Changing Perspectives
Calgary Network on Prostitution

Systems Analysis Project
Final Report

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1.0 Background

The Calgary Network on Prostitution is a group of agency and consumer representatives interested in improving services and service systems related to prostitution.

The Network vision is “to recognize the harm caused by prostitution to all individuals, to end prostitution and /or exploitation, to support individual human rights, and to strengthen and streamline partnerships.” In order to address this vision, the Network plans to raise awareness of the issue and to empower and advocate for programs and individuals working with and affected by prostitution. In particular the Network wants to:

1) address the root causes, policies and systems that harm communities and individuals
2) strengthen and sustain partnerships within the community
3) promote responsibility and
4) apply a human rights based approach

1.1 Systems Analysis Project Objectives

- To gather information about key systems and services in Calgary responding to prostitution related issues.
- To explore programs, services and strategies used in other cities to address prostitution related issues.
- To connect with four communities impacted by prostitution activity in order to gather community perspective on the issue.
- To determine key intervention/diversion points within the system.
- To determine what needs exist in Calgary and recommend options for addressing these needs.
- To map out potential intervention/diversion points and recommend strategies for improving Calgary’s response to prostitution.

In particular, the systems analysis project focused on the justice systems’ response to adult sex trade workers; and the impact of street level prostitution activity on several identified communities.

Cases where the individual is under the age of 18 are managed under the PSECA legislation within a well-defined community and justice system response protocol. Therefore, this younger group was not included as part of this study.
1.2 Study Methods

The systems analysis was based on review of pertinent documents and recent studies, review of both formal and informal statistics, and a series of key informant interviews.

**Number of Key Informant Interviews by Type:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Review of Canadian Diversion Models</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Review of Calgary Diversion Models</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current Research Projects</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice System Interviews</td>
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<tr>
<td>Service Provider Interviews</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Feedback Interviews</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Key Informant Interviews</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
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</table>
2.0 Court Diversion Models for Adult Sex Trade Workers

The Canadian Centre for Justice Studies reports that female offenders are more frequently found guilty of prostitution than male offenders, and they are also more likely to receive a prison sentence for this offence. In 2003/2004, just under one-third (32%) of female adult offenders found guilty of prostitution were sentenced to custody, compared to 9% of male adults.¹

Court Diversion programs provide an alternative approach to dealing with first time offenders and/or those who commit minor offenses. The court diversion approach is an attempt to redirect individuals from the justice system to treatment and community support services in an effort to break the cycle of offending behavior and prevent recidivism.

As part of this study, a review was undertaken of different models of court diversion programs for adult sex trade workers across Canada. Key informants in eight provinces were contacted, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Of these eight provinces, five were found to have at least one example of a court diversion program for sex trade workers. Quebec, Saskatchewan and British Columbia do not currently have court diversion programs for sex trade workers.

2.1 Halifax Nova Scotia – School 213

Halifax offers a School 213 court diversion program for sex trade workers. In partnership with police agencies, health and women-centered organizations, the department of justice facilitates the diversion program. School 213 is a one-day program designed for persons at risk of involvement or charged with prostitution. The program is funded with the $500 fees paid by men attending the “johns” program. The sex trade workers learn about community issues surrounding the sex trade, sexually transmitted infections, and hear from police, defense lawyers and social workers.

2.2 Moncton New Brunswick – Safe Choices

In Moncton, the Salvation Army offers a court diversion program for female and male street-level sex trade workers age 18 and over. The Safe Choices program is a short-term (typically two day) educational and informational opportunity for participants who are dealing with complex issues related to their profession. To make intake and eligibility as inclusive as possible, the diversion program will receive referrals from the police, the crown and other community groups and organizations who work with street-level sex trade workers, as well as self-referrals. The program is voluntary. Both first time and multi-time offenders are welcome. The

The program provides a constructive means for the participants to learn about and examine the key issues and risks associated with sex trade work, as well as the choices, factors and barriers involved in leaving the sex trade. Issues covered include HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections, substance abuse, Hepatitis C, addiction and rehabilitation services, community resources, health issues, barriers to leaving the sex trade, life/safety on the streets, birth control and safer sex options. The goal is to develop trusting relationships with participants, and help connect them with services. There is no requirement for participants to exit the trade.

2.3 Toronto Ontario – CHOICES Program

The CHOICES Program operated by Streetlight Support Services in Toronto consists of individual counseling and group work conducted over four weeks, four days a week. Program participants are mostly individuals who have been diverted through the courts, but the program is open to anyone involved in the sex trade. The program framework uses self-empowerment to create change in one's personal, social, and family environment. The focal point of self-empowerment reinforces the importance of making healthy decisions and taking responsibility for personal choices.

2.4 Ottawa Ontario – STEPS and Gateway

In Ottawa, the Salvation Army in partnership with St. Joe’s Women’s Centre offers the Sex-Trade Education Program (STEPS), a three day educational program similar to those offered in Winnipeg and Moncton. Open to sex trade workers in pre or post charge situations. Referrals are from police, crown prosecutor or court. The program is offered several times per year.

Elizabeth Fry Society provides a twelve-week follow-up program called Gateway. The program is offered as a weekly supper club with more in-depth programming on self-awareness, self-esteem, etc.

Post charge diversion is typically arranged through Elizabeth Fry Society with referrals made from the Crown. Individuals may be referred to the STEPS program or may be directed to addiction recovery or the Gateway program depending on their individual needs. Participants are monitored through probation. On completion of the recommended programming a report is prepared for the Crown and charges are withdrawn.

Elizabeth Fry Society also provides outreach and peer support services to women who are or have been involved in the sex trade through a program called Hooked Up. The program focuses on support, education and harm reduction.
2.5 Winnipeg Manitoba – Prostitution Diversion Program

In Winnipeg, the Salvation Army has been running a **Prostitution Diversion Program** for the past ten years. This program is available to male and female offenders, sixteen years of age and up, who have been arrested for Communicating With a Person For Purpose of Engaging in Prostitution. There is no cost to those who participate in the program.

