the individual imputations or “typifications” made about different aspects of the social problem (Best, 1989). Therefore, the claims-making process of the program staff are explored in detail by identifying who the ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators’ are within the population and creating a descriptive account of their characteristics. Each of these typifications are then related back to the operation of the John School, linking information presented by program staff to the definition of prostitution as a social problem, and how the John School serves as a means of addressing that problem.

How does the diversion program address the problem of prostitution?

The final research question is used as a means of bringing all parts of the process evaluation together by linking the claims-making process discussed in research questions two and three to the operation of the John School. By exploring how the diversion program addresses the problem of prostitution, the claims-making discourse of program stakeholders is thereby located within a broader framework of program design and program staff perceptions. Where the John School program is conceptualized as a viable solution to the problem of prostitution, this question seeks to explore how stakeholders operationalize their goals in the form of a diversion program. Key concepts that are

explored include how stakeholders define the John School, objectives, diversion, success and the program overall in relation to the problem it seeks to address.

In Chapter 2, the previous literature on prostitution, including the historical context of prostitution within Canada, and further, the various studies conducted on John diversion programs that are used to formulate criteria for the process evaluation are explored. The theoretical framework of contextual constructivism is explored in depth, looking at the basic components of the theory and how it is applied to the investigation of social problems. Next, Chapter 3 sets out the research design of this, detailing the research setting, participants of the study, the selected data collection instruments, the ethics review process, and finally, the analysis of data. Following this, Chapters 4 and 5 overview the analyses of data, followed by a summary of the findings and concluding comments in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The following review encompasses a synopsis of the occurrence of prostitution in Canada and the previous literature available on related diversion programs, as well as an outline of the theoretical framework used to help situate the discussion of diversion programs within the discipline of sociology. For organizational purposes, the issues derived from previous literature are divided into five thematic sections: (1) program objectives; (2) program recruitment; (3) program implementation; (4) measures of success; and (5) due process and legal sanctioning. Next, a summary of the key components of the social constructionist theoretical framework is provided with respect to the study of social problems, and then a review the specific theoretical approach applied to study the Kitchener John School diversion program, being the contextual constructionist approach.

Prostitution in Canada

Since the early 1900's, prostitution has been a topic of interest in Canada, attracting numerous articles, research studies and ethnographies that provide detailed accounts of how individuals become involved in and sustain their participation within the different levels of prostitution (e.g., street prostitution, bar and lounge prostitutes, massage and body rub parlours, and call girl and escort services) (Lowman, 2001, p. 4; Sanders, 2008). However, the majority of research completed on prostitution did not occur until the mid 1970's, when the Canadian federal government mandated the Badgley Committee and the Fraser Committee to conduct research on the matter (Lowman, 2001, p. 3). The findings of the research, concentrating on the occurrence of prostitution and sexual offences against individuals under the age of eighteen, provided the initial comprehensive information and a considerable foundation for the current body of research on the issue of prostitution (Lowman, 2001, p. 2). The formulation of laws in Canada and the social problems movement regarding the matter of prostitution may then be understood to be partly the result of research conducted by these committees and other researchers and institutions.

Under the current Canadian Criminal Code, prostitution is not strictly illegal; the exchange of sexual services for money or other consideration is not considered an offence; however, communicating for the purpose of engaging in prostitution (s.213), operating an establishment for the purpose of prostitution (s.210), living on the avails of prostitution (s.212) and procuring or engaging in prostitution with a minor are criminal offences (s.212(4)). With respect to the prevalence of prostitution, annual Statistics Canada incident reports for all of Canada regarding prostitution-related offences, such as procuring, communicating under the age of 18 and other offences, have fluctuated over the last decade, with 3,534 incidences reported in 2009 and the highest reported rate being 6,452 in 2004. As reported by the Waterloo Regional Police Service (WRPS, 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2009), the annual charge rates in the Region of Waterloo have similarly fluctuated between the years 2000 to 2008, ranging from 35 to 127 actual arrests per year, with the most recent report of 61 arrests in 2008. What can be understood from this information is that the incidence of fluctuates without any clear patterns over time.

A potential result of the disjointed approach to the legality of prostitution is the convoluted manner in which societies view and understand the prevalence of prostitution within their own communities. In particular, while many individuals continue to view prostitution as morally wrong and shameful (Jenness, 1990; Van Brunschot, 2003), others take up the view that prostitution is an occupation that should be treated as legitimate form of employment (Jenness, 1990). Some organizations and community groups, such as those who conduct diversion programs, exist primarily to eradicate the occurrence of prostitution through the use of sting operations, diversion programs and/or the incarceration of offenders. On the other hand, there are also organizations and groups, such as 'Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics' (COYOTE), interested in spreading awareness on the ways in which prostitution is much like regular forms of employment, and should therefore be legalized to allow the sex-trade workers the opportunity to enjoy traditional security and benefits afforded to other employment opportunities (Jenness, 1990). In the following literature review and throughout the course of this research study, attention will be given to the former approach to prostitution exclusively,

wherein it is considered to be a social problem and programs have been developed in order to address the said problem.

Diversion Programs

First, a critical review of literature on diversion programs will help to situate the research questions within the current body of knowledge on prostitution and to designate criteria to be assessed in the process evaluation of the Kitchener John School. This includes reviewing the findings of previous studies conducted to evaluate the efficiency and success of offender diversion programs in Canada (Fischer, Wortley, Webster, & Kirst, 2002; Kennedy, Klein, Gorzalka, & Yuille, 2004; Wortley & Fischer, 2002) and in the United States (Shivley et al., 2008; Wahab, 2005; 2006). Specifically, findings will be reviewed from the Toronto John School Diversion Program (Fischer et al., 2002; Wortley & Fischer, 2002), the Salt Lake City Prostitute Diversion Program (Wahab, 2005; 2006), and the San Francisco First Offender Prostitute Program (Shivley et al., 2008). These diversion program evaluations, while of programs that differ in terms of services and structure, are selected for their currency and relevancy to the research focus, as they highlight a number of issues critical to the design and operation of diversion programs in general.

Program Objectives

Although the evaluated programs target slightly different groups (Johns versus prostitutes), all three programs communicate similar objectives when developing the overall program design: address prostitution through diversion of the men, rather than diversion of the women. However, each of the evaluations note the stakeholders involved with program support, administration and implementation were not 'on the same page' with one another in their interpretation of the program's objectives (Fischer et al., 2002, pp. 395-396; Wahab, 2005, pp. 212-213; Wortley & Fischer, 2002). Specifically, stakeholders summarized the objectives as being to reduce or eliminate prostitution within their respective communities (Wahab, 2006; Wortley & Fischer, 2002). The program would then be used to

facilitate this objective by diverting convicted offenders from continually engaging the sex-trade industry (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 396).

However, some stakeholders indicate the program is oriented towards reducing or eliminating street prostitution solely, while others stipulate that the objectives encompass all forms of prostitution, such as escort services, bawdy houses, and massage parlours (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 223). Conversely, other stakeholders suggest the program objectives are to promote safer, less harmful sexual experiences with any partners (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 223), or to instil the idea that the clients themselves are victims in need of help (Fischer et al., 2002). The residual effect is an uncoordinated program model, whereby the curriculum changes during each session to accommodate the perceived objectives of the presenter. Further, this results in the propensity of participants to receive ‘mixed messages’ about what they are intended to take away from the program (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 223).

A final note on program objectives involves the legality of prostitution within Canada and in particular, the relevancy of diversion programs in light of how the social problem of prostitution has been legally defined and codified. Rather than criminalize all aspects of prostitution, Canada has instead sought to sanction only those aspects of prostitution that deal with the exchange of money for sexual services (Van Brunschot, 2003). Currently, the *Criminal Code of Canada* (Criminal Code, 1985) (the “Code”) identifies communication for the purpose of prostitution (s.213), procuring for the purpose of prostitution (s.211), living off the avails of prostitution (s.212), and running a common bawdy house (s.210) as indictable offenses. Maximum sentences for all but communication-related offences range from two to ten years incarceration. Maximum sentences are increased to 14 years incarceration for the majority of these offences if the prostitutes in question are below the age of eighteen. Although the Code does not specifically outline a maximum offence for communication, Wortley and Fischer (2002) note the maximum sentence typically to be a \$2,000.00 fine and/or incarceration up to six months.

The primary emphasis within these specific offenses is the characterization of prostitution as an illegal profit-generating activity. What becomes critical then is the level of congruency between

Canada's current legal formulation of prostitution and the cited objectives of diversion programs used by the criminal justice system (Van Brunschot, 2003, p. 225). Is it the purview of these diversion programs to discourage individuals from engaging in anonymous sex, or should the primary objectives be oriented towards eliminating the exchange of money for sexual services? Additionally, is it appropriate for the diversion programs to become part of the legal sanctioning process if such a disjuncture exists between the indictable offences and the prescribed restorative sanctions?

Program Recruitment

Beyond issues of program objectives, other concerns with success emerge through the procedures used in selecting program participants. Essentially, all programs focus on recruiting participants who are first-time offenders and are without a prior criminal record (Shivley et al., 2008; Wahab, 2006; Wortley & Fischer, 2002). In one evaluated program, certain offenders are given the opportunity to participate regardless of previous convictions, as well as some incidences of previous participants returning for a second session (Wortley & Fischer, 2002). This raises questions regarding how best to measure the success in diverting offenders and whether or not the results are inflated by participant selection methods. For example, are difficult, habitual offenders with a reduced chance of rehabilitation avoided in favour of new offenders motivated to escape a criminal record?

Another complication in recruitment derives from police arrest efforts and indirectly selecting and redirecting certain kinds of offenders to the program. Most 'sting operations' conducted by the police target street prostitution, perhaps for ease of accessibility, visibility and prevalence, narrowing the scope of possible participants to users of female street prostitutes (Lowman, 2001). However, street prostitution only constitutes one form of prostitution, which is considered to be at the bottom of the hierarchical typology of prostitution, and such sting operations also exclude clients of male prostitution. Other, 'off-street' forms of prostitution include, in their hierarchical order, bar and lounge, massage and body rub parlours, and call girl and escort services (Lowman, 2001, p. 4).

Beyond implications of prostitute typology on the characteristics of their relative patrons, Wortley and Fischer (2002) note that a vast majority of participants of the Toronto John School are members of the lower and middle working classes, non-white, immigrants, spoke English as a second language or not at all, had a high school level or lower educational background, and/or are in lower income-earning brackets (Fischer et al., 2002). They argue this creates a class of participants with a potential for reduced awareness of their legal rights (e.g., refuse participation in a diversion program) and thus, a reduced awareness of any available alternatives including disputing the original charges (Fischer et al., 2002; Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 225). They also question whether a greater motivation to escape a criminal record would be created, particularly for those participants who are seeking eventual permanent resident or citizenship status (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 402). An element of coercion would then emerge from these two issues, bringing into question the true success of the program. Are participants eager to claim or exhibit traits of diversion in order to escape punishment and the offender label (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 402), or are they truly being diverted from engaging in prostitution? Finally, there exists an implication of 'missed' or 'under represented' clients of the sex-trade, such as the upper class or affluent members of society, who may be clients of the different forms of prostitution not usually targeted by the police, or who may have a greater ability to escape conviction and dispute charges (Fischer et al., 2002, pp. 399-402; Lowman, 2001).

Program Implementation

As noted earlier, many of the participants of the Toronto program spoke English as a second language, or in some cases, not at all (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, pp. 224-225). This creates not only a barrier for communication between participants and researchers, but also between the participants and program personnel. As Wortley and Fischer (2002) note, the program coordinators often anticipate this issue by allowing the participants to bring their own interpreters (p. 225). However, as was often the case, the interpreters either failed to show up at the time of the sessions or failed to provide adequate translations for the participants, if at all (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 225). This raises significant doubt

as to whether or not these participants actually understand the material and are thus truly diverted from engaging in prostitution. Additionally, it is questionable how the program administrators truly tested the effectiveness of their specific program design. Do program administrators request feedback from participants during, immediately after or a few months after the programs have been completed? If so, how are language barriers addressed during the collection of feedback information?

With respect to the San Francisco program, an additional issue that emerged relates to unintended program effects. Many of the participants related satisfaction with the program in providing them with an opportunity to discuss and share their experiences. For them, the program fulfilled therapeutic needs and desires (Wahab, 2005, pp. 208-209). However, the participants also noted that while the program was designed to assist the prostitutes in exiting the 'business', the program presenters and counsellors were inadequately trained to provide the kind of instruction that the participants felt they needed or desired, such as training in sex-work related issues pertaining to addiction, physical and sexual abuse, trauma, mental and physical health, and relationships (Wahab, 2005, pp. 214-218). Although this example specifically relates to a prostitute diversion program, it still raises viable concerns for alternative social justice programs in general in relation to how program presenters are selected and trained to serve in their role as 'teachers' and 'counsellors'. This is especially a concern where programs such as the John School diversion program may rely on community volunteers rather than trained professionals to provide services such as legal advice, counselling and harm prevention strategies.

Measures of Success

Returning to the notion of 'success', the next area of inquiry speaks to rates of recidivism and how successful the programs are in diverting offenders from the identified criminal activity. Above, issues regarding the recruitment of participants as well as program design and implementation affecting the success of diversion programs are identified. To date, there have been few comparative studies conducted to truly test the successfulness of the diversion programs, in terms of other possible

alternatives in addressing the problem of prostitution (Lowman, 2001; Shivley et al., 2008). It is unclear whether or not the diversion programs are a better alternative to traditional forms of sanction, such as fines or incarceration (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 388).

Wortley and Fischer (2002) also note the difficulty in reviewing program and police records for an indication of reduced recidivism, as there tend to be gaps within the information as well as inconsistency in how the information is recorded (p. 228). For example, in the case of the Toronto program, the administrators note that often participants would return for a second or third enrolment in the program and the repetition would not be caught unless the individuals were recognized by the presenters (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, pp. 227-228). These incidences of recidivism may then act as indicators that offenders are not truly diverted from engaging in prostitution. Instead, diversion could simply refer to offenders avoiding onerous criminal sanctions. This brings to light other questions regarding the criminal justice process and implications of the diversion program model to the administration of justice, known as due process, and adequate sanctioning of offences.

Due Process and Legal Sanctioning

A notable criticism of the diversion programs and their position as a form of punishment is the program fee levied against the participant. All of the programs identified through research to date utilize a program fee in order to recover the costs of the program and to assist prostitutes in exiting the industry (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 393; Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 223). The amount of this fee varies across programs, with a fee of US\$350 charged in Salt Lake City (Wahab, 2006, p. 71), CAD\$400 in Toronto (Wortley & Fischer, 2002), and US\$1,000 in San Francisco (Shivley et al., 2008, p. viii). As a result, many of the programs require little funding from legal and governmental institutions, making them ideal sites for both restorative and rehabilitative justice that are free from governmental influence. The criticism, however, arises in the purpose of the fee, and whether or not it is onerous enough to qualify as a punitive fine (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 397; Wortley & Fischer, 2002, pp. 230-232), or if it should be charged at all (Fischer et al., 2002, p. 405). Wortley and Fischer (2002) note that some

program administrators admitted to reducing or waiving the \$400.00 program fee in Toronto if the participant demonstrated significant difficulty in meeting this requirement, and often the criteria for evaluating said difficulty is subjective and inconsistent (pp. 228-229).

In the case of the Toronto John School, there is little indication in the research conducted whether or not the recovered cost has been applied to or has been successful in assisting prostitutes exiting the industry. What level of accountability is applied to the diversion programs for achieving their intended goals? What criteria or level of success are they measured against, if any? Additionally, who are program administrators accountable to in the operation and success of the programs? This perhaps would be an issue related to the privatization of the sanctioning efforts of the legal system; however, one could contend it is no less important and worthwhile when evaluating these forms of alternative social control.

Theoretical Framework

As indicated earlier, the theoretical framework applied in this study is contextual constructionism, which situates itself within the social constructionist paradigm. Before addressing contextual constructionism, a general overview of this paradigm is provided, followed by a discussion on the application of social constructionist research on social problems and, finally, how these diversion programs may be understood as the result of defining prostitution as a social problem.

Social Constructionist Paradigm

With roots in phenomenology and ethnomethodology (Loseke, 2003, pp. 188-192), the social constructionist paradigm is best understood as interpretive sociological theory that focuses on knowledge creation through social processes. Specifically, the phenomenological and ethnomethodological underpinnings of social constructionism focus on how humans make sense and interpret their lives and further, how humans create and sustain an objective sense of reality (Loseke, 2003, 189). Combining these two aspects, social constructionist theories are therefore interested in the ways in which we come to know, understand and relate to our world.

The social aspects of this paradigm come into play through social artefacts that include the social and cultural norms, customs, and beliefs formulated and acquired through socialization (Greer, 1997; Loseke, 2003, pp. 190-192). Social constructionism suggests that humans contextualize and relate their understanding of the world to what has been passed down through socializing institutions (e.g., the family, schools, religion) via these social artefacts (Greer, 1997). This provides a historic element to the constructive process, as it incorporates the context in which the construction occurs (time, place, space) with the social artefacts that accumulate and are negotiated over time (Greer, 1997). The end result is a socio-historic process of knowledge creation, where we come to formulate, communicate, and negotiate our sense of an objective reality through social interaction.

Studies within social constructionism therefore pay explicit attention to how individuals come to understand and relate to any sort of social phenomenon, such as a historical event, sporting activity, or deviant occurrence. The research questions that are typically asked seek to understand how people understand, negotiate or influence knowledge and knowledge claims. For example, a social constructionist interested in the study of deviance would question how one comes to define an act as deviant, or what role institutions play in defining, regulating and imposing notions of deviance on a type of behaviour or activity. With respect to the current study, the social constructionist paradigm will be used to understand how the Kitchener John School diversion program has been defined and formulated to respond to a particular social problem.

Social Problems Research

Under the social constructionist paradigm, the definition of a phenomenon as a social problem is treated as a sort of tactical interchange between social groups who are each competing with one another to successfully define their issue as a social problem (Loseke, 2003, pp. 20-21). This interchange is often referred to as a game in which each group involved is considered a player and the ramifications hold practical, social and political weight (Miller & Holstein, 1997). Successful definitions of social problems then advance towards a new level of the game where advocates compete

with one another for the power to influence some kind of social change (Best, as cited in Miller & Holstein, 1997, p. 74; Loseke, 2003, p. 20).

Part of the work involved in defining any phenomenon as a social problem is the construction of “claims”, which are used to instil a sense of urgency and alarm should the issue remain unsolved. This aspect of social problems work, considered to be the “claims-making” process, involves the activities and methods by which individuals and groups impute grievances to some recognizable conditions (Spector and Kitsuse, as cited in Best, 1989, p. xviii). Further, it involves the characterizations of the said conditions and related social actors, referred to as typifications (Best, 1989, p. xx). These typifications provide the audiences of claims with a general frame of reference when considering one’s idea of an exemplary or typical condition or group of individuals (Loseke, 2003). For example, some groups are aggregated or “typified” as innocent and undeserving victims, while other groups are considered to be the nefarious or unwanted and undesirable villains (Loseke, 2003). In creating these typifications, any single instance of a condition or thing (e.g., a prostitute), is attributed the qualities and characteristics given to that typified group (e.g., victim).

Applying the concept of social problems work to the current study, the discourse surrounding prostitution may be understood as a continuous battle between those who claim prostitution is a social problem and those who would see it as unproblematic or even a legitimate form of work (Jenness, 1990). Within each of these claims are specific typifications about who the victims and perpetrators are, and what measures to take in order to resolve the problem. On the one hand, those who advocate prostitution as a social problem typify prostitutes as ‘victims’ of the villainous pimps and violent clients, or ‘vulnerable’ to other forms of criminal activity and victimization, such as drug abuse, human trafficking and murder. Conversely, those who advocate treating prostitution as legitimate employment resist the typifications of victim in exchange for ‘employee’, ‘tax-payer’, and ‘normal, working citizen’. The claims-making process then involves ad campaigns, lectures, and research studies or inquiries that support one side of the debate and discredit the other. Current legislation in Canada reveals that success has been granted to those who see prostitution as a legitimate social problem. One might reasonably

argue that John Schools are therefore both a product of this successful claim and of a successful claim on how to address the problem.

A Contextual Constructionist Approach

The contextual constructionist approach to the study of social problems focuses on the processual nature of claims, dealing with how they are constructed by its advocates and why only certain claims receive attention or influence public policy (Best, 1989, p. 248). The importance is to break down the “social facts” surrounding a claim and direct attention to how they are asserted, disputed and resisted throughout the claims-making process (Miller & Holstein, 1997, p. xiii). Further, contextual analysts are interested in any discrepancies that may exist between what is communicated within claims and what may be considered social facts, ascertained through the use of public opinion polls and descriptive statistics (Best, 1989, p. 247). This perspective therefore involves an evaluative component, moving beyond the content of the claims and, to an extent, assessing their merit against social reality.

This approach may be best understood by contrasting it against another approach under the social constructionist paradigm: strict constructionism. On the one hand, strict constructionists look at the substantive content of claims and are primarily interested in the perspectives of the claims-makers (Best, 1989, p. 246). To apply this approach to prostitution, a strict constructionist might investigate what claims are being made about prostitution and how the prostitutes, clients and communities affected are typified. Researchers taking this approach are not interested in the validity or accuracy of claims and suggest that an investigator who attempts to make such assessments is yet another claims-maker engaging in the claims-making process (Best, 1989, p. 246).

On the other hand, contextual constructionists are interested in this claims-making process but also recognize that if we accept that our understanding of reality is another social construction, we can assess the content of claims against what is loosely understood as our social reality (Best, 1989, pp. 246-248). Therefore, contextual constructionists focus not only on what is being said, but the social

conditions in which claims are situated. To continue with the example of prostitution, a contextual constructionist would move beyond the content of claims and typifications to contrast this information against the rate of prostitution-related incidences in a community. As a result, where strict constructionists might view the claims making process as an isolated experience, contextual constructionists encounter an opportunity for locating claims within a broader discourse of claims-making phenomenon.

Summary

The review of previous literature on diversion programs identifies a number of key issues that serve as criteria when assessing the Kitchener John School diversion program. Namely, attention is paid to the objectives of the program, as communicated by program staff, and the consistency in which the objectives are understood, defined and applied to the operation of the program. Further, issues of recruitment strategies and allowing participants to complete the program twice are noted as critical to the measuring of the program's structure and success, because a program with repeat participants isn't congruent with traditional definitions of success, being desistance from this behaviour. Under the category of program operation and implementation, any barriers to communication that may exist in the program are noted, such as lack of understanding due to a participant not understanding English, which is the language in which the diversion program is offered. As well, how the program defines and measures success within the context of the program, and the extent to which the program is perceived as punitive are explored.

To assist with the exploration and assessment of each component of the Kitchener John School, the theoretical framework of contextual constructionism is used. This theory is grounded in the social constructivist paradigm, and specifically focuses on the claims-making processes that individuals engage in when defining a phenomenon like prostitution as a social problem. This process involves defining or "typifying" the conditions related to the problem, such as the nature of the problem and the roles of the individuals involved in the prevalence of and affected by the social problem. Contrasted

against a strict constructionist approach, which is only concerned with the claims-making process engaged by the social actors (in this case, the program volunteers), contextual constructionism is also concerned with assessing the types of claims that are being made against what can be loosely understood to be social fact. To that end, all of the claims and typifications made by the program staff will be contextualized within a broader understanding of how street prostitution has been defined and interpreted within a set of social facts, as understood by the social actors.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This exploratory research seeks to understand how the Kitchener John School Diversion Program is structured and further, how it operates in light of its stated goals and objectives. To achieve this, a process evaluation approach is used to assess the congruency between program intentions and program delivery (Bachman & Schutt, 2007). The underlying question asked throughout is, ‘does the program do what it sets out in its mandate?’

The benefit of using such an evaluative procedure lies within its contextual nature; this is to say, the criteria developed for evaluation arise out of the benchmarks created by the program directors and volunteers. The end result is an evaluative assessment of the program based on its own objectives rather than an abstract or detached set of principles to measure success. In Chapter 3, the research design and methodological components for the process evaluation are outlined. Specifically, a description of the research setting, participants, and sampling techniques is provided, followed by an overview of the data collection procedures, ethical considerations and finally, the analytical techniques.

Research Setting

The Kitchener John School Diversion Program (the “John School”) has been operating in the City of Kitchener and servicing the Regional Municipality of Waterloo and surrounding areas for approximately fourteen years. During this time, the Program Director has been chiefly responsible for the structuring, organization and recruitment of volunteers, as well as the screening and processing of program participants. While the program has undergone numerous changes with respect to organization, content and volunteer staff, it is important to note that the John School continues to remain a non-profit, community-based initiative.

Participants

The primary unit of analysis for the interview component of the study are individuals serving as program volunteers and session presenters (the “staff”). These groups involve individuals who have

been working with the John School for a number of years, fulfilling roles that have either been present since program inception or have been incorporated over time. Examples of such roles include, but are not limited to, (1) assisting the Program Director with program registration and the collection of fees, (2) facilitating the progress of a school day from beginning to end, and (3) presenting key components of the School's curriculum.

A secondary group of participants includes those who are responsible for the structuring and general oversight of the John School. For this particular program, the Program Director, Karen Taylor Harrison, maintains these responsibilities. Generally, this individual looks after program scheduling, attendee screening and evaluation, and volunteer coordination.

The research participants across all groups are split relatively equally by gender, are either residents of or are employed in the Kitchener-Waterloo area, and are of mixed background in terms of occupation, educational attainment, upbringing and socio-economic status. As noted earlier, most have been involved with the program since its inception, with the exception of the police officers, who will often be present for only a few program dates.

Finally, it seems instructive to mention the role of the program attendees: the Johns. While it would have been beneficial to acquire the first-hand perspectives of the Johns as the end-users of the John School, this group was not interviewed or directly observed due to ethical considerations. For example, there were substantive concerns regarding maintaining the rights to anonymity and confidentiality of the offenders, as guaranteed by the John School. General impressions, comments and activities of the Johns, however, were noted in my field notes to assist in developing an appreciation for the goals and materials presented during program delivery (discussed further in Chapter 4).

