

PROSTITUTION

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Prostitution is the exchange of sexual acts for payment. There are several factors that are associated with entry into the prostitution trade. Some of the more influential factors are age, early home leaving, childhood sexual abuse, drug abuse and a poor financial situation. Most prostitutes have encountered at least one of these problems, and many have experienced them in combination.

The problems associated with street prostitution affect not only the prostitute, but also the community in which he or she works and the family members of the people using his or her services. Prostitutes often suffer physical and sexual abuse, drug addiction and low self esteem. Residential and commercial areas often experience traffic congestion, noise, litter, harassment of residents, declining property values and business loss. Families of those who procure the services of prostitutes can suffer financial hardship, distrust, emotional suffering and family breakdown.

There are three legislative options that have emerged to address the problems associated with prostitution. The first option, further criminalization, proposes to strengthen prostitution related laws. The second option, decriminalization, proposes to remove prostitution related offences from the Criminal Code and replace them with municipal bylaws. The final option, legalization, maintains that prostitution is a social problem that should be legalized and regulated by the state.

Some communities have implemented various practices to control prostitution and its negative effects. Some of the more popular practices include legalizing brothels, implementing prostitution offender programs, mailing out "Dear John" letters and creating zones of tolerance.

Social programs have emerged in Canada to help prostitutes leave the trade or, at the very least, help them cope with their lifestyle. These programs offer job counselling, emotional counselling, relocation, retraining and medical services to prostitutes.

Society has a responsibility to educate the public, prostitutes and johns about the increased risks of disease and violence associated with prostitution. Although prostitution often appears to be a career choice for those involved, it is essential to understand the overwhelming coercion and desperation behind that "choice." Future initiatives should continue to acknowledge prostitutes as victims, and realize that the punitive nature of the criminal law is rarely of any help in addressing a social problem like prostitution.

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INTRODUCTION

Prostitution is the exchange of sexual acts for payment. Prostitution dates back at least as far as ancient Greece. Today, street prostitution, and the various methods to control it, have sparked heated debates among law enforcement agencies and residential and business communities. In recent years, numerous task forces and committees have been established to study prostitution and its effect on businesses, communities and individuals. All committees agree that the effects of prostitution are harmful, but their proposed solutions range from increasing the punitive nature of prostitution related laws to legalizing or decriminalizing prostitution and implementing more social programs.

This paper examines the social and economic factors associated with entry into prostitution. The problems associated with prostitution are also discussed. Canadian criminal laws regarding prostitution related activities are examined, and the legislative options that dominate the prostitution literature are reviewed. Several community practices that have emerged to deter those who buy the services of prostitutes ("johns") and eliminate the problems associated with prostitution are summarized. The paper concludes with a discussion of some innovative social programs that have been implemented to help prostitutes cope with their lifestyle and, if desired, leave the trade.

FACTORS RELATED TO ENTRY INTO PROSTITUTION

There are several social and economic factors that are associated with entry into prostitution. Among the more prevalent factors are age, early home leaving, childhood sexual and physical abuse, substance abuse, runaway behaviour and economic conditions. Additionally, parental violence, cohesion of a family unit, parental alcohol abuse, adolescent substance abuse and self esteem contribute to an individual's involvement in prostitution. What follows is a discussion of the key social and economic factors.

Age

Age does not determine if an individual will become a prostitute, it is only a factor related to entry into prostitution. Various Canadian studies have established that most adult prostitutes started their careers in their early to mid teens (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1997, p. 3). Nadon, Koverola and Schudermann, in a 1998 study of Manitoba prostitutes, found that the average age of entry into prostitution for females was 14.1 years (p. 213). In Victoria, it was estimated that the average age of entry was 14.8 years for females. Female prostitutes in Vancouver entered the sex trade at an average age of 16.3 years while male prostitutes entered prostitution at an average age of 15.5 years (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution [F/P/T], 1998, p. 23). Although there appear to be slight regional variations in Canada in the age at which individuals begin prostituting, it is usually between 14 and 16 years. Overall, the estimated percentage of prostitutes under 18 years of age is 10% to 12% (Alberta Task force on Juvenile Prostitution, 1997, as cited in Aggleton, 1999, p. 64).