The Crown Attorney refers sex trade workers who have been arrested under Section 213 to the diversion program. Only those with serious violence issues would be excluded. Participants attend a three-day camp outside the city, during which time there are a number of different speakers and workshops offered. The goal is to provide information and build trusting relationships with the women so that when they decide to exit they will know where to go for support. Participants must complete the camp program within six months of their arrest.

Evaluation demonstrates that 75% of participants move from pre-contemplation to contemplation stage of change. Each participant completes an individual plan before leaving the program. The program is offered from two to four times per year with about 15 participants at each camp. Participants may attend the program more than once, but can only have their charges stayed on the first offense.

For those sex trade workers who are ready to transition away from the streets, the **Transition Education and Resources for Females (TERF)** offers a 12-month transitional program for women and trans-gendered individuals 18 year of age and older who have been involved in the sex trade. The program helps to reduce the risk of returning to the streets. The first 6 months focus on personal issues (housing, identity, culture, addictions, health, self-esteem, problem solving, etc.) with the remaining 6 months focusing on pre-employment and/or school preparation. The participants are on social assistance and receive an incentive for attendance. This Transition program is operated by New Directions for Children, Youth and Family and is funded by Manitoba Justice.²

Winnipeg also provides a “first response” service when police are conducting a sting. Police notify the Salvation Army of the sting operation, and the Salvation Army ensures that community service providers have a team available at the police station to offer those arrested immediate support and a ride home.

2.6 Edmonton Alberta – COARSE Program

The Prostitution Awareness’ and Action Foundation of Edmonton (PAAFE) offers **COARSE**, a court diversion program for individuals who are currently or have previous involvement in the commercial sex trade, and who have been charged under S.213 CC and other prostitution related charges that will proceed summarily. On arrest the police provide all eligible persons with information about the diversion

program. It is then up to the individual to initiate the process by calling the coordinator within seven days of arrest. A meeting is arranged to set up a personal plan. The plan is then presented to the Crown Prosecutor for approval. The coordinator works with the client on their plan for up to three months at which time a report is submitted to the Crown. If the client has successfully worked on the goals set out in the plan, the Crown Prosecutor can have the charges stayed and the individual will not have a criminal record. The program is not available to individuals who are already on conditional sentence for other offences or are being lodged on warrants for other related charges that are likely to proceed as indictable offenses.

In the past, PAAFE has offered a “first instance” service called the SNU G program. This service was based on immediate contact with sex trade workers at the time of arrest to provide support, counseling and service information. Within the first week of contact the service would provide access to income support, transitional housing, and connection to the COARSE diversion program. Individuals could be followed for up to three months or longer with case management support to access physical/mental health care, addiction treatment, food security and housing. The SNU G program is no longer operational.

2.7 Summary and Discussion of Diversion Models for Sex Trade Workers

There are several different approaches to diverting sex trade workers away from the court system and into community services where they can receive support and assistance.

**First instance or first response programs** work in collaboration with police to intervene with sex trade workers immediately at the time of arrest, providing information and support in the hope of connecting sex trade workers with community services that may be helpful to them.

**Short term informational/educational programs** (1 to 3 days) such as the Halifax 213 School and programs offered through the Salvation Army in Moncton, Ottawa and Winnipeg attempt to build trust relationships with sex trade workers while providing information in order to help move individuals along the continuum of change from pre-contemplation (lack of awareness/understanding) to contemplation (increased awareness, understanding and interest in making changes). These short-term programs are sometimes coupled with longer-term opportunities for individuals to receive additional support to make changes in their situation or lifestyle.

**More intensive longer-term programs** (e.g. Toronto CHOICES, Edmonton COARSE) work more closely with the individual over a longer period of time to develop personal goals that address personal and situational needs and support longer-term lifestyle changes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Program Name</th>
<th>Provided By</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Program Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halifax Nova Scotia</td>
<td>213 School</td>
<td>Justice in partnership with police, women’s organizations, health</td>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>Sex trade workers learn about community issues surrounding the sex trade, health issues. Information provided by social work, police, lawyers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moncton New Brunswick</td>
<td>Safe Choices</td>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>2 days</td>
<td>Education/information on relevant topics/issues. Goal is to build trust, increase awareness of services/options and move individuals from pre-contemplation to contemplation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Ontario</td>
<td>Choices</td>
<td>Streetlight Support Services</td>
<td>4 days per week for 4 weeks</td>
<td>Individual counseling and group work. Mostly court diversion clients, but open to anyone involved in the sex trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa Ontario</td>
<td>Sex Trade Education Program (STEPS)</td>
<td>Salvation Army &amp; St. Joe’s Women’s Centre</td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>Education/information on relevant topics/issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gateway</td>
<td>Elizabeth Fry Society</td>
<td>Once per week for 12 weeks</td>
<td>Supper club with more in-depth programming of self awareness, self esteem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg Manitoba</td>
<td>Prostitution Diversion Program</td>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>Camp outside the city. Offered 2 to 3 times per year. Education/information on relevant topics/issues. Goal is to build trust, increase awareness of services/options and move individuals from pre-contemplation to contemplation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton Alberta</td>
<td>COARSE</td>
<td>Prostitution Awareness and Action Foundation of Alberta</td>
<td>Up to 3 months</td>
<td>Direct one to one case worker support on goals set out by the individual.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
3.0 Existing Court Diversion Models in Calgary

There are two existing court diversion programs in Calgary that could act as a model for a Prostitution Diversion program. The diversion projects currently operational in Calgary include the Mental Health Diversion Project and the Drug Treatment Court Diversion Project. In addition to acting as models, these projects may offer potential for expansion to include some sex trade workers who identify with specific issues (e.g. mental health or addictions).