Sampling Methods

In many ways, the sampling strategies used for data collection combine the nonprobability techniques of snowball and convenience sampling, wherein the former technique makes use of a pool of available subjects who are easily accessible and the latter relies on an initial sample of subjects to learn

about and gain access to other potential participants (Berg, 2009, pp. 50-51). Contact with the research participants developed with the assistance of the Program Director, who acted both as informant and gate keeper to the research setting (Berg, 2009, p. 206) by suggesting other potential participants and facilitating access to the Kitchener John School. The intention, however, was to rely solely upon convenience sampling, turning to those individuals who are involved with the operation of the program and are available to take part in the interview process. This decision arose out of the proximate location of the school, as well as the fact that this was the only school of its kind within Kitchener-Waterloo. Still, the end result of appealing to those available first and then learning of other participants second, provided an ease of access to the perspectives of the majority of individuals involved in the operation of the John School, which was an appreciable turn of events.

The introduction to the John School's Program Director was, first, facilitated with the help of two thesis committee members. Further assistance was received from a graduate student who came across an article in a local newspaper about the John School. He took it upon himself to facilitate contact with and access to the Program Director, by way of group email.

The first phone call with the Program Director on August 12, 2009 was approximately a half hour in length and involved discussing my interests in both academic areas and in conducting research on the John School. During this time, the Program Director asked questions on my understanding of the program, what would be achieved through the research, and what my employment and academic plans are for the future. In many ways, this initial conversation felt like an interview for permission to come in and research a program important to the director. She appeared to be assessing my motivations and intentions with respect to the school and to an extent, what my opinions of the school. The Director was assured that the purpose of the project was to find out more about the school, as there truly was not a lot of information about the program available. A face-to-face meeting was then scheduled to further discuss the focus and intent of the project and to further assess one another.

The first meeting was held in the home of the Program Director on August 21, 2009 and although the primary intention was to discuss the project, the meeting soon became an opportunity to

further assess one another and develop a strong rapport. The meeting ran for approximately six hours, during which time a number of topics were discussed, including prostitution in Kitchener, education, the drug trade, and housing concerns. Through the course of the meeting, it became clear the Program Director was also the gate keeper to the community that had been established around the John School. By developing rapport with the Director, access to the research setting and the program staff would become accessible, rather than closed off. In light of this, within an emerging research design, my intended sampling methods were modified.

Procedures for selecting other potential participants included reviewing a list of names with the Program Director during our initial meeting, and further, meeting the various individuals who were present during either of the two John School sessions attended. In the first instance, the Director sat down to review a list of individuals who had been involved with the program on a continual basis. From here, the roles of the individuals while at the John School and any potential problems that may arise due to availability, comfort of the participant or comfort of the researcher were discussed. The Program Director then contacted each of these individuals in order to receive their permission to distribute their contact information for the purpose of the study. Once consent was received, the contact information was forwarded and the recruitment process was initiated. This process involved emailing or handing out a recruitment and detailed information letter in person (see Appendix A and B respectively). Upon request, sample interview questions were also forwarded for their review and consideration (see Appendix C).

When meeting potential participants while attending sessions at the John School, introductions were facilitated by the Program Director and then the individuals would inquire after the purpose of the project, my research interests, and at times, my own assessment of ‘what’s happened so far’ in the program. These personal assessments appeared to be opportunities to build rapport with the staff. By asking for an opinion during the course of the program, the staff would assess my receptivity to the experience and the information presented during sessions. In response to these questions, my observations were offered on what has occurred and further, questions for further clarification were

asked. For example, a comment made by one of the participants would be repeated to the staff and then a chance provided to receive their interpretation of the comment. Beyond rapport, this provided an opportunity to further understand the individuals and their perspectives, and to begin anticipating how to go about the interview process, what kinds of questions to ask, and how to work with each one to get the most out of the interviews.

This process was also undertaken with individuals who had been contacted outside of the school (e.g., Public Health Nurse, Ex-Prostitute), which only seemed to strengthen each individual's interest in participating. In all instances, it was found that meeting face-to-face before the actual interview and being candid about research interests fostered a sense of trustworthiness between the researcher and the participant. This was demonstrated specifically wherein one participant agreed to do a one-on-one interview, rather than conduct the interview with the Program Director present, as originally desired.

Data Collection Process

Two data collection components are used in this process evaluation: participant observation and qualitative semi-structured interviews. Each component has been selected for its usefulness in conducting the process evaluation, as well as addressing the four research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Where the latter component is used to investigate the perspectives and meanings behind the structure and operation of the John School, participant observation is used to draw connections between what is said and understood by the staff and what is actually done during the John School sessions.

Participant Observation

The first component of the process evaluation involves observation sessions of three John School days occurring in September 2009, November 2009 and June 2010. Presenters during each of the observed sessions were generally the same, with the exception of police officers and the Crown Attorney. Namely, four different officers and three different Crown Attorneys were observed. Further, the first observation involved observing the morning sessions solely, while the second and third

involved the full school day. At first, access to the afternoon sessions was closed to outside observers due to the highly confidential nature of the sessions; it is during this time that the participants receive group counselling. By the second observation date, however, the Program Director gave consent to observe the full day and all the sessions this would entail. This could only be interpreted as an act of trust on the part of the Program Director and session presenters.

During participant observation of the sessions, the role of complete observer was undertaken, wherein the presence of a researcher was identified to the program staff and attendees, and the activities of the John School were observed without participation in the said activities. Detailed hand-written notes or “cryptic jottings” were taken of the verbal exchanges and practices that took place throughout the program day as they occurred (Berg, 2009, pp. 218-220). This involved observing each of the program sessions and breaks that occurred between sessions and paying specific attention to the words used by presenters, the body language between presenters and attendees, and the manner in which presenters addressed any issues or concerns that were raised during or after his/her session. Further, copies were obtained of any materials or diagrams provided to the attendees to assist in their acquisition of knowledge, such as pamphlets with brief information on the session topics, or contact information where more information on the session topics could be found. The only exceptions to this involve the slides used in the presentation by the Public Health Nurse and the package of condoms given to each attendee.

The purpose of focusing on the above aspects during observations is two-fold. First, by paying specific attention to not only what is being said but *how* it is being said, a unique distinction can be made between what a presenter might intend to say with their words and what is actually being communicated through mannerism and body language. This is an important topic with respect to the congruency between program aspirations and actual operation, as is addressed by the fourth research question. Further, this information also helps to explore and understand the meanings and implications behind the information presented by the staff, including the concepts and themes that emerge from their interactions, which is consistent with the theory of contextual constructionism.

Second, reviewing the materials presented and distributed during sessions will assist in formalizing the types of claims about prostitution being made via program sessions. While a content analysis of said materials was not undertaken, it is interesting to note the role the materials may play in concretizing or obscuring the messages transmitted between session presenters and the attendees. Do the materials coincide with what is being said or are they sending mixed messages? Further, do the materials promote the overarching goals of the John School? It is believed that these are important, intrinsic questions to address when responding to the fourth research question.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The second data collection method is qualitative semi-structured interviews with the Program Director and staff. There were eight scheduled interviews in total with five individuals involved in the operation of the John School, representing one-third of all individuals observed to be involved with the John School at the time of this study (approximately thirteen). The majority of interviews took place in person in a public location, such as a restaurant or cafe, or at the office of the interviewee. Two of the eight scheduled interviews, however, were conducted over the phone during the interviewee's business hours. Interviews are noted as semi-structured due to the use of an interview schedule to help guide the interview process but by no means dictate the breadth of topics explored during interviews.

Prior to all interviews, participants were provided with an informational letter setting out the purpose of the research project and the interviews, and examples of subject areas that would be explored during the said interviews (see Appendix B). This information was generally passed along in person, where interviews were scheduled during the John School sessions, or via email. A small proportion of the individuals also requested a copy of the interview questions in advance and these were provided by email. At times, this request was made for the purpose of obtaining permission to attend the interview if working for an external organization, and at other times, for the purpose of being prepared for the interview. Due to the interviews being qualitative in nature, participants were advised that the questions were merely a guideline for the flow of the interview, however other questions may

be asked as the interview progresses. This gave interviewees an opportunity to discuss unanticipated topics or facets on the subject, and also provided me with the opportunity to probe for further information or clarification.

The location of the interviews was typically chosen by the interviewee in order to provide a sense of familiarity and comfort. This tended to have mixed results. For example, where interviews took place in public locations, like a restaurant or cafeteria, some interviewees would look around before speaking, abruptly stop between words for fear of being overheard, or speak very softly until it was hard to discern responses when reviewing the audio recording later on. There were also issues with music playing in the background, making it difficult for myself and the interviewee to understand one another.

The interview questions posed were generally consistent across all interviews, with some questions added or omitted as appropriate, based on the role of the interviewee with respect to the John School. For example, questions related to the general administration of the John School were directed to the Program Director exclusively, while questions related to the content of particular sessions were directed to their respective session presenters. In general, individuals were asked about their occupation, their role in the school, any professional or informal training completed for their role, the duration of their volunteering with the school, and the purpose behind their role. At this time, interviewees were also asked to comment on some of the observed aspects of their role. For example, if the interviewee was a session presenter, they were asked to comment on the material presented and how they perceive the attendees react to the material. This helped to answer the fourth research question by clarifying the purpose of selecting or presenting certain material, and whether or not the elicited response from attendees was intentional.

To address the first, second and third research questions, participants were asked to comment on the John School and their understanding of its objectives or mandate, the role the school plays in the community and the role the school plays with respect to prostitution. This information then was contrasted against their characterization of prostitution and the extent to which they felt it was an issue

within the community. Interviewees were also asked how they would describe prostitution, what they felt were the factors that contributed to its prevalence, and finally to characterize the various individuals they felt were involved in the prevalence of prostitution (e.g., clients, prostitutes).

In terms of data collection and transcription, an audio recording device was used in all interviews and typically allowed to run for the duration of the interview. Interviewees were given the option to have the device turned off if needed, and at times, this option was exercised if, for example, there was a concern of confidentiality. In addition to the recording device, hand-written notes were also taken to supplement the data, in order to make note of non-verbal responses, such as gestures and facial expressions. This information was important to the data collection process, as it helped to validate and contextualize the responses provided by the interviewees.

During the interview process, difficulties were encountered with the recording device that caused some recording information to be distorted or completely lost. As a result, three of the five interviewees were asked to complete a second interview to collect this information again. By choosing to do a second interview rather than impute information that was distorted or lost, the integrity and accuracy of the interviewee's responses were maintained. All interviewees were very understanding of the technical difficulties and second interviews were promptly scheduled without delaying the research process. On average, the length of time between the first and second interview was approximately one month and, in general, the data collected in the first and second interviews were very similar with few inconsistencies. The interviews also provided an opportunity to obtain greater detail on different topics, as interviewees appeared more familiar and comfortable in speaking on certain topics at length. For example, when asked how a session might have changed since the first John School, respondents would provide more detail in their examples (e.g., specific instances, personal thoughts and reactions) in the second interview than in the first interview, where examples tended to be general or vague.

The interviews ranged in length from forty to eighty minutes and were voluntary in nature with interviewees completing an informed consent form prior to the interview commencing (see Appendix D). In addition, the public location tended to provide an opportunity for pre-interview conversation to

ease the interviewee into the questions, as well as post-interview conversation to help release any tension that may have accumulated in answering questions during the interview, such as one's perspective on prostitution, or their assessment of the school's strengths and weaknesses. Following the interview, a feedback letter was given to each interviewee, thanking each for their time and providing contact information should they have any questions or concerns.

The Ethics Review Process

This project has undergone a number of methodological revisions to ensure the data collection and analysis adhered to the ethical principles articulated by the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research on Human Participants. Part of the referenced revisions arose from personal concerns regarding scope and timing: how much could be done within the project timeline, and how far should the project go to answer its research questions? A larger part, however, was due to ethical considerations. It was during the ethics review process that the concerns of scope and timing were concretized and while the process was extensive and exhaustive, the final product is one that is felt to be methodologically appropriate to address the research questions.

The initial project design was to include the collection of general demographic and offender information for the purpose of contextualizing the claims made by the program volunteers. By situating their claims within a broader understanding of *who* the program targets, it was felt that one could better understand *why* the program has been developed and progressed in the manner that it has. To achieve this end, the initial project methodology included a self-administered questionnaire, together with the participant observation sessions and the semi-structured interviews discussed earlier. The questionnaires would have been used to collect this information from the Johns, as program attendees, and would be completed anonymously at the end of the John School day.

After considerable work and revisions, this initial project design was modified at the request of the University of Waterloo's Ethics Review Board. Although this was a discouraging obstacle, the reasons for the denial of this methodological component were understandable. For example, it was felt

that by collecting extensive demographic information from the attendees, the anonymity of the Johns could be compromised. Further, it was also felt that some of the questions asked were far too sensitive and not necessarily critical to address the research questions in this process evaluation.

Appreciating the validity of these issues, it was determined that removing the questionnaire portion of the project would best resolve these concerns without compromising the integrity of the project. As a result of these and other minor amendments, the final research design and methods use qualitative interviews of program volunteers and participant observation of the John School sessions.

Data Analysis

During the data collection process, interview recordings and observation notes were transcribed and prepared for analysis. The transcription of interviews involved importing the audio files onto a personal computer and then using a foot pedal and audio program to control the speed and playback of the file. This allowed for the transcription of interviews into a Microsoft Word document with relative ease and efficiency, cutting down the transcription process to one hour for every half hour of audio recording. On the other hand, transcriptions of observation notes took relatively less time and involved fleshing out shorthand notes taken during the observation sessions and typing them into a Word document.

After transcribing all data and once the majority of data collection was completed, each file was imported into NVivo 9 for the purpose of conducting the data analysis. The initial review of data began with taking note of any reoccurring concepts or themes that presented itself through the data, which were then used to guide subsequent review and analysis of data. These notes include general ideas on what is being communicated by the staff during interviews and observations, such as ways of phrasing prostitution or how the program is characterized. This analytical procedure, known as “open-coding” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990/2004), was used to gain a broad understanding of the data, rather than focus on specific details. Once a list was compiled, each research question was then revisited and each concept or theme on the list categorized, based on the associated research question.

Accordingly, one research question was selected to work with at a time and the transcriptions were reviewed again, keeping the research question in mind and looking for specific concepts that related to the research question that would in turn help to uncover and address any questions arising from the data. For example, when focusing on the second research question, any constructions and characterizations of prostitution were noted when reading through observation notes and interview transcripts. At the end of the review and reading process, separate lists of concepts and themes were created for each research question (treated as categories) that could be explored. This process of intensively reviewing the data, organizing the concepts gleaned through open coding, and formulating responses to questions arising from the data, is referred to as axial coding (Berg, 2009, pp. 356-358; Strauss & Corbin, 2004). These lists were then compared to the first list of general themes and concepts to make note of any overlaps or missing themes (see Appendix E).

The final stage in the analysis process was then to create “free nodes” and “tree nodes” in NVivo to represent the concepts/themes and categories respectively, which were generated in the coding process. These notes are used to categorize or code specific parts and quotes within transcriptions, create dimensions within concepts and clarify relationships within and across open codes, a process referred to as axial coding (Berg, 2009, pp. 356-358). After categorizing parts of a transcription, the program created a bank of quotations assigned by each node. For example, the node for “prostitution as consequent” had approximately twenty transcription references that could be used in the write-up process. As a result, once this coding process was complete, there were numerous references and quotations available, which were used for each of the concepts and themes explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

Summary

The research design selected for the project incorporates a process evaluation of the Kitchener John School Diversion Program, using an exploratory framework. The general thrust of the project is to first formulate an understanding of what the John School intends to achieve through its operation, and

then compare this to how the program operates in practice. In order to do this, the research methodology employs two data collection techniques. The first is semi-structured interviews with the Program Director and staff, which run approximately one hour in length and occur either in person or over the phone. Second, participant observation of three program dates provide descriptive accounts of how the program works, what presenters say during program sessions, and how the participants react to the information presented.

To gain access to the research setting, a number of conversations were held with the Program Director, who also served as the gatekeeper and informant for the school. This duality of roles modified the sampling techniques to incorporate elements of snowball and convenience sampling. With the assistance of the Program Director, permission to observe the full program on the second and third observation day was granted, as well as introductions to program staff facilitated in order to meet with potential interviewees, provide information about the research project, and if there was interest in participating, coordinate potential interview dates. Despite technical difficulties with the recording device and interview cancellations, data were collected from eight interviews with five interviewees and observations of three program sessions.

Transcriptions of audio-recordings of interviews and observation notes have been coded using NVivo 9 software. The data analysis involved reviewing the data a number of times to generate a list of concepts and themes that emerge from the data. The software then assisted with the coding process through the management of nodes and categorization of quotations with the said nodes. Once the categorization process was complete, a database of quotations and references was available for use with the final write-up.

Chapter 4

Operating the John School

Before exploring the claims-making processes of the John School, how the school works in the context of addressing a social problem is discussed. This involves outlining out how the program works, looking at the goals and objectives of the school as articulated by the program staff and how each of these objectives is incorporated in the actual operation of the John School. The following analysis incorporates the evaluative component of this study and compares the ideals of the program against how the program actually works, thereby addressing the first research question. To do this, the key elements of the school's operation and the objectives of the school are set out, followed by a summary of how both parts fit together, if at all.

Program Operation

The organization of the John School can be broken down into four distinct parts: (1) participant recruitment, (2) pre-program interviews, (3) program sessions, and (4) post-program interviews. Through continued observation and the discovery process of the interviews with program personnel, the actual process and operation of the John School involves many more facets, such as program aftercare, staff recruitment and monetary donations to name a few. For the purpose of clarity and organization, the following discussion is broken down into the four categories numbered above, followed by two broader categories of post-program follow-up and administration to incorporate these other facets that contribute to the operation of the school.

Participant Recruitment

The primary method of recruitment for the John School involves sting operations by the WRPS assigned to the Kitchener downtown area. The operations consist of a female officer disguised as a prostitute, officers and police cruisers concealed from view and an audio-recording device to aid in the collection of evidence. Best described by the Program Director, the process of these sting operations typically involves the following:

The first thing that happens to them is that the female officer will say, 'Well, let's meet around the corner over there'. So the guys, either they go somewhere else, they go around the corner, or wherever the hell they're going to do – oh, but they don't get there very far before a squad car pulls up and uh, they're arrested and they're taken out of the vehicle, slammed on the hood of the vehicle, handcuffs put on them and, I mean, that's their first introduction. They are beside themselves. I mean, they are beyond scared. They've said, 'I thought I was going to have a heart attack. I've never been so scared in my whole life'.

It is unclear at what point the John School becomes involved, however when an operation is planned and executed by the police, the Program Director is notified by the Crown Attorney of the total number of men who have agreed to attend the program. This allows the Program Director to begin the preparations for the John School, such as printing of materials, determining a date for the program and notifying volunteers of the school date. It is between the time of receiving information from the Crown Attorney and the actual date of the John School that the participants must contact and meet with the Program Director.

For some volunteers and participants, one point of contention with this recruitment process is the entrapment scenario the police employ to catch the men red-handed. While this interaction is noted as highly charged with emotions such as anger, resentment and embarrassment, there has been few alternative recruitment methods developed or employed to date.

[One volunteer] identified with these guys and she saw these guys as total victims and she saw these guys as victims of a sting operation. And I tried and tried and tried and tried and tried to sit with her and talk to her about it and I said, "If you can come up with a better plan, we'll listen. The police will listen. I'll listen. If the police won't listen, I'll push them to listen. If you've got a better idea about how we can do this, then tell us". Well nobody ever has got a better idea. No John is going to turn himself in. You know, and no woman is going to turn a guy in. So excuse me, explain how we're going to get this done.
[Program Director]

Next, the men are taken to court and provided with the option to either defend their case or to participate in the John School to avoid a criminal record. For those who select the John School, they are instructed to contact the Director to set up an interview date and to obtain further information about the program.

So then [the men] get in touch with me because their job is to get in touch with me, it's not for me to follow that through, although I do, because better off I follow it through than them not make it to the program because they are too stupid to, you know, make the phone call or they're embarrassed or whatever. [Program Director]

Once the men have been contacted and an interview date with the Director is scheduled, all that is left for the men to do is to wait for their meeting with the Director.

Pre-Interview

By the time the men have their scheduled meeting with the Program Director, attitudes have hardened and emotions are negatively charged towards the entire process. For example, the men may have negative feelings towards their arrest (e.g., painful, terrifying, embarrassing), their court proceedings, having to conceal or confront their partner about the criminal proceedings, or the fact that they must now participate in a program. It is then the objective of the Director to screen the participants for program suitability and begin the rehabilitative process that the John School seeks to provide. Originally, pre-program interviews were conducted by an intake worker from an organization that assisted with the founding of the John School. Following a number of complaints regarding the poor attitude of the men – for example, becoming disruptive during sessions or being rude to volunteers, as suggested by the Program Director – the original interviewer was dismissed from the position and the Program Director has since exclusively performed the role of interviewing the men.

The preliminary rehabilitative process includes having the men fill out their basic information, such as marital status, age, occupation, city of residence, and the location of arrest (see Appendix F). If the men state they are from outside of the Kitchener area where they were arrested, they will be asked to explain why they came to Kitchener in order to pick up a prostitute. This information is collected by the John School for the purpose of internal research and further educating the staff on the participants of the program, which then in turn assists the staff in modifying the program to better suit the needs of its participants. Additionally, the men are required to sign a contract that acknowledges their guilt in the commission of the offence and their participation in the diversion program (see Appendix F).

I make absolutely certain that we read that contract because to me, it is really important that they understand we're going to give you something, but you have to give us something. And that something is, they've got to participate. They've got to be willing participants and they've got to admit that they did what they were accused of doing. [Program Director]

Following this, the men are then provided with a pre-test they must complete in the presence of the Director (see Appendix G). The purpose of the test is to assess the men's knowledge on the female prostitutes, courts, community and on sexually transmitted infections ("STIs"). Responses are then discussed between the men and the Director, at which time the men are corrected on the facts of prostitution they might have responded to incorrectly on the test.

Somehow they still think they're still – they still think they're immune somehow; they're going to play the Russian roulette game, you know. ... So when I tell them about [rates of HIV among older men and women], you know, I talk to them about those statistics, then they just, you know, their eyes just get really big. [Program Director]

Lastly, the Director reviews the process of the John School day and the different sessions that will occur, all of which is set out in a brochure provided to the men during the interview (see Appendix H). During their discussions about the John School day, the men have the opportunity to begin discussing their reasons for picking up a prostitute.

... I ask them, "How'd you get- how did you get here?" Because I don't buy the theory that this, that there's not a reason. There's a reason why- they may not know the reason, they may not want to tell me. I don't – it's not really necessary that they tell me, but the reason for asking them, and I say this to them, is to get them to start to think. So that by the time they get to the school, they're already trying to start to receive this information, so they'll start to apply it to themselves. They'll start to see themselves in context to what they're being taught. And I found that that's really made a difference by subtly, sort of, subtly making them understand that in order to get anything out of this day, they've got to do – they've got to do some work. They've got to do some work, they've got to look at this strictly from their own self, and figure out what has motivated them to get the date. [Program Director]

By speaking to the men about their reasons for communicating with a street prostitute, the Program Director hopes to have the men start thinking about their responsibility and accountability for their

arrest. This will allow the men to be more receptive to the information that is presented to them during the John School, thereby facilitating rehabilitation.

Pre-Program Interviews typically are scheduled to occur between the Director and one participant at a time. This restriction may be lifted in case a spouse of the participant wishes to participate in the diversion process, or if time requires more than one man to be scheduled at a time. The length of interviews is not set and varies depending on the willingness of the men to discuss the particulars of their circumstances and whether or not other interviews are scheduled that day. Where interviews may have two men instead of one, the men may take more time to open up, but eventually engage in dialogues with one another and begin to discuss their circumstances and attitudes with one another. The Program Director specifically notes that the majority of interviews with more than one man are successful and positive experiences for the men.

John School Day

Registration

At 8:00 am on a Saturday, the men line up outside of the community center and wait to register for the John School program. For most men, this is the first time they will see one another face-to-face. As they approach the counter, the Program Director and one other person sits at a window and takes down their information. The amount paid to register and complete the program is generally \$500 per participant and may be paid upfront by cheque or cash or paid in instalments. Observers, volunteers and any spouses of the men who wish to attend are not required to pay.

Interestingly, the required fee has been reduced in the past at the discretion of the Program Director. The flexibility in the cost of the program appears to support the principle that the John School should be rehabilitative rather than punitive in its operation.

They have to be willing to pay that fee. Now, there is some latitude with regards to that, because it depends on what the circumstances [are]. I'm not going to get blood from a stone and I'm not going to fail a guy because he can't afford the \$500 for whatever the reason. And if he's stupid enough to [lie to] me, then he's stupid. You know, that's his problem. I don't spend a lot of time worrying about it. Periodically

it ticks me off because I put a lot of work into this, but at the end of the day, you know what, I can't do anything about it and it's his loss. If he's going to lie at this juncture about his inability to pay, it's his problem. [Program Director]

For that reason, the fee is considered to be a donation required for registration, not a penalty or fine for the commission of an offence. Funds are then used to meet costs associated with program operation. Then, any surplus funds are donated to other programs related to the remediation of prostitution, such as those designed to assist prostitutes in exiting the industry.

Introduction

Once registration is complete, the men are seated at the 'U' shaped table arranged in an open space on the left side of the building. Chairs are arranged around the table to face the center where a smaller table and chair has been set up for the session presenters. There is also a projector and white board set up before the men. On the right side of the building and behind the men is a sitting area for observers and volunteers to view the sessions in progress. It is from this location in the room that all observational data were recorded as field notes.

An overview of the day is presented by two plain-clothes police officers who tend to work within the area of prostitution and drug-related offences. Both officers are dressed casually, are relaxed and stand either against the wall where the white board is or to the side behind one row of men. The officers chosen to lead the sessions tend to vary with each session due to officer availability, interest in volunteering with the program, and the discretion of their superior officer, though it was unclear what position this officer held. While the officers may change from program to program, the content and flow of the introduction appears fairly consistent.

The first opportunity to participate in the program occurs during the introduction, when the men are asked to introduce themselves by first-name only. They are then asked questions regarding their occupation, what city they are from, if they are married or in a relationship, and if they have any children. Participants are also asked why they are at the school that day, where they were arrested, and at times, how they were arrested. In one session, the men are asked to stand when speaking, while in

other sessions, they are allowed to remain seated. In all instances, the behaviour of the men varies between shame and embarrassment to indignation and anger.

It is during this time that the detectives disabuse the men of any interest in proclaiming their innocence or disputing the nature of their arrest; it is clearly outlined and stated that the purpose of their presence that day is to listen and learn about what they have done and why it is seen as a problem. Detectives also stress that all individuals conducting the sessions are volunteers who could be doing other things with their families rather than running the sessions.

