

STREET PROSTITUTION IN EDMONTON

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Prepared by the
Edmonton Social Planning Council
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Co-operative

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Executive Summary

Prostitution has been in the headlines of Edmonton newspapers for a number of years. We read about hookers and johns, community protesters and police. No one has been able to solve the myriad problems that are linked with the sex trade.

If we are to have any chance of improving things for street prostitutes and the communities affected by prostitution, we need to hear the voices of street prostitutes themselves. Why are they on the streets? What is life like for them? What would make their lives more tolerable? What can we do to help them make the decision to leave the streets?

With financial support from the Health Promotion and Social Development office of Health Canada, the Edmonton Social Planning Council went to the streets to ask prostitutes these and other questions. Over the spring and summer of 1993, ex-prostitutes interviewed 67 people who work the streets of the inner city. Their responses and suggestions are contained in the following report.

Prostitutes were asked questions regarding their personal history, legal issues, street life, health, safety and community issues. We found that overall they are poorly educated, have few marketable job skills, are likely to have been charged with a crime other than soliciting, have worked the streets for a number of years, have been abused by a john at least once, have abused a variety of drugs and alcohol and feel there is no one around to speak up for their concerns. The majority would like to have an opportunity to get off the streets but they do not see many alternatives. They believe a resource centre designed to work specifically with prostitutes could have an impact on their lives.

A number of recommendations are presented based on the research findings. They address the need for a resource centre and a self help group, problems faced by adult prostitutes trying to leave the streets, substance abuse issues, the special needs of Aboriginal street prostitutes, legal and medical concerns, difficulties finding employment or training, and the need for better education on prostitution issues.

Assistance for the study was provided by staff at the Boyle Street Community Services Co-operative, an agency which serves the inner city population. They provided space for the researchers to work in, allowing close contact on a daily basis with the target population. They also participated in the planning and reporting stages of the research.

Additional assistance for this project was provided by an advisory committee of agency and community representatives. They helped to define the research questions based on their experience and to develop the recommendations and action plan. We are grateful to everyone for their support.

Summary of Recommendations

A. Resource Centre

Recommendation:

A drop-in/resource centre should be established for street prostitutes. This centre should be staffed by people with a street history but who have made a successful transition away from the street. A variety of services should be available either at the centre or through a referral system at the centre.

B. Self Help for Street Prostitutes

Recommendation:

Assistance should be provided to street prostitutes who are interested in establishing a self help group. A spokesperson to speak on behalf of street prostitutes can be developed through this group.

C. Emergency Accommodation for Adult Prostitutes

Recommendation:

Consideration should be given to establishing a Safe House, similar to that offered by Catholic Social Services, for adult prostitutes who want to leave the street lifestyle.

D. Substance Abuse Programs

Recommendation:

Information should be made available at the Resource Centre for those who are interested in establishing a 12-step group for street prostitutes.

Recommendation:

Funding for substance abuse programs should be maintained at levels appropriate to the needs of the community.

E. Aboriginal Street Prostitutes

Recommendation:

Services should be available to Aboriginal street prostitutes which take into consideration their cultural needs and values.

F. Legal Issues

Recommendation:

Alternatives to jail time or fines should be explored for people charged under Section 213 of the Criminal Code.

Recommendation:

Efforts should be made to establish a positive working relationship between the police and street prostitutes.

G. Health Issues

Recommendation:

Government support for the Needleworks program must be maintained.

Recommendation:

Consideration should be given to having staff from the STD Clinic go out with the Needleworks van.

Recommendation:

Efforts should be made to simplify the procedural and administrative requirements for HIV testing.

H. Employment and Training

Recommendation:

More opportunities need to be created to allow street prostitutes to get into work training programs and to improve their level of education. Consideration should be given to providing some programs specifically for this population which would give recognition to their particular needs.

I. Child Welfare

Recommendation:

More direct action is needed to prevent juveniles who are in the care of the Child Welfare system from getting involved in street life.

J. Public Awareness/Education

Recommendation:

Programs should be developed to educate community members, parents, youth, agency personnel and others as may be appropriate about the realities of prostitution, why people get involved in the trade and the impact it has on their lives. Further efforts to work with prostitutes to raise their awareness of the impact of their lifestyle on the surrounding community should be pursued.

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1. Findings and Analysis of the Data

A. Personal

A total of 67 interviews were completed by 20 males and 47 females. Thirty-three respondents had Aboriginal ancestry, and 27 respondents were Caucasian. Looking specifically at the males, 13 were Aboriginal, six were Caucasian and one was unsure of his ethnic origin.

While the survey was targeted at adult prostitutes, five people aged 16 and 17 were interviewed. The age range was 16 to 40, with the average being 24.9 years. The average time they had been working the streets was 7 years.

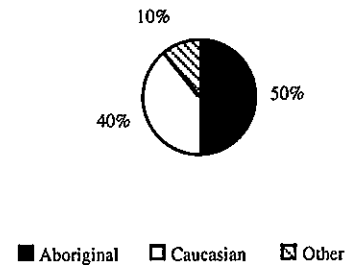
Male prostitutes are typically younger (average age 23.4) and half of them have worked for five or fewer years. Aboriginal women tend to be older (average age 27.6) and 75% (15/20) have been working the streets for six or more years.

The Caucasian women interviewed (21 in total) tended to be from the ends of the age spectrum, with 13 being 22 years old or younger and five being 29 or older. Their time on the streets ranged from less than a week to 15 years.

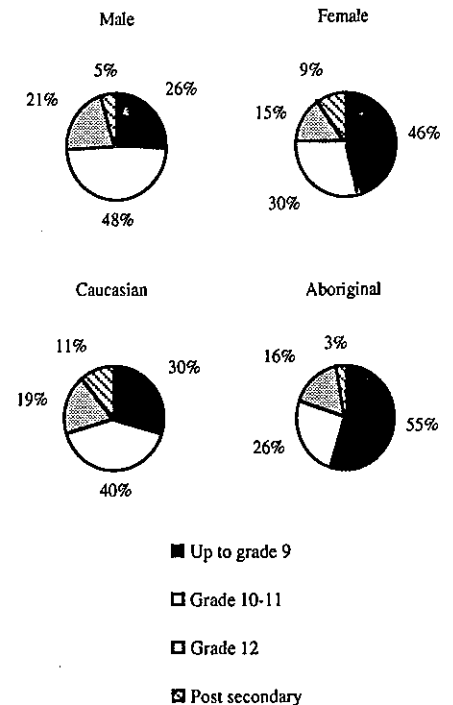
Twenty-six people had grade nine or less education. The males were on average better educated than the females interviewed, with 74% having at least a grade ten education compared with 25 (54%) of the women. Eighteen (52%) of the Aboriginal respondents (both sexes combined) on the other hand, had grade nine or less while 19 (70%) of the Caucasians have grade ten or better.

Housing is an issue for many street prostitutes. Thirty-five said they move quite often and 48 have been homeless at least once. People mentioned poor living conditions, negative attitudes from landlords and neighbours and a fear that if they stay in one place too long people will find out what they do for a living.