3.1 Mental Health Diversion Project

The Calgary Mental Health Diversion Project is a program of Alberta Mental Health and is intended to “ensure that, when appropriate, adults and adolescents with mental illness who commit low risk, minor offenses are diverted from the criminal justice system to mental health, social and support services.”

The Calgary Mental Health Diversion Program “provides services to clients who have committed a minor, low risk offense due to mental illness with a view to stabilizing their mental illness and increasing their capacity to live successfully in the community.” Individuals with Axis I Diagnosis are eligible for the program. Referrals are made directly from the Crown or through self-referral with Crown approval. The program is staffed with three court workers and six clinicians who provide assessment and case management. After a referral is made, there is a two-week adjournment to allow for a mental health assessment. The client then returns to court and the Crown determines whether the client is appropriate for the program. If appropriate, a three-month adjournment is requested during which time the client receives regular case management support and assistance to link with services such as housing, employment, mental health, life skills, etc. At the end of the three-month period a report is prepared for the court. If the client has successfully follow-up on their goals, the court will withdraw the charges.

User statistics indicate that primarily male clients have accessed the program. United Way is currently in discussion with the program to determine whether some “women in poverty” may qualify for the program based on Axis I mental health issues.

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3.2 Drug Treatment Court Diversion

Drug Treatment Courts are a program of the Department of Justice in partnership with the Drug Strategy and Controlled Substances Programme at the Department of Health.

Drug Treatment Courts represent a concerted effort to break the cycle of drug use and criminal recidivism. They focus on facilitating treatment for drug-involved offenders who meet specified criteria and provide an alternative to incarceration by offering an opportunity to complete a drug treatment program. These special courts take a comprehensive approach intended to reduce the number of crimes committed to support drug dependence through judicial supervision, comprehensive substance abuse treatment, random and frequent drug testing, incentives and sanctions, clinical case management, and social services support. They are aimed at reducing the harm people cause to themselves and to others through their drug use, as well as reducing the risk that these individuals will continue to use drugs and thereby come into conflict with the law.5

One of the key objectives of the Drug Treatment Court program is “to promote and strengthen the use of alternatives to incarceration with a particular focus on youth, Aboriginal men and women and street prostitutes.”

As part of their structured outpatient program, Drug Treatment Court participants attend both individual and group counselling sessions, receive appropriate medical attention (such as methadone treatment) and are subject to random drug tests.

Participants must also appear regularly in court, where a judge reviews their progress and can then either impose sanctions (ranging from verbal reprimands to expulsion from the program) or provide rewards (ranging from verbal commendations to a reduction in court appearances).

Drug Treatment Court staff work with community partners to address participants’ other needs, such as safe housing, stable employment and job training. Once a participant gains this social stability and can demonstrate control over the addiction, criminal charges are either stayed (meaning a judgment is suspended or postponed) or the offender receives a non-custodial sentence (meaning restrictions other than jail, including house arrest). If unsuccessful, an individual will be sentenced as part of the regular court process.

In Calgary, the Drug Treatment Court is funded through the City of Calgary’s Crime Prevention Investment Plan and has been in operation since May 2007. The program currently has seven active cases of which 2 are female. The program has a designated Duty Council. Clients can self refer, but most referrals have been through Council. The program works in collaboration with several community service providers such as the Dream Centre for men, Aventa or Youville for women. The

client must enter a guilty plea and participate in the program for 12 to 18 months. Due to the length of the program, simple drug possession charges do not usually apply. Typical participants are those individuals who are facing longer sentences (e.g. possession for the purpose of trafficking) where the 12 month treatment program provides a good alternative to prison.

3.3 Other Police or Court Coordination/Collaboration Models

Although not specifically related to prostitution, other examples of collaborative programming between police, courts and community organizations include:

**Court Program:**
- Family Violence Court – Home Front

**Police Collaboration:**
- CSART – Calgary Sexual Assault Response Team and protocols
- CART – Child Abuse Response Team and protocols
4.0 Community Experience

To better understand local communities’ experience of street level sex trade activity, active strolls were identified and five communities were contacted. Levels of activity and community responses vary. Some communities have completed Community Life Improvement studies, but none of the communities contacted have specific strategies for related to street level prostitution at this time.

4.1 Common Stroll Areas for Street Level Sex Trade Activity in Calgary

Beltline/Victoria Park
- 15th & 16th Ave SE
- Stampede Park (10 Ave SE)
- 13 Ave SW (Boys Stroll)

East Village
- East Village – all around the Booth Centre and up to the CDIC

Eau Claire
- 3 Ave SW

Inglewood
- Shamrock Hotel – inside and outside the hotel
- local truck stop

Forest Lawn
- 19 Ave. between 52nd and 36th St.

Police report a number of other areas where they see young people involved in sex trade activity. These include:
- Kensington – near Riley Park
- Chinook Mall
- Marlborough Mall
- MacDonald’s at 17th Ave. SW
4.2 Community Response

Key contacts from five identified communities were interviewed, including Beltline, Victoria Park, Inglewood, Forest Lawn and Kensington.

Three of the communities (Beltline, Inglewood and Forest Lawn) have completed Community Life Improvement studies. Inglewood and Forest Lawn are taking some general action related to reporting criminal activity and by-law offenses in their communities (not specific to prostitution). Forest Lawn has a large and active Community Crime Prevention and Safety Council divided into five sub-committees to address a variety of issues in their community, including crime prevention, community standards (by-law enforcement), youth, diversity and communication.

None of the communities identified prostitution as a priority concern at the moment and none have specific strategies in place to deal with prostitution. From a community perspective, visible street level sex trade activity comes and goes depending on the season, weather and special events (e.g. Stampede). Construction activity downtown has reduced visible street level activity in many areas. However, police report that prostitution related activity levels remain fairly consistent. Police conduct vehicle seizures under section 173.1(1) of the Traffic Safety Act in all of the identified communities.

From the community perspective the goal is to reduce and discourage prostitution activity in their community, especially in residential areas. There are concerns about associated issues such as increased traffic, drug dealing, violence, etc.