After the introductory period, the detectives provide an overview of the history of the John School and of the problem of prostitution in the Kitchener downtown area. Their depiction of the problem tends to include describing the women as cunning, violent and diseased, the motivation for prostitution as relating to drug addiction, not sex or money, and that the role of the men is to feed someone's addiction and further enable the drug trade in Kitchener. Apart from the pre-interview, the introduction session is the largest source of information on how the program volunteers problematize prostitution. Through mannerisms, choice of words and the direction of conversation with the men, a clear picture of prostitution is drawn and presented. It is also here that the men receive an initial label of villain or enemy, as they are depicted as the enablers of a dirty, prominent and unsafe problem. This theme will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Finally, the detectives provide a rough agenda for the day. The term 'rough' is used, as the sequence of presentations tends to vary based on what time the volunteers arrive at the school and how long each session runs. As each morning session begins or ends, the detectives facilitate by introducing presenters, following up presentations with questions regarding the content of the sessions, and if required, filling in between sessions with further information on the problem of prostitution.

Former Prostitute & Former Muscle / Pimp

While the next two sessions are run separately, the presentations conducted by a former prostitute and former "muscle" tend to follow one another and cover generally the same information.

Specifically, both the ex-prostitute and the ex-muscle offer detailed accounts of their experience before, during and after their roles in the sex trade. During these sessions, the participants remain silent and do not ask questions. Both presenters speak clearly and without prejudice when discussing their experiences. There are no handouts provided to the participants during these sessions.

The former prostitute begins by going over the dangers and risks that one undertakes when purchasing the services of a street prostitute. Having been a street prostitute herself, this information tends to be anecdotal and incorporates many personal experiences and stories she has heard from others on the streets. The noted dangers include the risk of sexually transmitted infections, theft, extortion, and violence. Men are also reminded that the women are not interested in engaging in meaningful relationships or performing the sex acts, but to instead acquire money to pay for their drugs. The image drawn for the men represents one of danger, disease, drugs, violence and suffering.

Similarly, the ex-muscle provides an account of the violent and often unknown aspect of prostitution: robbery and assault. The session features narratives of prostitutes who hire men, known as “muscles”, to protect and aid them in stealing money from the Johns. The muscles would wait off to the side and when signalled, they would pull the men out of the cars and assault them to take their money and identification. Later on, the muscles would visit the house of the victims and rob them of their possessions, further acquiring the assets and funds necessary to feed their own drug habit. The muscles are also described as addicts who share in the purchase and use of drugs with the street prostitutes and can also become boyfriends to the women.

Although the structure and objective of each lecture remains the same, the content tends to vary based on what the presenters have observed in the previous sessions, such as the kinds of questions the participants have asked, the kinds of attitudes the participants have displayed, and at times, the general atmosphere of the morning sessions. For example, the participants during one program day displayed generally sympathetic and understanding demeanours throughout the morning. As a result, both presenters were soft-spoken, clear, concise and brief in their lectures, with sessions lasting five to ten minutes. On another day, the participants collectively had a poor attitude and appeared uninterested in

admitting their own guilt. The presenters were then more abrupt, passionate, and at times, crude with their accounts. In these instances, sessions ran from ten to fifteen minutes in length.

Despite this fluctuation in tone and demeanour, again, the message and intent of both sessions remains the same. Participants are provided with first-hand accounts that are meant to corroborate the information presented by the other presenters, while also providing a different perspective on what the participants might consider to be a harmless, victimless crime. Here, the participants are typified again as villains, but also as victims of violence, disease and criminal activity, while prostitutes are typified as dangerous, diseased, ruthless and violent. At the end of both sessions, the men appear withdrawn and quieter than they were when they first arrived at the school.

Crown Attorney

Next, a representative from the Crown Attorney's office provides information to the men about the legal process that they are currently involved in. This discussion revolves around what crime they have been specifically charged with, the proceedings they have been through and will go through upon successful completion of the program, and what they will have to look forward to, if they do not complete the program. The Crown Attorney also discusses the ramifications of their actions on themselves and any individuals or family members living with them. A consistent example provided to the men is the difficulty in running a day care out of one's home should a participant's spouse be interested in doing so.

Participation during this session tends to be higher than in other morning sessions, as the men have a number of questions regarding their criminal records. Specifically, they are interested in when the criminal charges will be dropped, when it will be taken off of their record, and what, if anything will be still visible on their record. The Crown Attorney advises the men that a note will remain on their record stating that the men have been charged with this offence, but that the charges have been withdrawn. So, while a conviction will not be present, there will still be a trace of the offence on their

records. Most men appear discomforted by this idea, either by expressing anger or annoyance through facial expressions or by shaking their heads, but do not question it any further.

In at least two of the three observed session days, there were discussions as to what the men could expect in terms of legal process and treatment, had the program not existed or had they been charged for the same offence in a different community. Examples provided include names and license plates published in the paper or online, video cameras on street corners in prostitution-centric areas, and video recordings of men entering and exiting the court room. Again, most men appear discomforted by this notion, but do not express any appreciation for being spared this embarrassment. Instead, the most common reaction to this information is quiet shock, anger or disbelief.

Generally, the information provided in this section is fairly standard and consistent throughout each observed session. The overall objective appears to be educational and informative, with rare moments of encouragement or judgment towards accountability in committing an offence or diversion from committing future offences. Rather, the Crown Attorney seems to serve an instructional role that allows the men to further understand the legal situation they are in and ask questions to receive clarification.

Public Health Nurse

Like the session with the Crown Attorney, the session conducted by the Public Health Nurse is fairly standardized and educational in nature. The structure of the session involves a PowerPoint presentation to direct the progress of the session, as well as a slideshow presentation depicting symptoms and indicators of STIs. At the end of the session, the men are provided with a 'care' package that includes clinic information (see Appendix I), a brochure on how to use a condom (see Appendix J), and a set of condoms for personal use.

During the session, the men are presented with statistics on occurrence and prevalence of STIs in the Waterloo Region, together with information regarding the health risks and concerns involved with unprotected sex. The range of topics discussed includes what different types of infections exist,

how to identify if you have an infection, what to do if you have an infection, and how to prevent contracting an infection in the future. Aside from statistical information that is updated yearly, the materials and content used during the session are identical each time the program is delivered.

I'm not telling you not to have sex, you should be having sex. That's normal, that's healthy. But, in this particular choice, it may lead to contracting a [sexually transmitted disease]. You know, and for them to assess their own risk and also to give them resources as to what they - where they can go to get screened, what to expect when they get there in terms of privacy, and what would the follow-up be like, not just a lecture. [Public Health Nurse]

Overall, the tone of the session is unbiased and neutral, with the presenter speaking in a clear and concise manner. There are very few elements of humour or lightness. Instead, the atmosphere tends to be sombre and quiet, with a small number of questions, comments or responses from the men when invited. The message of the session is sex positive, wherein the men are encouraged to engage in safe, healthy and non-risky sexual relations. There is no indication that sex with a street prostitute is morally or biologically wrong, only that one must be cognisant of their partner's sexual history and health before engaging in sexual relations. In such a manner, the session acts as an educational, diversionary mechanism to encourage a change in behaviour.

It is also important to note that while the session is presented without judgment or bias and that while the message is sex positive, the style and format of the presentation garners a varying set of responses from the men. From observing the reactions, it appears that the most impactful segment of the session is the slideshow presentation where the men are shown pictures of individuals with different STIs (for example, one set of images in particular shows an infant with infections around the eyes, mouth and limbs, as a result of the herpes simplex virus). In all observed program days, a number of participants appear disturbed by the images by pulling back, wincing or frowning. Further, at least one man in each group turns away or turns his head downward and refuses to watch the presentation until he hears the machine change slides. Although it has not been confirmed if this reaction is intentional, it appears that the presentation serves a further diversionary purpose by shocking or disturbing the men into reconsidering their actions. The price of education and diversion appears to not be without a set of

disturbing images. By providing these strong mental images to the participants, the notion of prostitution as a social problem affecting many different groups, including families, is solidified.

Session and Lunch Breaks

Throughout the morning, the men are provided with a number of breaks that last from five to fifteen minutes in length. The men are permitted to exit the building to smoke, obtain water or coffee provided by the community center, or to visit the bathroom. At the same time, volunteers use this time to set up or take down their session materials, visit with one another to discuss the program, or to answer any questions the men might have. In some instances, questions brought up during breaks become the subject of discussion after the break, when the men have reassembled at the table and await the next presenter.

The men are also given a one-hour lunch break, during which they are asked to leave the building and return at 1:00 pm sharp. They are provided with a list of restaurants in proximity of the community centre and are free to do as they please, so long as they return at the appointed time. Conversely, program volunteers remain behind and have lunch together, using the time to discuss various issues with one another, such as staffing issues in other programs the volunteers may be involved with, and relax after the morning sessions. There is a strong sense of camaraderie and light heartedness during the break, as volunteers unwind, share observations, and take their leave for the day.

Generally, the lunch break is also used as a time for debriefing. Once the Counsellor arrives, staff will discuss the events of the morning, review the progress of the sessions and the receptivity of the participants to the information they are receiving. This appears to assist the Counsellor by providing her with information that might facilitate the counselling process, such as identifying any participants who are particularly resistant or withdrawn or identifying subject areas that the men are not receptive to. This appears to be the only time that a presenter is provided with briefing information prior to his or her session.

Counsellor

The final session of the day takes up the entire afternoon and involves group counselling for all participants that is facilitated by a certified and experienced Counsellor. The session was not included in the original program model, but was incorporated not long after the program's inception to provide a rehabilitative aspect to the school. It is designed to augment the morning sessions by providing the men with an opportunity to open up and discuss what they have learned from the morning about themselves and the crime they have committed. Further, the men are encouraged to speak their minds about their life circumstances and their arrest, to direct the conversation if they are willing, and to listen to one another. This session tends to run for 3 hours, from the end of the lunch break to about 3:30 or 4:00 pm, depending on the progress of the group and the number of breaks. At the end of the session, the men are given a handout with information on the materials discussed during the session, as well as counselling services available in the Region (see Appendix K).

The Counsellor's role also tends to vary based on the session. If the men are very interested in participating and moving forward, the Counsellor's role will be to facilitate the discussion, to provide opportunities for the men to participate, and to provide suggestions or feedback on what they can do to improve their situation. On the other hand, if the men are withdrawn and quiet, the Counsellor's role will be to engage in one-on-one discussions with each man, to ask questions and continue to probe, prompt and facilitate the discovery process. The presentation of information also varies based on the progress of the session. If the men are reluctant to speak and engage in discussion, the Counsellor will spend more time going over the prepared materials for the session.

In terms of what has been prepared, the Counsellor's session features a discussion on problem behaviour and how to identify and break one's cycle of offending. This cycle is related to the current offence for which the men are being penalized and to any other aspect of one's life where specific activities or behaviours lead to unwelcome results. This includes addictions to substances, such as cigarettes or drugs, or behaviour that distances oneself from his/her family. The Counsellor provides

her own smoking habit as an example to illustrate her patterns of addiction and the offending cycle. The objective behind this format is to encourage the men to reflect on their own choices that led them to the John School and further, what choices they may make in the future to avoid similar results. This may include seeing one's participation in prostitution as an offence, or as part of an overall sexual addiction, as was admitted by one participant during a counselling session. There is also a strong sense of accountability and ownership in one's present circumstances and the ability to change those circumstances in the future.

I think my goal for my session is always to provide the opportunity for men to ask questions around why they made the choices that they did, and possibly look at what may be contributing to making that choice from their life, that's a barrier for them having positive choices in their life. [Counsellor]

Responses from the men tend to vary based on where the men are in their own experiences, be it with the program or in their personal lives. For some, it is a positive and rewarding experience. For others, they are defensive and do not feel the Counsellor has any right or position to be interfering with their business. Overall, however, the feedback remains positive.

... I would say the vast majority of feedback that I get, even with the folks that are pretty defensive, has been pretty positive in the sense that people are saying, "You know, you made me think". Or, that for some who have maybe have some backgrounds in abuse or have backgrounds in other problematic areas where they've now seen how that can be potentially connected to this decision that landed them in John School in the first place, that they start to say, "Okay well, I didn't know it was connected". And so, I think that the feedback has been pretty positive and I'm appreciative of the fact that the men tend to be pretty honest with me, whether that's challenging me a lot, which I love, or whether it's just that they're openly sharing about some really difficult pieces in their life. So the feedback has been very positive for the most part and I would say that they appreciate the fact that it's a pretty direct and pretty honest approach to things. [Counsellor]

Moreover, many of the men were observed to say or agree with other participants that the afternoon session allows the men to feel less like 'criminals'. The morning sessions are often compared to the afternoon by the Johns with feelings of acceptance and relief during the latter session, while the former are described as important, but similar to 'shock treatment', are negative and laden with

judgment from the presenters and their demeanour. It appears that while the men appreciate the validity of the morning sessions, they are far more receptive to the rehabilitative nature of the afternoon counselling. Here they have the opportunities, encouragement and support to achieve some kind of meaningful change in order to resist the unwanted aspects of prostitution they have been educated about in the morning.

End of Program Day

At the end of the day, the Director often provides the men with a few closing comments regarding the school, their participation and what will happen next. The exchange tends to be very light-hearted, with some humour or jokes to help reduce the tension from the counselling session. During this time, most of the men are expected to set up their exit interviews, or agree to get in touch with the Director to schedule one within the next few weeks.

The men are also asked to help clean up the space and return it to the standard set-up for the community centre. As each man exits the building, some men hang around to speak with the Director, the Counsellor, or the other men. There is a general sense of ease during this time as well as camaraderie. Conversation tends to revolve around scheduling the termination interview, further counselling opportunities, and personal accounts of different experiences related and unrelated to the program.

Termination Interview

The post-program or “termination” interview is ideally scheduled at least two weeks after the John School program to allow the men time to think over the information received. However, the timing of the interviews is heavily influenced by the court system and a two week period is often more generous than what is permissible by the courts. This is attributed by the Program Director to the interests of the Crown Attorney and the Judges to move the men through the court system quickly rather than delay proceedings any further.

During the interview, the men are once more tested on their knowledge of prostitution, the law, and the legal consequences, using a test identical to the one used in the pre-program interview (see Appendix L). As with the pre-program interview, the test results are reviewed by the Director and the participants are given the opportunity to discuss their responses. It is found that the men tend to provide more incorrect answers on the test during the second interview than with the first interview. Most do not notice that it is the same test given in the first interview, and tend to spend more time rationalizing their responses. It is suspected by the Director that this change in testing prowess and behaviour is attributable to the men's change in attitude. In particular, the Director rationalizes that, prior to the John School, the men tend to be angry at their arrest and at the idea of having to attend the program. Once they have attended the sessions and had a chance to internalize the information, it is further speculated that the men appear more interested in providing the best possible answer than just 'getting it done', which in turn mitigates any observed decrease in testing aptitude.

Following the post-test, the men are then asked to evaluate the John School program by filling out an evaluation sheet (see Appendix M). The purpose of the evaluation is to assess the program from their perspective, discuss who they felt was the most effective presenter, what they have learned from the program, and what changes or new topics they would recommend for future John School programs. They are also asked to state whether they will make use of a prostitute in the future and if they will use protection during future sexual relations. The Program Director notes that, if the men are going to cry, they will do so at this point. The men have also expressed remorse for any disrespectful behaviour they might have shown throughout the process. Finally, any issues with respect to payment of program fees will be dealt with at this time.

After the interview, the Director determines if the men 'pass' or 'fail' the John School. This information is then passed to the Crown Attorney, who facilitates the remainder of the diversion process. This includes attending at court to withdraw the charges, preparing the necessary paperwork to update the system, and if requested, preparing a letter for the men to hold on to if they need to cross the border or do work that requires a detailed background check. If the men receive a pass from the John

School, they are not required to attend court. There was no indication how many participants have received a 'pass' or 'fail' from the program. However, the Program Director has admitted to allowing one or two men to repeat the program, as it was felt that the men would receive more from the program in terms of diversion than from the criminal proceedings.

Post-Program Follow-Up

At present, there are virtually no official measures put in place to follow up with the men after they have successfully completed the program. At the time of data collection, a new feature of the program has been created for the most recent set of program participants. Specifically, a voluntary "After Care" program has been set up for the men as a way of continuing their counselling sessions at the John School. These sessions are to be run by the John School's Counsellor, facilitated by the Program Director, and funded by the John School.

Unofficially, there have also been situations where participants of the program will follow up with the volunteers, seeking them out in their place of work or by alternative means to provide an update on their living conditions and lifestyle. Outside of these encounters, program staff do not have immediate, reliable access to information on whether the program has impacted the participants in the way intended.

Administration

Behind the scenes of the John School, there are a number of administrative components that contribute to the overall operation of the school. These items include volunteer recruitment, program and session coordination, and financial management. In all cases, the Program Director is chiefly in charge of managing and executing key decisions regarding the program, such as the retaining or dismissal of volunteers, where funds will be allocated, and even the recruitment of the participants of the program.

To assist with the decision-making aspects of the program, the John School has an official committee that shares information and discusses key issues through informal means, such as through

email or unofficial meetings. At the time of data collection, there are seven members on the committee, with two new members to join in the future. The types of individuals who sit on the committee appear to be individuals involved with other social service programs in the community and/or have interest in the John School program, either through direct experiences or through an interest in seeing a change in the community. As indicated by one committee member, there has only been one formal meeting of the committee members but plans are in the works to make these meetings more frequent. Another member suggested that meetings previously occurred after each of the John School days, but of late, have not been occurring as frequently. Overall, the committee assists in the organization of the John School by discussing key issues with respect to the program, including what sessions should be included, when programs should be scheduled, subject to the sting operations, and where funds collected from participants should be allocated.

Volunteer recruitment appears to be an administrative component that resides in the hands of different individuals involved in the organization of the program. Specifically, the appointment of detectives to facilitate the morning sessions is handled by the WRPS rather than the Program Director or committee members. Similarly, the Crown Attorney chosen to present information during the school appears to be influenced both by availability and the interests of the Crown Attorney's office. The ex-prostitute and ex-muscle are volunteers from the community, recruited through their association with the Program Director, and the Public Health Nurse is appointed by the Region of Waterloo Public Health. The afternoon Counsellor appears to have been recruited by way of recommendation and personal association with the Program Director.

In situations where a program volunteer does not appear to embody the objectives of the program in their words and deeds, which may be evidenced either by observing the volunteer's sessions or in speaking with attendees during the termination interviews, the Program Director works with the individual to find common ground and manage the attitudinal conflict. Where a resolution cannot be reached, the volunteer may be dismissed by the Program Director. An example of this process may be

seen in an earlier example with the pre-program interview's original intake worker and the issues with participant attitude.

Session coordination appears to fall within the managerial responsibilities of the Program Director, with input provided by the program's committee. There have been a number of notable changes to the program within the first few years of its founding, yet with the exception of the new After Care program in development, there have been very few substantial changes since that time. The changes to the program have included incorporating the counselling aspect to the program, shifting all educational and informative sessions to the morning and permitting the counselling sessions to dominate the afternoon, reducing the number of participants per program day from an average of 20-40 to 5-10 attendees, hosting the sessions in a smaller, more intimate setting as opposed to a large gymnasium, and finally, encouraging more positive dialogue between presenters and participants throughout all sessions.

With respect to the allocation of funds, the John School is similar to other John Schools in North America in that it donates the monies yielded from running the school to other programs related to prostitution. For example, the Program Director has mentioned that the John School periodically donates money to other programs that assist women in exiting the sex trade and/or dealing with addictions. Further, money has been donated to Planned Parenthood to put on a play for schools regarding sexuality for teens, as well as to the Bridge program in Cambridge, specifically to help adult students prepare for entry into college-level programs. As mentioned previously, this money is considered to be a one-time donation to auxiliary programs and recipients are cautioned not to expect future funding. This appears to suggest the John School's should function on a needs basis and run sessions only as they are required to deal with street prostitution in Kitchener.

Program Objectives

The three main objectives of the program are education, accountability, and diversion, all of which contribute to an overarching objective of change. While each objective will be discussed

individually, they must be considered as different parts of the same objective or idea. Each objective is bound with one another and, at times, intermingles in their meanings and intentions. This is particularly evident in each staff member's choice of wording when discussing the objectives of the school.

Namely, the volunteers use the same terminology – for example, diversion – when describing the program's objectives, but apply different meanings to the words – diversion from unsafe practices, diversion from street prostitution, or diversion from criminal behaviour. Regardless of interpretations, the underlying objective communicated by all program volunteers appears to consistently be change, either in behaviours, activities or lifestyle choices.

Education

The most widely communicated objective of the John School is education. Primarily, this involves educating the men about the problem of prostitution and further, to aid in the dissemination of information about prostitution to both participants and volunteers alike. For example, during an interview with the Program Director, the issue of understanding what constitutes a "John" is raised:

I think it's profoundly important that we understand this issue. I think it's profoundly important and if we don't understand what is a John, and who constitutes a John, I'm sorry, but it's your father, your brother, your uncle, your – you know – your next door neighbour, the priest, the minister.

In addition, the afternoon group Counsellor raised similar interests in education, when discussing opportunities for program staff to become educated on the different aspects of prostitution:

I think that it's an opportunity where those partners have had the chance to they themselves get education around certain areas that they didn't think, because they're piece of this is about the arrest or their piece of this is about the STD or the piece of this is around, sort of, the moralistic if you will, the addictions piece, whatever. And I think those partners then also have the opportunity to learn that this is a larger issue than it was a horny guy who decided to be whatever.

As a result, the John School provides opportunities for all observers and attendees to understand the breadth and depth of prostitution as a social problem. The Counsellor specifically highlights the importance of volunteers understanding the full scope of the problem, not just the aspect to which they

lecture the participants about. There is also the opportunity for volunteers to learn about the experiences of the participants by listening to their stories and seeing first-hand who is on the streets picking up street prostitutes. In this way, all individuals involved in the program take on the role of teacher and student, providing one another with the opportunity to learn more about prostitution from those who are involved with the social problem directly.

For some volunteers, this mode of spreading awareness is not limited to the claims-making process of defining prostitution as a social problem. Instead, by providing the men with information that is relevant to their life and lifestyle choices, the information reaches beyond the purview of prostitution towards influencing one's life, in general. The Public Health Nurse demonstrates this objective clearly when discussing the goal of the session on sexually transmitted infections:

But as I say to them, I want to give them information that they can use sort of in a broader perspective, whether in their primary relationship - you know, if they're married or if they're dating or that sort of thing. And to share the information with buddies, friends, if they have kids, you know.

For others, the information dissemination tactics are vital to the ongoing battle against the problem of prostitution and the influence of the John School stops there.

It took us about eighteen months actually to put the school together and what took us so long was that we were bound and determined that we were going to know what we were doing. ... We were absolutely determined that ours was going to be educational. That this was going to be something that, where we were going to continue to learn and to grow and to try to not allow the program to remain static, but each time we learned something new about the issue of drugs and prostitution.
[Program Director]

In either situation, the underlying objective of passing along knowledge is to create an opportunity for those involved with the program to think about their own opinions and the decisions that they have made. This involves seeing the act of communicating with a prostitute as going beyond "a horny guy who decided to be whatever" and being part of a larger network of decisions, issues and individuals.

Accountability

Closely associated with knowledge acquisition is the notion of accepting responsibility for one's actions. For some volunteers, the John School is about guiding the men towards accepting that they made a decision that caused them to be part of the program. Put succinctly, the men must accept that communicating for the purpose of prostitution is a crime and that they were arrested for committing this crime. This is exemplified in the following statement from the Program Director:

I've often said, "At the end of the day, it doesn't matter. Like, you're here." So, you know, whether you meant to do it or you didn't, you got caught. ... So, let's accept that part and let's, you know, get on with that.

Here, it is suggested that an integral part of the diversion process is to accept one's responsibility for being in the diversion program. This involves first accepting that their actions are illegal and that they actually did commit a crime. For many program staff members, admitting one's guilt is the first and most integral part of the diversion process. Without accepting one's role in committing the crime, the participants cannot move on to learning how to avoid the same mistakes in the future.

Further, the John School involves a sense of accountability towards affecting other aspects of the community beyond a mere engagement with a prostitute. In other words, it is not enough that the men accept their role in committing an offence; the men must also accept that by committing the offence, they are contributing to all of the other problems that stem from prostitution. During one John School day, an ex-muscle was observed to say "the shame you're feeling is nothing compared to the contribution you're making to the downfall of your own society". The implicit understanding in this statement is that prostitution eventually erodes and breaks down societies, and that by participating in prostitution, you contribute to that erosion. More generally, this understanding is echoed by the Counsellor:

I think there's a number of purposes. One is they get a second chance. They get a chance to not have this on their record. They have an opportunity to understand that this- this small decision that they think that they were making has actually sort of a ripple effect. That there's more to than just this one moment in time, that one moment in time affects a number of different lives.

The participants must therefore accept the implications of prostitution being defined as a social problem by the program staff. The men must accept their role in their own problems, but also their role in the problems that are said to arise from prostitution. By accepting both facets, the men are therefore able to move on towards changing their behaviour.

In addition to accepting the wider effects of prostitution, the school also seeks to encourage men to look towards the future. It is not enough to accept one's role in the present circumstances, but also to accept one's role in making the same or different choices in the future. This is highlighted clearly during one afternoon counselling session wherein the Counsellor states "Here's a question: Do you have any idea why you chose to do what you did? ... That's all you – the reason you're experiencing shame. ... You brought it into your life, you can bring it out". By leading the men towards accepting their own participation in the current problem they face – fighting criminal charges – the Counsellor empowers the men to resist similar problems in the future. This can be seen in the simple statement that the men have brought this problem into their life, and they can therefore bring it out.

Through understanding and accepting the part one plays in their arrest, the John School seeks to provide the participants with an opportunity to avoid the same negative experience in the future. The underlying theme of change becomes evident where the Program Director and the Counsellor both emphasize recognizing how the participants came to their decisions:

...They are expected to participate. And they are expected to participate because we don't want them back in. And there is a problem or you would have never been there. It's that simple. So, let's figure out, if we can, what that problem is and if we can't, then we've got our avenues to aid and abet you, so yeah - very clear that it's education. [Program Director]

And for some, the purpose is, "I get to pay a certain amount of money so I don't have a record and nobody ever finds out." ... And, I mean, let's be honest - and hey, if that's the motivation to get you through the door, fine, whatever. Hopefully at the end of the day, you've had that one thing or that one speaker or that one person who said something that you get to walk out with and kind of go, "Yeah, sh*t that was me." ... And, "Maybe I'll think about that one." [Counsellor]

In such a way, the essential ingredients for change become knowledge of what went wrong and accountability for why it went wrong. From here, the participants may now work towards altering that behaviour.