The average age of women charged with prostitution related offences is 35 while the average age for men is 27 (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1997, p. 6). The majority of people charged with prostitution related offences continues to be adults (97%), while only 3% are under the age of 18 (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1997, p. 1). The small volume of youth charged with prostitution related offences reflects the increasing diversion of young prostitutes by law enforcement personnel to child welfare agencies. Recognition that youth involved in prostitution are victims rather than offenders is a step forward for Canadian judicial officials.

Unfortunately, there is a high demand for young prostitutes throughout the country. Many johns prefer the services of adolescents, who may be less threatening and are perceived to be less likely to have sexually transmitted diseases. This demand for young prostitutes has implications at an international level. Canadian government officials have recently estimated that approximately two million women are trafficked each year for the sex trade and this trafficking has replaced narcotics as the favoured illegal trade activity (Department of Justice Canada, 2000, p. 1).

Early Home Leaving

Leaving home too early and under negative family circumstances, is considered a strong indicator of adolescent prostitution (F/P/T, 1998, p. 27). There is a body of research that suggests histories of family dysfunction, substance abuse, violence and sexual abuse leads to youth leaving home, often at a very young age. Running away is a possible adaptive response to an abusive or neglectful living situation (Nadon et al., 1998, p. 208). The Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (1984) found that 93% of female and 97% of male prostitutes had run away from home at least once (as cited in Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993, p. 10). This means youth are living or spending a great deal of time on the street. In a 1994 study of street youth, Caputo, Weiler and Kelly found a correlation between increased amounts of time on the street and increased involvement in criminal activity: most often drug use, theft and prostitution. They also determined that “sex for survival” (food, shelter, emotional support and money) applies more directly to females than to males (p. 14).

Childhood Sexual Abuse

Running away from home is considered the intervening variable that links sexual abuse with prostitution. Running away is often a survival or defence mechanism that follows sexual abuse, and sexual abuse is a factor commonly present among prostitutes. Prostitution being a long term effect of sexual abuse is a theory that has received support from numerous researchers. Researchers Farley and Barkan (1998), in a sample of 130 adult prostitutes, found that 57% had experienced childhood sexual abuse, with an average of 3 abusers each. Additionally, 49% of this sample experienced physical abuse as children (p. 39). In another study, Nadon, Koverola and Schudermann (1998) found that 68% of female prostitutes in their sample experienced childhood sexual abuse (p. 214). Foti (1994) compared children who had and had not been sexually abused, and determined that the

participants who were sexually abused as children were twice as likely to become prostitutes (as cited in Nadon et al., p. 207).

Poor Financial Situation

Due to age and lack of work experience, there are few opportunities for legitimate employment available to street youth. This lack of opportunity leads many young runaways, faced with poor financial situations, into the prostitution trade in order to survive (Seng, 1989, as cited in Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993, p. 9). Hagan and McCarthy (1997) measured the relationship of prostitution to a number of background factors, including age, gender, unemployment, hunger, shelter, number of times left home, length of time on street and street friends arrested. They found that unemployment and lack of shelter were the more influential predictors of entering into street prostitution (p. 96). It was also found that males reported more involvement in theft in order to survive, while females depended on prostitution (Hagan & McCarthy, 1997, p. 94).

Substance Abuse

The prevalence of addiction to alcohol and other drugs is excessively high among street prostitutes (Boritch, 1997, p. 63). There are two theories of why prostitutes abuse alcohol and other drugs. The first is that substance abuse leads to prostitution when youth turn to drugs to deal with stressful life problems, such as coping with prior sexual or physical abuse. Prostitution then becomes a means of financial support to keep their addictions satisfied. Alternatively, it is believed that drugs are used as an escape, to help endure the degradation and detrimental impact of the prostitute's work (Schissel & Fedec, 1999, p. 38). Research done on 54 adult prostitutes and their substance abuse patterns in Edmonton found both of these theories to be true. Substance abuse was found to be a major factor that leads individuals to prostitution and keeps them involved. Only 5 (8%) respondents reported no use of drugs or alcohol (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1993). Of the remainder surveyed, 19 (29%) said they used drugs to help themselves work while 30 (44%) said they worked to pay for the drugs. Whether substance abuse precedes or follows prostitution activity, prostitution will be required to support the addiction.