In May 2008, the City of Calgary’s Animal and Bylaw Services department deployed 25 new Peace Officers. Peace Officers are intended to enhance safety and make the downtown area more welcoming. The new downtown officers will also work on education and enforcement in areas of litter, graffiti, pathway safety, panhandling and the public behaviour bylaw. They will patrol seven days a week in vehicles, on foot and on bicycles throughout the centre city including along the rivers and in parks.6

Although they can’t deal with criminal matters, the presence of Peace Officers acts as a deterrent to street level prostitution activity. Police note that no one strategy will improve the situation, it needs to be addressed from multiple perspectives and communities need to be involved. Police view both the communities and the sex trade workers as “victims”. They point out that prostitution related activity affects all communities. Some activities are more visible than others, but the issue affects all communities.

6 More Bylaw Officers on Calgary’s City Centre Streets. Retrieved June 2008 at www.calgary.ca
5.0 Services For Adult Sex Trade Workers In Calgary

Current community services specifically targeted to adult sex trade workers are limited in Calgary. They include Servants Anonymous Society and AIDS Calgary Shift program.

5.1 Servants Anonymous Society

SAS provides an abstinence based treatment program for women age 18 to 29 wishing to exit the sex trade. Services include three levels of residential service which can include women with children, day treatment program, child care, individual goal setting with informal counseling support, job shadow, work experience and career planning, outreach follow-up, scholarships for women returning to school, active Alumni peer support and community social/recreation activities.

5.2 AIDS Calgary Shift Program

AIDS Calgary’s Shift program provides outreach (and some drop-in) harm reduction services to male, female and transgender/transsexual sex trade workers involved in street level or indoor activity. The addition of the Shift program has increased contact with male sex trade workers and expanded service to indoor workers. The program serves both those wishing to exit and those who do not wish to exit the sex trade.

5.3 Other Community Support Services

Other community services that are not specifically targeted to sex trade workers but are involved in addressing issues of sex trade workers include:

Harm Reduction – Safeworks, DOAP Team, CUPS Outreach, Exit Outreach

Health – Calgary Sexual Health, Alex Health Bus, Safeworks, McMan Parent & Child Advocacy Program, Calgary Fetal Alcohol Network

Addiction Services – Alpha House, Renfrew, Aventa, Youville, AADAC

Emergency Shelter – Calgary Drop In Centre, Salvation Army, Inn from the Cold, Alpha House

Short Term Shelter – YWCA Mary Dover House

Affordable Housing – Calgary Housing, Langin Place (harm reduction housing for men)

Justice System Supports – Elizabeth Fry, Calgary Legal Guidance, Legal Aid & Legal Aid Family Law Office
5.4 New Developments

A number of new service developments specific to adult sex trade workers are underway. These new services will help address existing service gaps.

Peer Support Group: The Shift program at AIDS Calgary held focus groups in the spring of 2008 to determine possible interest in peer support programming for sex trade workers. As a result of the consultations, a new peer support group for sex trade workers who have exited the trade will begin as a pilot project in the summer of 2008. The group will be based on a psychosocial/educational model, with the agenda and content to be determined by group participants.

Treatment Services for Women Over 30: Servants Anonymous Society is currently preparing a strategic plan to expand services to include women over age 30. This program component would be similar to existing services but most likely offered as a separate program since the needs of older women are expected to be somewhat different than those of the younger group currently served.

5.5 Identified Unmet Service Demand

Existing services have identified a number of active sex trade workers who are in need of services. These include:

- Calgary Drop In Centre – serves up to 10 women at any given time, most over age 30. Provides emergency shelter – day sleep beds, food, clothing, counseling and access to health services
- Salvation Army – serves 4 to 6 women at any given time in downtown shelter (women’s program has 24 beds total, food, clothing, support)
- Inn from the Cold – serves from 2 or more sex trade workers per month, both female and male.
- Shift Program – has identified 8 to 10 homeless young male sex trade workers in need of housing, support and/or treatment services
- Servants Anonymous Society – has an average wait list of 5 to 10 women at any given with a 2 to 4 month wait.
- Forest Lawn has identified up to 19 known sex trade workers in their community. All are struggling with addictions.
5.6 Identified Service Gaps in Calgary

**Prevention:** Police feel that prevention efforts could be strengthened through more public education at the Junior High and High School age groups. Since most sex trade workers enter the trade prior to age 18, preventing early engagement could have long-term impact on the number of adults working in the sex trade.

**Early Intervention:** Currently police offer newly arrested adult sex trade workers community service information cards that can be used for self-referral. Police suggest that a more personal intervention such as that provided by the SNUG program in Edmonton could provide a stronger early intervention response.

**Diversion Services:** Although many women with S213 charges are diverted from court into Alternative Measures, there is no specific targeted program available to address issues related to sex trade activity. Currently Alternative Measures offers some internal programs such as Addiction Awareness, Anger Management and Family Violence program (for men only).

**Exit Support:** Street level exit support appears to be somewhat diminished since the closure of the Stepping Out program, and subsequent refocusing of resources on stronger harm reduction responses as well as expansion of contact with inside workers through the Shift program. Exit support for both women and men could be strengthened.

**Safe and Appropriate Emergency Shelter** for male and female sex trade workers is needed. The current location of emergency shelter beds within large male oriented homeless shelters perpetuates the potential for drug use and continued victimization. Homophobia can create safety issues for male sex trade workers and trans-gendered individuals, many of whom do not feel safe in existing emergency shelters.

**Pre-Treatment Housing and Support:** There are no short-term pre-treatment beds available for those wanting to exit but waiting for a treatment bed.

**Treatment Services:** Currently there are no specific treatment support services for male sex trade workers or for female workers over age 30. Servants Anonymous is in the process of planning for expansion of treatment services to include women over 30 within the next 12 months. Shift has started a Peer Support Group for all ages of women and men who have exited the trade.