Diversion

The overarching component of change through diversion is an objective strongly communicated by program staff. How diversion is defined by volunteers, however, becomes instructive to understanding what kind of change is being sought. For example, diversion may take the form of avoiding unsafe sexual encounters, as suggested by the Public Health Nurse:

The approach is that, yes you are sexual beings and yes, it's healthy to express or try and have your sexual needs met. However, this is a very high risk way of going about it and that it would be worthwhile thinking of alternatives because the consequences of contracting an STD could have implications for your health but also health of other people.

On the other hand, diversion may refer to reducing or eliminating recidivism through complete diversion from street prostitution. This interpretation was communicated by the Program Director and Counsellor:

Our goal is to make sure they never go back to the streets. That's what our goal is. That they never go back to the street, because they've made that decision to learn about themselves and to educate themselves about why they were there. [Program Director]

Sure, I mean, we had nine guys the last time, or twelve guys or however many that were there, that, you know, have education now of making a decision around recidivism. [Counsellor]

Lastly, diversion might also refer to diversion by merely avoiding being caught in the future, as indicated by an ex-muscle during one of the observed John School days:

I'm not naïve enough to think everyone of you will never go to a prostitute ever again. One or two of you will, but realize that you don't have a diversion program option again.

Further, diversion means avoiding a criminal record and all of the unwanted and embarrassing exposure associated with a criminal conviction, as suggested by a Crown Attorney:

I don't know why you get such great treatment here – it must be because of these people for setting up such a program. In London and Cornwall, your name would be in the paper by now... You are insulated from that now, but if you fail the program or come back again, you won't be.

The differences in meanings attached to 'diversion' are interesting to note, as it appears to reflect potential diverging opinions on the subject of prostitution and the extent to which it is considered a social problem. Based on the responses above, the John School may help to reduce the prevalence, temptation, or visibility of prostitution. In all scenarios, however, it appears reasonable enough for volunteers to at least encourage the men to reconsider their actions in the future and to behave differently by making alternative decisions.

Change

The common thread between each of the three objectives discussed above is change. The main objective of the program is to encourage the men to alter their behaviour in some manner or form. The degree of change desired tends to vary based on the interests and interpretations of the program volunteers and to that end, the materials and resources provided to the men also vary. For example, a pamphlet on sexually transmitted infections and a package of condoms are provided to the participants during the session presented by the Public Health Nurse. These items are meant to encourage the men to seek out and have healthy, low-risk sexual relations. This form of behavioural change, from high-risk to low-risk sexual practices, differs from that promoted by counselling materials, which encourage attendees to seek out assistance in changing their lifestyle choices and ways in which they deal with traumatic experiences.

Conversely, a set of handouts with contact information and organization names are provided to participants at the end of the group counselling session in order to direct the men toward seeking out individual counselling based on their personal needs (see Appendix K). Here, the intention is to encourage the men towards addressing problem areas in their life and working to counteract their negative effects on one's life. While both approaches differ in their intent, both sets of resources and

materials encourage the men to alter their behaviour by helping them feel accountable to their life situations and then empowering them with the tools to help themselves change those situations. In such a way, the objective of change remains consistent and the intent to provide men with the tools to achieve such a change, either through education, accountability or diversion, are featured in the planning of each session.

Summary

Overall, the objectives of the John School work towards change by educating the men on prostitution, encouraging a sense of accountability for their actions, and by directing efforts towards diversion of some kind of problematic behaviour. These objectives are embodied throughout the John School, beginning with the pre-program interview and then reinforced during the morning and afternoon sessions of the program day. Specifically, the pre-interview is conducted to assess the knowledge of the participants and to prepare them for the rehabilitative process of the diversion program. Next, session lectures in the morning are designed to educate the men on the problem of prostitution, as understood by the program staff, and to encourage a sense of accountability towards not only their actions, but to the prevalence of the problem. The general thrust of the pre-interview and morning sessions are educational, showing the participants the true nature of prostitution and how their participation has more consequences than they might have envisioned.

The afternoon sessions then provide the men with an opportunity to discuss what they have learned so far and to discuss their feelings, experiences and opinions. There is a greater push towards accountability and owning one's role in their current life circumstances, but also owning the ability to influence or change those circumstances. Following this, the post-program or "termination" interview provides the Program Director the opportunity to meet with the men one last time to assess their knowledge and gauge what the men have learned from the program. Aside from this, there are virtually no opportunities for staff to follow up with the participants after the program to assess whether or not they have been successful in encouraging the men towards some form of change or diversion. The

majority of program staff did express an interest in seeing this type of data, but admitted the difficulty in collecting the information. There is, however, an Aftercare program in development to assist participants in receiving further counselling and direction to change their lifestyle habits and choices towards more positive ends, as defined by the program staff. For those interested in knowing the effects of the John School on its participants, this Aftercare program appears to be an interesting and exciting new feature that is a step in the right direction.

Chapter 5

Defining, Characterizing and Responding to a Social Problem

The organization and operation of the Kitchener John School is contextualized by defining prostitution as a particular type of problem, concretizing the specific facets and social conditions of the problem that make it relevant to the community, and finally, setting out the specific features of the John School that make it a viable approach to the problem of prostitution. This is accomplished by examining the claims-making behaviour of the program volunteers. In particular, this examination includes what claims are being made about prostitution, what characteristics of the problem are being defined and referred to by the social actors, and how the John School hopes to participate in the remediation of the social problem, which address the second, third and fourth research questions, respectively.

Defining Prostitution as a Problem

A significant theme that emerges from the data is the view of the John School responding to a particular social problem rather than an institution or agency that exists independent of social conditions (e.g., responding to the actual occurrence of prostitution, rather than existing regardless of rates of incidence). In light of this, the John School may be best understood by defining what social condition it attempts to address. For this reason, the first step in building a frame of reference for the John School is to explore the claims-making behaviour of the school. Specifically, this involves responding to the second research question and looking at what problem the school seeks to remedy and how that problem is articulated.

The John School was initially founded in 1996 to further assist community efforts in dealing with the prevalence of street prostitution primarily in downtown Kitchener but also in other areas of Waterloo Region. Through a review of the information provided by the program volunteers during personal interviews and by observing three John School days, three prominent themes arise which help to conceptualize how the John School views this social problem. Each of these themes appears to build

on one another and provide different aspects or viewpoints of the same social condition. It is argued that by defining the problem of prostitution using these criteria, a need for the John School is legitimated by the program staff.

Prostitution as Consequent

The first perspective of prostitution defines it as a problem that is a consequence of a greater social problem, being the drug trade. According to the program volunteers, the downtown Kitchener area has a long-standing history of problems related to the illicit sale and distribution of illegal drugs, such as cocaine and heroin. It is suggested by program volunteers that prostitution is a result of this drug problem, insofar as the prostitutes are addicts who seek to fund their addiction through the sale of sexual services. Those who purchase these services are merely contributing to the drug trade. This is exemplified through one volunteer's statement:

I got in cars and told guys all kinds of stories, "I'm going to college; honey, I've three kids at home to feed" blah blah blah, all twists on the truth. But at the same time, nobody on the street is out there other than to feed an addiction. ... No, if the dealers weren't selling, there'd be no drug to buy and they wouldn't be out there. [Ex-Prostitute]

This notion is further demonstrated through the information provided by volunteers during the program. For example, one detective states during the program's introductory session that, "[the] girls are out there for one reason – drugs. Not for more money, school... Johns bring money for drugs. If anyone tells you otherwise, they're lying." Similarly, an ex-muscle, who once acted as a bodyguard and accomplice to sex-trade workers, reminds the participants that, "if you're not there, [the prostitutes] don't need to be there. You're responsible for what you're doing." He then goes on to question the participants:

How many [of you, the men] have daughters? You don't think they're going to do anything. But they go out with friends once and the first time they do drugs, it's weed, maybe next, [ecstasy], and eventually it's crack and you're down there trying to get them home when they are climbing into cars with guys like you.

In the above examples, drugs are highlighted as the primary reason for the prevalence of street prostitution. Further, the participants are told their presence and participation merely furthers this drug-related social problem. The idea of the men as perpetrators of prostitution will be discussed in detail in the next section on characterizing the social actors (see Typifying the Johns).

The characterization of prostitution as bound to the drug trade is further concretized through the kinds of topics discussed during the John School sessions and, in some respects, the persons selected to present the information. A standard John School day features presenters who are detectives or officers involved in regulating drug-related offences, such as possession, trafficking and producing illegal substances. Additionally, the two volunteers who present first-hand accounts of life in the sex trade are ex-drug addicts. Both the detectives and ex-addicts supplement their presentations with anecdotes on their personal experiences dealing with drugs on the streets and observations of others encountering similar encounters. One detective recalled, for example, how a fellow detective struggled to detain a prostitute under the influence of drugs:

During a sting operation, the officer was a big guy and the girl was small. In some sort of adrenaline rush or while strung right out, the girl pulls knife and the officer got the knife away from her but he was at his limit; [he] almost broke his arm.

The anecdote presents a strong image to the participants that not only are the prostitutes addicted to drugs, but that this addiction makes it even more difficult for law enforcement to detain and respond to prostitution and drugs. Prostitution thereby becomes an additional concern for safety in the course of policing the streets.

Prostitution is also characterized by the program staff as antecedent to a host of additional problems stemming from one's involvement or engagement with a prostitute. By exchanging money for sex with a street-level prostitute, the men are not only feeding an addiction or an illegal drug trade, but they are also inviting disease, violence and other difficulties into their personal lives. During one program day, an ex-prostitute reminds the participants that they are "... just a resource" for prostitutes, and that "you think for \$5 you get sex with no condom. Well you go home with [Hepatitis C]. [Now

you] can't drink with your buddies anymore." Engaging in sex with a prostitute is no longer an isolated incident, as the participants might think. Rather, it is only the beginning of a series of potential problems related to contracting an infection, altering one's health and, as suggested by the ex-prostitute, negatively affecting one's lifestyle and ability to consume alcohol.

In terms of the other antecedent problems, an ex-muscle also cautions the men that they are likely to become victims of violence from the bodyguards or "muscles" to the women:

I like Johns because if you didn't do it the way the girls want, I hit you, take your money and take your cars. Then you have to tell your wife what happened. Call the cops and they'd have no sympathy.

Here, the men are targeted by other criminals and then assaulted, robbed and left without any sympathy or consolation from the police. Further, they must confront their spouses about the robbery and explain their behaviour, inviting other difficulties related to loss of assets and the confessions of infidelity. If the men are charged with an offence, either as a result of reporting an incident or through being caught in a sting operation, they must also contend with the effects of a criminal record on their family members (e.g., the example provided earlier that a spouse may be restricted from operating a daycare out of one's home if the husband has a criminal record).

What is then communicated verbally and nonverbally to participants through word choice, body language and demeanour is a strong image of street prostitution as fuelled by the drug trade and leading to countless additional problems, once an individual engages in prostitution. One's notion of prostitution restricted to a mere transaction between two consenting adults becomes exacerbated into a vast network of violence, criminal activity and suffering. The latter point is further exemplified in the next theme expressed by the social actors that prostitution is not a victimless crime.

Prostitution as a Non-Victimless Crime

Building momentum from the idea of prostitution as directly related to the drug trade, it is further communicated by program staff that it is not a victimless crime. Instead, session content continuously transmits data to negate this misconception and present a reality that features an array of

perpetrators and victims. It is suggested by the staff that prostitution not only victimizes businesses and community members, but even the Johns and prostitutes themselves.

Specifically, the detectives typically spend time during each John School day to outline who the victims of prostitution are in the community. One detective stated that “businesses cannot set up shop where hookers are down the street around the corner. You’re fuelling that. That is what you’re doing. You’re contributing to the degradation of your community.” This is supported by another detective, who mentioned that “we have men approach girls they think are prostitutes, we get students at [high school] who complain about this.” On the other hand, the ex-prostitute who conducts a session on the reality of the sex-trade emphasizes the idea of the prostitute as a victim, stating that:

I always wanted them to know that I was what they considered a good [kid], I had a good upbringing, I had whatever. But I went and did what I did, because addiction is terrible and it gets a hold of you and it doesn’t let go. And I always wanted them to know [the prostitute] was somebody's daughter, somebody's sister and somebody's mother.

From the two examples presented, it is evident that prostitution is depicted as a pervasive social problem that victimizes different groups of people within a community. Here, we see the community members and business owners as victims of the degradation associated with the sex-trade. As well, the women who are employed as sex-trade workers are victimized by prostitution, through drug addiction and, as mentioned in a number of John School days, through violence at the hands of clients and violence from gang members associated with the drug trade. By identifying the women as daughter, sister and mother, participants are encouraged to envision sex-trade workers as members of the community who have been caught up in a social problem and are victimized by it. The prostitute takes on the identity of community member and in such a way, it is suggested that any female community member is at risk of becoming a street prostitute.

Further, by attributing the role of ‘victim’ to the participants of the program, the John School brings the idea of prostitution as a serious problem down to the level of the consumer. The participants are labelled as victims of violence, extortion and disease during the program sessions presented by the detectives, ex-prostitute and ex-muscle. Additionally, the session presented by the Public Health Nurse

on STIs emphasize that having sex with a prostitute may result in contracting an infection or terminal disease. This danger of an infection is echoed by the ex-prostitute and further developed by suggesting it victimizes the client's family as well:

First of all, the girl doesn't think much of herself to begin with, then doing the drugs, so she's doing it outside or in an alley way ... which affects neighbourhoods... After that, I would say it affects more family, than it does even [the man], without them even knowing, you know what I mean? Because they don't know what he's brought home or what he's doing. There's a breakdown in the family.

The notion of men as victims is further supported through materials distributed during the afternoon group counselling session with the participants (see Appendix K). At this time, the men are provided with information on counselling services available in the Waterloo Region. The services listed range from social services, family counselling, personal therapists and counselling for victims of abuse, violence and sexual trauma. This information, together with the STI clinic information handed out by the Public Health Nurse (see Appendix I), suggests that the men may be victims in need of any one of these services, and that this is normal or to be expected of anyone involved in prostitution.

The portrayal of the John as victim contradicts the villain typification depicted in the morning session, as well as complicates the previous ideal of a simple person-to-person transaction by suggesting that both individuals involved in the negotiation are potential or real victims of larger social conditions, to which they are seemingly unaware. This typification of the problem and of the Johns, prostitutes and communities contributes to the overall idea that prostitution is a significant social problem that affects all levels of society, from business owners to family members and children. The claim is then that no one is safe from prostitution and anyone is at risk of becoming involved in a dangerous, complicated and dirty problem. This final point of prostitution as a dirty problem will be explored next.

Prostitution as Dirty

The final theme is one that appears in the majority of claims promoted by the John School. Specifically, throughout discussions on prostitution during program sessions and personal interviews,

there is a tendency for the program staff to characterize prostitution and those engaged in prostitution as dirty, diseased or unclean. For example, when talking about the purpose behind her session, the ex-prostitute states “it’s just [the men] need to understand. I don’t care what the girls tell them. [The prostitutes] are sick people. They are addicted. And that’s why they’re there.”

It is interesting to note that viewing street prostitution as diseased or dirty is not communicated in the same manner as the first two themes of prostitution as consequent and prostitution as a non-victimless crime. Program volunteers are eager to stress the importance of prostitution as riddled with victims and bound to wider social problems, both through session lectures and during interviews. However, discourse on the dirtiness of prostitution becomes apparent only through reviewing and carefully analyzing the language used during interviews and especially during sessions when volunteers were put face-to-face with the participants. For instance, during a session observation, an ex-muscle states:

These girls are strong; you’re the next hit to them. They scratch and bite and they have diseases. They’re thinking that how many dirty dicks do I have to suck for a hit? And then they bite you and now you have a death sentence.

Here, the ex-muscle characterizes the male sex organ as a ‘dirty dick’, attributing the dirtiness of prostitution to the men. On the other hand, the detectives continuously refer to the prostitutes as “not the cleanest of girls”, or that the “girls are not clean” and “almost all have a disease”. In one session, a detective stated “all of them have a disease, one or another; if they say or look healthy, bullsh*t”.

The theme of dirtiness is also communicated by the program staff as bound to society’s conceptualization of prostitution as a stigmatizing problem. Specifically, the Program Director notes:

This is such a profound problem and it’s such a dirty problem that the rest of the world – they couldn’t stand up and shout it from the roof tops, “Well I’ve been arrested”. You wouldn’t be too proud about being arrested for this. You could lose your whole family and you know, at least, if you robbed somebody, you got a chance to keep your family. You don’t have much of a chance keeping your family with this type of thing behind you.

Through this example, the Program Director suggests that prostitution is dirty, unwanted and stigmatizing to the point that one could lose his family if it were found out that he had been charged with the offence. The dirtiness of prostitution therefore extends into the realm of morality, contributing to the overall claims-making process by suggesting that prostitution violates our social norms and customs that dictate what is acceptable and right. Prostitution is thus classified as 'wrong'.

To summarize, the program volunteers communicate three dimensions that classify prostitution as a social problem. Each of these themes, being prostitution as consequent, non-victimless, and dirty, provide participants and observers of the program with an overall impression that prostitution is a widespread, morally wrong problem that is a risk to and victimizes all members of the community. In the next section, focus is placed on how this claim of prostitution as a problem is further emphasized by program staff through typifications about social facts, conditions and the parties involved with prostitution.

Characterizing Prostitution

Closely related to the conceptualization of a problem are the typifications of social conditions and groups related to the social problem. The next crucial step in contextualizing the John School is then to relay how the social actors typify those seen to be involved with prostitution. This initially entails looking at what the John School staff claim to be the facts and realities of street prostitution from a macro perspective, which involves looking at any crime rates and demographic information of the Johns communicated by the volunteers. Next, how program volunteers typify the individuals participating in and impacted by prostitution, such as the Johns, prostitutes, muscles, members of the community, and members of the drug trade is explored from a micro perspective. By examining a combination of the macro and micro typifications of prostitution, the claims made about this social problem are contextualized.

Facts and Social Conditions

A primary claim that all other typifications rely upon and that is communicated by all program staff is that street prostitution is perpetuated by and a product of the drug trade. As a result, each component of the John School, such as the pre-interviews, sessions and post-interviews, incorporates statistics, descriptive accounts and anecdotes that corroborate the fact that the drug problem in the Kitchener downtown area causes street prostitution to thrive. The typifications to support this claim are communicated directly, where session presenters state prostitution “started when crack showed up [in Kitchener]”, and indirectly through general statements like “90% of people outside the Kitchener core are afraid to come into the Kitchener core”. Although it is not a prerogative of this study to qualify or ‘prove’ these typifications, it is instructive to at least explore and understand how these statements contribute to the overall claims-making process.

Over the course of the John School’s 15 years of operation, data have also been collected from the participants of the program to assist the program volunteers in developing a general understanding of who the Johns are, in terms of marital status, occupation, ethnicity, age and family structure. Through discussions with the Program Director, the majority of Johns who have been through the John School are described to be male, either married or in a common-law relationship, and/or with children. Further, the men tend to live outside of the Kitchener area but in the Region of Waterloo, and have varying levels of education, ranging from some high school to post-secondary education, Masters and Ph.D. degrees. Type of occupation for the men tends to run the gamut, from agricultural to white-collar worker. The Program Director did mention, however, that a number of participants were truck drivers, which was suggested as “normal” due to the stated tendency of prostitutes to frequent truck stops. While it is uncertain if sting operations for this John School are conducted at truck stops, the implication appears to be that truck-driver subcultures encourage prostitution to be a relatively normal way to fulfill sexual needs and desires.

The Program Director also indicates that the participants tend to be between the ages of 16 and 89, with special permission having been granted by court officials to allow minors to attend the school.

The household income of the men also varies, with a number of 'extreme' cases, where some men have had assets worth millions of dollars. The average family income, as estimated by the Program Director, however, is \$50,000.00. Further, the men tend to vary in their reported ethnicity; however, as observed at each of the three John School days and as reported by the Program Director, the majority of participants tend to be Caucasian. It was also noted that the patterns in terms of characteristics of Johns tends to be cyclical, with an overrepresentation of one group or another. For example, the Program Director indicated that there was a brief period of time when the sting operations would pick up many Vietnamese Johns. There has been a similar brief overrepresentation of refugees, as well.

Overall, it appears that the generalized characteristics of Johns are all-encompassing, without any clear patterns to suggest one 'type' of man who might be more likely to engage a prostitute than another. Perhaps this suggests that prostitution not only affects all levels of the community, but also attracts clients from all different walks of life, regardless of socio-economic, ethnic or familial status. As a result, the Johns are presented as a group having social and demographic qualities that make them inseparable from what one might consider to be the common man and 'next-door neighbour'. When looking at the organization of the John School where all of the arrested men are kept together in one room and made to face one another, the dispersion of characteristics is showcased for the participants and observers.

In a variety of ways, this 'common man' ideology is essential to the successful designation of prostitution as a social problem, as it brings the issue closer to home. In other words, prostitution is not something that happens 'out there', but instead, a problem that occurs in your own community. This is exemplified by one participant's statement that "[you] always think it'll happen to someone else". Moreover, by reinforcing this common man typology to participants, the John School suggests that anyone is at risk of becoming a victim of prostitution, either directly as a client of a prostitute, or indirectly as a spouse or child of a John.

Typifying the Johns

Using the social conditions described above as the contextual basis, the typifications of the Johns from are explored from a micro perspective, which typifications have been communicated by the program volunteers through the program sessions and interviews. These typifications fall into categories of ‘villain’ and ‘victim’, which are implied through the labels of ‘perpetrator’, ‘criminal’, ‘innocent’, and ‘target’. Each of these labels is not explicitly attributed to the participants, but instead emerges as concepts or imputations when observing and assessing the ways in which the program volunteers address the participants. By attributing these roles to the Johns, it appears that the John School is able to draw in the participants by directly associating each man to the occurrence of prostitution.

The first characterization of the Johns is that of the villain; by encouraging the participants to consider the probable outcomes had they actually solicited a prostitute rather than an undercover detective, the session presenters allow the men to consider their role as perpetrator. In one session, a detective clearly states “the girls are down there, but you finance them. If you guys don’t go down there, the girls will get nothing”. The assertion here is that the men have a direct, causal role in the presence of street prostitutes. If there are no more clients for the prostitutes, the prostitutes will not be able to fund their habit. The role of perpetrator is therefore imputed by attributing sole responsibility for the presence of street prostitutes to the men.

This responsibility is further concretized by suggesting that the men are complicit to a street prostitute’s addiction. Specifically, when discussing the goal of her session, an ex-prostitute notes “...that's the huge impact that I want to get through to them [during the session] - they are helping somebody kill themselves. That's it”. The implication of one’s indirect role in the decline in health or death of another person induces a strong sense of guilt and shame. Here, they are labelled as the indirect yet necessary causal link between a prostitute and her death. This is reinforced through first-hand accounts of an ex-prostitute, an ex-muscle and police officers who are or have been dealing with prostitution-related matters directly.

Similarly, the label of criminal works in tandem with the perpetrator persona, as imputed by the program staff, by highlighting the fact that the men did not follow through with their involvement in prostitution but are still charged with an offence. For instance, when asked by the Counsellor if the participants considered themselves to be a criminal, one man responded “they make you feel like a criminal. [You] cannot forget that moment.” In that regard, while the potential John has not yet solidified his involvement in prostitution, the stigma of “criminal” is implied throughout the John School sessions. This stigma works to shame the men and thus perpetuates the idea that they are a villain involved with the problem of prostitution.

Conversely, being charged with the offence of communicating is treated as inconsequential, low or trivial, as though the role of the John is a distraction when compared to the other, more worthy or important criminals that could be targeted by police efforts. In particular, one detective admitted “I could be tracking key low-level drug dealers, but I’m not; I’m dealing with you guys coming down for a [blow job]”. By minimizing the role of the participants to that of a distraction, the detectives promote a sense of shame to be associated with one’s presence at the John School. The implication is that there are many, more important problems to deal with, but the participants are getting in the way of dealing with these problems because they want sexual gratification. In such a way, the ‘villain’ characterization is concretized and the stigma associated with prostitution is solidified by program volunteers.

Turning now to the second typification, the John School also attributes victim-like qualities to the men through labels or imputations of innocence, naïveté, and vulnerability. This offers a competing perspective of prostitution where the perpetrators may also become the victims through a lack of awareness or understanding of their own choices. For example, the Counsellor draws attention to the shameful nature of the crime and the understanding that the experience of being caught and brought to the John School is not a wilful decision.

I’ve met all different people who come from all different walks of life – all kinds of abilities – not one says they really wanted to do this. ... As glad as you might be to have met me, you’d give it up to have not done what you’ve done, to not be here.

This lack of choice incorporates an element of innocence, wherein someone who had been knowledgeable of the conditions and realities of the problem would likely not have chosen to be part of it. By offering this competing perspective of the men to that of ‘criminal’, the Counsellor provides consolation and, to some extent, mitigates the stigma of the offence. This appears to work in tandem with the John School’s goal of diversion through education, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Next, the men are also characterised as the unsuspecting victims of extortion, theft and physical violence. A number of the sessions talk about the extreme measures the prostitutes will go to in order to receive money from the men. For example, one detective cautioned “If you change your mind last minute, they will jack you, take a pen, get other girls, go to officer and say this person raped me. Men will empty their wallets”. Further, during each John School day, both the ex-prostitute and the ex-muscle advise the men that prostitutes may often be accompanied by bodyguards (“muscles”) to ensure the safety of the women. These muscles will also assault and threaten the Johns with impunity, because they know the men will not go to the police when they themselves have been engaging in an illegal offence (prostitution). This offers a competing perspective to that of ‘perpetrator’ by further labelling the men as potential targets or prey of other criminals.

The final dimension to the victim model incorporates a systemic form of vulnerability and suffering. Specifically, a common thread in the counselling portion of the John School suggests victimization through an under-representation of men in social services. This is exemplified during one afternoon counselling session, wherein the Counsellor expresses regret to the men:

I apologize, because I think men are underserviced in dealing with trauma, loneliness. ... We constantly hear about the rights of victims. But as men, I think we very rarely hear about your rights. [I think we’re consistently] allowing and reinforcing the pain and suffering of men.

Additionally, the Counsellor suggested in one session that the sexual interests and desires of men have been silenced through societal norms and practices that would label men as over-sexualized or repulsive if they were to express their sexuality. This provides clear emphasis to the men that people are socialized to remain silent on issues that men might face.