Research conducted on youth prostitutes in Saskatchewan determined that race influenced substance abuse patterns in prostitutes. From 1980 to 1996, Schissel and Fedec (1999) studied Social Service case files of youth who had been involved in prostitution. The differences between aboriginal and non-aboriginal youth prostitutes were investigated. Results revealed that 92.1% of aboriginal youth and 62.5% of non-aboriginal youth involved in prostitution use a combination of drugs and alcohol (p. 47). These figures are considerably higher than youth not involved in prostitution. Results from this study suggest an association between the lower socioeconomic status of Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan and higher involvements in substance abuse and prostitution. The effect of racial factors and the resulting marginalization of Aboriginal people is a social concern and an aspect of prostitution that requires further research and program and policy initiative.

EFFECTS OF PROSTITUTION

Street prostitution is dangerous. According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (1997), 63 prostitutes were murdered between 1991 and 1995. Of this 63, 50 were killed by johns, 8 by pimps or drug related incidents and the remainder by husbands, common-law spouses and boyfriends (p. 9). Seven of these prostitutes were between the ages of 15 and 17. Recent studies have confirmed that the majority of physical and sexual assaults on street prostitutes are carried out by johns (79%) (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1997, p. 8). Street prostitutes are at a much higher risk for any kind of violence due to the private nature and location of their work. Homicides of prostitutes remain unsolved at a much higher rate than homicides of individuals not involved in prostitution. In 1995, 54% of prostitute homicides were unsolved, while only 20% of non-prostitute homicides were unsolved.

The high rate of unsolved prostitute homicides has caused concern for police. In response to large numbers of unidentifiable bodies of prostitutes disposed in remote rural areas in Alberta, the Alberta RCMP developed the High Risk Homicide Registry (HRHREG). The registry keeps track of people believed to be at risk of becoming victims of homicide. Not surprisingly, prostitutes comprise the large majority on the registry. The HRHREG collects information such as height, weight, identifiable marks, scars, broken bones, tattoos and birthmarks. Information about the person's lifestyle, such as nature of sexual activity, types of drugs used and identifiable clothing and jewellery is also collected. Registrants provide the names of associates so that potential motives or suspects can be established (F/P/T, 1998, p. 78). Edmonton's Crossroads outreach program, which will be discussed below, works in conjunction with the RCMP, and is largely responsible for collecting this type of information from prostitutes. Crossroads distributes "Bad Date" sheets to prostitutes to identify and keep track of violent johns. This information is added to the registry for future reference.

In addition to the dangerous lifestyles street prostitutes are exposed to, long-term psychological and health effects are more prevalent in this population. A large sample of prostitutes (130) were given tests to determine if they experienced Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a result of different risk factors associated with this street lifestyle. PTSD is a psychological disorder that results from trauma. Symptoms include re-experiencing trauma in various forms, efforts to avoid stimuli similar to the trauma experienced, numbing of responsiveness and symptoms of physiological arousal. This research found that the trauma most encountered by this sample of street prostitutes was physical or sexual violence. Results indicated that 82% of women had been physically assaulted, 83% had been threatened with a weapon, 68% had been raped while working and 84% reported current or past homelessness. Of the 130 women tested, 92% of women met some criteria for PTSD. Of this 92%, 68% met the criteria for full PTSD and 24% met the criteria for partial PTSD (Farley & Barkan, 1998, p. 43). Interestingly, 88% of these women stated that they wanted to leave prostitution (Farley & Barkan, 1998, p. 37). The amount of physical and psychological harm associated with street prostitution is undeniable. Although prostitution often appears to be a career choice for those involved, it is essential to understand the overwhelming coercion and desperation behind that "choice."