Racial Composition of the Sample



Education level by respondent group



Aboriginal street prostitutes were most likely to have been homeless (29/33 or 88%). Among the issues raised were problems getting references and discrimination. A few blame Alberta Family and Social Services for their housing problems because they have been cut off or denied assistance.

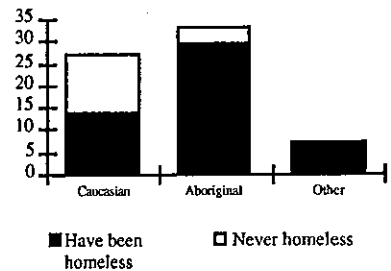
While more than half of the respondents are parents, only 12 presently live with their children. In six cases the children are in the care of Child Welfare and 16 said their children live with another family member.

Most of the respondents were raised in unstable environments themselves: 18 (27%) spent some part of their childhood in Child Welfare. While 40 people (60%) said they were raised by one or both parents, many of these mentioned moving back and forth quite frequently. Five others were raised by extended family members and four stated that they "raised themselves".

In answer to the question, "What childhood experiences had an impact on your present lifestyle?", 22 (33%) said they had been sexually abused, 18 (27%) had been physically or emotionally abused, 14 (21%) identified early involvement with drugs or alcohol and ten (15%) mentioned general family breakdown.

Fifty-five of our respondents have thought about committing suicide and many have attempted to kill themselves. Suicide ideation was slightly more common among the males (90%) than the Aboriginal females (75%) or the other female respondents (81%). According to the Gay and Lesbian Awareness (GALA) information and advocacy group, one third of all gay and lesbian youth attempt suicide and their rate of substance abuse is 30 percent higher than for other youth. These may be factors in the differential noted here. (It should also be pointed out, however, that not all the male prostitutes we interviewed were homosexual, even among those who serve male clients, and not all the female prostitutes were heterosexual.)

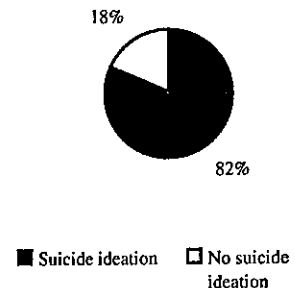
Homelessness by ethnic group



"I have nightmares about my past. I used to get beaten by my dad and my uncle and sexually abused. I was about 6 when I got gonorrhoea." 24 year old female

"I've attempted suicide a few times. I've also hurt myself carving in my arms and with cigarette burns." 29 year old female

Suicide Ideation



B. Street History

Thirty respondents (45%) said that prostitution is their only source of income. While most said they like making the kind of money that's available on the streets, they dislike the lifestyle and, in many cases, the customers. The Aboriginal respondents were more likely to state they have other sources of income (61%). This supports the comments from inner city agency staff, that Aboriginal street prostitutes are more likely to be working the streets part-time to supplement welfare or other limited sources of income. Nine of the 20 males said they had other income.

A marked difference appears in the ages at which different groups first began working as street prostitutes. Twenty-one (64%) of the Aboriginal respondents began working before they were 16 years old compared with six of 27 Caucasian street prostitutes (22%).

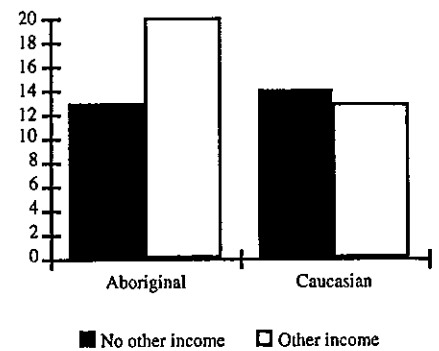
The average age at which the respondents started working the streets was 16 and the range was between 10 and 36 years of age. One person who was sexually abused at the age of five said it began then. In 13 cases they began working the streets when they ran away or were kicked out of their homes. Thirty people were involved with other street people who encouraged them and seven said they were "turned out" by family members. Twenty-four respondents got involved in prostitution because they needed the money and another seven started it to pay for their drug habit.

When asked to estimate how many people were involved in the sex trade in Edmonton, the responses ranged from "20" to "thousands." The majority believe there are over 1,000 people currently working (including those in massage parlors and escort agencies).

Eighteen of the respondents have only worked in Edmonton. Thirty-two have worked in other western Canadian cities, 12 have worked in eastern provinces and five have worked throughout North America.

The number of hours worked depends on need and the availability of customers. It ranges from "once in a blue moon" to "on call all the time." Most work between ten and 30 hours per week. Most prefer to work in one specific area because they feel safer there or because that's where their customers go.

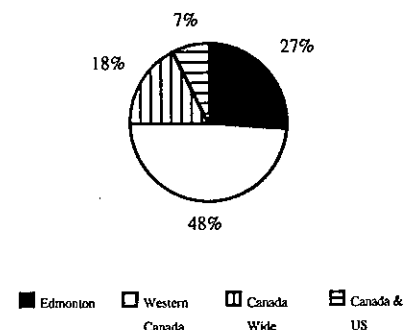
Do you have any other source of income?



"My father used to beat me and my mom. I came down here when I was 14 and lots of street people helped me but then I had to take care of myself." 33 year old female

"My foster father raped me and I got pregnant. My foster mother accused me of starting the problem" 30 year old female

Where the sample has worked



Only four admitted that they work for a pimp. They stated that having one is useful for safety reasons. The others claim to be independent. Twenty-nine said that a pimp is sometimes helpful for providing safety or protection. However, almost all said that a pimp is more likely to be harmful, particularly if they need the money for drugs. There was a strong sense that pimps are part of the danger of the trade.

There is some question regarding the definition of "pimp", and it has been suggested that many of the women think of the men who control them as their boyfriends. Given that 19 respondents said they are supporting another person's drug or alcohol habit, it is likely that the number who would be considered by others to be working for a pimp would be higher than suggested here.

The respondents had been working the streets for various periods ranging from two nights to 25 years. Twelve said they had been working less than 14 months, 18 for two to five years, 22 from six to ten years and 14 for over ten years.

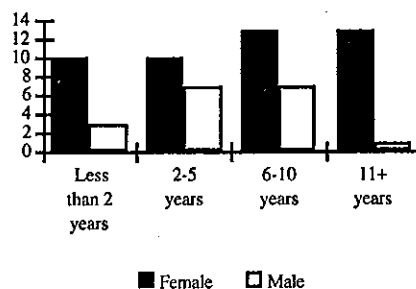
The respondents were asked, "What usually happens to workers when they can't work anymore?" Seventeen suggested that they straighten out, get another job or go back to school, but most had more negative impressions including, "they end up in Alberta Hospital," "they get sick and die," or "they become bums on the street."

Sixty of the respondents said they would like to quit working the streets. The majority said they would need financial assistance or a job that pays a decent salary in order to stop working. Seven said they needed a better education and four said they would have to quit using drugs or alcohol. Fourteen stated that they need counseling or support to help them make it off the street.