This silence is also extended to matters of sexuality and sexual expression for women as well, who the program volunteers suggest are the under-researched clients of prostitution. The Counsellor therefore argues that this leads individuals to seek out illegal means to satisfy their needs:

[Prostitution] can perpetuate sexual judgments around certain things that I think should be people's choice, but because it's been done in such a manner that we've judged it in this way, that it's now become something that, you know, certain sexual values are placed on acts or how those acts are done. And I don't agree with that. ... It is an issue because of the judgments and the values that society places or doesn't place on prostitution. I think it is definitely influencing some of the women and men who choose prostitution as a coping mechanism. But they're perpetuating their cycles of addiction or violence. ... And I also think it places people in a very awkward position of thinking that the only way they can meet their needs is through something that is illegal.

From this example, the stigma associated with prostitution, as dirty or morally wrong, is thus seen to extend to any sexual act that is considered to be deviant or abnormal, such as sex with a stranger or exchanging money for sex. As a result, the Counsellor reinforces the idea that Johns are the victims of socialization and social norms, by suggesting that how society views prostitution creates opportunities to victimize Johns. This form of victimization, coupled with the notion that men are underserved in the social services, contrasts against the earlier notion of the Johns as inconsequential and distracting villains. The result is a competing perspective on the importance of the Johns to the overall problem of prostitution.

When contextualized within the claims-making process of the program volunteers, each of the typifications supports the idea that prostitution is a widespread, stigmatized social problem that needs to be addressed. Participants are further presented with the idea that prostitution is a convoluted social problem that has a myriad of considerations, of which sex with a sex-trade worker is just one. In the next section, how the typifications of the prostitutes also contribute to this claims-making process is examined.

Typifying the Prostitutes

The second group of individuals strongly typified throughout the John School is that of the female street prostitutes. A reoccurring image of the female street prostitute features strong, unhealthy and strung out addicts who will do whatever it takes to receive their another dose of the drug. The role of addict is seen as merely exacerbating the unhealthy facets, as the presence of drugs in one's system is said to increase the spread of infections in the body. For instance, one detective stated "[the] girls will rob you, get violent; they don't care for you" while another stated "they are gone, there is no reasoning... they will bite you, tell you they have [Hepatitis C]". Similarly, when discussing her experiences as a former sex-trade worker, an ex-prostitute simplified the pathway to prostitution as "do the drug, get the date, get the drug, do the date". In each instance and throughout all of the morning sessions of the John School, the program volunteers continually typify the prostitutes as drug addicts who are infected with a STI and are only focused on obtaining money to feed their addictions. As a result, street prostitutes are typified as diseased, unhealthy individuals who will lie and cheat men about their health status in order to acquire money for drugs.

Along the same lines, getting paid is a primary goal for these women and legitimate means of acquiring funds are not an option due to the social stigma associated with prostitution. Instead, the program staff suggest prostitutes are on the streets for the sole purpose of making money to purchase more drugs. This is done through selling sexual services to men on the streets, and if a woman can receive payment without engaging in sex acts or by employing other criminal means, they will do so without hesitation. During a session on the experiences of street prostitutes, an ex-prostitute recalled one situation where obtaining money was a primary concern, over and above her own personal safety:

When I was in Hamilton, I got in a car with my dad's friend and was embarrassed. [Then I] moved to Toronto. Got in a car with a guy in a suit, Rolls Royce, and he tried to stab me 7 times in the head. Got my money and got in another car, got my drugs and on another date.

Often, the program volunteers will qualify a disregard for personal health and well-being, as shown above, by suggesting that the street prostitutes are too "far gone" or "strung out" to understand or

appreciate their own safety. This further solidifies the typification of the women as addicts, but also as uncaring, money-hungry, and potentially dangerous, due to their disregard for their safety.

These typifications contribute to a more general typification of the prostitutes as primarily villains. Where Johns are attributed converging qualities of victim and villain, the prostitutes are instead heavily personified as villains first and then, to a lesser degree, as victims. For example, one detective was observed to state “make no mistake; the girls know what they can do to get out of [an arrest]. They know officers on the streets. They don’t care. They know what they can get away with”. Similarly, another detective stated “there are seasoned girls out there and they don’t care, they know what they can get out of you”. In another session, a detective cautioned the participants “if [the prostitutes] steal your ID, holy crap good luck. They will go to your house, steal, eat dinner, they don’t care”. Through the typification of the street prostitutes as ‘uncaring’, conniving and ruthless, the detectives villainize the women. Further, by contrasting this image of the women against the victim typification of the Johns, the villainous typification is concretized.

The implication of favouring a villain typification over victim is two-fold. Firstly, typifying the prostitutes as an enemy of the Johns places the participants of the program in an adversarial position to the women. The contrast of victim (the men) to villain (the women) reinforces the claim that street prostitution is a dangerous, violent and unsafe social problem, and therefore becomes a crucial diversionary tactic for the John School. The disparity between typifications breaks down any misconceptions of prostitution as a victimless crime by clearly identifying the participant as victim to the callous ways of a possible sexual partner.

Secondly, the villain typification helps the program volunteers legitimate the need for a diversion program geared towards the Johns by reinforcing this victim-villain contrast. Returning to the John-as-victim typification, the message communicated by the program volunteers appears to be that the participants are targeted by sting operations and brought to the school because of their typification. As a victim, the participants are characterized as ‘approachable’, ‘reasonable’ and perhaps ‘worthy’

enough for the John School's attention. As a result, the John School is able to aid the men in reducing or eliminating their participation in the social problem.

On the other hand, the role of 'victim' becomes synonymous with 'unreasonable', 'dangerous' and perhaps 'a lost cause', making the participants more ideal as one solution to the problem of prostitution. This notion is exemplified by one detective's comment that "we have Jane Schools. [But] I'm a realist. They can't be cured" and further, "we can get to you guys more and open your eyes". Along the same lines, when asked about programs for the prostitutes, both detectives responded by suggesting that "if you have a drug problem, it does not matter how many programs you have, you are feeding their problem. Take down one crack house and another comes up ... but if we keep you off the street, it helps".

Very rarely are the women depicted as victims. Violent, conniving offender appears to be the primary typification for the prostitutes. In situations where prostitutes are cast in a softer light, they are characterized as victims of a drug addiction, coercion or violence at the hands of predatory Johns, gang members and/or muscles. By presenting the average street prostitute in such a manner, emphasis is placed on the repulsiveness and dirtiness of prostitution and the extent to which this is a problem that people should not want to be a part of or have in their community. Further, it again reinforces the notion of a much more complex issue than being about two consenting adults wishing to engage in sex for money. Prostitution therefore incorporates real violence, drugs, disease and suffering that is tangible and abhorrent.

Identifying Other 'Victims' and 'Villains'

The last set of typifications involves the other social actors who participate in the problem of prostitution. With the exception of the ex-muscle, these individuals are not necessarily strongly represented in the John School outside of second-hand accounts and descriptions of their activities.

The first group includes drug dealers and "gang bangers" who are primarily interested in the drug market. These individuals are exclusively characterized by the police officers and detectives who

facilitate the John School sessions and are trained and assigned to tracking them down and keeping an eye on their activities. For instance, during one observation session, a detective stated “the gangs don’t make their money from extortion, theft; it’s from drugs: dope, dope, dope”. Thus, the dealers are seen as manipulative, conniving and violent individuals who prey on women of all ages in order to get them caught up in the drug trade. Once a woman has been inducted into the gang or addicted to the drugs, they are forced to bring in money to continue to receive protection from the gang or have access to their drugs. In one observation session, a detective also noted gang members may use women involved in prostitution to sell drugs, likely due to the convenience and access to a specific client base.

Next, muscles are typified as boyfriends or protectors of the prostitutes and will often work alongside the women to rob and terrorize the Johns. As suggested by one detective, many of the prostitutes have muscles or “boyfriends” who “just wait for something to happen”. During one of the observed program sessions, an ex-muscle described the thought process of these boyfriends who prey on the Johns:

Guys like me like guys like you. Put money in my pocket. I loved robbing you people because you won’t go to police. You’re an easy target, you’re a mark. All this talk about girls coming to your car – wah wah [crying sound] – all these girls are mothers, daughters, but they were just marks for me; resources to get to you.

Muscles are often depicted as drug abusers themselves and appear to be keenly interested in violence, theft, robbery and extortion. They are seldom characterized as anything less than paranoid, angry and delighted at the idea of terrifying the Johns. It is suggested by program volunteers that, through their association with the girls and through the acts of theft and violence, the men support their addiction and violent criminal lifestyle. Based on the foregoing, the emphasis in the John School is that one may never know when a muscle is lurking in the shadows, waiting for a transaction to go wrong or complete before they move in to take advantage of the men.

Lastly, another group of individuals typified by the John School is that of the community members, residents and business owners who are cast as the innocent victims of prostitution. There are a number of comments throughout the sessions that speak to the unwitting manner in which common,

innocent people are confronted with the issue of prostitution. Specifically, in one observed John School session, an ex-muscle stated “you don’t want this in your neighbourhood, but what about those people. Property value goes down”. This statement helps typify prostitution as a social problem that creates unwanted or potentially dangerous situations for members of the community and those who wish to do business in the area. Residents and members of the community are typified as ‘afraid’, ‘innocent’ and ‘victim’ to the degraded state of the community and all of the consequences that follow from this state.

Further, one detective stated “we have men approach girls they think are prostitutes; we get students at [high school] who complain about this”. In another John School day, the detectives were observed to state “we have complaints of men approaching young girls who are out of school and going for pizza”, “men will approach women and their daughters”, “[we] get complaints of people being watched”, and “prostitution brings predators”. This provides another dimension to the ‘innocent’ typification of the community by suggesting that prostitution attracts “predators” – either the Johns themselves or other predatory individuals – who target ‘innocent’ and ‘unsuspecting’ young women and female students. With many of the program’s participants being parents, this typification would potentially invoke a sense of fear and apprehension, creating a sense of urgency and need to address the problem of prostitution.

To close the discussion on the typifications, it seems that the duality of roles – of victim and villain – is an important component to defining prostitution as a problem. The blending of roles appears to support the problem of prostitution as being widespread and all-encompassing, with a myriad of ways in which it affects society. The typifications further support that prostitution is not a simple, victimless crime. Rather, it is riddled with different perspectives and experiences of danger, harm and suffering. As will be discussed in later sections, reinforcing these perspectives will become tantamount to the goals and objectives of the John School. For now, however, the discussion will turn to where the John School fits into the overall claims-making process of defining prostitution as a problem.

Features of the Program: What it Is and What it Isn't

With a clear understanding of what problem the John School seeks to address, the final step in developing the framework of the school is to explore its key objectives in relation to its intended and actual operation. To accomplish this, the idealized features of the school are discussed. A comparative model that contrasts what the John School is and is not has been selected to capture how the program staff articulate their thoughts on how a John School should operate. When asked to describe the school, its place in the problem of prostitution, and how success could be measured, program staff would respond by discussing how the John School differs from other similar programs (e.g., the Toronto or the Hamilton John School). The following discussion on features of the school will make use of this contrast by describing how the program is articulated to supersede other John School programs by filling in a gap or void in service and need.

Rehabilitation vs. Punishment

The first feature suggests the overall purpose of the John School is to be rehabilitative in nature, as opposed to punitive. The John School stresses the importance of educating the participants rather than punishing them for the crime of soliciting the services of a prostitute. As suggested by the Public Health Nurse, the objective of the school is to provide a positive message to the participants that prioritizes guiding the participants towards diversion rather than merely lecturing, as “it’s not going to be very effective if it’s lecturing, saying ‘bad boys’”. Further, the Program Director states “...the goal always is to try to do the best we can to impact them. So I try to do the best I can for the work that I do, to make them think, because without them thinking, we don’t have a hope in hell”. Rehabilitation is then closely associated with helping the men to think over and internalize the message of the John School, rather than communicating the message through punishment.

Delivering the positive, rehabilitative goal is then achieved through providing participants with the opportunity to engage in an internal dialogue to understand the decisions they have made that have

brought them to the school in the first place. For some volunteers, seeing this process of listening and internalizing the information is evidence that the program is working.

That's the rewarding part. You know, when I'm doing a talk and my eyes swing back and some guy looks at me and he can't - he puts his eyes down. You can see the emotion on his face that, "Wow I never thought about that," or "I got a daughter, too." You know what I mean? It's just, you see that it hits home and that's what makes it rewarding. [Ex-Prostitute]

We're winning this game, because they're thinking about this. And they're starting to ask questions, "Now what did they say?" And you can see them, because they will sit like this, you know, and so- and I try never to interrupt them because I know that they're, you know, they've got the thinking look on. So, I try never to interrupt them but when you ask them, boy they'll go into an explanation and it's been thought-out. [Program Director]

As a result, the impact of this approach is greatly influenced by a participant's willingness to take in the information provided by the program. How well the program works is therefore defined by a participant's personal, vested interest in the John School and their responses to the information, as perceived by the program staff. Thus, the success of the John School diversion program rests in the hands of participants, making the program based on the needs of the participants rather than the interests or needs of the volunteers, which is an idea closely associated with the next feature of the program to be discussed.

Need vs. Greed

The John School also strives to be reactionary rather than stagnant or uninfluenced by the social conditions in which it is situated. Since its inception, the John School works to remain a response to a social problem and therefore operates on an "as needed" basis. The Program Director clearly illustrates this principle when discussing the profits yielded by the program:

So, you know, the question would be, "Are you doing this for the money or are you doing this because you've got a problem with drugs and prostitution?" And so, we made sort of a friendly little deal at that stage of the game that we would never commit ourselves to a program that meant that you had to have x number of dollars coming in. That we would ... only do stings, we would only do an operation if indeed there was a need for it. And ... we have never wavered on that ... I

think that's the way it has to be. [A John School] has to be in response to an issue, not in response to you needing money to fund some other thing.

The result is a community program that runs when a crime has been committed and is therefore unpredictable in terms of when it will run, how many Johns participate, and how much money it will be able to donate to other programs. This also suggests that at some point in the future, the John School should cease or become virtually nonexistent, should the problem of prostitution in Kitchener-Waterloo become resolved.

The resistance to stagnation also incorporates the information provided during program sessions and how the program is conducted in the future. Program volunteers are encouraged to continuously update and revise their session materials to accurately reflect and depict the current social conditions about which they speak, and to be flexible in terms of the needs, reactions and interests of each group of participants that attends through the John School. For example, in discussing the data gathered by the John School through the intake contracts (see Appendix F), the Program Director suggests:

That's one of the things I love about this, is that... you can look at that data [collected through the John Schools] and say, "I think we got a problem and this is what I think the problem may be". And then they take a look at that and then [the police] continue to do more training with it. Because that's what it's for – it's always to grow and to learn.

In this way, the Program Director taps into various internal and external resources (e.g., data from John Schools, information provided by other John Schools) to better understand and advise all community stakeholders, such as social service providers and police officers, on the social conditions related to prostitution. This also assists with the next feature of the program that looks at incorporating as many aspects related to the problem of prostitution available.

Holistic vs. Narrow

Next, the John School was founded on the idea that it must encompass many aspects of the social problem it attempts to address, rather than focus on one particular side or perspective. The

program is therefore designed to present lectures and materials that provide the men with a broad spectrum of information and issues relevant to the problem of prostitution:

[The Director] is very committed to having a John School with a purpose and that keeping the men as a primary priority is, in comparison to other John Schools that I'm aware of, that's not always necessarily the case. It's about cleaning up the streets. And cleaning up the streets through shaming men into feeling that they won't do it again because... You know, they're such horrible, horrible people. And we've come, I think this particular school has come a long way with influences from people like myself and other people who look at things as a holistic way of approaching crime and trauma and choice. [Counsellor]

...It is drawing from a number of aspects within the community, so you know, law enforcement, health, the issues around sex addiction and then the community - the neighbourhood that is most affected itself - is what's interesting. [Public Health Nurse]

The message coincides with the idea that prostitution touches many areas of life and is not a victimless crime. Instead, by incorporating the perspectives from the community, law, sexual health, and family, the program reinforces the notion that hiring a street-level prostitute goes beyond a peer-to-peer transaction. For many volunteers, this is an essential component of the John School, as it allows for all aspects of the problem to receive attention, rather than focusing on certain perspectives. This may also be seen as a way to ensure that the needs of the participants are met and addressed, rather than focusing only on those areas that are of interest to the program volunteers.

Human vs. Criminal

The final feature of the program enforces a form of attitude readjustment for both the program participants and its volunteers. This behavioural realignment requires all parties involved in the program to see the participants as human beings who have made a mistake and deserve respectful treatment.

And I think that, that's the other essential to this – is that if you're going to spend any time with them, you've got to like them. You've got to see them as valuable people who made a mistake. For whatever the reason, they made a mistake. [Program Director]

I think that the possibilities of more positive outcome for the men specifically is far greater given the fact that they aren't leaving feeling worse than they did when they came in. [Counsellor]

This perspective manifests through repeated reminders to participants that they must be accountable for their role played in the current situation. They must not use the John School as a forum to vent their frustration or anger at the legal process that brought them there. Further, participants are strongly advised not to use their opportunities to speak as a way of declaring their innocence. One detective states:

Let me stop you there. If you think you're innocent, leave. You are here to accept responsibility. Whatever happened when you got caught, you got caught for soliciting. I don't want to get into past situations or hypothetical.

Volunteers are offered a similar form of cautionary advisement from the Program Director. In particular, individuals selected to conduct sessions with participants are subjected to an informal screening process throughout their involvement with the school. During the screening process conducted by the Program Director, volunteers are required to project the right attitude to the participants and internalize any thoughts, emotions or opinions that might conflict with the purpose of the school.

The deal was that we would not belittle the individuals ... When we first started, there were a lot of people, including myself, who were too close to that issue and we still had a tremendous amount of anger. I mean, that was when I first began to realize just how angry I was about this issue and I had to quickly make up my mind about what I was angry about so that what I was going to, you know, what I was going to deal with was be angry about the issue, not angry at these guys. ... I learned very quickly that I'd better be very okay in my brain about what was going to happen in this school, because as we got into it, the more we realized that if you want to change people's behaviour, you can't change people's behaviour by belittling them and, you know, being angry at them. You can be angry again at the situation, but not at them. [Program Director]

Volunteers are not dismissed for disagreeing with the school or any of the participants; instead, volunteers are encouraged and applauded for their ability to set aside personal opinions and provide

their services, support and information to participants using a value-free, judgment-free and neutral perspective.

I had spent a ton of time with her, just a ton. I mean, I must have spent, I bet you in total, I spent about four months, you know, trying to get her to change how she – I offered to write, I offered to do anything to keep her in the program, because I know that she'd thought that the program was really important and I wanted to honour that. But at the end of the day, she couldn't change. And, she couldn't get past the guys; that the guys were the reason that she was in, that she had been on the street. And, that's not true. [Program Director]

In such a way, the John School requires a commitment from all parties involved to the interests and goals of the school. Any difficulties with this commitment are addressed by the Program Director.

Summary

Through exploring and contextualizing the operation of the John School within an overall claims-making process, a number of prominent themes emerge that typify street prostitution as a social problem. Specifically, the problem of prostitution is typified by the program staff as being consequent to and an antecedent of other social problems, as well as being a non-victimless and dirty or an unclean social problem. Using social facts communicated by program staff through session lectures, anecdotes and generalized statistics, the John School reinforces the notion that prostitution is a far-reaching problem wherein anyone can become involved in and victimized by the effects, regardless of one's social standing, ethnicity or educational background.

Exploring the typifications of the various individuals involved in prostitution from a micro-perspective, a number of key typifications also emerge to help contextualize the information communicated by the program staff. Namely, where Johns are typified as both victims and villains through labels of 'criminal', 'perpetrator', and 'innocent', prostitutes are predominantly cast as 'ruthless' and 'uncaring' villains. The competing typifications are then used as a way of concretizing the labels applied to participants of the program and further help to legitimate a need for the program by implying that targeting the clients of prostitutes is one of the best ways of helping combat the problem.

Similar typifications of ‘villain’, ‘victim’ and ‘innocent’ are applied to other groups involved in the problem of prostitution, such as drug dealers, gang members, muscles and members of the community. Each typification of these groups and of the nature of the problem works to paint a very strong picture that prostitution is a widespread, dirty problem that touches all corners of life. Involvement in the problem consequently leads to a number of risks, dangers and problems immediately and in the long term for both the individuals engaging in prostitution and for their families. The John School’s structure as dynamic, reactionary and rehabilitative, rather than stagnant, independent and punitive, is therefore legitimated within this framework.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The purpose of this research study was to explore, understand and ultimately assess how one community-based initiative addresses a particular social problem. To do this, a process evaluation was conducted on the Kitchener John School diversion program established to educate Johns on the realities of street prostitution. The objectives of this program are to encourage accountability, responsibility and understanding, in the hopes of diverting future problematic behaviour. Part of this evaluation involved participant observation sessions of three John School days, in order to take down first-hand accounts of how the program actually operates. This information was then supplemented with qualitative interviews with five program volunteers, who filled in a lot of the information about the school that could not be directly observed, such as the process of sting operations, the original planning of the school's curriculum, and the objectives of the school.

Through observations and interviews, a rich account of the school's organization and operation was developed, which was then contextualized within a broader framework of social problems work – an important area within sociology that sheds light on the ways in which social phenomenon are defined as social problems by groups, who then inspire movements towards change (Loseke, 2003). Of particular interest then is not only how this program does what it sets out to do, but also how it locates itself within a broader understanding of the well-being of communities, and what is best for society as a whole. To this end, the contextual constructivist framework is utilized to assess the claims-making processes of the program volunteers, in order to designate street prostitution as a significant social problem that needs to be addressed. The data collected were then analyzed to assess how the idealized objectives of this school are operationalized in its day-to-day operations.

Summary of Findings

In Chapters 4 and 5, a detailed analysis of data is provided to help address the four research questions. Specifically, Chapter 4 provides an overview of how the John School operates from start to

finish. This includes the processes associated with sting operations conducted by the police, pre- and post-interviews with the arrested Johns, program sessions with different community volunteers, and finally, program release and follow-up. At this time, the objectives of the program are also discussed and then grounded within an overall idea of how the program operates. In Chapter 5, the operation of the program is placed within the context of a social problems framework, paying special attention to how the program staff typify the problem of street prostitution. This includes identifying the main components of the problem and then looking at labels of “victim” and “villain” that are attributed to street prostitutes, Johns, drug dealers and community members. To bring this discussion to a full circle, the following provides a brief summary of findings organized around each of the research questions.

How are program objectives implemented within the operation of the diversion program?

The objectives of the John School, as identified by program volunteers, include knowledge dissemination, accountability, diversion and change. Through each of these objectives, participants of the program are able to (1) acquire information about street prostitution that they might not have been aware of, (2) identify and acknowledge how their decisions and lifestyle choices have led to their arrest and contribute to the social problem of prostitution, and (3) identify and begin to seek out ways of changing problematic behaviour that leads to making unsafe and risky choices. All of the program components work towards the overall objective of change – change in their choice of sexual partners, change in their means of fulfilling needs and desires, and perhaps a change in their way of living and communicating with others.

Throughout the operation of the John School, session lectures and the program volunteers all work towards helping the participants acknowledge their mistakes, understand the realities of street prostitution, identify the risks associated with street prostitution, and finally, to seek out further assistance in making a change in their lives. The overall understanding is that the decision to purchase the services of a prostitute is not made with full knowledge and awareness of the dangers associated with street prostitution, and those individuals who seek out a prostitute are merely acting out due to

stresses, constraints or deficiencies in their lifestyles. The program then provides information sessions that educate participants on the realities of prostitution, on the experiences of those involved in prostitution, and the associated health risks, dangers and complications that may affect the participants, their families, and other members of the community. Further, the participants are offered group counselling to help internalize the responsibility for their arrest, as well as to help identify and seek out ways of avoiding future problematic behaviour, like purchasing the services of a prostitute. The final stages of the program then involve allowing the information to ruminate within the minds of participants before conducting their termination interview and releasing them from the program.

While it is clear that each part of the John School contributes to the four main objectives of the program, there are a few areas that have been identified as inconsistent with and perhaps deficient in terms of achieving those goals to the fullest. Specifically, a notable issue with the operation of the school is the diverging interpretation on what “diversion” means for each of the program staff. Where one believes diversion to mean reduced recidivism in terms of seeking out a prostitute in the future, another program volunteer feels diversion to mean avoiding the unpleasantness associated with receiving a criminal conviction and being publically identified as a John. This discrepancy has also been identified in other evaluations of diversion programs (see Wahab, 2005; Wortley & Fischer, 2002), and to some extent, may provide participants with a sense of confusion in terms of what they are meant to take away and learn from the program.

What is interesting to note, however, is that despite this discrepancy, the overall goal of the school to influence change remains undisturbed. In other words, while there may be diverging opinions on the interpretation of diversion, each opinion contributes to the idea that something must change. Overall, the John School wishes to educate the men so that they may change aspects of their behaviour and decision-making processes. The degree of that change appears not as important as getting the message across that a change needs to take place. Where that change occurs then rests in the hands of the participants, and for the program staff, providing participants with knowledge, empowerment and the tools to change is the mandate of the school.

How do stakeholders problematize prostitution and its social actors?

A significant component of the John School is education; program volunteers are specifically interested in getting the truth ‘out there’, so that the participants understand the reality of street prostitution and share this information with their friends and family. In order to achieve this, however, program volunteers must define and ‘sell’ the idea that street prostitution is a problem that needs to be addressed. To that end, through carefully observing and unpacking the language and information presented by the program staff, three main themes have been identified from this claims-making process that contribute to this idea that street prostitution is a problem.

Namely, the John School defines street prostitution as a consequence of the drug trade in Kitchener, and that further, it contributes to a host of other problems, such as assault, theft and robbery. Moreover, street prostitution is seen as a non-victimless crime, which challenges any preconceived notions that the consensual exchange of money for sex is limited to the prostitute and the client. Instead, street prostitution goes beyond the prostitute and the client, and involves the victimization of the Johns, families, and members of the community, all at the hands of the drug dealers, gang members, “muscles”, violent prostitutes and preying Johns. Finally, street prostitution is defined as a dirty, shameful and diseased social problem that is undesirable and affects all levels of society, irrespective of one’s social class, marital status, education, or ethnic origin.

Each of the themes discussed above are showcased throughout the John School, through program sessions that provide participants with detailed anecdotes and first-hand accounts of street prostitution in Kitchener. As well, vivid stories of assaulted and robbing Johns, coupled with images of infection-afflicted children, are presented to the participants in order to drive home that prostitution is violent, unsafe, unhealthy and unclean. The end result is a solidified and conclusive understanding that prostitution is a social problem.