CANADIAN LAW

The United Nations passed a resolution in 1958 that prostitution is not a criminal act (Aggleton, 1999, p. 62). As a result, prostitution between consenting adults is not illegal in Canada. Various acts associated with prostitution are, however, contrary to the Criminal Code of Canada. The Criminal Code addresses various activities associated with prostitution, including communicating in a public place for the purpose of engaging in prostitution, providing directions, taking or showing someone to a common bawdy house, procuring or assisting or obtaining a person for sexual services on behalf of third party and living on the avails or benefiting from the prostitution of another person (Aggleton, 1999, p. 62).

There have been three major federal responses to prostitution in Canada in the last 20 years. In 1981, the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (1984) was appointed to explore legal sanctions pertaining to child sexual abuse and to make recommendations aimed at protecting children at risk. In 1985, the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution researched and proposed recommendations related to youth prostitution. In 1998, the final report of the Federal Provincial Territorial Working Group on Prostitution provided legal and social intervention recommendations based on an examination of the “legislation, policy and practices concerning prostitution related activities” in Canada. (Bittle, 1999, p. 2)

In 1985, the Criminal Code was amended to tighten prostitution laws. Bill C-49, which prohibited communicating for the purpose of prostitution, replaced the soliciting law. Attempting to communicate with or stopping a person in a public place for the purposes of obtaining sexual services became illegal, and both prostitutes and johns can be charged under this law (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993, p. 4). Bill C-49 resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of prostitution related charges: from 1,225 in 1985 to 7,426 in 1986 (83% increase) (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993, p. 5). It also intensified the criminal status of street prostitutes, forcing them to work in more remote and dangerous areas and causing increased tension in their relationships with law enforcement (F/P/T, 1998, p. 11).

In May, 1997, Bill C-27 amended section 7 of the Criminal Code. Bill C-27 was aimed at protecting youth from adults who seek children for sexual services or economic gain. It also extended jurisdiction to Canadian courts over prostitution offences (Criminal Intelligence Service of Canada [CISC], 2000, p. 1). Canadians who have committed prostitution and other sex related offences in other countries may be prosecuted by Canadian courts. A new offence, “aggravated procuring,” was created for those who live on the profits of the prostitution of a young person, use violence against that person and assist that person to carry out prostitution related offences (F/P/T, 1998, p. 18). Special protections for youth testifying in court against pimps or johns were also implemented.

Provincial governments across Canada have reevaluated the issue of youth prostitution. Youth prostitutes who were once criminally responsible for their actions are now seen as the victims of sexual abuse. In February, 1999, Bill 1, the Protection of Children in Prostitution Act (PChIP)

became law in Alberta. It recognizes that children who are involved in prostitution are victims of sexual abuse who require protection (Human Resources Development Canada [HRDC], 1999, p. 4). PChIP, which is closely related to the Child Welfare Act, allows social workers and police to apprehend child prostitutes under the age of 18 and place them in protective safe houses for up to 72 hours. PChIP includes fines up to \$25,000 and jail terms up to 24 months for johns and pimps who solicit youth prostitutes (CISC, 2000, p. 2). There has been controversy surrounding PChIP. In July 2000, the Alberta provincial court ruled that certain provisions of PChIP were unconstitutional. That decision was overturned by Alberta's Court of Queen's Bench in December, 2000. PChIP was amended in March, 2001, to provide, among other things, more legal safeguards for child prostitutes.

LEGISLATIVE OPTIONS

There are three general legislative responses to prostitution discussed in the literature. The first, pro-criminalization, or further criminalization, proposes to increase the severity of Canadian criminal laws relating to prostitution. The second, decriminalization, proposes that prostitution related offences should be removed from the Criminal Code and municipal bylaws should be passed to control prostitution. The third, regulation, holds that prostitution is a social problem that should be legalized by the state. Each perspective would like to see an end to the problems associated with prostitution, but each has a different view on how to reach this goal. At the present time, no country, city or jurisdiction in the world has ever adopted a complete legalization approach to prostitution, although decriminalization and some legalization has been implemented in a few countries (International Conference on Prostitution and Other Sex Work, 1996 as cited in Aggleton, 1999, p. 73).