**Affordable Housing:** for single men, single women and women with children.

**Individual Planning and Case Management Support** – case management support services are offered by Servants Anonymous Society and the Shift program for clients involved in their services. Individual support, planning and case management could be expanded to include clients seen through Alternative Measures or other court systems.
6.0 Justice System Process Review

The study reviewed justice system response and processes for adult sex trade workers from initial arrest to court disposition. Following is a description of the current typical justice system process in Calgary.

CALGARY POLICE SERVICE STATISTICS

*Offence Set: Prostitution*

Completed: by Lisa Schultz, M.A., C.C.A.,
2008 May 27

Request

- The number of prostitution-related charges from Criminal Code sections 210 to 213 for years 2000-2007.
- A breakdown of how many offences were cleared by charge versus cleared otherwise (i.e., alternative measures).
- The number of vehicles seizures under the new legislation.

Response

Table 1. Prostitution-related offences in Calgary, 2000-2007*.

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<th>04</th>
<th>05</th>
<th>06</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prostitution – Stop Vehicle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prostitution – Impede flow of traffic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution – Stop to communicate</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>145</td>
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<tr>
<td>Live on avails of prostitution</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Live on avails of prostitution under age 18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
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Percentage Cleared by Charge: 99% 96% 96% 95% 99% 85% 96% 92%

Percentage Cleared Otherwise**: 1% 4% 3% 3% 0.5% 15% 3% 8%

*Source: PIMS, May 21, 2008 (Note: These numbers may be slightly higher than those reported in previous CPS statistical reports, due to late reporting.)

**“Cleared Otherwise” includes alternative measures. These percentages may not add to 100% because they don’t take into account active, inactive, or unfounded cases.

Analysis: As Table 1 shows, prostitution-related numbers can really fluctuate from year to year. This is entirely due to police enforcement, as vice numbers are completely dependent on special targeted operations by police. For example, in
2001, the CPS developed a “comprehensive strategy focusing on the demand side of prostitution” in response to community concerns (2001 Annual Statistical Report, CPS). As a result, the total number of prostitution-related offences increased from 107 in 2000 to 292 in 2001.

Penalties for Prostitution in Calgary

Based on the data in the CPS information management system (PIMS), there is an 85-99% likelihood prostitution offenders will be charged by police (see Table 1). However, in reading through PIMS reports, it was evident police often recommend alternative measures in their reports to the Crown. Any sentencing information for this type of offender would therefore have to be collected through the Crown’s Office.

Vehicle Seizures

Since November 2006, the Calgary Police Service Vice Unit has been keeping track of vehicle seizures of prostitution solicitors, as per s.173.1 of the Traffic Safety Act. During the last 18 months, there have been 93 seizures by the CPS Vice Unit. Of those, 71 were released under referral to the Alternative Measures Program (AMP).

Alternative Measures

Alternative Measures is a program of Alberta Correctional Services that is used as an alternative to judicial proceeding with persons alleged to have committed minor offences. The goals of the program are:

- Preventing the individual from obtaining a criminal record
- Preventing the continuation of criminal behaviour
- Promoting community involvement
- Fostering community awareness through participation

“The program may be offered to first and second time adult offenders in lieu of formal court process. The Crown makes the decision for entry into the program and if approved the persona is referred to community corrections. If the individual acknowledges guilt and is interested in the program, an agreement is signed which stipulates what the offender must do to satisfy program requirements.”7

In Calgary, specific Alternative Measures for sex trade workers are determined on an individual case-by-case basis, depending on the unique circumstances, issues and needs of the individual. Typically Alternative Measures for sex trade workers require the individual to stay away from known stroll areas and to visit either Servants Anonymous Society or the Shift program for an interview in order to learn more about the services available to them. In some cases Alternative Measures may

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require the individual to show proof of gainful employment, or may ask the individual to access alcohol or drug treatment services.

Alternative Measures can also include community service or fines but this option is not typically used with sex trade workers.

“Johns” who are referred to Alternative Measures are subject to a standard set of requirements that include:

- Supervision of a probation officer
- Must abide by stroll restrictions (stay away from stroll areas)
- Provide proof of employment
- $600 donation or $300 donation plus 32 hours of supervised community service

Donations are forwarded to Servants Anonymous Society, AIDS Calgary (Shift program) and Woods Homes (Exit program).

6.2 Justice System Process – for Sex Trade Workers Charged under S.213

6.2.1 Street Arrest – 213 Charges (Communicating) for Sex Trade Workers

- Approximately 1/3 of S.213 charges are laid against sex trade workers, and the other 2/3 of S.213 charges are laid against “Johns”
- Arrest numbers vary from month to month and year to year, and are directly related to availability of police resources, community complaints and amount of police focus on the issue. Therefore, the number of charges should not be considered a proxy for the amount of prostitution activity or seriousness of the problem.
- In 2007, there were 145 communication charges laid, with an estimated 35 to 40 laid against sex trade workers.
- There were no charges laid against male sex trade workers.

6.2.2 Court Support Services

- Individuals charged with a summary offense are eligible for assistance through Calgary Legal Guidance (CLG), but the CLG office has been seeing very few of S.213 cases since the Stepping Out program was closed at the YWCA in 2004. The Shift program is currently rebuilding this link with Calgary Legal Guidance.
- The Student Legal Assistance Society is a volunteer non-profit organization of law students at the University of Calgary who provide year-round free legal assistance and representation to residents of the Calgary area who cannot afford legal assistance.
• The Lawyer Referral Service is a program operated by the Law Society to assist people in finding a lawyer who will provide them with legal services. This service is not connected with Legal Aid and does not provide any form of financially subsidized legal service. After being advised of the nature of the problem, the Lawyer Referral Operator will provide contact information for three lawyers. There is **no charge for the first half-hour interview**, after which the individual can decide whether or not to engage the lawyer at the full fee rate.