What are the social conditions and characteristics related to the social construction of prostitution, as perceived by the social actors?

Part of defining prostitution as a social problem is setting out the conditions and characteristics of the problem. This process, known as “typification”, orients the audience of the claims-making process towards viewing prostitution in a particular way (Best, 1989; Loseke, 2003). In the case of the John School, this is accomplished by constructing the problem of street prostitution as one that reaches all levels of society and is bound to other social problems. This is exemplified by embedding street prostitution within other offences, such as the drug trafficking, gang violence, theft, assault and robbery. Further, the participants of the program are generalized to be from all different levels of society, with educational, occupational, marital status and income levels running the full gamut of possibilities. The universality and pervasiveness of prostitution is then instilled into participants by having them sit in a room and face each other, introduce themselves, their marital status and occupation to one another, and collaboratively partake in the diversion process.

Another element of the typification process is attributing the roles of ‘victim’ and ‘villain’ to readily identifiable individuals and groups (Loseke, 2003). This helps to bring the problem of prostitution down to personal level, by reinforcing the notion that the problem is not external or beyond the participants, but rather occurring right now and influencing their lives directly. The notions of ‘victim’ and ‘villain’ are thus impressed upon the participants by encouraging the men to feel as though they are potential victims of theft, robbery, assault and disease, but also the perpetrators and enablers of a problem that victimizes families, young women and children. This encourages the men to view themselves as having a direct role in the “degradation of their community” and the victimization of someone’s “mother, daughter, or friend”, roles imputed by a detective and an ex-prostitute from the Kitchener John School, respectively. As a result, the reality of street prostitution as a social problem is impressed upon the participants, which then paves the way for the presence and significance of a diversion program.

How does the diversion program address the problem of prostitution?

The final research question brings all parts of this study together, by looking at how the program volunteers define the John School as a viable means of addressing the problem of prostitution. In reviewing the data collected from the John School and its volunteers, a strong linkage appears between the acceptance of street prostitution as a social problem and the success of the diversion program, as defined by the program staff. Specifically, through the successful definition of street prostitution as a social problem and the transmission of this information to the participants of the program, the John School is located within an external, broad framework of problem-solving work. As a result, the participants of the program become part of this process and in a sense, the program's purpose and presence is legitimated to the participants. From here, participants may then give serious consideration to the information and material presented by the program staff, and make decisions based on that information. For many of the program staff, this internalization and consideration is one indicator of success for the school.

A notable issue with respect to this process of internalization arises in reviewing the results of the pre-interview and termination interview tests. Specifically, when one considers that participants score lower on tests during the termination interviews than the pre-program interviews and that the tests administered in both interviews are identical, the John School does not appear to be successful in its objective of educating the Johns through knowledge dissemination. Rather, this decreased aptitude could be interpreted as a clear indication that the John School is failing in that regard; instead, participants are not retaining the information provided by the program. Contrary to this assumption, however, the Program Director posits that this is actually an indication that the participants are thinking and therefore, the program is successful. From a contextual constructionist perspective, the Program Director's rationalization appears to be evidence of a claims-making process to further legitimate the viability of the John School, to the point of reworking the definitions of 'success' and 'failure' to present the program in a positive light.

Other indicators of success for the John School focus on the organization of the school being rehabilitative rather than punitive, reactionary to rather than independent of a problem, holistic in its scope rather than narrow, and finally, humane and open-minded rather than shaming and judgmental. This allows for the John School to be receptive to the experiences, interests and needs of the participants, and then tailor the information and services provided to meet those needs and deliver the most suitable program. Additionally, these components are often contrasted against the operation of other John Schools, thereby creating a niche within the broad range of alternative responses to the problem of prostitution, and then fulfilling it. Relating back to theory of contextual constructionism and social problems work, this creation and fulfillment of a need within the claims-making process allows the program volunteers to compete with other resolutions of the problem and legitimate itself as a viable approach. In other words, by creating the need for a service and then providing that service, the Kitchener John School legitimates and firmly entrenches itself as a viable contender for the power and resources to address or eradicate the problem of prostitution, which is a key strategy to the on-going claims-making process of social problems work (Loseke, 2003).

Limitations and Future Research

The data collected from the John School and the information obtained therein have provided a myriad of implications worth considering when looking at the work of community-based initiatives and the overall area of social problems work. While I am of the opinion that the methodology used in this study is both strong and thorough in its design and implementation, there are two notable areas that represent significant limitations on the scope of this project and areas in which future research may be conducted. Specifically, I would like to expand on the issues of the generalizability of data and time constraints.

Generalizability

Appreciating that the Kitchener John School Diversion Program is a community-based project and one that has evolved dramatically over its 15-year lifespan and continues to evolve, a study of this

diversion program must be treated as though it were a case study. In fact, I would argue that based on the review of diversion programs established in other locations in Canada and the United States, each location must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. The features of the diversion program and how it defines ‘success’ often depend upon the needs of the surrounding community, the resources at their disposal, the objectives of the program, and the manner in which the program is actually run. In such a way, each diversion program is *qualitatively different* across locations and it is therefore beyond the scope of this project to provide any generalized comments on other diversion programs.

Further, as a study based solely on a qualitative methodology, I contend that the focus should not be to generalize the results of this study, but rather to use them as a frame of reference. Individuals may find the methodology or results useful in conducting evaluations of other diversion programs, whether directed at clients of prostitutes or at other types of offenders, or for establishing or improving upon other similar programs. As a result, the purpose of undertaking the process evaluation is to contribute to a growing body of knowledge on the subject of prostitution and, more generally, on the subject of community-based responses to social problems.

Time Constraints

Inevitably, one might criticize the chosen methodology of this project as overlooking certain aspects of the program, such as the Johns, or overestimating the value of observational data. These are criticisms well known to both myself and my supervisor (whom often had to provide me with reassurance on the matter), and I would like to address them briefly here.

Firstly, while I appreciate the usefulness of investigating the perspectives and experiences of the Johns as the end-users of the John School, the time and resources required to pursue this avenue are well beyond the capabilities of this project, insofar as it is a Masters’ thesis. There are considerable measures to be undertaken in order to gain access to this population, maintain their rights to confidentiality and anonymity, while also ensuring the safety of the researcher. In light of these concerns, it was agreed that the current project methodology could satisfactorily address the research

questions without serious implications for the validity of the findings. Future research is needed to explore the participants' perspective of the John School setting in order to supplement, contrast or even challenge the findings of this project.

With respect to the observational data, my original intent was to conduct more observations of the John School to further clarify and concretize the findings from the first three sessions. The main obstacle to this goal, however, revolves around the time constraints of this project and the infrequency within which the John School programs are conducted. Due to the reliance of the John Schools on the success of police sting operations and the costs required to conduct such operations, the John School typically runs three times a year. As a result of this and the timing of this project, only three observation sessions of the John School were conducted. In future research, it is recommended that more time be allocated to gain the benefit of observing a higher number of sessions, which could uncover and further expand upon themes and concepts derived from the current data.

Future Research

Above, a number of limitations for this research project are identified and further, brief suggestions for future research are offered. So far, these suggestions include investing adequate time and resources to conduct further research of the John School and other similar programs for comparative analysis, as well as incorporating the perspective of the John School participants to supplement or uncover further knowledge and understanding of the program's viability and effectiveness. Based on the findings from this study, additional areas requiring empirical investigation include the relationships between social class, socio-economic status and participation in the John School, the effectiveness on John Schools with respect to recidivism rates, the viability of John Schools in comparison to other prostitution-related initiatives, and the extent to which John Schools are influenced by and help shape public policy.

Furthermore, one John School volunteer noted that there is a significant lack of information on non-traditional prostitutes and clients, and instances of prostitution within LGBT communities (e.g.,

male prostitution, female clients of male prostitutes, male clients of male prostitutes, etc.). While this criticism was noted as an area for improvement of the Kitchener John School in particular, it still represents an opportunity for future research and expanding our knowledge on the nature and extent of prostitution. In pursuing these areas, there exist a number of opportunities to carry on or move beyond the work of this project, to further contribute to the growing body of research on Johns and John Schools, for which there is a notable paucity.

Concluding Comments

To conclude, I wish to discuss the relevance of conducting research in the area of social problems work and the importance of this thesis as an academic journey and opportunity to develop and grow as a student. Firstly, it has always been my mantra that one should pursue education in areas that have relevance and importance to the inquirer. In other words, seek out the knowledge that is most interesting to you. Years ago, I would have had difficulty adjusting to the idea that researching social problems work and claims-making processes would be an interesting and enlightening endeavour. However, nearing the completion of my Master's degree, I am humbled by the folly of my previous, inexperienced ways.

For many, the area of social problems work is of key importance to countless areas of life, as it appears to influence not only how we respond to perceived social problems, but also what we define as important and relevant to our safety and livelihood. When I was first introduced to this body of research, I was already exploring the idea that what we consider to be 'risky' and 'dangerous' can be traced to the workings of the media in presenting hypothetical situations that, while highly unlikely, can be perceived as very 'real' and 'close to home'. Incorporating the social constructionist paradigm and specifically, social problems work, it became exceedingly clear there is more to this idea than initially understood. From that final year of my undergraduate career to the present time and likely well beyond the completion of this study, I have since engaged in an enlightening journey to explore and understand

how defining a phenomenon as a social problem can reveal a number of opportunities to engage in meaningful work that can inspire entire movements towards social change.

Returning to the present study, it is interesting to note the genesis of the problem of prostitution in Canada and how we have come to define and understand its prevalence. Conducting research on community-based initiatives like the Kitchener John School helps to create an awareness of the far-reaching effects of such programs, and further, how individuals may become actively engaged in shaping the ways in which we relate to one another. To that end, the importance of conducting research on such programs appears self-evident. When a group successfully defines something as a social problem, there is a sense of power that is transferred to those who support the definition and have a vested interest in seeing it resolved in a certain way. To commit a literary offence and quote a cliché statement, with great power comes great responsibility.

In conducting this research, I have opened my eyes to greater possibilities and motivations behind the minute details and decisions that surround one's day-to-day experiences. As a student and member of a rapidly changing society, I feel gifted with this awareness and to some degree, cursed to forever analyze and assess my surroundings. It is my hope that, through this research and other like studies, more people will become equally gifted and cursed.

References

- Bachman, R., & Schutt, R. K. (2007). *Practice of research in criminology and criminal justice* (3rd ed.) Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Berg, B.L. (2009). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berger, P.L. & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Best, J. (1989). *Images of issues: Typifying contemporary social problems*. New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, Inc.
- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A.L. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3-21.
- Criminal Code of Canada (1985). Retrieved from <http://laws.justice.gc.ca.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/en/C-46/>
- Fischer, B., Wortley, S., Webster, C., & Kirst, M. (2002). Socio-legal dynamics and implications of diversion: The case study of the Toronto john school diversion programme for prostitution offenders. *Criminal Justice*, 2(4), 385-410.
- Greer, S. (1997). Nietzsche and Social Construction: Directions for a Postmodern Historiography. *Theory & Psychology*, 7(1), 83-100.
- Jenness, V. (1990). From sex as sin to sex as work: COYOTE and the reorganization of prostitution as a social problem. *Social Problems*, 37(3), 403-420.
- Kennedy, M. A., Klein, C., Gorzalka, B. B., & Yuille, J. C. (2004). Attitude change following a diversion program for men who solicit sex. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 40(1&2), 41-60.
- Loseke, D.R. (2003). *Thinking about social problems* (2nd ed.). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Lowman, D. J. (2001). Identifying research gaps in the prostitution literature. Department of Justice Canada. Retrieved 29 September 2008 from http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/rs/rep-rap/2002/rr02_9/rr02_9.pdf
- Miller, G. & Holstein, J. A. (1997) *Social problems in everyday life: Studies of social problems work*. London: Jai Press Inc.
- Shivley, M., Jalbert, S. K., Kling, R., Rhodes, W., Finn, P., Flygare, C., Tierney, L., Hunt, D., Squires, D., Dyous, C., & Wheeler, K. (2008). Final Report on the Evaluation of the First Offender Prostitution Program. United States: Abt. Associates, Inc. Retrieved 23 September 2008 from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/222451.pdf>
- Statistics Canada. n.d. Table 2520051 Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (3302) for 01-Jan-1998 to 01-Jan-2009. CANSIM (database). Using CHASS (distributor). <http://datacenter2.chass.utoronto.ca/chasscansim/> (accessed August 7, 2010).

- Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. (2004). Open Coding. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Social research methods: A reader* (pp. 303-306). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Van Brunschot, E. G. (2003). Community policing and "john schools". *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 40(2), 215-232.
- Wahab, S. (2005). Navigating Mixed-Theory Programs: Lessons Learned From a Prostitution-Diversion Project. *Affilia Journal of Women and Social Work*, 20(2), 203-222.
- Wahab, S. (2006). Evaluating the usefulness of a prostitution diversion project. *Qualitative Social Work: Research and Practice*, 5(1), 67-92.
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2001). 2001 Annual Report. Research and Planning Branch (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2002). 2002 Annual Report. Research and Planning Branch (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2003). 2003 Annual Report. Research and Planning Branch (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2004). 2004 Annual Report and Corporate Business Plan. Research and Planning Branch (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2005). 2005 Annual Report and Corporate Business Plan. Office of the Chief of Police (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2006). 2006 Annual Report and Corporate Business Plan. Office of the Chief of Police (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2007). 2007 Annual Report. Office of the Chief of Police (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Waterloo Regional Police Service. (2008). 2008 Annual Report. Office of the Chief of Police (producer). Retrieved 10 July 2010 from <http://www.wrps.on.ca/misc-content/annual-reports.htm>
- Wortley, S., & Fischer, B. (2002). *An evaluation of the Toronto john school diversion program*. Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.

Appendices

Appendix A

Interviewee Recruitment Letter

Alternative Solutions to Traditional Problems:

Contextualizing the
Kitchener John School

Amrit K. Mandur
Graduate Student
Department of Sociology
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1
Email: akmandur@uwaterloo.ca
Telephone: (519) 497-4181

Research on the Kitchener John School Diversion Program

Dear Sir or Madam:

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a research study I am conducting, entitled “Alternative Solutions to Traditional Problems: Contextualizing the Kitchener John School Diversion Program”. I am currently a graduate student in the Department of Sociology, at the University of Waterloo. This study will be conducted as part of my Master’s degree, under the supervision of Professor Jennifer L. Schulenberg.

Overview of Project

Prostitution has been considered an issue within many cities across Canada and the United States, and over the years, government agencies and communities have tried different approaches and tactics to address prostitution. In the last decade, there has been greater interest placed on individuals who facilitate the prostitution, such as the “pimps” and “johns”. There has also been a legal shift to address prostitution, such as the establishment of diversion programs for charged offenders. The goal of this study is to examine the Kitchener John School diversion program and those involved with the operation of the program to understand how the diversion program works to address prostitution.

Potential Participants

This study will focus on the experiences and perspectives of individuals involved in the operation of the Kitchener John School diversion program. This includes administrators, volunteers, guest lecturers and program coordinators. I would like to include your experiences and perspectives as you are actively involved in the operation of this program.

Participating in the Study

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and will involve an interview either over the phone or in person, at your convenience and discretion, and would last approximately 45 minutes in length. You may decline to answer any interview questions if you so wish, and may withdraw your participation at any time during or after the interview. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to assist in data collection and later transcribed for analysis.

This study will also involve observations of several morning sessions held by the Kitchener John School diversion program. Permission to conduct the observations has been provided by the Program Coordinator, Karen Taylor-Harrison, who will also be speaking with each of the session presenters regarding these observations. During the observed sessions, I will make general notes on the information and materials presented and no identifying information will be recorded.

If you would like to participate in this study or if you have any questions, please contact me via telephone at (519) 497-4181 or by email at akmandur@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Professor Jennifer L. Schulenberg, at (519) 888-4567 ext. 38639 or by email at jlschule@uwaterloo.ca.

Confidentiality

All information acquired through participation will be kept strictly confidential. You may decline to answer any questions or may withdraw consent to participate at any time without penalty. Any quotations or information derived from the interviews to be used in the final report will be kept anonymous in order to uphold confidentiality and protect the identity of all participants. Further, any identifying materials collected in the course of the study, such as consent forms and names of interviewees, will be kept separate from the data and destroyed at the end of this study.

Any materials collected will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and data stored on a password protected computer accessible only to myself. All data and materials will be kept for a period of 10 years and then confidentially destroyed.

Ethics Review

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at (519) 888-4567 Ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your consideration of my invitation.

Sincerely,

Amrit K. Mandur

Appendix B

Interviewee Information Letter

Alternative Solutions to Traditional Problems:

Contextualizing the Kitchener John School

Amrit K. Mandur
Graduate Student
Department of Sociology
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1
Email: akmandur@uwaterloo.ca
Telephone: (519) 497-4181

Interviewee Information & Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. I am conducting a study on the Kitchener John School Diversion Program as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Sociology at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Jennifer L. Schulenberg. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

Purpose of Study:

The goal of this study is to examine the Kitchener John School and those involved with the operation of the school to develop an understanding of how the program works to address prostitution. In order to accomplish this, I am conducting in-depth interviews with program administrators, coordinators, lecturers and volunteers to discuss their perspectives and experiences through involvement with the program. Through the interviews, I hope to acquire greater insight as to how prostitution is defined, understood and interpreted by program personnel, and then shared with program attendees.

This study will also involve observations of several morning sessions held by the Kitchener John School diversion program. Permission to conduct the observations has been provided by the Program Coordinator, Karen Taylor-Harrison, who will also be speaking with each of the session presenters regarding these observations. During the observed sessions, I will make general notes on the information and materials presented and no identifying information will be recorded. This information may then be used by similar programs to assist in the development of effective measures to address a variety of social phenomenon.

Procedures for Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Interviews may be conducted in-person or by telephone at a convenient time and place, at your discretion, and will run approximately 45 minutes in length. With your permission, an audio-recording device, such as a hand-held voice recorder, will be used for the purpose of accurate transcription of the interview and for data analysis purposes. Prior to the completion of the study, you will be provided with a transcription of any quotes from your interview that may be included in the written report.

During the interview, you will be asked questions about your qualifications, your experiences, and your specific roles and involvements in relation to the school. For example, "What kind of work do you do outside of the school?" and "How did you become involved with the John School?" Additionally, you

will be given the opportunity to provide your perspectives on prostitution, the role of the John School, and how the two are related. For example, “Would you say prostitution is an issue in this community?”, “Who would you say are the people affected by prostitution?” and “What role do you feel the John School plays in the occurrence of prostitution?”.

Potential Risks, Harms or Discomforts

There are minimal risks, harms and discomforts anticipated through participation in this study. As the interviews are used primarily to explore the experiences and perspectives of the program instructors, administrators, guest lecturers and volunteers, it is expected that slight discomfort may arise in the course of recalling those experiences and perspectives. In light of this, please remember that your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may decline to answer any questions at any time during the interview without penalty.

Potential Benefits

Through the contributions of your experiences and perspectives, it is hoped that greater understanding may be provided on how the Kitchener John School Diversion Program works, both as a program targeted at offenders, as well as a means of addressing a specific social phenomenon. The findings of this study will then be distributed to the program director of the Kitchener John School, and will be available to you upon request, in order to help identify key strengths and weaknesses that may exist, which can be used to increase program efficiency and success. Further, the findings of the study may also be published in academic journals and presented at conferences, allowing other organizations to review the findings and improve their program models and services.

Confidentiality

All information acquired through participation will be kept strictly confidential. You may decline to answer any questions or may withdraw your consent to participate at any time during or after the interview without penalty. Any quotations derived from the interviews and used in the final report will be kept anonymous in order to uphold confidentiality and protect the identity of all participants. Further, this interview will be assigned a serial number rather than a name, and the consent form attached will be kept separate from the data and destroyed at the end of this study.

Any hard-copy materials collected will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and any electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer accessible only to myself. All data and materials will be kept for a period of 10 years and then confidentially destroyed. Should you wish to withdraw your participation at any time during or after the interview, any materials collected will be destroyed forthwith at your request.

Ethical Standards and Rights of Research Participant

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at (519) 497-4181 or by email at akmandur@uwaterloo.ca, or my supervisor, Professor Jennifer L. Schulenberg, at (519) 888-4567 ext. 38639 or jlschule@uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at (519) 888-4567 Ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

Appendix C

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

Personal Background

1. Could you tell me a bit about your current job? What kind of work do you do?
2. Have you received any formal training for this job? Please describe.

Work with John School

3. How did you first become involved with the John School?
4. What is your role within the school?
5. How long have you been working with the John School?
6. Did you receive any training for this role? Please describe.
7. What purpose or goal do you hope to achieve, through this role?
8. While at the John School, do you represent an organization or service?
 - a. What is the organization?
 - b. What is your organization's mandate with respect to the John School?
9. What is your understanding of the purpose of the John School?
10. In what way do you feel your role in the school supports this purpose?
11. Is any of your work at the John School collaborative? *For example, do you work with any of the other volunteers?* Please describe.
12. Have you worked with any other John Schools?
 - a. Was/Is your role at the other location(s) similar to your role with this John School?
 - b. Are there any notable differences between the schools?

Prostitution

13. What is your (or your organization's) position on the matter of prostitution? *For example, is it considered a problem, the result of a related or separate problem, a part of society?* Please describe.
 - a. In what way does prostitution affect the community, if at all?
14. Do you feel that the John School addresses or influences the occurrence of prostitution in this community? To what degree or extent?
15. Are you aware of any other initiatives in this community designed to address prostitution?
 - a. Do you feel these other initiatives are complimentary or supplementary to, or at odds with the John School's purpose? In what way?
16. What do you feel are some of the strengths of the John School?
17. What do you feel are some of the drawbacks or weaknesses of the John School?
18. Do you have any recommendations for improvements?
19. Are there any other comments you wish to make at this time?

Appendix D Informed Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Interview

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Amrit K. Mandur and supervised by Dr. Jennifer L. Schulenberg of the Department of Sociology at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

Consent Options	Yes or No
I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.	
I agree to be interviewed for this study, either over the phone or in person, at a time and place scheduled at my convenience.	
I consent to the use of an audio-recording device during the interview, for the purpose of transcription and data analysis.	
I consent to the use of anonymous quotes from the interview in any publications or presentations.	
I would like to receive a copy of the final report when it is available. <i>If Yes, please provide an email or mailing address:</i>	
I agree to be re-contacted to review a transcription of quotes that may be used in any publications or presentations.	

Participant:

Name (Please print)

Signature

Date:

Witness:

Name (Please print)

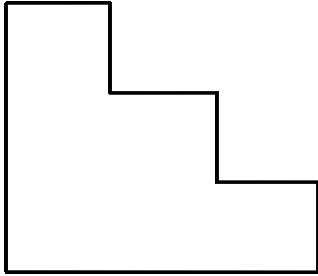
Signature

Appendix E

List of Categories and Concepts used for Data Analysis

The following is a list of concepts, themes and their definitions, as derived from the data analysis and converted into nodes within the NVivo 9 software. Initially, the concepts were designated as “free nodes”, which indicates that the concepts lack an order of significance or priority to one another. Through the process of analyzing and coding the data, categories were eventually established. The categories were created by converting the “free nodes” into “tree nodes”, defining subcategories within each main category, and then assigning the nodes to the different levels of categories. Below sets out the tree nodes in their categorical order and includes a brief definition for each concept/theme.

- A. **Prostitution as a Problem** – references/implications that define prostitution as a social problem
 - a. **Consequent** – defining prostitution as a result of or antecedent to other social problems
 - b. **Victimless** – defining prostitution as a crime with victims (resistance to victimless crime “misnomer” of prostitution)
 - c. **Dirty** – terms or references to prostitution as unclean, dirty, diseased
- B. **Typification of Social Actor** – instances where program staff typify anyone involved/affected by the social problem
 - a. **Victim** – general typification that the individual/group is a victim of something
 - i. **Innocent** – individual/group is undeserving of the effects of prostitution
 - ii. **Unknowing** – individual/group is unwitting to the effects
 - b. **Villain** – general typification that the individual/group is a wrong-doer
 - i. **Perpetrator** – individual/group directly causes prostitution to thrive (criminal)
 - ii. **Violent** – individual/group engages in violent behaviour (against victims)
 - iii. **Ruthless** – individual/group does not have standard social morals and values
- C. **Program Structure** – references to the idealized structure of the program (how it is defined)
 - a. **Rehabilitation** – program is rehabilitative, seeks to help participants, nurture vs. punish
 - b. **Needs-Based** – program is responsive, dynamic, current
 - c. **Humane** – program is “nice” or “kind” or “fair” in its treatment (contrasted against, mean, abrasive, rude)
- D. **Objectives** – references to or definitions of what the program tries to achieve
 - a. **Knowledge** – program is about “knowledge”; information or truth given to others
 - b. **Education** – program is (to be) educational; service provided to individuals in need
 - c. **Responsibility** – program encourages accountability towards one’s actions
 - d. **Diversion** – program is meant to reduce occurrence of some facet of participant’s life
 - i. **Behaviour** – change individual/groups behaviours, attitudes, thoughts, opinions
 - ii. **Criminal** – avoid criminal charge, process, experience
 - iii. **Stigma** – avoid label, negative consequence of being found out/charged
 - iv. **Lifestyle** – change habits that cause, create or contribute to social problem
 - v. **Addiction** – identify, avoid, desist in addictive behaviours/tendencies
 - e. **Tools for Change** – provide participants with the means to achieve diversion



**Appendix F
Client Information and Acknowledgement Form**

Steps to Change

.....john School Diversion Program

CLIENT INFORMATION

Name	
Address	
Telephone Number*	
Date of Birth**	
City of residence**	
Location of arrest**	
First Language	
Date of Intake Interview & Pre-test	
Date of john School	
Date of Post-test & Termination	
Next Court Date	
Read & Write English	Yes No
Do you need an Interpreter?	

*Note: If we need to contact you we will not disclose any information in regards to this program to anyone who answers the telephone.

**Note: All data collected is confidential but is used in data collection and research purposes only.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT FORM

I, _____, have accepted responsibility for the offence, "Communicating for the purpose of prostitution" for which I have been charged. I acknowledge my guilt and am prepared to participate in the *john School Diversion Program*.

I have never previously been through this program

I understand that I am required to attend an intake appointment where I will be tested on my knowledge of Prostitution. I am required to attend an educational program that will last one day on a specified Saturday at the Mill Courtland Community Centre. I am required to then attend a termination appointment where I will be tested again.

I will be required to make a donation of \$500.00 to be used at the discretion of the *john School Committee* in programs of prevention, support and administration. If my cheque is returned due to Insufficient Funds, I will be charged a \$30.00 fee and my case may proceed to court.