Further Criminalization

There are two schools of thought among proponents of further criminalization of prostitution. First, some groups believe that the criminal law should be used to restore traditional religious and moral values (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, Volume II, 1985). The criminal law is seen as a reflection of Christianity and any act of prostitution is a sin against God and therefore a crime against society. Further criminalization would target prostitutes, johns, pimps and others who profit from prostitution. This view, while able to resolve ambiguous sections of the law, does not allow for any variation in moral opinion. Enforcement of these prostitution laws would require intrusive measures by law enforcement agencies that may infringe upon an individual's civil liberties.

One suggestion by supporters of further criminalization is "hybridizing" the offence of communicating for the purposes of prostitution, meaning that prosecutors could proceed with the charge by way of summary conviction or indictment. Hybridization would achieve better identification of repeat offenders (johns) and better tracking those involved in prostitution. Hybridization would include amending the Criminal Code and the Identification of Criminals Act to permit fingerprinting or photographing of those charged with communicating for the purpose of prostitution. Hybridization

would not allow johns to elude identification as repeat offenders by providing a different name or identity. Johns could not avoid court by appearing through agents, which is presently permitted under the Criminal Code for those charged with summary conviction offences (F/P/T, 1998, p. 69). Although upgrading the severity of the communicating for the purpose of prostitution offence may inhibit johns from re-offending, it can be expected to further criminalize and victimize prostitutes (F/P/T, 1998, p. 68). Prostitutes, and not johns, will acquire more indictable convictions, be denied bail more frequently and spend more time in jail with longer sentences.

Decriminalization

Decriminalization is defined as the complete removal of prostitution related offences from the Canadian Criminal Code, particularly the offences of keeping a bawdy house and communicating for the purposes of prostitution. This view maintains that prostitutes are victims who are subject to abuse by those who use their services and who are harassed by law enforcement officials. Advocates of decriminalization include most women's groups, prostitution rights groups and youth involved in prostitution. They argue that the harmful side effects of prostitution, such as exploitation and violence by pimps, can be addressed through enforcement of other offences already in the Criminal Code, such as extortion and assault. For example, the noise and congestion associated with street prostitution can be addressed by provincial laws and municipal bylaws. These groups maintain that it is not necessary to target prostitution itself in order to effectively combat its offensive byproducts, which are properly the subject of other laws dealing with nuisance, violence, panhandling and public sale of goods.

Regulation

Regulation involves legalizing and regulating some prostitution activity that is currently subject to criminal sanction (F/P/T, 1998, p. 99). Under such conditions, certain prostitution activity would be pardoned from criminal prosecution. The sections of the Criminal Code forbidding that activity would remain enforceable where the pardoned conditions were not met. The role of the federal and provincial governments would be to monitor the practice of prostitution through licencing and regulation in order to make prostitution safer and less visible. This recommendation for regulation was initially suggested by the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution in 1985. The opinion of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (1985) was that the bawdy house provision of the Criminal Code should be regulated, so that prostitutes could work out of private residences.

Proponents of regulation and decriminalization of prostitution have proposed various approaches to legalize prostitution. Suggestions include licensed brothels, the creation of "red light" districts, municipal licencing of prostitutes and compulsory medical examinations of prostitutes (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, Volume II, 1985). Proponents believe that regulation or decriminalization will provide several advantages, such as the ease of enforcement, the recognition of prostitution as a business, an improved self image of prostitutes, a reduced need for pimps and

others who exploit prostitutes, better control over public health and an increase in tax revenue to municipal governments.

Those who oppose decriminalization and regulation believe that doing so would legitimize prostitution (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, Volume II, 1985). Opponents believe this will leave the impression that prostitutes are merely commodities that are bought and sold, and that this “market” is approved by governments across the country. The viewpoint of these opponents, is that the federal and provincial governments become the “pimp” because they have the power to control the activities of the prostitute and make money from his/her labour (F/P/T, 1998, p. 102). Opponents also believe that decriminalization or regulation would not address the most serious of problems associated with prostitution, such as damage to neighbourhoods and the drug addiction among prostitutes. They also believe that zoning techniques would cause problems because neighbourhoods or business districts would object to prostitution and industrial areas may not be safe.