• Legal Aid support is available in those cases involving an indictable offense. Clients of limited financial means may seek Legal Aid support at a subsidized rate of $84 dollars per hour. Arrangements can be made for interest free monthly payments. The Family Law Office (FLO) is a program of Legal Aid that deals specifically in family law matters. Service is provided through salaried staff lawyers. However, due to the high demand for family law legal services, the FLO offices are able to provide services to approximately one half of all of the legal aid clients requesting family law services in Edmonton and Calgary. FLO’s mandate is to improve access to justice for family law litigants of limited financial means and to assist clients in a holistic way. If an individual has limited finances and qualify for legal aid then they may be able to access the Family Law Office services. The first step is to apply for Legal Aid.  

• The Elizabeth Fry Society provides Court Support services to anyone going through a legal process in the provincial court system. Elizabeth Fry staff and volunteers provide information and support about court procedures, plea options, directions and referrals to duty counsel and other community and legal resources.

• Native Counselling Services of Alberta provides court assistance primarily to Native people but are open to provide service to anyone who can’t afford a private lawyer or Legal Aid. The service is free and deals primarily with summary charges. The court worker at Native Counselling Services sees about one sex trade worker per year. He reports that sex trade workers with S213 charges are usually referred to Alternative Measures. If there is an addiction issue he refers the individual to Aventa or the addiction treatment may become a condition of their Alternative Measures. The intention is to help get the charges dropped (i.e. after completion of Alternative Measures) so the individual will not have a criminal record.

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8 Retrieved at http://www.familylawoffice.legalaid.ab.ca/Home.htm
6.2.3 Court Disposition - for S213 Charges Laid Against Sex Trade Workers

- Since S213 charge is a summary offense, and since police and Crown usually view sex trade workers as “victims”, there is significant interest in diverting these cases out of the court system.

**Alternative Measures**

- Where applicable (first offense) most 213 charges are recommended for Alternative Measures. The Alternative Measures option is defined in S716 of Canada’s Criminal Code and is usually just for first offenders who are prepared to admit that they committed the crime and where the crime has not been too serious.
- Alternatives Measures is a program of Alberta Correctional Services as defined within S716 of Canada’s Criminal Code. It is usually reserved for first time offenders who are prepared to admit that they committed the crime and where the crime is not considered too serious.
- Alternative Measures sees approximately 12 female sex trade workers per year. Alternative Measures has only seen 1 male sex trade worker in the past six or seven years.
- Alternative Measures for sex trade workers typically consist of referrals to Servants Anonymous, the Shift program or Elizabeth Fry. These referrals require the individual to meet with the service provider and find out about the services offered but do not require participation in the service. The contact is often just an initial interview with no specific follow-up. Individuals suffering from addictions may be referred to AADAC or to an internal Alternative Measures program, the Attendant Centre Addiction Awareness program, a 30 hours program provided over two weekends. Sometimes the Alternative Measure condition may require proof of gainful employment. Alternative Measure requirements are set out based on the particular circumstances, needs and issues of the individual client.
- Clients have approximately three months to fulfill their Alternative Measures requirement. However, since it takes approximately one month to get an appointment with Alternative Measures, the client then has about two months to complete their requirements. If completed satisfactorily, the charges are dropped and the client has no criminal record. Approximately 90% of individuals participating in Alternative Measures complete their requirements.

**Probation**

- Those individuals who do not qualify for Alternative Measures may receive Probation or a $200 fine.
- Offenders may be ordered by the court to serve their sentences in the community, on probation or conditional sentence orders, under the supervision of a probation officer. The probation officer assesses risk factors and personal needs to determine necessary supervision levels and program requirements for the offender. Offenders placed by the court on conditional sentence orders
receive intensive supervision and may have curfew and programming conditions included on these orders.  

- Calgary Probation offices are located in north, south, and central Calgary. Some probation officers have special training related to family violence or gang offenses but nothing specific to prostitution.
- Probation has seen about 2 female sex trade workers over the past year and has seen only 1 male sex trade worker in the past five years. It is assumed that for the remaining charges, clients paid their fine (about $200). However some cases may have resulted in a “failure to appear”, in which case a warrant is issued and the case becomes an indictable offense.

**Fines**

- Individuals charged with a criminal code offense that includes a fine have three options. 1) Pay the fine in full or make suitable payment arrangements with the Fines Enforcement office. This can include negotiating a reasonable payment schedule or asking for an extension if unable to meet the payments as scheduled. 2) Elect to participate in the Fine Option Program. 3) Serve time in prison in lieu of paying.

- The **Fine Options** is a program of Alberta Correctional Services for offenders who are sentenced to pay fines, where non-payment will result in a default period of custody. It allows offenders to satisfy the financial terms of their fines through community work service. The compensation rate is set at minimum wage, which is used to compute the number of hours required to meet the court financial requirements. Participants in the program earn credits for the hours of community work. When sufficient credits are accumulated a voucher is issued to the clerk of the court indicating that the requirements of the fine have been satisfied. The Fine Options worker at the Calgary Attendance Centre reports seeing very few sex trade workers charged under S213 – maybe 2 to 3 per year.

- The **Fine Fund** pilot project offered through Elizabeth Fry can provide up to $500 to assist offenders to pay off fines where the offense is considered “poverty related”. The Fine Fund may also pay the $85 charge for process servers (e.g. for restraining orders). The Fine Fund can issue up to $2,500 of assistance per month. Due to funding limitations, less than one third of requests can be approved. Priority is given to those individuals who have exhausted other options (e.g. Fine Options program) or where a warrant has been issued and the individual is at risk of incarceration. Elizabeth Fry reports that most clients who access the Fine Fund are already connected with a community treatment program such as Servants Anonymous, Youville, Aventa.

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• S.213 charges do not typically go to warrant and therefore clients charged under S.213 are unlikely to access the Elizabeth Fry Fine Fund. Criminal code charges that involve an unpaid fine usually go to Fine Enforcement for collection, and the individual may have wages, bank accounts, income tax returns or GST rebates garnisheed or have their vehicle registry privileges suspended until the fine is fully paid.