Fifty-seven (85%) of the people we spoke with had held at least one legitimate job. One person had been employed in a number of professional positions, including ten years as a journalist, but the others all held low-skill, low-wage positions.

"I was raped when I was 8, 11, 13, 15 and 17 years old. It gave me the impression I'm always to blame."
22 year old female

Length of time on the streets by respondent group



"I stopped working for eight months. Then my brother committed suicide and I lost it." 22 year old female

Percent of prostitutes who would like to stop working the streets



C. Substance Use/Abuse

Only five respondents reported no use of drugs, alcohol or solvents. Of the others surveyed, most reported use of multiple substances. A breakdown of use is as follows:

Alcohol.....	37
Cocaine.....	27
Talwin & Ritalin (Ts & Rs).....	19
Marijuana/Hashish.....	18
Prescription Drugs.....	6
Hallucinogens.....	4
Speed.....	3
"What ever's around".....	3

When asked why they use substances, the most common response was to "get high" or "feel good", followed closely by to "help forget" or "escape". Thirty-two of the respondents consider themselves to be addicted to drugs or alcohol. Thirty said they work to pay for their habits while 19 said they use drugs or alcohol to enable themselves to work. Nine people said they cannot work when they are straight.

The male respondents are more likely than others to report recreational use of alcohol and marijuana only (9/20). Ten use cocaine, four use Ts and Rs and five use a combination of other substances. Ten of the men believe they are addicted to drugs or alcohol. The majority (12/20) say they work to support their habits while five say they must drink or take drugs in order to work.

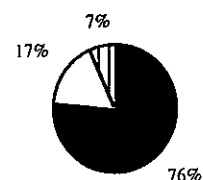
Among the Aboriginal group (both sexes) 21 use cocaine, 14 use Ts and Rs and seven use a combination of other drugs. Only seven of the Aboriginal group said their use is limited to alcohol or marijuana. Twenty-two of 33 Aboriginals say they are addicted to drugs or alcohol.

The daily costs for drug or alcohol use range from \$5 to "up to \$1200 per day" with an average just under \$250 per day. Nineteen respondents said they are supporting another person's costs in addition to their own.

"I get high to get rid of my troubles and because I'm lonely." 25 year old male

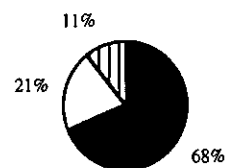
Breakdown of people who "work to fix" or who "fix to work"

Work to fix (n=30)



■ Aboriginal □ Caucasian □ Other

Fix to work (n=19)



■ Aboriginal □ Caucasian □ Other

Forty-six (69%) of the respondents have stopped using drugs or alcohol at some point in the past but almost all of them are using currently. Reasons given for starting to use again were boredom, depression, emotional crises, peer pressure, loneliness and "too much pain."

Half of the respondents, including 23 Aboriginals (70%), would like to stop using drugs or alcohol now. When asked what resources might help them to quit, the most common suggestion was for a treatment program or centre. Others suggested a 12-step program for street prostitutes available on a 24 hour basis, support from family and friends, life skills, help to find a job and a shelter away from the inner city.

Fifty-six of the respondents use Needleworks for condoms (44), rigs (syringes) (22), the Bad Date Sheet (8) or because they like the employees and can talk to them (7). While most of the respondents said they flush condoms or put them in the garbage after use, ten said they throw them out the window and five said disposal is up to the john. Most said they keep their rigs to trade in and a few said they break off the points and throw them away.

Percent of prostitutes who use Needleworks



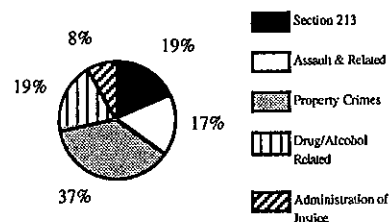
D. Legal

Fifty-seven (85%) of the respondents have a criminal record and 38 (67%) have been incarcerated. Their charges ranged from petty theft and prostitution related offenses to manslaughter. Almost half had at least one alcohol or drug related charge. Caucasian women were the most likely (14/21) to have been charged under Section 213 of the Criminal Code (Soliciting).

Of those who spent time in jail, 11 (29%) said it was a positive experience, either because they were able to get education or training while doing time or because it gave them a break from the street lifestyle. Eighteen described their experience using negative terms like "nerve wracking", "disgusting" and "hell".

Eighteen of the 20 males interviewed (90%) have criminal records, but only three of these were prostitution related. Half the respondents had theft charges, nine were drug or alcohol related charges, four were charged with assault, two with weapons offenses and one with manslaughter.

Types of charges (aggregate totals)



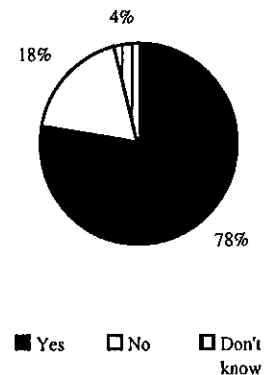
Twenty-nine of the Aboriginal respondents (88%) had criminal records. Again the majority of charges were for theft (15), drug or alcohol related offenses (8) and assault (8). Among the Aboriginal respondents, five females and one male were charged under Section 213. Five Aboriginal women were charged with administration of justice offenses (failure to appear, contempt, non-payment of fines, etc.).

"Police should be looking for whoever killed my friend. Instead of hassling us they should be protecting us." 21 year old female

Forty-three of the respondents suggested that Section 213 of the Criminal Code should be removed or relaxed. On the other hand, a few thought the laws should be tightened up, particularly in relation to getting juveniles off the streets.

Percent of prostitutes who would like to see prostitution legalized or a "zone of tolerance"

There was strong support for a "zone of tolerance." Some suggested developing an area outside town where safety could be maintained. A small number would like to move back into the business area of the downtown core. The majority, however, said the zone should be in those areas where they currently work. People spoke of being tired of getting pushed back and forth, problems with safety, the potential for increased violence if all the workers were forced into one small area and the potential to maintain health standards if prostitution were a licensed activity.



Two-thirds of the study sample believe there should be alternatives to jail or fines for prostitution related offenses. Most suggested there should be counseling offered to help workers change their lifestyle or to find out why they are there in the first place. The second most frequent suggestion was for community service. Others suggested helping the workers find legitimate employment so they would have an alternative to the streets.

"People should have the option of going for treatment or to a healing centre instead of doing time." 30 year old female

Sixty-three (94%) of the people we spoke with stated that they have felt harassed by the police on occasion. Their experiences ranged from name calling (e.g. "whore") to sexual abuse and physical assault. Thirty-five cited instances in which they had been assisted by the police, most frequently in relation to a bad date.

"I feel safe with the cops around. One said he'd watch out for me. I haven't met a bad one yet." 33 year old female

Eighteen of the respondents have been asked to "sign" on a pimp (i.e. give a statement to the police), but most said they were not willing to do so. Thirty-nine believe that pimps who abuse workers should be taken off the streets but there were a number of comments about "live and let live." This issue raised a lot of ambivalence as many of the workers have had bad experiences with pimps. Concerns were expressed about safety, and a number of people suggested that "signers" would need protection, including being moved to a new city.