ALTERNATIVES TO CRIMINALIZATION

Concerns about the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, sexual and physical assaults on prostitutes by pimps and clients, the decline in community cleanliness and driving prostitution further underground have communities and law enforcement working to implement various practices to control prostitution and its effects. Some of the more popular practices include legalizing brothels, creating zones of tolerance, implementing prostitution diversion programs, the use of shaming techniques and community mediation. Each program will be discussed below to assess its effectiveness.

Legalization of Brothels

The legalization of brothels, or bawdy houses, has occurred in various countries around the world including Holland, West Germany, Netherlands, Australia and the United States. Advocates of legalized brothels say that state regulation in this manner can reduce AIDS, create new tax revenue and eliminate the annoyances associated with street prostitution.

In the United States, the state of Nevada, passed a local option law in 1971 giving counties with small populations the ability to approve or prohibit brothels. The Board of Health requires that each prostitute is tested weekly for gonorrhoea and monthly for syphilis and HIV. If infected, the prostitute is denied further employment (F/P/T, 1998, p. 102). Prostitutes are licenced for 90 days at a time and work shifts of three weeks on, one week off. Prostitutes are segregated and forced to work apart from their families for three weeks at a time. Prostitution activity continues to be regulated criminally outside of brothels in Nevada.

In Canada, it is illegal to keep a common bawdy house. The present illegality of bawdy houses has led to the emergence of “trick pads.” A trick pad is a location, usually a hotel room or house, where

pimps bring in a number of men to have sex with a few, typically young, prostitutes. This activity is very secretive, locations move from place to place quickly making them hard to trace and often focus on specific ethnic or socially based customer groups (Communities for Awareness & Action on Prostitution Issues, [CAAPI], 1999, p. 25). These prostitutes are often underage runaways with no place to go who will perform sexual acts for food, drugs or alcohol.

Zones of Tolerance

“Zones of tolerance” are a second alternative to the criminalization of prostitution related offences. At present, zones of tolerance can be found in virtually every city in the world. A zone of tolerance is an area that has been unofficially recognized by city council, residents, businesses, prostitutes and police as a place where prostitutes can freely conduct business (Forbes, Powis, Griffiths & Strang, 1992). Advocates for regulation and decriminalization believe there are several advantages to officially legalizing zones of tolerance. Arguments for regulated zones of tolerance include keeping the nuisance of prostitution out of residential areas. Second, a zoned area may be safer for prostitutes to work out of. Third, police and other enforcement agencies can better regulate prostitution when it is confined to a small area. Presently, unofficial zones of tolerance have not solved all of the problems associated with street prostitution, but they have helped ease tensions among communities, police, businesses and prostitutes.

Diversion Programs

Prostitution offender programs (POP's) are diversion programs that exist in some cities across Canada for people arrested for communicating for the purpose of prostitution. The programs are an alternative to entering the criminal justice system. Johns who enter the POP pay a fee of \$400 to attend. They are generally a one day program that involves the community in both the planning and implementation of educational modules. Issues addressed include damage and nuisance associated with street prostitution and its associated drug trade. Ex-prostitutes speak of the impact of prostitution on women and how they view men who buy sex (F/P/T, 1998, p. 92). Health issues such as STDs are addressed, and psychiatrists speak about sex addictions. In May of 1996, the Edmonton police service started Alberta's first Prostitution Offender Program (Thomson, 1996, p. B1). Since that time, recidivism has been reduced, likely due to johns taking responsibility for their actions.