• The Assistant Crown Prosecutors office has offered to engage in a file review of 213 charges against sex trade workers in order to determine more clearly the outcomes for these files. This information should be available to the Network on Prostitution in Oct. or Nov. 2008

6.2.4 Court Disposition – for Indictable Offenses Related to Prostitution Activity

• When additional indictable charges are laid with the S213 charge, the S213 charge is often dropped while prosecutors go forward with the more serious offenses such as those involving drugs, theft or violence.

• Both Elizabeth Fry Court Support workers, and Remand Centre manager indicate that while many of the women seen at the Remand Centre are known or suspected to have involvement in the sex trade, they are not in prison for prostitution offenses but rather for other indictable charges related to drugs, theft or violence.

• The Calgary Remand Centre manager estimates that of 70 women in Remand, approximately 10 to 20% would be suspected to have involvement in the sex trade. Male sex trade workers are seen “occasionally”.

• Most of the women at the Calgary Remand Centre are there for property offenses, failure to appear, failure to comply with court or probation, or for drug related charges.

• The Drug Treatment Court has diverted about seven or eight individuals since its inception in May 2007. Two of these individuals were women. Those cases with lighter penalties (e.g. simple possession) are less likely to participate since the Drug Treatment Court requires from 12 to 18 months of residential addiction treatment and follow-up.

The following Justice System map for adult sex trade workers illustrates typical movement through the system and identifies potential diversion points based on the Edmonton COARSE diversion model.
Justice System Process Map re Section 213 Prostitution Related Charges – for Adult Sex Trade Workers

CPS lay charge in the field. Usually 213 charge 35-40 per year

Charged individual agrees to appear in court and is released

CPS provide cards with service information

Potential Diversion Opportunity for those with 213 summary offense wishing to exit On completion recommend Crown drop charges No criminal record

CPS submit documentation to Court

CROWN Attempts resolution of charge prior to court.

213 Summary Charge

Plead Guilty to 213

CPS recommends Alternative Measures where applicable

Plead Not Guilty to 213

Could request Legal Guidance or Elizabeth Fry Court Support

Alternative Measures

Available to 1st time summary offenses
12 per year (213 charges)

On completion recommend to Crown to drop charges – no criminal record

Multiple Charges
213 charge is usually dropped Go forward with more serious indictable charges (drugs, theft, violence, etc.)

For some charges Crown can elect to proceed as summary or indictable offense

Failure to Appear in Court Warrant issued
Becomes indictable offense
Higher fine or jail time

Case Goes to Trial as summary offense

If convicted typically get $200 fine plus 1 year probation
Note: no 213 charges have gone to trial in past year.

Case Goes to Trial as indictable offense

Can request Legal Aid at $84/hour

Fine and/or Probation
Could apply to Fine Options or E Fry Fine Fund

Community Services: SAS; Shift; AADAC; employment; Alt Measures internal programs; etc.

Fine
Could apply to Fine Options or E Fry Fine Fund

Jail
E Fry Support Services
6.4 Discussion

There is strong interest within justice services (including Calgary Police Service, Crown, Alternative Measures and Probation) to provide a helpful response to sex trade workers, who are often viewed as “victims”. The Calgary justice system is already diverting sex trade workers with S213 charges to Alternative Measures or wherever possible. No S213 cases have appeared in court in the past year.

In dealing with the issue of street level prostitution, emphasis has been placed on decreasing demand through use of the Traffic Safety Act vehicle seizure provision.

Less well served are those individuals who work in the sex trade but whose charges are more serious, including warrants for failure to appear, and charges related to drugs, theft or violence.

The other significant service gap is for treatment and exit support for young male sex trade workers who are not showing up in the justice system.

Police would also like to see an increased focus on prevention and early intervention activities.

There are a number of opportunities for improving the system’s response to S213 charges. These include further study of the actual disposition of cases, increasing access to existing diversion programs, increasing coordination and collaboration among key players in justice and community service systems, and ensuring that there are strong and well-developed community services to which clients can be diverted.

6.5 Opportunities

Increased Awareness of Issue through improved evidence.

- The Assistant Chief Crown Prosecutor has proposed a file review of S213 cases over a four to six month period in order to determine more specifically the associated outcomes.
- There is an opportunity to work with justice system to strengthen the response to prostitution related activity.
- More detailed statistical information will create increased awareness and open new opportunities to work toward improved coordination and service development.

Accessing Existing Diversion Programs: Some clients may be able to access existing diversion programs through mental health and/or drug treatment court where applicable.
Developing Programs/Services to Which Offenders Could Be Diverted: In order for court diversion to be a useful alternative, we need strong community based services that can provide a range of response options to address individual needs. Further development of case management support that would help clients meet their personal goals and objectives would be helpful and should be in place as a precursor to development of diversion protocols.

Strengthen Existing Services: There may be opportunities to work with existing justice programs such as Alternative Measures and Probation to provide specialized programs for sex trade workers to which the justice system could refer. Another option would be to develop specific internal programs through collaborative service delivery.

Increased Collaboration and Coordination: Legal Aid would like more information on the Network member services in order to provide referral options to clients seen at Legal Aid. There is an opportunity to strengthen working relationships with Legal Aid in order to enhance services to sex trade worker clients.

Calgary Legal Guidance would be willing to reinstate a specially assigned articling student to work with S213 cases should demand warrant this approach. In the past the Stepping Out program accompanied clients to Legal Guidance for assistance. Calgary Legal Guidance feel that individual accompaniment is helpful and would like to see this supportive approach continued.

The Shift program is currently providing court accompaniment for their clients.

Work with Communities: Communities with visible street level prostitution activity are interested in working with the Network on Prostitution. Most have suggested that the NOP work through the Community Life Improvement Council that is in a position to assist communities with implementation of their Crime and Safety Plans. Communities’ interest is in the development of strategic action, rather than further discussion or awareness raising.