"Every time I get in a car I ask myself, 'Am I going to make it back in one piece?'" 22 year old female

E. Safety

Most of the respondents had experienced at least one "bad date" and a number reported several. Most frequently they have been raped and beaten. Some have been stabbed, burned or shot and a few reported being robbed and dropped off far from home. Only 12 reported these incidents to the police and seven resulted in charges being laid.

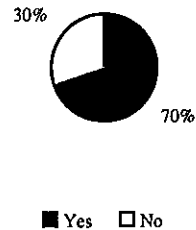
Consistent with other research, our study found that males were less likely than females to report a "bad date". Half the males (10/20) compared with 21% of the females (10/47) said they had never had a bad date. On the other hand, those males who did have problems were more likely than the females to mention involvement of weapons (knives, wires and guns) and one had been shot. Caucasian females are more likely to be raped (13) or robbed (6) while Aboriginal women were most likely to be physically assaulted (12).

Fifty-four of the people we spoke with said they like the Bad Date Sheet and find it quite useful. Three men said that it is less helpful for males. Three people commented that the information needs to be updated to be useful while two said they can't remember enough of the details to make it worthwhile.

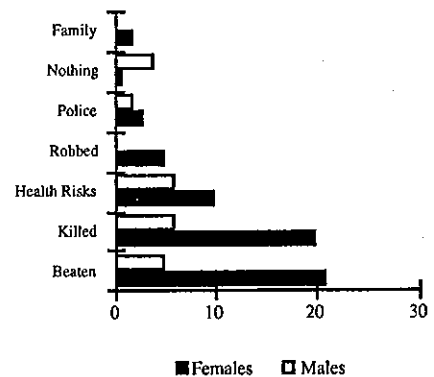
When asked what their greatest fear is while working, the most frequent response was "making it home each night alive." Fifteen are concerned about the possibility of getting AIDS or other diseases, four worry about getting caught by police and two stated their biggest fear is their family finding out what they do.

When asked whether there were many "johns" asking for unprotected sex, the responses ranged from "all of them" to "no one." Some felt that this should be the john's decision, (including two who were HIV positive), but most of the others said they would not consent to sex without a condom.

Percent who have had a bad date



Greatest fears while working



F. Health

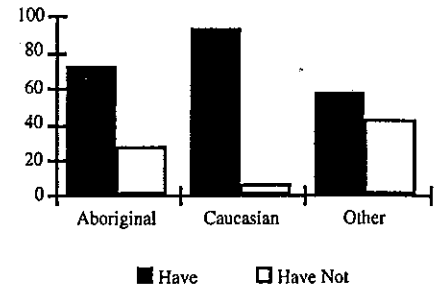
Fifty-six (84%) of the people we spoke with had a complete physical examination within the past year. Most have a regular physician. A few go to the Boyle McCauley Health Centre or a walk-in clinic. Four said they had been examined while in jail. Ten people commented on the negative attitudes of health workers toward street prostitutes which make it uncomfortable to go for treatment.

Three of the respondents are HIV positive, six have cancer, one has tuberculosis and three have health problems related to drug use. Others have a variety of ailments including arthritis, epilepsy and chronic bronchitis. A few people suggested that there should be a nurse out with the Needleworks van or a clinic just for street people so they would not feel so self-conscious going for treatment. The Aboriginal respondents were most likely to report chronic health problems.

Seven of our sample said they have never had an HIV test while 38 (57%) said they get tested at least twice a year. Most of the respondents get tested for their own peace of mind but a few have gone for the test because they were concerned that they might have contracted the virus. The majority of the respondents who have a partner did not know whether their partner had ever been tested.

We asked the respondents how they would feel if someone from the STD Clinic approached them on the street. Twenty-one said they would be embarrassed or angry if approached, 33 said "I wouldn't mind," and nine said that it would be a good idea.

Percentage of prostitutes who have/have not had a medical examination in the past year



"I've never had an HIV test. I always use condoms with people I don't know." 19 year old female

They gave a number of suggestions on how the clinic could be more helpful, primarily in relation to educating the street prostitutes and doing street outreach. Specifically, they would like more information on what diseases are currently going around and they would like to see clinic staff going out with the Needleworks van. It was also suggested that staff should be more courteous toward and less critical of street prostitutes. A few people stated they would be more willing to go for tests if they didn't have to answer so many questions about their partners. Some people would like to see the clinic housed with other organizations so that it would not be obvious to others why people are going there. Concern was expressed by the prostitutes about the juveniles on the streets who are usually less informed about STDs. It was suggested that the Clinic should do more outreach with them specifically.

G. Community

Most of the respondents use one or more of the inner city agencies. The largest number (56) use Needleworks, while 19 go the Boyle Street Community Services Co-operative, 11 use Crossroads and six go the Bissell Centre. Other agencies were mentioned one or two times. These included the emergency shelter, Safe House and the Birth Control Clinic. People who use the agencies find them quite supportive.

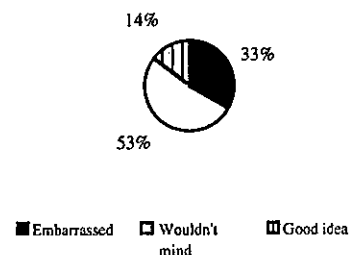
The others said they aren't familiar with the agencies, they prefer not to use them or they don't believe agencies have anything to offer. A few people said they don't like to go the Boyle Street Co-op or the Bissell Centre because of the service users there who are high.

Twenty-five respondents (37%) said they have been refused assistance from Alberta Family and Social Services. (Note: The survey was conducted prior to the latest restrictions to the welfare program.) Many have had bad experiences with Child Welfare, either as children in the system themselves or when their children were apprehended.

Prostitutes who have/have not been tested for the AIDS virus



How would you feel if a worker from the STD Clinic approached you on the street?



"I never go to any of those agencies because then I feel I'd be lost forever." 29 year old female

Thirty-four respondents (51%) said they don't like the community protesters while 11 either said they were doing a good job or at least that they could understand why people were protesting. There is a lot of sympathy for the cause of people who are trying to reduce the incidence of prostitution around schools but it was suggested by some that people should be less confrontational about it. There were also a number of workers who said they recognized customers among the protesters. One comment was, "They have a good point but don't express it well."

Thirty-four respondents (51%) said the message they get from the community is one of intolerance and cruelty. Comments included, "We are the scum of the earth." and similar concepts. It was suggested by some that there is too much generalization and little real awareness of why people work the streets.

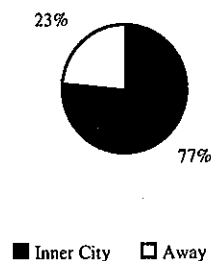
Fifty-three people (79%) said it would be useful to have a spokesperson to speak on behalf of street prostitutes. Sixty-one said they would like to see a resource centre for street prostitutes. The majority (47) believe it should be run by people with street experience while 11 said it should have "qualified counselors". A number of people specified that they would prefer the centre to have Aboriginal staff and programs. All the respondents suggested it should be open in the evening, with most in favour of a 24 hour service. Forty-six respondents would like it to be in the inner city area while others thought it would be safer if it was away from the core.