Since 1998, Prostitution Diversion Programs (PDPs) have been introduced throughout Canada (Research and Education for Solutions to Violence and Abuse [RESOLVE], 1999, p. 5). PDPs are an alternative to a criminal charge for prostitutes arrested for communicating for the purposes of prostitution. PDPs are funded by the \$400 fees paid by johns to attend POP's. The program involves three days out of town at a camp with a number of speakers. Ex-prostitutes speak of getting out of prostitution, police and crown attorneys discuss legal issues, a psychologist speaks of the dangers of high risk relationships and workshops are held on health, addiction and abuse (RESOLVE, 1999, p. 6). The purpose of the PDP is to provide support and connect prostitutes to services that can aid in the transition out of prostitution.

Shaming Approaches

In most major cities across Canada, local citizens' groups, police and newspapers have incorporated methods designed to shame johns and deter them from future solicitation of prostitutes by removing their anonymity (F/P/T, 1998, p. 91). Shaming techniques have ranged from police hiding and jumping out from bushes with flashlights to interrogate prostitutes and johns, to community members patrolling prostitutes' "strolls," photographing customers and recording licence numbers. Some local newspapers and radio stations publish the names of johns. "Dear John" letters have been sent to the homes of suspected johns, to indicate to the spouse and family that the individual was either engaged in a conversation with prostitutes or was seen patrolling in a known area of prostitution.

There are several problems with shaming techniques. First, there is no concrete evidence that shaming johns will have a deterrent effect on future solicitations of prostitutes. Second, pain and suffering may inadvertently be inflicted upon the john's family. Third, within the Canadian cities that have implemented these techniques, it is believed to have had a negative effect on the prostitutes. This approach has done nothing but displace street prostitutes from one area to another, often to less visible and more dangerous areas. Violence against prostitutes also increased, as johns who were publicly humiliated, took their anger out on them. Fourth, the question of the legality of publishing names is raised. The publishing of johns' names may be an invasion of privacy and an attempt to restrict their freedom to pursue a service that is not itself illegal.

Community Mediation

Community mediation views prostitutes as members of the community who can take an active role in reducing the problems associated with street prostitution and allows the community to take control of the problem. Through multi-party alternative dispute resolution (ADR), key people and groups involved are brought together to reach agreement on prostitution related issues. Participants tend to develop community based, long term solutions that do not simply move street prostitution from one place to another.

British Columbia has actively implemented mediation into its communities. In Vancouver, community mediation has been generally successful as Crime Prevention Offices (CPOs) and neighbourhood associations work with PACE (Prostitution Alternative Counselling and Education) to speak with prostitutes in the community about staying away from certain locales, ensuring their area is litter free and respecting certain rules of conduct (F/P/T, 1998, p. 96).

COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Laws related to prostitution are often the focus of discussion about this issue, while community support remains in the background. Social programs for prostitutes such as job counselling, emotional counselling, relocation, retraining and medical services have begun to address the problems associated with prostitution. Input from Canadian communities suggests that the services and resources most

needed include detoxification and substance abuse programs, free condoms, needle exchanges, food and safe housing. There has been an increase in the number of organizations dedicated to helping prostitutes throughout the nation. Provincially, Edmonton and Calgary have a number of social programs and specialized outreach programs. In Canada, CORP (Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes) advocates for the decriminalization of prostitution. Following are some brief descriptions of the community supports that exist in Canada.

In Edmonton, there are a number of programs that deal with different issues associated with prostitution. Kindred House is a drop-in resource centre that offers a number of programs and services to prostitutes including a kitchen area with food provided by the Edmonton Food Bank (Red Cross Abuse Prevention Services [RCAPS], 2000, p. 2). It offers a safe, supportive, home like environment for women and trans-gendered individuals over the age of 18 for drop-in services and resource referrals.

The Catholic Social Services Safe House in Edmonton, provides safe housing and follow up support for youth (female and male) at risk of becoming involved or presently involved in prostitution related activities (RCAPS, 2000, p. 1). It also supports young adults and their families to recover from involvement in prostitution.

Edmonton's Inner City Youth Housing Project provides short and long term housing and basic survival needs for homeless youth and those involved in prostitution (RCAPS, 2000, p. 1).

The Metis Family Child and Family Services in Edmonton provides support within an aboriginal cultural environment for children and families, including those involved in prostitution related activities or who are at risk of becoming involved (RCAPS, 2000, p. 1).