I am aware that after the successful completion of the *john School Diversion Program*, the Crown Attorney will be notified. The Crown Attorney will divert the charge and withdraw it from court proceedings. I will not have to appear again in court nor will I have a criminal record.

Signed: _____

Witnessed: _____

Date: _____

A COMMUNITY-LED DIVERSION PROGRAM FOR MEN CHARGED WITH COMMUNICATION
--

**Appendix G
Participant Pre-Test**

**JOHN SCHOOL DIVERSION PROGRAM
PRE TEST**

Please answer the following questions as **TRUE** or **FALSE** by
Circling either **T** (for **TRUE**) or **F** (for **FALSE**)

1. **T F** The punishment for the crime of communicating for the purpose of prostitution is \$2,000.00 or 6 months in jail.
2. **T F** Diseases which are spread by sex are called **Sexually Transmitted Diseases or STD'S**
3. **T F** Community Groups cannot get the names of persons charged with the offence of Communicating for the purpose of prostitution from the court.
4. **T F** All diseases spread by sex (**STD/Sexually Transmitted Diseases**) can be cured.
5. **T F** There is a connection between prostitution and illegal drug use.
6. **T F** If you are found guilty of a crime, you will have a "Criminal Record" that is permanent. It will restrict your future in many important ways.

Please answer the following statements with a Yes or No. You may write more comments at the bottom if you wish.

1. Yes No **In Canada, talking to a prostitute to give her money for sex is o.k.**
2. Yes No **Looking for sex in exchange for money causes harm to people and to the community.**
3. **Yes No** There is no risk to have sex with a prostitute.
4. **Yes No** Mouth to genital or hand to genital (e. g. the penis) contact is not sex
5. **Yes No** Women become prostitutes because they really like sex
6. **Yes No** My wife/partner/girlfriend/children would be happy to learn that I had contact with a prostitute
7. **Yes No** I should be free to talk to a prostitute and buy sex from her, if I wish to.

C. Please answer the following questions based on what you believe to be true. Circle the letter that is closest to your opinion

A = AGREE

B = UNCERTAIN

C = DISAGREE

1. I would know if my sexual partner had a Sexually Transmitted Disease (**STD**)

A. B. C.

2. I cannot get a **STD** from a blow job/going down/oral sex.

A B C

3. Condoms make sex 100% safe

A B C

4. I can get a **STD only** if my sexual partner has signs or symptoms of disease

A B C

5. I can only get **HIV/AIDS** if I have sex with a man.

A B C

6. I can only get a **STD** if I do not use a condom

A B C

7. Taking an **HIV** test every few months lowers my chance of getting **AIDS**

A B C

D. Some sexual activities are riskier than others. Put a check in the box you think best describes the risk level for the following activities. Check only one (1)

ACTIVITY	NO RISK	LOW RISK	HIGH RISK
Masturbation			
Vaginal Sex without a condom			
Vaginal Sex with a condom			
Oral Sex (Blow Job, Going Down) with a condom			
Oral Sex (Blow Job, Going Down) without a condom			
Anal Sex on a woman with a condom			
Anal Sex on a woman without a condom			
Anal Sex on a man with a condom			
Anal Sex on a man without a condom			
Sexual activity that causes bleeding			

E. Please answer the following questions in written form or respond to the statement with yes or no.

1. It is O.K. for a man to have a few affairs while in a committed relationship. Yes__ No__

2. Prostitution is a victimless crime Yes__ No__

3. I have a higher sex drive than other people Yes__ No__

4. I don't have sex as much as I'd like to Yes__ No__

5. My partner refuses to perform certain sex acts Yes__ No__

6. Men need sex more than women Yes__ No__

7. If prostitution were legalized, you would use the service Yes__ No__

8. Why do you believe woman become prostitutes? _____

9. Do you use condoms? Yes__ No__

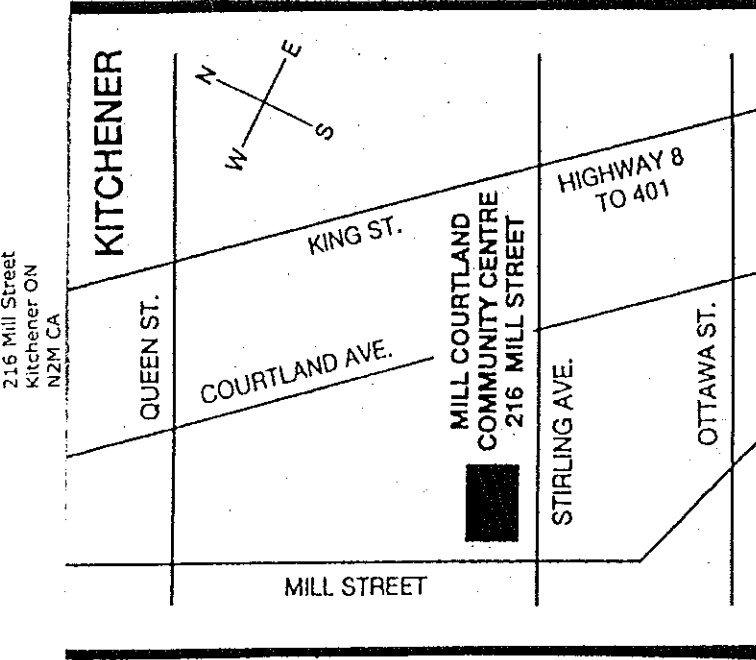
F. Please answer the following questions by circling AGREE OR DISAGREE

SEXUAL ENTITLEMENT

1. A person should have sex whenever it is needed Agree__ Disagree__

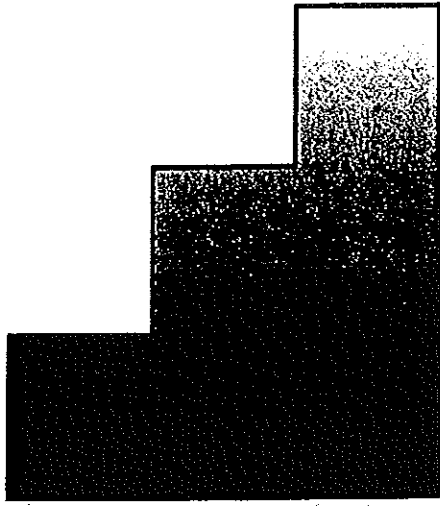
2. Women should satisfy men's sexual needs Agree__ Disagree__

3. Everyone is entitled to sex Agree__ Disagree__



COMMUNITY PARTNERS

- Waterloo Regional Police Service
- Crown Attorney's Office
- Mill-Courtland Community Centre
- Region of Waterloo Public Health
- Mill-Courtland Neighbourhood Association
- Cedar Hill Community Group



Steps to Change

- John School
- Diversion Program

Court Date

Pre-Test Appointment

John School

Post Test Appointment

IMPORTANT INFORMATION

What is john School?

- john School is an opportunity for change.
- john School is a Diversion Program that provides an alternative to court. If you attend with **GOOD BEHAVIOUR**, the charges against you will be dismissed. You will NOT have a criminal record
- john School is provided by members of your community
- john School is about education, choices, change and taking responsibility for your actions

Why am I going?

- You have been charged with "Communication for the Purpose of Prostitution" under the Criminal Code of Canada.
- This offence carries a fine of up to \$2,000.00 or 6 months in jail if you are convicted.

**a "john" is the customer of a prostitute (sex trade worker)

- The court has deemed that you may have the opportunity for change by attending john School and learning about the impact of your behaviour on yourself and the larger community.
- Learn about sexual health risks and consequences.
- Learn about the law and the consequences of a criminal record
- Learn about the impact your behaviour has on the people in the community.

What do I have to do?

- After you have been charged and have spoken to the Assistant Crown Attorney, you must call: **588-3927** and request to speak with an **In-Take Worker who will arrange an appointment for you to sign a contract and do a pre-test.**
- You will be required to pay a fee of \$500.00 cash or cheque (made out to "john School"). There will be a charge of \$30.00 for an N.S.F. cheque.

- You are expected to attend the john School for a full day with a respectful, cooperative attitude.
- Following the john School, you must make arrangements with the Intake Worker for a "Post-Test" Appointment
- **Note: Failure to follow all of the steps could result in your case proceeding to court**

Where do I go to john School?

- Mill Courtland Community Centre-216 Mill Street (corner of Mill and Stirling Avenue) Kitchener, Ontario.
- Parking in front or back

When do I go to john School?

- john School is held the first Saturday of April and November. You will be assigned a date to attend
 - 8 am. to 4 pm
 - We do not admit late arrivals
- NOTE: PLEASE DIRECT ALL QUESTIONS TO IN-TAKE WORKER AT 588-3927**



**AIDS/STD Program
Sexually Transmitted Disease
Drop-In Clinics**

Waterloo location:
99 Regina St. South
Mondays & Thursdays 2:30 – 6:30 pm

Cambridge location:
150 Main Street
Tuesdays 3:00 – 5:00 pm



519-883-2251

Clinics are:

- free
- confidential
- no health card or identification required

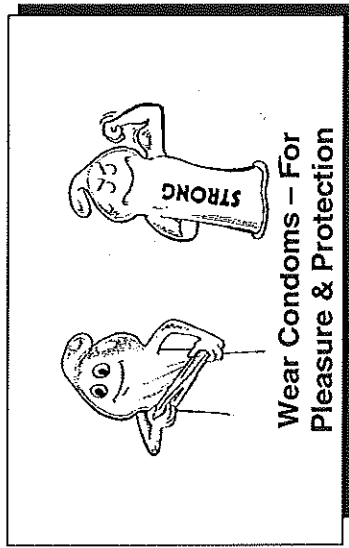
Ask for an STD test if you:

- have had vaginal, oral or anal sex without a latex or polyurethane condom or barrier
- have a condom break or slip
- have any symptoms
- have had sex with someone who has an STD
- share needles for injecting drugs, tattooing, body piercing
- are pregnant or plan to get pregnant
- are beginning a new sexual relationship (your partner should be tested too)

CD145

Storing Condoms

- store away from sources of heat such as your pocket or wallet. Avoid prolonged exposure to sunlight and fluorescent light.



Guys! Want to stay hard longer during sex? Use a condom.

- one size usually fits everyone but shop around for the style you like best. Make sure it fits tightly so it won't slip off.

Condoms Can Break

- check the expiry date
- remember to pinch the tip
- try another brand

Put some lube in the tip of the condom or on the head of the penis. You can buy different colours, shapes, styles and flavours of condoms. Glow-in-the-dark condoms do not protect from STIs, HIV / AIDS or pregnancy.

Your sex life can be long, healthy and happy

- enjoy sex more when you're not worrying about pregnancy, HIV / AIDS and other STIs.
- decide to use a condom before you have sex. Choose to make them part of your sex life.

Where Can You Get Condoms?

- drug stores, grocery stores and some convenience stores.
- some bars and washrooms have vending machines that sell condoms.

Public Health has a condom access program which offers free condoms through many community agencies. Call 519-883-2251 for locations

Had Sex Without a Condom?

Visit your doctor or an STD clinic to get tested. You may not have symptoms. STD clinics offer free information, testing and treatment. And remember, oral sex is still sex.

For more information, check these websites:

- www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/publicat/std-mts/sti_r.html
- www.iwannaknow.org
- www.ashastd.org//condom/condom_introduction.cfm



Region of Waterloo

PUBLIC HEALTH

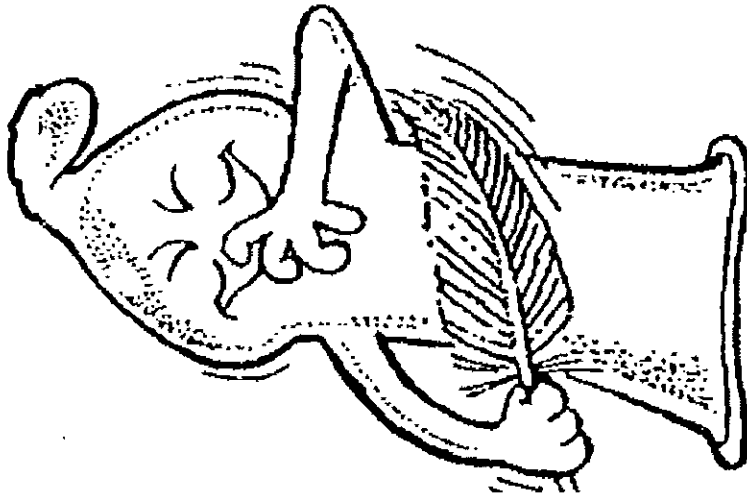
AIDS/STD Program
99 Regina Street South
Waterloo, ON
N2J 4V3

519-883-2251

www.region.waterloo.on.ca/ph

Condoms Make Sense

Appendix J
"Condoms Make Sense" Brochure



Why Use Latex Condoms?

- there is no cure for HIV / AIDS and other viral infections.
- undiagnosed and untreated Sexually Transmitted Infections or STIs can affect your physical health, your fertility, your mental health and cause problems in your relationships.
- to prevent pregnancy.
- to reduce your risk of getting STIs, including HIV / AIDS.
- 'Natural' lambskin condoms only prevent pregnancy. They do not protect you against HIV / AIDS and STIs.

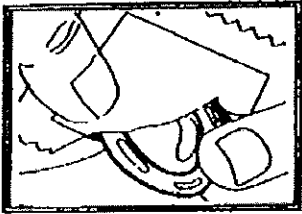
How Condoms Work

- condoms keep blood, semen and vaginal fluids from passing from one person to another during sex.
- these fluids can carry the infections that cause STIs and HIV / AIDS.
- they provide some protection from skin to skin STI transmission.
- a condom can be cut in half lengthwise and used as a barrier for oral sex on woman.

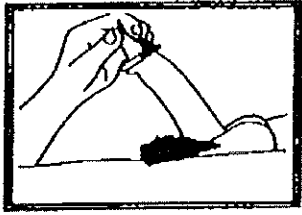
Lube, Lube and More Lube. Why?

- sex feels better.
- the condom is less likely to break.
- use only water based or silicone lubricants with latex condoms.

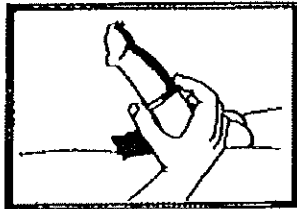
Oil based lube weakens condoms causing breakage. Avoid baby oil, petroleum jelly, hand lotion or anything else made with oil.



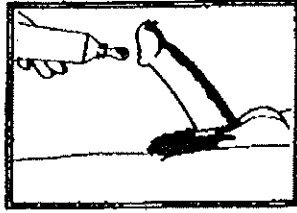
1. Open Carefully



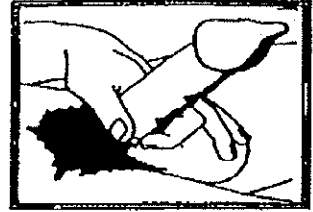
2. Place and Pinch Top



3. Roll it on



4. Lubricate



5. Afterwards - Hold Base and Pull Out

Vaginal sex (penis in vagina). Vaginal sex without a condom is a high risk for:

- chlamydia
- genital warts (HPV - some types can lead to cervical cancer)
- gonorrhea
- herpes
- syphilis
- HIV / AIDS

Anal sex (penis in bum). Anal sex without a condom (bare backing) is a high risk for:

- chlamydia
- genital warts (HPV)
- gonorrhea
- herpes
- syphilis
- HIV / AIDS

The risk is high whether you are the top or the bottom partner. If you have anal sex, use latex condoms and lots of water based lube.

Oral Sex is still sex

Oral sex without a condom can spread:

- chlamydia
- gonorrhea
- syphilis
- HIV / AIDS

Nonoxynol-9

- spermicides kill sperm not HIV or STIs.
- discuss the use of spermicide products for vaginal sex with your doctor, nurse or a pharmacist.

Appendix K Group Counselling Package

Why learn about offending cycles?

- 1) To learn what contributes to the choice of sexually offending
- 2) To learn that our actions has several causes and effects
- 3) To learn how thoughts, feelings, and environments can affect behaviours
- 4) To learn how your feelings influence your behaviour
- 5) To learn how your thoughts influence your behaviour
- 6) To learn how your beliefs about the world and yourself influence how you act
- 7) To learn how what you do today influences what you do tomorrow and in the future
- 8) To recognize when you are experiencing a phase in the cycle
- 9) To learn how to break the cycle and begin to ask for help
- 10) To learn when and how to stop your offending behaviour
- 11) To implement/develop strategies to avoid, or cope more effectively with your situation.
- 12) To identify high-risk situations leading to abuse
- 13) To reduce the risk of relapsing behaviours

TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE OFFENSE CYCLE

Phase 1: Everything is “normal”: Rationalization and distorted thoughts

In Phase I (Pretend-Normal) of the offence cycle there are usually stressors or triggers present. For some people the cycle starts with feelings of despair, anger, powerlessness, or depression. People who offend sexually choose to act on these feelings in a way that is sexually inappropriate and harmful. Fantasies of a sexual nature (Phase II – Build-up) can be present at this stage. A person in the early stages of the cycle may not be aware that the cycle is happening. Rationales and distorted thoughts are an important sign post of this early stage. This stage in the cycle usually comprises a series of small steps towards offending behaviours. In the beginning, these small steps may not seem important, but ultimately they can lead into situations where a person is feeling out of control or overwhelmed and is vulnerable to acting out offending behaviours.

Phase 2: Fantasies about power and control, grooming and maintenance behaviours

At this stage (Phase II – Build-up) a person who sexually offends finds a target or opportunity to abuse, determining a way to commit the offence. This phase can be a long process or seem spontaneous. Some people “groom” their victims slowly over a long period of time by acting as a “friend” and showering them with attention. The target person will typically not be aware of the underlying motivations. The person who offends sexually will usually set up a dynamic which keeps the target person off balance. Surprise or coercion through threat can accomplish this unbalancing dynamic. Other people who offend use opportunity to pick the target person as is sometimes the case in public exposure or indecent acts.

Phase 3: Acting—out, making the decision to offend

(Phase III – Acting Out) Regardless of the reasons that people offend sexually, these behaviours are choices. Although implementing strategies to stop choices of offending in the earlier stages of the cycle is most effective, it is still possible to have strategies to change choices in the commitment stage of offending. It is important to have clear ways of stopping the behaviour from happening.

Phase 4: Cover-up, denial, minimizing behaviours, justification

Being arrested or getting caught by others is often the starting point for addressing problems of sexually offending behaviours. Although many people who are caught in their behaviours state later that they were relieved, disclosure of the offence often causes a crisis. The reaction to this crisis is often to deny or minimize the

offence. Both can occur in Phase 4 (Justification) of the offence cycle. Denial and minimization are understandable but they can slow down the process of acknowledgement of a problem and the healing that needs to occur to stop offences. People who offend sexually are often overwhelmed by the stigma that accompanies the initial disclosure of their offending behaviour. They fear the embarrassment or anger and disappointment of family, neighbours, and work colleagues who might find out. Family or peers may support denial and minimization rather than believe someone they care about sexually offended. However it is impossible to develop relapse prevention strategies without first understanding the choices to offend. This understanding is best achieved in an honest atmosphere.

Phase 4: Committing the offence, tension reduction.

After a person sexually offends he or she may experience a reduction of stress or arousal. But it usually lasts only a very short period of time (Phase IV – Justification). Most people who offend feel ashamed and guilty for their behaviour. To cope with these feelings, people who sexually offend have a need to be in denial about committing the offence or minimize their responsibility.

Path Returning to Phase 1: Feelings of shame & guilt

People who have sexually offended typically become flooded with feelings of guilt and shame. These feelings may be triggered by remorse at the harm done to the victim or the fear of the consequences of being caught. Whatever the reason, these feelings can restart the cycle. If the stress caused by the behaviours is not addressed in a supportive and healthy way, it can produce the need to act out again. The worry, stress and depression that can trigger the fantasies and reinforcement of rationales allow the offending behaviour to occur. It is easy to be stuck in this rut if the old patterns are not interrupted and new healthy strategies not created.

Summary:

Overcoming personal and social obstacles

Most people in our society never sexually offend. This is because as a society we have strong personal boundaries and social norms about sex. A person who sexually offends crosses those boundaries. It requires a developed set of rationalizations and distorted thinking to surmount clear social boundaries and norms. People who offend often have a developed sense that the target person is consenting or benefiting from this activity. Understanding the foundations of these distorted beliefs is an important part of developing the strategies to stop offending behaviours.

Stressors and the Offending Cycle

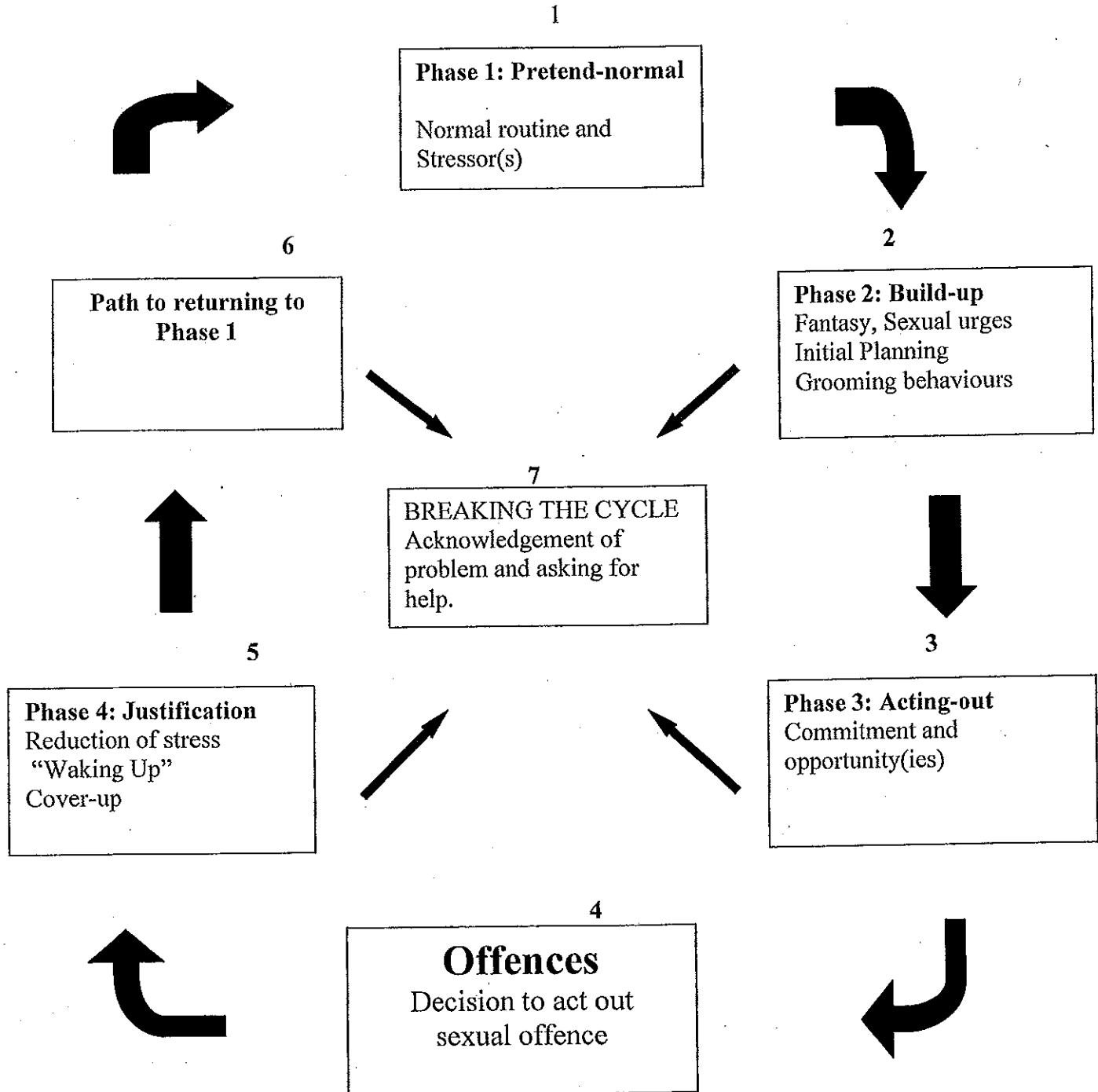
Stressors may be thought of as triggers which occur and set the stage for the offence cycle to begin. They may be 'warning signs' that there is something wrong with how thinking, acting or feeling is affecting the life of the person who offends sexually. Identifying these stressors is an important factor when developing relapse prevention strategies and can act as an 'early warning system'.

Common Stressors:

- **Financial:** Changes in financial status: having a mortgage or loan; accumulating large debts; foreclosure on mortgage or loan; becoming irresponsible with money; budgeting difficulties; misusing credit cards, increased costs due to being out of the home
- **Employment:** Being laid off, fired, or quitting job; retirement; change to a different line of work; change in responsibilities at work; partner beginning or stopping work; trouble with boss; personal injury or illness
- **Social:** Changes in social life or status, death or illness in the family; withdrawing or cutting-off from friends or family; changes in recreation activities; isolation
- **Education:** Beginning or ending school; being expelled from or dropping out of school, failing courses
- **Relationships:** Death of a spouse or close friend, marriage, divorce or separation, pregnancy, sexual difficulties, frequent fights or arguments with partner or family
- **Drug and/or alcohol use:** Increase or decrease in the frequency or use of drugs or alcohol, legal or social consequences of use
- **Health and Physical Appearance:** You commonly let you health and appearance go down hill. You might not shave or bathe daily, you may dress sloppily or wear the same clothes for days, eat little or just eat junk food, and either lose or gain weight.

Stressors are not the cause of choosing to sexually offend but can be contributors to the cycle of offending.

A Sexual Offending Cycle



Defence Mechanisms

"Thinking errors" are an integral part of the cycle of abuse. They are also called defence mechanisms. Defence mechanisms are a way in which people avoid dealing with truth or reality. They enter into your committing a sexual offence by taking small steps. Common examples of defence mechanisms include:

1. Rationalization: When you rationalize, you make excuses to explain and justify your behaviour; even though you know what you are doing is wrong.
2. Intellectualization: When you intellectualize something, you are avoiding reality by trying to explain away issues through abstraction or theorizing. You avoid dealing with the real issues and emotions and try to make something sound OK even though it may be very abnormal.
3. Denial: Denial is when you refuse to admit the truth about your crimes or the problems you have. Denial is very common among people who have offended sexually. Denial, simply put is not admitting the truth.
4. Minimization: When you minimize your behaviour, you try to make it out to be less serious than it really is. You intentionally downplay and understate the truth about a situation.