The features most people would like to see available included counseling or someone to talk to, a kitchen (food, coffee, hot chocolate), safety/protection and support for people who want to change their lifestyle. Less frequently mentioned were services (medical, legal, employment, etc.) or assistance accessing these services elsewhere, showers and laundry facilities, recreation and advocacy. When asked what the resource centre should not have the majority said pimps, outsiders, men, judgmental people and drugs and alcohol.

"I believe a resource centre would give more people a chance to get off the street." 28 year old male.

"There is no communication. Too many people react with personal feelings rather than dealing with the issue." 39 year old male

Where would you like to see a resource centre?



What services should it offer



H. Other Issues

The respondents were given an opportunity at the end of the survey to raise any additional concerns that had not been addressed. Responses fell primarily into two categories. A number of people mentioned their concerns about the number of teenagers working the streets and the need to help children find a better life. The second issue was that surveys are done frequently but little changes. People commented on the need to provide assistance for adult prostitutes and the benefits of a self-help approach. A number of males also commented on the survey itself as a tool to get them thinking about things.

Note: In the early stages of this study an effort was made to estimate the number of street prostitutes currently active in Edmonton. The figures we were given ranged from "no more than 50 at any given time" to "over 500". There are a number of reasons for this disparity. Many street prostitutes are transient, particularly in the summer. A number of others only work the streets when their other funds (particularly their welfare cheque) have run out. The population also shifts, at least temporarily, in response to police activity. Police recently commented that the impression that Edmonton has an "unofficial zone of tolerance" has led to an increase of prostitutes coming from Calgary. Many other factors, including community action, unemployment rates and welfare cutbacks, have an impact on the number of street prostitutes who are working at any time.

We do know that the estimate of 50 is too low, at least at present. The evaluation of Needleworks (the local needle exchange program) in 1992 included data from 68 individuals who admitted they had sex for pay. In the same year, police laid 331 charges against prostitutes for "communicating for the purposes of prostitution." However, considering the fact that many of these are likely to be repeat offenders, this number is not particularly useful. Based on our research, we estimate that currently there are around 125 adult street prostitutes active in Edmonton.

Although many of the issues raised in this study are relevant to juveniles as well, the focus of this work is on adults. Almost one-third of our sample was male, even though it is usually estimated that 80 to 95% of street prostitutes are female. There have been very few studies anywhere focusing on male prostitutes so less is known about their needs. In this research a special effort was made to reach the men and get their input, both to see what their needs are and to compare their responses with those of the women.

2. Recommendations/Action Plan

A. Resource Centre

Recommendation:

A drop-in/resource centre should be established for street prostitutes. This centre should be staffed by people with a street history but who have made a successful transition away from the street. A variety of services should be available either at the centre or through a referral system at the centre.

Action Plan:

This recommendation was developed based on the preliminary survey results in July 1993 and became the basis for a proposal which was submitted to the federal government. The project calls for a six month developmental phase and a one year pilot of the resource centre.

"I had no alternative. I had no money and no job. I tried every resource I could think of." 23 year old female

B. Self Help for Street Prostitutes

Recommendation:

Assistance should be provided to street prostitutes who are interested in establishing a self help group. A spokesperson to speak on behalf of street prostitutes can be developed through this group.

Action Plan:

Following the completion of the data gathering for this project, one of the researchers began organizing a group of current and ex-street prostitutes who had indicated they would be interested in this approach. They have had a few meetings already and there appears to be a growing interest. Agencies such as the Boyle Street Community Services Co-operative can provide the support necessary in the early stages for a group such as this to get off the ground.

"Now that social services is cutting everybody off, more people are going out on the streets. It leads to more complications." 20 year old male

C. Emergency Accommodation for Adult Prostitutes

Recommendation:

Consideration should be given to establishing a Safe House, similar to that offered by Catholic Social Services, for adult prostitutes who want to leave the street lifestyle.

*"They have to help the older girls, over 18, or they will never get off the street. They need something."
25 year old female*

Action Plan:

At the present time, some street prostitutes make use of the Women's Emergency Accommodation Centre and the existing men's hostels when they are trying to break away from the streets. Experience has shown, however, that the locations of these (primarily in the inner city) makes it very easy for people to drift back. There is also some danger for women who are trying to break away from the control of a pimp or "boyfriend" in being too close by.

As Catholic Social Services has experience operating Safe House, it should consider developing a proposal for the creation of an adult "Safe House".

D. Substance Abuse Programs

Recommendation:

Information should be made available at the Resource Centre for those who are interested in establishing a 12-step group for street prostitutes.

Action Plan:

Many of the people we spoke with in this study commented on the difficult time they have attending group programs with people who do not have a street history. They feel they are not understood and that everyone is watching them. A number of women also commented on fellow group members trying to pick them up because of their history.

Many people find the 12-step approach quite helpful in their efforts to stop abusing drugs or alcohol. Once the Resource Centre is established, information about such programs and how to set up a meeting should be made available there. The Group Services committee of Alcoholics Anonymous could be invited to meet with street prostitutes to explain the procedures for establishing a new group.

*"AADAC should have a program for prostitutes only."
18 year old male*

Recommendation:

Funding for substance abuse programs should be maintained at levels appropriate to address the needs of the community.

Action Plan:

Substance abuse is directly linked with the street lifestyle. Most street prostitutes are currently abusing at least one substance, and many are addicted to a combination of drugs and alcohol. They identify treatment for this abuse as one of the primary keys to changing their lifestyle. However, programs are currently being cut back and those that do exist are not always appropriate to the needs of this population.

Funders and agencies need to support efforts to reduce substance abuse in the community. Funding to AADAC and substance abuse programs should not be cut-off without a careful examination of the costs that are likely to be incurred by such action.

E. Aboriginal Street Prostitutes

Recommendation:

Services should be available to Aboriginal street prostitutes which take into consideration their cultural needs and values.

Action Plan:

Given the over-representation of Aboriginal people in the street prostitute population, the Resource Centre and any other programs or services which are developed should be culturally appropriate. Aboriginal people will need to be actively involved with the running of the Resource Centre (as both staff and advisory committee/board members) and in service/program development.

"There should be a support system of ex-addicts and ex-prostitutes, especially native people. They would understand me and wouldn't belittle me." 30 year old female

F. Legal Issues

Recommendation:

Alternatives to jail time or fines should be explored for people charged under Section 213 of the Criminal Code.

"It's pretty stupid to give a hooker a fine because she has to earn it." 21 year old female

Action Plan:

A number of street prostitutes suggested that mandatory counselling or work programs might be effective in reducing the number of people who return to the streets after they have been charged. The Elizabeth Fry Society, the justice system and prostitutes could work together to look at alternative measures. These could then be tested to determine what impact they might have in action.

Recommendation:

Efforts should be made to establish a positive working relationship between the police and street prostitutes.