The Prostitution Awareness and Action Foundation of Edmonton (PAAFE) creates solutions related to prostitution through awareness, community initiatives, education, disbursing funds and advocacy (PAAFE, 2000, p. 1). PAAFE works with the vice section of the Edmonton Police Service and community members to offer the Prostitution Offender Program.

The Boyle McCauley Health Centre is a central Edmonton facility that provides health services and drug information to individuals without Alberta Health Care and/or no fixed residence (Boyle McCauley Health Centre, 2000, p. 1). Many street prostitutes fall into one or both of these categories. Specific programs offered to clients include an AIDS prevention program, a needle exchange service and medical services such as immunizations and maternal child care programs. Furthermore, the Centre provides outreach care for those not able to attend the Centre.

In Edmonton, a new program is expected to be implemented in January 2002 to help prostitutes make the difficult transition to more conventional jobs (Barrett, 2001, p. B2). The program is modelled after traditional programs that have been used to retrain workers changing trades or looking for new employment after years in a particular field. The emphasis of the program will be on changing

prostitutes' lives and outlook through education and counselling, plus specific training in how to approach job interviews or dress for work (Barrett, 2001, p. B2). This program is believed to be the first of its kind in Canada.

The Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP) promotes prostitutes' safety, status, liberty and mobility and advances public education and research about prostitution (Magnet, 2000, p. 1). CORP provides social services and counselling to prostitutes, submits briefs to federal, provincial and municipal bodies and participates in public speaking, conferences, university classes and feminist meetings. This organization believes that the exploitation of Canadian prostitutes is largely a result of prostitution related laws and strongly advocates for the decriminalization of prostitution related offences in the Criminal Code.

Outreach programs act as a link between prostitution life and mainstream society (F/P/T, 1998, p. 84). Outreach workers are aware of the barriers that inhibit prostitutes from leaving this lifestyle, such as having no place to live, having no means of support, the danger of leaving the trade and not having the training and educational skills to apply for "mainstream" jobs. Edmonton's Crossroads Outreach/House operates on the belief that prostitution is not a healthy lifestyle choice and that youth who get involved are sexually exploited. There are four outreach workers and nine safe house workers in Crossroads' two safe houses. Outreach workers patrol the inner city 5 nights a week to hand out condoms and distribute the Bad Date sheet, a Crossroads publication that warns readers about abusive johns (Crossroads Outreach, 1997, p. 4). Crossroads also offers two safe houses. The first safe house is for youth prostitutes under 18 years of age. The second safe house is for prostitutes over 18 years of age who may have children. Crossroads workers are nonjudgmental, and give advice on where to get medical help, help getting back into school and help finding safe housing.

The EXIT program is another specialized outreach program that serves prostitutes in Calgary (CAAPI, 1999, p. 24). Two outreach workers provide year round information and services to prostitutes out of a van. Clients are given food, condoms and information concerning sexually transmitted diseases and other health matters.

Specialized outreach can be extremely beneficial to prostitutes because they employ workers who are knowledgeable about the sex trade and who meet prostitutes in their working environment. Workers typically address the social, economic and health needs of street prostitutes and help them make a transition from the street to a healthier lifestyle.

CONCLUSION

Throughout Canada, the current Criminal Code provisions have proven ineffective in dealing with the problems associated with street prostitution. For this reason, arguments for further criminalization, decriminalization and legalization of prostitution have continued to emerge. In addition, many communities throughout Canada have implemented various practices to control

prostitution and its negative effects. Many community programs have been generated to help prostitutes cope with their lifestyle. These programs recognize that prostitutes are susceptible to criminal records, drug addictions, abuse and low self-esteem, all of which work to prevent the prostitute from leaving the trade. Society has a responsibility to educate the public about the social and economic factors associated with entry into prostitution. Education initiatives should include the use of school programs and the media to convey the message that prostitution is often a result of coercion and desperation. Further, future social development initiatives should continue to acknowledge prostitutes as victims, and realize that the punitive nature of the criminal law is rarely of any help in addressing a social problem like prostitution.

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