Consider what defence mechanisms you have. Make a list and give one example of how you use each of these defence mechanisms.

Defence Mechanism	Example

It All Begins With Awareness

"Let us not look back in anger, nor forward in fear, but around in awareness."
- James Thurber

Awareness is the first step in the healing process. As you grow in self awareness, you will better understand why you feel what you feel and why you do behave as you behave. That understanding then gives you the opportunity to change those things you would like to change about yourself and create the life you want. Without fully knowing who you are, self acceptance and change become impossible.

Having clarity about who you are and what you want (and why you want it), empowers you to **consciously and actively** make what you want become a reality.

If you think about it, not understanding why you do what you do, and feel what you feel is like going through your life with a stranger's mind. How do you make wise decisions and choices if you don't understand why you want what you want? It's a difficult and chaotic way to live never knowing what this stranger is going to do next.

THE SELF AWARENESS WHEEL

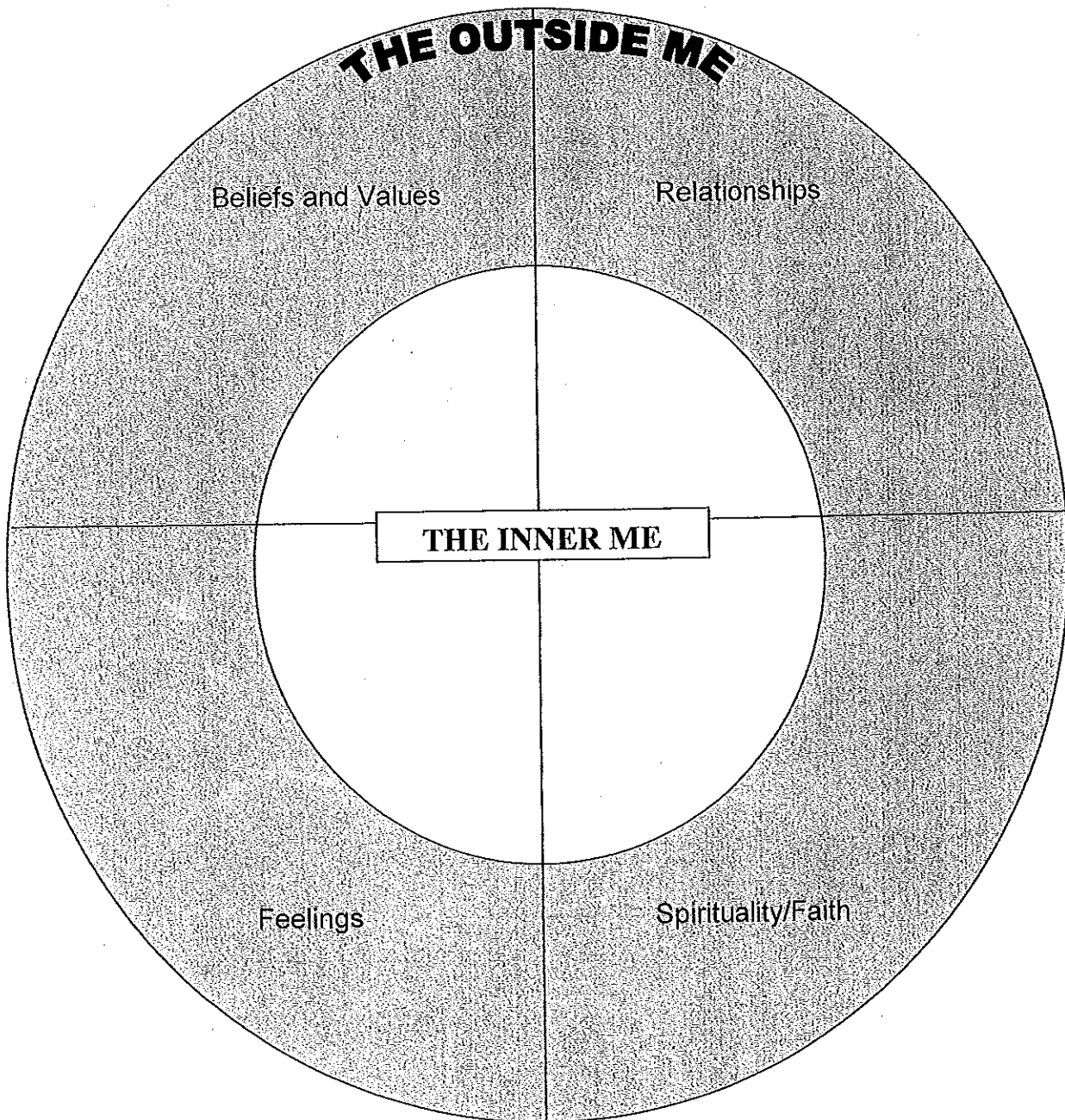
In order to understand the person you are today, it is important to reflect on how you see yourself and how others see you.

The sections listed include: beliefs and values, relationships, feelings and spirituality/faith. Please feel free to add any other section that you feel is relevant to this exercise.

The 'outside me' represents what you believe the world around you sees about you. Your image, the part of who you are that you want people to see. For example, when people look at your beliefs and values, what would you like them to say about you?

The 'inner me' is what you believe is true about you but do not share with the world around you.

In this exercise, place a word(s) or symbol that you think best represent each section of the wheel.



BOUNDARIES

An essential component of self-awareness is being aware not only of yourself, but the boundaries you set around you.

Boundaries are typically hard to define and therefore personal judgment is more important than a list of do's and don'ts.

Boundary: an understood line between two parties.

Three types of boundaries are:

Physical boundary - An individual is not touched unless asked and permission has been given.

Social boundary - Friends do not call after 10pm or before 8am unless there is an emergency.

Professional boundary - A professional does not disclose their home address or phone # to a client.

Can you think of an example for each type of boundary?

Boundaries are universal and intended to protect the individual. We communicate boundaries in different ways such as body language, or through a verbal agreement. As our relationships with people develop and evolve, so does the need to our renegotiate boundaries.

Tips to Having Extensive Boundaries:

1. "Get" that you need to extend your boundaries
2. Be willing to educate others on how to respect your new boundaries
3. Be relentless, yet not punitive, as you extend your boundaries
4. Make a list of ten things that people may no longer do around you, to you or say to you.
5. Sit down with each person & share with them your process here: get their commitment to honouring you.
6. Have and use the 4-step plan of action when someone violates your boundaries:
 - A) Respond immediately. At the first sense that some one is about to get near or cross your boundary.
 - B) Respond in a 'non charged' tone.
 - C) Be constructive at first. Say something like: "You know I am very sensitive about people raising their voice at me. Would you be willing to speak to me quietly?" Demand they stop immediately. Sometimes they just don't get it and you have to be firm.

- D) If they can get it & won't respect you, let go until they can be good to you.
7. Provide appreciation to those who are respecting your boundaries.

Signs of Unhealthy Boundaries

1. Telling all.
2. Falling in love with anyone who reaches out.
3. Being overwhelmed by a person - preoccupied.
4. Acting on the first sexual impulse.
5. Being sexual for your partner, not yourself.
6. Going against personal values or rights to please others.
7. Not noticing when someone else displays inappropriate boundaries.
8. Not noticing when someone invades your boundaries.
9. Accepting food, gifts, touch, or sex that you don't want.
10. Touching a person without asking.
11. Taking as much as you can get for the sake of getting.
12. Giving as much as you can give for the sake of giving.
13. Allowing someone to take as much as they can from you.
14. Letting others direct your life.
15. Letting others define you.
16. Believing others can anticipate your needs.
17. Expecting others to fill your needs automatically.
18. Sexual and physical abuse.
19. Food and chemical abuse.

BILL OF RIGHTS

1. I do not have to feel guilty just because someone else does not like what I do, say, think, or feel.
2. It is O.K. for me to feel angry and to express it in responsible ways.
3. I do not have to assume full responsibility for making decisions particularly where others share responsibility for making the decision.
4. I have the right to say "I don't understand" without feeling stupid or guilty.
5. I have the right to say "I don't know".
6. I have the right to say "NO" without feeling guilty.
7. I do not have to apologize or give reasons when I say "NO".
8. I have the right to ask others to do things for me.
9. I have the right to refuse requests which others make of me.
10. I have the right to tell others when I think they are manipulating, conning, or treating me unfairly.
11. I have the right to refuse additional responsibilities without feeling guilty.
12. I have the right to tell others when their behaviour annoys me.
13. I do not have to compromise my personal integrity.
14. I have the right to make mistakes and to be responsible for them. I have the right to be wrong.
15. I do not have to be liked, admired, or respected by everyone for everything I do.



Family Counselling and Support Services 109 Surrey St E Guelph, ON ▪ individual, marriage and family counselling	(519)824-2431
Guelph Community Mental Health Clinic 147 Delhi Street Guelph, ON, N1E 4J3 ▪ Child, youth and adults. ▪ Individual counselling for chronic mental health issues. ▪ No fees	(519)821-2060
Guelph General Hospital 115 Delhi Street Guelph, ON, ▪ sexual assault care centre	(519)822-5350
Guelph Sexual Assault Support Centre P.O. Box 1451 Guelph, ON, N1H 6N9 ▪ Individual and group counselling. ▪ Serving women only ▪ No fees	(519)823-5806
Homewood Health Centre 150 Delhi Street Guelph, Ontario ▪ Residential and outpatient treatment program	(519)824-1010
24 Hour Telephone Distress Lines – KW and area	
CRISIS LINES	
Crisis Clinic	(519)742-3611
Canadian Mental Health Association ▪ HELP Telephone Distress Line - 24 hour crisis line	(519)745-1166
▪ EARS - for male survivors of sexual abuse	(519)570-3277
KW Sexual Assault Support Centre – women only	(519)741-8633
Crisis Outreach (Cambridge)	(519)744-1813
Crisis Lines victims of domestic violence: Kitchener Anselma House	(519) 742-5894
Guelph Sexual Assault Centre (Marianne's place)	(519) 836-5710
Guelph Distress Line 1-800-265-7233	(519) 821-3760

REVIVE

Huron-Perth Centres for Children And Youth

(519)273-3373

100 Gordon St.

Stratford, ON, N5A 7T8

- Individual counselling for children and adolescents (birth-18).
- No fees.
- Self-referrals.

Perth-Huron Addictions Services (Choices for Change Alcohol Drug and Gambling Counselling Centre)

(519)271-6730

10 Downie St.

Festival Square, 3rd Floor

Stratford, ON, N5A 7K4

- Individual counselling for drug, alcohol and gambling addictions.
- No Fees.

Perth-Huron Children's Aid Society

(519)271-5290

380 Hibernia Street

Stratford, ON, N5A 5W3

- ❖ contact made through intake department
- children up to 16 years
- services available to client families

Listowel Mental Health Services

(519) 291-1320

285 Sarah Ave. N.

or 1-866-531-2600

Listowel, ON, N4W 2Y8

- Individual and group counselling for serious mental health issues.
- Groups for female survivors of sexual abuse.

Stratford General Hospital

(519) 272-8210

46 General Hospital Drive

Stratford, ON, N5A 2Y6

- Mental Health Services.
- Sexual abuse support for female survivors.

Guelph

Couple and Family Therapy Centre

Department of Family Relations and Applied Nutrition
University of Guelph

(519) 824-4120
Extension 56426

Guelph, ON, N1G 2W1

- individual and family counselling.
- Sliding Fees

Family and Children's Services

(519) 824-2410

P.O.Box 1088

55 Delhi Street

Guelph, ON, N1H 6N3

- ❖ contact made through intake department
- children up to 16 years
- services available to client families

REVIVE

Interfaith Community Counselling Centre

23B Church St.

New Hamburg, N3A 1J1

- individual, couples and family counselling.

(519) 662-3092

Woolwich Interfaith Counselling Centre

60 Arthur St. S.

Elmira, ON, N3B 2M9

- individual and group counselling
- Fees, sliding scale

(519)669-8651

Cambridge

Cambridge Community Mental Health Clinic

Cambridge Memorial Hospital, Cambridge

700 Coronation Blvd.

Cambridge, ON, N1R 3G2

- Services for youth and adults.
- No fees.
- Intake telephone extensions- 3312 or 3305

(519)740-4900

Cambridge Family Counselling Centre

35 Dickson St

Cambridge, ON, N1R 7A6

- individual, family and group counselling.
- fees by sliding scale

(519)622-1670

Family Service of Cambridge and North Dumfries

18 Walnut Street

Cambridge, ON, N1R 2E7

- individual, family and group counselling.
- fees by sliding scale

(519)621-5090

Family and Children's Services

168 Hespeler Road

Galt, ON, N1R 6V7

- ❖ contact made through intake department
- groups for children, teens and parents
- children up to 16 years
- available to client families

(519)623-6970

Stratford

Family Services Perth-Huron

142 Waterloo Street S.

Stratford, ON, N5A 4B4

- Credit Counselling
- individual, family and group counselling.
- Fees by sliding scale and EAP.

1-800-268-0903
(or)273-1020

REVIVE

University of Waterloo Counselling Services

200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, ON., N2L 3G1

- no fees for registered students
- career, study skills and personal counselling
- individual counselling

(519)885-1211
ext. 2655

Waterloo Region Sexual Assault Treatment Centre

(located in Catholic Family Counselling Center building)
400 Queen's Blvd. S.
Kitchener, N2G 1W7

- assisting recent sexual assault and domestic violence victims
- short-term individual counselling
- no fees
- services for all ages, women and men

(519)749-6994

Waterloo Region Social Services

99 Regina South
Kitchener, On., N2J 4V6

- inquire with your social services caseworker
- individual counselling
- no cost to participants in the Ontario Works Program
- employment resources and training

(519) 883-2100

Wilfrid Laurier Counselling Services

75 University Avenue West
Waterloo, On., N2L 3C5

- Study skills and personal counselling
- Individual counselling
- free to registered students

(519) 884-1970
ext.2338

Rural Waterloo County Area

Community Mental Health Clinics

- Locations in Fergus, Orangeville, Guelph.
- individual, family and group counselling

1-800-471-1732

Southern Ontario Counselling Centre

1760 Erb's Rd
St. Agatha, On, N0B 2L0

- individual, couples and family counselling
- fees

(519)746-2323

KidsLINK (Notre Dame of St. Agatha)

1855 Notre Dame Drive
St. Agatha, ON, N0B 2L0

- children up to 12 years and their families.
- Individual and family counselling.
- Parenting support.

(519)746-5437

REVIVE

John Howard Society of Waterloo-Wellington Region

(519) 743-6071

310 Charles St E

Kitchener, ON, N2G 2P9

- Group and individual services for men
- Anger Management/Domestic Violence groups

Kitchener-Waterloo Counselling Services

(519) 884-0000

Waterloo Town Square

480 Charles St E.

Waterloo, On., N2K 4E4

- individual, couples and family counselling
- Parenting groups
- brief, solution-focused treatment model
- fees by sliding scale

Kitchener-Waterloo Sexual Assault Support Centre (SASC)

(519) 571-0121

P.O. box 2003

Kitchener, On., N2H 6K8

- individual and group support
- court support
- women focused

Lutherwood-CODA

Children's Mental Health Service

(519) 884-1470

285 Benjamin Road

Waterloo, On., N2J 3Z4

- Various programs to assist families with children showing emotional and behavioral difficulties.

King Residence and Addictions Services (Assessment and Addictions Counselling)

519)634-5821

2722 Bleams E

Baden, On., N0B 1G0

- individual and group counselling for substance abuse
- fee by sliding scale

ROOF – Reaching Our Outdoor Friends

Info@Roof-Agency.com

(519)742-2788

41 Weber W

Kitchener, On., N2H 321

- individual and group counselling for youth living on the streets
- no fees

Shalom Counselling Services

(519)886-9690

9 Avendale Av. S.

Waterloo, On., N2L 2B5

- individual, marital and family counselling, short or long-term
- fee by sliding scale

St. Mary's Counselling Services

(Cambridge services available)

(519)745-2585

Suite 600

30 Duke St. W.

Kitchener, On., N2M 1A9

- individual and group counselling for addictions and gambling problems
- no fees



COUNSELLING SERVICES

Kitchener- Waterloo Area

Anselma House

P.O. box 2453 Stn. C
Kitchener, On, N3B 2N0

- short-term shelter for abused women and their children

(519) 742-5894

Catholic Family Counselling Centre

400 Queen St. S
Kitchener, On., N2G 1W7

- individual, marital and family counselling
- fee by sliding scale

(519) 743-6333

Children's Mental Health Access Centre (partnered with kidsLINK)

39 Water St. N
Kitchener, ON, N2H 5A6

- Intake services for families seeking children's mental health programs.

(519) 749-2932

Community Justice Initiatives/Revive Program

49 Queen St N.
Kitchener, ON, N2H 2G9

- support groups for all persons impacted by Sexual Trauma
- transitional individual support, referrals, speakers bureau, resource library

(519) 744-6549 ext 209

Conestoga College Counselling Services

299 Doon Valley Drive
Kitchener, On., N2G 4M4

- Available to full-time students only
- Personal, Academic and financial counselling

(519) 748-5220
ext.3360

Cornerstone Christian Counselling

222 Fredrick St
Waterloo, On., N2H 2M8

- counselling specific with a Christian perspective

(519) 883-3922

Family and Children's Services

200 Ardelt Ave.
Kitchener, On., N2C 2L9

- ❖ contact made through intake department
- groups for children, teens and parents
- children up to 16 years
- available to client families

(519) 576-0540

Interfaith Pastoral Counselling Centre

480 Charles E
Kitchener, On., N2G 2R2
Web site: www.interfaithmft.on.ca

- Couple, individual and family counselling
- fee by sliding scale

(519) 743-6781

Individual Therapists within Brantford

Family Counselling Centre of Brant

519-753-4173

54 Brant ave, Brantford, ON N3T 3G7

Rates

Survivors of sexual abuse, no fees

Under the age of 17, no fees

Fees are offered on a sliding scale

Greg Guthrie

519-752-8280

217 Terrace Hill St. Unit 100

Brantford, N3R 1G8

Rates

\$92.50 plus GST

Individual Therapists within Blythe/Goderich and Other Areas

Oxford Counselling Services

519-472-7989

Queen St, Blyth, ON

Rates

\$75.00 - \$95.00 per hour

Some insurance covers

Gabriel Delbianco

(519) 526-7625

112 Goderich

Auburn, ON N0M 1E0

Rates

Works with Survivors Only

Nancy Schwarz

238 Main St. E.,
Cambridge N1R 1W8
519-621-3278

Rates

\$80.00 an hour per session.
Not wheelchair accessible.

Individual Therapists within Stratford

Erb Laurie Counselling Service

519-275-2366
206 Ontario Street, Stratford, ON N5A 3H4

Rates

\$60.00 per hour

Graff Rick & Associates

519-273-2522
153 Huron Street, Stratford, ON N5A 5S9

Rates

Call for information

Works with Survivors Only

Roberta Teahen and D.J. Eggert

519-273-6332

Rates

Works with survivors only
\$60.00 per session

Muriel Percy

519-271-4425

Rates

\$75.00 per session
Works with survivors only

Sally Ludwig

519-731-3169
328 Woolwich St.,
Guelph N1H 3W5

Rates

\$100.00 per session
Minimum payment of \$80.00

Kevin Stafford

519-767-6581
328 Woolwich St, # E
Guelph, ON N1H 3W5

Rates

Call for more information

Pauline Britman

519-823-8090
Guelph

Rates

Call for more information

Works with Survivors Only

Linda Reith

519-822-4889
96 Delhi St.,
Guelph N1E 4J8

Rates

70\$ to \$100 depending on income.

Individual Therapists within Cambridge

Seaton Schwarz Counselling Assoc

Nancy Schwarz
519-621-3278
Galt, ON

Rates

First session is one hour and a half long
First session fee is \$185.00
\$125.00 per hour following sessions

Southern Ontario Counselling center

Lee Horton at extention 303

Donna Hutchins at extention 304

(519) 746-2323

1760 Erb's Rd. East, St. Agatha, Ontario

Rates

Call for information

These two individuals work only with Survivors

Individual Therapists within Guelph

Vervoort Dave M Sc Reg'd Marriage & Family Therapist

519-821-5163

Guelph, ON

Rates

\$85.00 per hour

Sliding scale for transgender youth

LGBTQ focused

Couple & Family Therapy Centre

519-824-4120 ext. 56426

University of Guelph, ON

Rates

Fees offered on a sliding scale

from \$10.00 - \$60.00

Dr. Dan Dalton Psychological and Counselling Services

1-888-245-5516

207 Woolwich Street, Guelph, ON

132 Ontario Street, Guelph, ON

85 Norfolk Street, Guelph, ON

Rates

\$130.00 - \$160.00 per hour

Some health plans cover

Susan Dafoe-Abbey

Guelph, N1L 1R4

519-829-2232

Rates

Payment per session is on sliding scale

Based on income

Greenleese Joy E

519-746-3339

Kitchener, ON

Rates

Works with Survivors Only

Roma Maria MSW RSW

519-745-0544

308 Ridgemere Court, Kitchener,

ON N2P 2W6

Rates

\$90.00 per hour

Works only with survivors

Chestnut Counselling

James Morgan

519-745-3602

24 Chestnut Street, Kitchener, ON N2H 1T8

Rates

Fees available on a sliding scale

Marie LaMarsh

(519) 578-1090

25 Country Hill Dr

Kitchener, ON N2E 3L1

Rates

Call for information

Patricia Evens

519-745-8047

Rates

Works with Women Survivors Only

Does offer services on a sliding scale

Barb Pressman

519-886-9779

Kitchener, On

Rates

\$75.00 per hour

Works with survivors of sexual abuse

Individual Therapists within Kitchener

Dr. Dan Dalton Psychological and Counselling Services

1-888-245-5516

85 Union Blvd West, Kitchener, ON

120 Park Street, Waterloo, ON

Rates

\$130.00 - \$160.00 per hour

Some health plans cover

Steven Martin Counselling and Mediation

519-662-9923

26 Eby Crescent,

New Hamburg ON N3A 1Z1

Rates

\$80.00 per session

Service offered at a reduced rate

Brian Laverty

519-748-6898

68 Biehn Drive,

Kitchener N2R 1M3

Rates

\$90.00 per one hour session

Sliding scale payment offered

Minimum fee is \$35

James Loh

(519) 896-0272

128 Pathfinder Cres

Kitchener, ON N2P 1S6

Rates

Call for information

Southern Ontario Counselling center

Lee Horton at extention 303

Donna Hutchins at extention 304

(519) 746-2323

1760 Erb's Rd. East, St. Agatha, Ontario

Rates

Call for information

**Appendix L
Participant Post-Test**

**JOHN SCHOOL DIVERSION PROGRAM
POST TEST**

Please answer the following questions as **TRUE** or **FALSE** by
Circling either **T** (for **TRUE**) or **F** (for **FALSE**)

1. **T F** The punishment for the crime of communicating for the purpose of prostitution is \$2,000.00 or 6 months in jail.
2. **T F** Diseases which are spread by sex are called **Sexually Transmitted Diseases or STD'S**
3. **T F** Community Groups cannot get the names of persons charged with the offence of Communicating for the purpose of prostitution from the court.
4. **T F** All diseases spread by sex (**STD/Sexually Transmitted Diseases**) can be cured.
5. **T F** There is a connection between prostitution and illegal drug use.
6. **T F** If you are found guilty of a crime, you will have a "Criminal Record" that is permanent. It will restrict your future in many important ways.

Please answer the following statements with a Yes or No. You may write more comments at the bottom if you wish.

1. Yes No **In Canada, talking to a prostitute to give her money for sex is o.k.**
3. Yes No **Looking for sex in exchange for money causes harm to people and to the community.**
8. **Yes No** There is no risk to have sex with a prostitute.
9. **Yes No** Mouth to genital or hand to genital (e. g. the penis) contact is not sex
10. **Yes No** Women become prostitutes because they really like sex
11. **Yes No** My wife/partner/girlfriend/children would be happy to learn that I had contact with a prostitute
12. **Yes No** I should be free to talk to a prostitute and buy sex from her, if I wish to.

C. Please answer the following questions based on what you believe to be true. Circle the letter that is closest to your opinion

A = AGREE

B = UNCERTAIN

C = DISAGREE

1. I would know if my sexual partner had a Sexually Transmitted Disease (**STD**)

A. B. C.

2. I cannot get a **STD** from a blow job/going down/oral sex.

A B C

3. Condoms make sex 100% safe

A B C

4. I can get a **STD only** if my sexual partner has signs or symptoms of disease

A B C

5. I can only get **HIV/AIDS** if I have sex with a man.

A B C

6. I can only get a **STD** if I do not use a condom

A B C

7. Taking an **HIV** test every few months lowers my chance of getting **AIDS**

A B C

D. Some sexual activities are riskier than others. Put a check in the box you think best describes the risk level for the following activities. Check only one (1)

ACTIVITY	NO RISK	LOW RISK	HIGH RISK
Masturbation			
Vaginal Sex without a condom			
Vaginal Sex with a condom			
Oral Sex (Blow Job, Going Down) with a condom			
Oral Sex (Blow Job, Going Down) without a condom			
Anal Sex on a woman with a condom			
Anal Sex on a woman without a condom			
Anal Sex on a man with a condom			
Anal Sex on a man without a condom			
Sexual activity that causes bleeding			

E. Please answer the following questions in written form or respond to the statement with yes or no.

1. It is O.K. for a man to have a few affairs while in a committed relationship. Yes__ No__
2. Prostitution is a victimless crime Yes__ No__
3. I have a higher sex drive than other people Yes__ No__
4. I don't have sex as much as I'd like to Yes__ No__
5. My partner refuses to perform certain sex acts Yes__ No__
6. Men need sex more than women Yes__ No__
7. If prostitution were legalized, you would use the service Yes__ No__

8. Why do you believe woman become prostitutes? _____

9. Do you use condoms? Yes__ No__

F. Please answer the following questions by circling AGREE OR DISAGREE

SEXUAL ENTITLEMENT

1. A person should have sex whenever it is needed Agree__ Disagree__
2. Women should satisfy men's sexual needs Agree__ Disagree__
3. Everyone is entitled to sex Agree__ Disagree__

Appendix M
John School Evaluation Sheet

JOHN SCHOOL

EVALUATION

1. What did you think about the John School? _____

2. Do you feel you learned anything? _____

3. What do you think was the most informative part? _____

4. What would you like to see changed? _____

5. Do you have suggestions about other topics that could include in the school? _____

6 Will you use the services of a Prostitute again? _____

7. Will you use protection in any future relationships? _____