"The police should be educated. They treat prostitutes like sh__." 17 year old female

Action Plan:

Many street prostitutes neither trust nor respect the police working in the inner city and there is a sense that for many it is based on the lack of respect they receive from the police. Members of the Vice Unit of the Edmonton Police Service stated they would like to develop a better relationship with women on the streets both to improve their safety and to deal with the pimps in the area. Police could begin by working with the resource centre and the self help group referred to above to address some of the safety concerns of street prostitutes.

G. Health Issues

Recommendation:

Government support for the Needleworks program must be maintained.

"I thought jail was nice. You can lay down and sleep. You feel safe there." 27 year old female

Action Plan:

Most of the people interviewed in this research make regular use of the Needleworks van. There can be little doubt that the program has been helpful in maintaining the relatively low incidence of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases among Edmonton street prostitutes. (In comparison, a study in the U.S. found that 61.2 percent of injection drug-using prostitutes were HIV positive.¹) Agencies and funders should continue to offer support so that this program can be maintained.

Recommendation:

Consideration should be given to having staff from the STD Clinic go out with the Needleworks van.

"I'd go to the STD Clinic if it was easier to get tests and you didn't have to get interrogated." 20 year old male

Action Plan:

A number of suggestions were made about increasing the effectiveness of the Clinic. Street prostitutes would like to have easier access to information about diseases that are currently going around and how they can be prevented. They also suggested that more outreach and education about the kinds of health problems street prostitutes face would help to get younger women off the streets.

Recommendation:

Efforts should be made to simplify the procedural and administrative requirements for HIV testing.

Action Plan:

Many street prostitutes complained about the information they are required to give when they go for an HIV test, particularly the questions about their sexual history. Some refuse to go for tests because they are not prepared to answer these questions.

1. Barbara Goldsmith, "Women on the Edge", *The New Yorker*, April 26, 1993, pp. 64-81.

H. Employment and Training

Recommendation:

More opportunities need to be created to allow street prostitutes to get into work training programs and to improve their level of education. Consideration should be given to providing some programs specifically for this population which would give recognition to their particular needs.

Action Plan:

Given today's job market, there are not a lot of alternatives for people who want to find employment, particularly if they are not job-ready. A pilot program should be developed which would assist street prostitutes with job preparation. It should address a range of needs including basic life skills, employment counseling, work experience and assistance getting into education programs.

"Welfare should help more people to go to school. I got into this because welfare wasn't enough and the cheques came late." 22 year old female

I. Child Welfare

Recommendation:

More direct action is needed to prevent juveniles who are in the care of the Child Welfare system from getting involved in street life.

Action Plan:

Numerous reports have been prepared in recent years identifying the needs of youth in care. Among the most recent are **In Need of Protection**, the report of the provincial Children's Advocate, and the ESPC's "Provincial Review of Services to 16 and 17 Year Olds." Efforts must continue to encourage the provincial government to act on the recommendations made in these reports.

"I got exposed to all this in juvenile homes - hooking, drugs." 29 year old female

J. Public Awareness/Education

Recommendation:

Programs should be developed to educate community members, parents, youth, agency personnel and others as may be appropriate about the realities of prostitution, why people get involved in the trade and the impact it has on their lives. Further efforts to work with prostitutes to raise their awareness of the impact of their lifestyle on the surrounding community should be pursued.

Action Plan:

Some work has begun in the inner city area through Edmonton Parks and Recreation and the local schools. These programs should be further developed and expanded.

3. Background

Over the past 15 years most major cities in North America have identified street prostitution as one of the growing problems in the urban core. Looking back through the popular media of the 1980s, there are frequent references to "hookers" and their impact on the community. Much of this attention is a result of anger which has been expressed by residents and local business owners who are concerned about being harassed, losing customers or increased crime in the neighborhood. Other people are concerned about the threat of AIDS and other diseases or exposing their children to the street lifestyle.

While these are all valid concerns, there is another side to the story that is frequently ignored - the story of the prostitutes themselves. In a few cases people have attempted to change the slant of the discussion by asking questions about how people get involved in street prostitution. Feminist theorists raise issues of patriarchy and women's right to control their own bodies while moralists look for ways to help prostitutes "straighten out." Few people have gone so far as to speak with the prostitutes themselves to see what their issues and concerns might be.

In 1992, the Edmonton Social Planning Council decided to join the debate in an effort to see that all sides were being heard. We invited Jane Runner, the program coordinator of P.O.W.E.R. (Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights) in Winnipeg, to discuss her programs with community residents, inner city agency staff and street prostitutes in Edmonton.

While she was here, Ms. Runner spoke with Edmontonians about a research project undertaken in Winnipeg. Researchers had interviewed 54 street prostitutes (all female) over the winter of 1984-85. In addition to demographic information, they asked questions about personal history, present lifestyle and future aspirations. Among the results they found the following: 35% had been raised in the child welfare system; 60% had been physically or sexually abused as children; 80% had been arrested at least once; 56% began prostituting before they were 18 years old; 94% either drank or used drugs; 77% had an alcoholic parent; and 90% hoped to find a job or a "good man" to enable them to stop "working."² Few were able to identify any services or programs that they

"I'm hoping that one day I'll pull a Julia Roberts." (referring to the movie Pretty Woman) 18 year old male

2. "Making Street Connections", Elizabeth Fry Society and YWCA, Winnipeg, April 1985.

would go to for help. The researchers concluded:

From the data collected, the majority of these women seem to want out of their occupation at some point in time but see little support available to them in the community. They want alternatives like a good job and/or training but don't see this as offered or possible at this time. It was our impression that these women feel trapped by the life that they are leading and feel that there is little hope for them in the future. Many of them have resorted to drugs and alcohol to make their present situation more bearable. They want out - but no door is apparent. ...

Frankly stated, the only investment made in prostitutes is by the customers. It is time for society to make a non-exploitive investment in these women whose lives, motives and goals have been poorly understood in the past.³

Through discussion with people in a number of inner city agencies, as well as the Community Impact of Prostitution sub-committee of the City's Action Group on Prostitution, we agreed to gather similar data for Edmonton in order to help everyone find appropriate solutions to the growing problem.

"I don't have a job, housing, credit. I used to get really angry. Now I just cry for a couple of days." 40 year old female

Street prostitutes are not generally in a good position to advocate for themselves. Many factors lead them into street life. Child abuse, substance abuse and a low level of employability are frequently associated with poor self-esteem and a sense that they don't deserve anything better in life. Women and men working the streets tend to keep to themselves. Many state that they just want to "live and let live" but this is usually an unrealistic goal.

A second issue is that people involved in street prostitution are generally there for survival, not because they particularly enjoy the activities. The current economic crunch in social services, combined with the high rate of unemployment, leaves many people with few resources. Often they believe there are no other alternatives available to support themselves and their families.

"I'd like to have a half decent job. I don't want to be on welfare. I'm a good worker." 33 year old female

There is also evidence suggesting that street prostitutes have a variety of unmet needs in health, education and social services, and that they may be less likely than others to seek assistance from established agencies. A common comment in our research was, "I went there but they all knew what I did for a living and I felt uncomfortable," or "They looked down on me because of what I do."

3. Ibid. p. 8.

Finally, we wanted to find ways to help people in the community better understand the people involved in prostitution, and conversely to help prostitutes understand the concerns of the residents. New channels of communication can lessen the anger and hostility that currently exists and perhaps enable peaceful co-existence.

4. Methodology

Prior to beginning this study, it was decided that project staff should be people with a street background. The positions were advertised through inner city agencies and through publicity generated by an article in the *Edmonton Journal*. The research assistants who were hired had both street experience and knowledge of Edmonton's inner city.

Their first task was to review research material and reports from other projects relevant to this study so they would have a better understanding of the issues involved. They also spent time visiting inner city agencies, the police and others who could provide additional insight. Once they had the background, the research assistants drafted a questionnaire and went out on the streets to do interviews. For safety reasons, they usually conducted the interviews together. Both were female, one Aboriginal and one Caucasian. During the course of the project, both workers were replaced by people of similar background.

In developing the questionnaire, the researchers were conscious of both the issues that needed to be addressed and the need to ask questions in a manner that would not be offensive to the respondents. (For example, throughout the questions, street prostitutes were referred to as "workers".) The project advisory committee, with representation from a number of inner city agencies (see Appendix A), also helped to identify information that would be useful for improving services to the target population. The final result was a survey with 60 questions in six categories: personal, legal, street history, health/safety, substance use/abuse, and community.

The survey took approximately 45 minutes to complete. Generally people who were willing to speak with the researchers completed the full survey. However, a small number (less than ten) stopped, either because they were uncomfortable with the questions or because a customer was waiting.

"I think it's great you guys are coming around and doing surveys. It's a little like counseling." 18 year old male

"I never trust anyone. Last week, friends of mine stole the chain my grandmother gave me a week before she died." 22 year old female

The researchers created an acronym for the project, P.U.R.P.O.S.E., standing for People Uniting for the Rights of Prostitutes On the Streets of Edmonton. They developed cards and leaflets which were distributed to agencies and individually to women and men working the streets, inviting people to participate in the survey. They went out with the Needleworks van on a number of occasions and spent a good deal of time on the streets so people would be more comfortable speaking with them. Interviews were conducted wherever the respondents preferred, including on the street, in bars and coffee shops, at the Boyle Street Community Services Co-operative, and over the phone. A total of 67 interviews were completed.

Following the completion of the study, a number of people who gave interviews and other key players were invited to review a draft of this report and give feedback. Their comments are incorporated as appropriate.

"I don't like having to turn tricks. My boyfriend whines he's not getting any sex - I'm the one who's getting all the sex." 22 year old female

5. Literature Review

Recent literature on the topic of prostitution helps to highlight common themes found throughout North America, as well as some of the approaches to deal with the resulting problems that have been tried. While the following discussion is by no means exhaustive, it provided some direction for the analysis of our data. Material examined for the purposes of this study focused on three issues: the history of people working the streets; the relationship between prostitution and substance abuse; and the laws and community action.

A. Where Does It Start?

Throughout the literature on street prostitution references are made to the early life of the people involved. Studies show that people who turn to prostitution are usually young, come from households where physical, sexual and emotional abuse are common, rarely live in stable families, often have child welfare involvement, either associate with other youth who are involved in deviant activities or are isolated from their age peers, and frequently run away from home.⁴ John Lowman sums it up as follows:

"My mother kicked me out of the house when I was five. She woke me up and kicked me out." 27 year old female

The "typical" street prostitute enters the trade somewhere between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, and usually after running away from either a state home (group homes, foster homes, etc.) or the home of one or both natural parents. They run because they find home life intolerable. None of these factors alone, however, explains why they turn to prostitution. This "choice" - and most of the prostitutes interviewed insist that they made a choice - must be contextualized. Most prostitutes have little education and, by virtue of belonging to the age group with the highest unemployment rate, are only marginally employable. ... What is attractive about street culture is that it allows the runaway or disaffiliated youth a sense of belonging, a feeling of autonomy, and a means of subsistence. And the fast and substantial money that it does bring to a core group of prostitutes symbolizes much that is cherished in mainstream materialist Western culture.⁵

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4. See for example, Goldsmith, op.cit., Jennifer James, "Prostitution and Sexual Violence", in *Women in Crisis*, Penelope Russianoff (ed.), (Human Sciences Press: New York), 1981, pp. 176-216. John Lowman, "Prostitution in Canada", in *Canadian Criminology*, Margaret A. Jackson & Curt T. Griffiths (eds.), (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: Toronto), 1991.
 5. Lowman, op.cit.

Social scientists who have focused primarily on juvenile prostitution identify the child welfare system as a factor influencing how youth identify themselves. Once they have been labeled "deviant" according to social norms and values they are left with little self-confidence or hope that things will get better.⁶ As Jennifer James puts it, "They have already been labeled as "bad girls" by the institutionalization process and so feel they have little to lose if they shift further into the negative female image of the whore."⁷

"They're blaming the prostitutes for going out. Most girls don't turn themselves out - the men turn them out. They should be looking at the men." 17 year old female

The literature is clear on the issue of sexual victimization and abuse, identifying a very large percentage of street prostitutes (78% according to Goldsmith) who were forced to have sexual intercourse before the age of fourteen. It is interesting to note that the Badgley Commission found that prostitutes were no more likely than other people to experience "unwanted sexual activity" as children. However, a closer examination of the data reveals that young prostitutes who were interviewed were twice as likely to have been the victims of sexual abuse involving force or threats of force.⁸

In her review of factors leading to juvenile prostitution, Susan Nadon sums up the data as follows:

"I was beaten by my boyfriend when I was 16. He forced me onto the streets." 20 year old female

Evidence reveals that there may be a differential impact of sexual victimization when abuse occurs at a young age, the perpetrator is the father or stepfather of the victim, the sexual abuse occurs frequently, or occurs over a long period of time. A high degree of physical violation within the assault (vaginal, oral, or anal penetration) is also thought to be associated with greater negative effects. Finally, the degree of force used during the perpetration of the abuse has been hypothesized to be predictive of serious negative after effects. The Fraser report suggests that more traumatic experiences within the sexual abuse episodes may explain why some victims prostitute and other do not.⁹

6. Anna Pellatt, "Juvenile Prostitution: A Consideration of the Child Welfare Response", Alberta Family and Social Services, Legislative Planning Branch, pp. 12-13.

7. James, op.cit. p. 186.

8. Lowman, op.cit.

9. Susan M. Nadon, "Childhood Victimization: Antecedents to Prostitution," Department of Psychology, University of Manitoba, June 1991, p.2.

There is some evidence to suggest that the experiences of young boys may be somewhat different than that of girls turning to prostitution. There are many similarities, including the likelihood of an unhappy childhood and abuse within the home. However, Lowman found that, "with males, family problems sometimes related to parental rejection of a boy's growing homosexual consciousness; a girl's distaste for home life was more likely to relate to her sexual victimization by family members."¹⁰

"I couldn't stand living at home with my mother. I took off from home when I was 13 and went to the strip. I made a lot of money the first night." 18 year old male

B. Prostitution and Substance Abuse

Most studies of prostitution show a strong correlation between the sex trade and use of drugs or alcohol. Prostitutes are very likely to both use these substances themselves and to come from homes in which substance abuse was common. What is less clear is whether there is a "cause and effect" factor.¹¹

In an examination of women involved in a treatment program, Herbert Freudenberger found, "Her drug abuse history was most likely initiated by a man who turned her on to it, and for whom she eventually hustled and whored to support both their habits."¹² Another psychologist who works specifically with prostitutes tends to view it more from the other side: "These women exist behind an emotional wall - they take drugs to preserve their illusions."¹³

"A friend introduced me to cocaine when I was 16. I was addicted and needed the money." 18 year old female

The discussion is perhaps best summed up by the following:

Most likely, both prostitution and substance abuse are the behavioral translations of these women's endless cycles of victimization and severely disturbed backgrounds, as well as an expression of the self-destructive pull, the sense of hopelessness, helplessness, negative self-concept and psychological paralysis reported by almost every subject in the study.¹⁴

10. Lowman, op.cit. p. 125.

11. See for example, Norma Marshall and Jane Hendtlass, "Drugs and Prostitution", *Journal of Drug Issues*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1986, pp. 237-248.

12. Herbert J. Freudenberger, "The Woman In Treatment", in Russionaoff, op.cit. p. 80.

13. Goldsmith, op.cit. p. 79.

14. Mimi H. Silbert, Ayala M. Pines & Teri Lynch, "Substance Abuse and Prostitution", *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, Vol. 14(3), Jul-Sep. 1982, p. 197.

C. Prostitution Law and the Community

It is quite interesting to read through material relating to the history of prostitution law. Brothels and "restricted districts" were quite common on the prairies at the turn of the century. Prostitution then, as now, was a result of both poverty among women and demand for the service by men. Statistics for Canada in the early 20th century, however, show that most of the charges laid by police against women were for vagrancy rather than prostitution. Researchers suggest that most of those charged were probably "streetwalkers".¹⁵

"If you try to put all the hookers in one place you'll have pimps beating on hookers and hookers beating on each other." 22 year old female

Throughout our history there is evidence to suggest that Canadian society accepted prostitution so long as it remained more or less out of sight. Most cities have always had traditional zones of permissiveness and it is not common for off-street prostitution to be targeted by police operations. For a variety of reasons, in recent years there have been greater attempts by prostitutes to move out of the "acceptable" areas and into residential neighborhoods. As a result, people in the communities have demanded action, police have tried to find new methods of enforcement, and politicians have reexamined the laws. As the following discussion illustrates, a solution to the "prostitution problem" is yet to be found.

John Lowman has completed a fairly extensive study of the impact of changes to the legislation and community action in Vancouver. He lists a number of specific attempts to deal with prostitution, including traffic diverters, community protesters, increased police activity, and a "Shame the Johns" movement. He concludes that, while there were successes in moving prostitutes out of specific neighborhoods, the impact on the level of prostitution was minimal and is not likely to improve under the current conditions.¹⁶

"The more they go after good Johns, the more bad Johns we have to face." 21 year old female

Jennifer James concurs with this assessment, although for different reasons. She suggests that the media image of the "ideal" woman is in conflict with attempts to end prostitution. Men are still searching to have their fantasies fulfilled and women who have been taught that their sexuality is one (or perhaps the only) of their greatest assets continue to cash in on it.¹⁷

15. Lowman, op.cit.

16. John Lowman, "Street Prostitution Control", *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Winter 1992, pp. 1-17.

17. James, op.cit.

James found that sexual inequality has prevented most attempts to deal with prostitution from being effective. The one exception she discovered was in China:

China's success seems to be based on the complete equality of the sexes in domestic, economic and political spheres combined with the discipline and commitment required by "pure" Communist ideology. The supply of women has been eliminated by offering equal economic opportunity to them and the use of intensive five-year reorientation sentences. The demand has been eliminated through emphasis on discipline and heavy prison sentences.¹⁸

"I want to do this for a while because it's the only way I can meet a rich guy and settle down." 24 year old female

Roger Matthews, who examined community activity in one area of London, England, found that a coordinated effort among local agencies and residents, using similar tactics to those described by Lowman (above), did have an impact on prostitution. He suggests that many women are only willing to prostitute themselves when it is easy to do so, and that when it becomes more difficult (e.g. when they would have to work in an area farther from home) they are more likely to leave the trade.¹⁹

In looking specifically at the laws and their impact, there are again many contradictions. The current Canadian legislation, Section 213 of the Criminal Code, was reviewed by the Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General in 1990. They found that the anti-solicitation laws are very expensive to enforce (Toronto police spent \$4.5 million in 1988) but have very little impact on the incidence of street prostitution.²⁰ This may be in part due to the fact that police have been more likely to charge prostitutes than their customers, even though the legislation can be applied equally. The reality for many women is that they have to work additional hours to make money to pay the fines.

"They should set up a brothel for girls to work out of to crack down on bad dates." 29 year old female

18. Ibid. pp. 198-199.

19. Roger Matthews, "Regulating Street Prostitution and Kerb-Crawling", *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Winter 1992, pp. 18-22.

20. *Fourth Report, The Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General, Section 213 of the Criminal Code (Prostitution-Soliciting)* Ottawa, October 1990.

Lowman suggests that the legislation has been written to pacify the public rather than to actually deal with prostitution. As evidence of the lack of concern for the prostitutes themselves, he points to the fact that many of the recommendations made by the Fraser Committee on Pornography and Prostitution were ignored. As further proof, he identifies the difference between enforcement activities following the enactment of the "communicating" law in 1985 and the law addressing the patrons of juvenile prostitutes in 1988:

(D)uring the first year after the enactment of the law criminalizing the customers of youths, only one charge was laid in Vancouver. ... The lack of enforcement of this section of the Criminal Code has given rise to virtually no public discussion, let alone outcry. From these observations it would seem that public propriety is far more important than the exploitation of prostitutes, even when they are youths.²¹

Matthews, on the other hand, suggests that if prostitution laws did not exist as a deterrent, even more of the vulnerable members of society might be attracted by the lure of the money. He disagrees with Lowman's suggestion that the interests of both prostitutes and the public would be better served by "a legal system which identifies where prostitutes *can* work, rather than pursuing the current punitive strategy which, time and again, has produced unplanned displacement and often more intractable nuisance problems in the process."²²

As was mentioned at the start of this section, the preceding discussion was not meant to cover all the issues or to provide answers. What it does is help to identify common themes and some measures that have been used to try to deal with prostitution. The lack of success of most attempts highlights the need to find new approaches for the future.

"If it was controlled there wouldn't be any murders or disease. It would be safe - like a bar with a bouncer. We'd pay taxes and have rights. We are still human." 33 year old female

*"I hope this interview doesn't go to waste and something gets done."
30 year old female*

21. Lowman (1991) op.cit.

22. Lowman (1992) op.cit., p. 15.

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