Prevention: Police would like to see more focus on educating public and young people to prevent entrance into prostitution activity.

Early Intervention: Police would welcome the addition of an early intervention “first instance” program like “SNUG” to strengthen the immediate response and connection with services.
7.0 Recommendations

1. **Review Evidence**: Follow up with Assistant to Crown Prosecutor re data collected from file reviews to better understand the outcomes associated with S213 charges.

2. **Strengthen Collaboration**: Continue work with justice system programs and organizations in order to strengthen collaborative linkages and identify opportunities for program development and/or improvements. Strengthen overall collaboration with other social services and committees.

3. **Access Existing Options**: Continue to work with existing Court Diversion programs to ensure that sex trade workers are able to access these programs where appropriate.

4. **Strengthen and/or Develop Services That Courts Can “Divert To”**: Strengthen and expand case management support for those individuals wishing to exit the sex trade.

5. **Develop Services To Address Gaps**: Enhance supports for those individuals wishing to exit the sex trade. Work on development of treatment services specifically designed for male sex trade workers.

6. **Work Collaboratively With Communities**: Most of the key communities identified with visible strolls have developed a Community Life Improvement plan. The Network on Prostitution should work collaboratively with Community Life Improvement Council and the identified communities, keeping in mind the need to balance the interests of community members and those of sex trade workers.

7. **Strengthen Prevention**: Increase public education activity with youth and those who work with youth as a long-term strategy to decrease entry into the sex trade.

8. **Strengthen Early Intervention**: Consider possible development of an immediate response program like SNUG.
8.0 Appendix

8.1 Prostitution Laws from the Criminal Code of Canada

The following information was retrieved from “Know The Law” at www.livingincommunity.ca

It is not illegal in Canada to be a prostitute (sex worker) however soliciting, procuring, living off the avails and keeping a common bawdy house are illegal. Many of these prohibitions contribute to the high rates of violence that sex workers experience for various reasons. Below are descriptions of sections 210 to 213 of the criminal code.

**Keeping a Common Bawdy House: s. 210 (1):** It is illegal for an owner, landlord, tenant, agent or property manager to knowingly allow their property or any part of the premises to be used as a place for prostitution (sex for money).

**Being an Inmate of Common Bawdy House s. 210 (2):** It is illegal to work or live in a space that is used as a space where sex for money takes place.

**Notice of Conviction of Keeping a Common Bawdy House s. 210 (3) (4):** When a person is convicted of keeping a common bawdy house [s. 210 (1)], the court serves a notice to the landlord, property owner or manager saying that the tenant or occupier has been convicted of this offense. The landlord is then expected to take all reasonable steps to evict the person charged, and if he or she doesn't and the person gets charged again then the landlord or property owner will also be charged.

**Transportation of a Person to a Common Bawdy House s. 211:** It is illegal to take, offer to take, or direct anyone to a common bawdy house.

**Procuring s. 212 (1):** It is illegal to influence a person who is not a sex worker to become a sex worker, whether inside or outside Canada.

**Exercising Control, Direction or Influence s. 212 (1) (h):** It is illegal to control the movements of a sex worker or force a sex worker to work for gain or profit.

**Living on the avails s 212 (1) (J):** It is illegal for anyone who lives with or who is habitually in the company of a sex worker to live partly or wholly on the income made from a sex worker. The purpose of this law is to target pimps who receive a portion of a sex worker’s earnings.

**An escort service is guilty of s. 212** if it profits from the prostitution (most escort agencies say they only charge for the companionship and time) of its employees.

**Communication for the purposes of prostitution 213:** It is illegal for a sex worker and client to talk openly in public about exchanging money for sex. Public places include vehicles, parking lots, restaurants/bars, hotel lobbies, streets, or any place that
the public has access to or that the public can view. A non-public place would be a hotel room, apartment or house (apartments and homes can be at risk through the bawdy house laws). It is also illegal to stop or attempt to stop or impede motor or pedestrian traffic.

The Communication law is the source of 93% of all prostitution convictions in Canada (Statistics Canada 2004). This law came into effect on December 20th 1985 to replace the old solicitation law that only targeted sex workers. The Communication law was put in place to target both sex workers and clients equally.

**Indecent act -- s. 173 (1)**: also called exposure. Most people think this only applies to flashers or other perverts, but if a john and a prostitute are engaging in a sex act in a public place they can both be charged with this offense if they intended to offend passerby, or if the act takes place in the presence of other persons. Other offenses that might apply are sexual interference (s. 151) and even sexual assault (s. 271) if the prostitute is under 14; invitation to sexual touching (s. 152); sexual exploitation (s. 153); anal intercourse (s. 159); and, child pornography provisions (s. 163.1).

**Loitering**: Many business owners who own establishments where prostitutes congregate are frustrated that the police cannot simply go and arrest someone who is standing on a corner and is obviously a prostitute. Loitering is not illegal. In the past, prostitutes could be arrested under vagrancy laws if they were standing for some time on a street corner. These laws were repealed some time ago. Police can only encourage prostitutes to move from a certain location. They cannot arrest them unless they are doing something illegal.
8.2 Alberta Traffic Safety Act

Seizure of vehicle in prostitution related offences

173.1 (1) Where a person has been charged with an offence under section 211, 212 or 213 of the *Criminal Code* (Canada), a peace officer or a person authorized by a peace officer may seize or immobilize the motor vehicle that was being operated by that person at the time that the person was charged.

(2) Where a motor vehicle is seized or immobilized under subsection (1), a peace officer may release the vehicle to the registered owner, or a person authorized by the registered owner, if the officer is satisfied that
   (a) the vehicle was stolen,
   (b) every person
      (i) who was in the vehicle at the time it was seized, and
      (ii) who the peace officer had reasonable grounds to believe had committed an offence referred to in subsection (1),
   is eligible for, and consents to be dealt with by way of, a program of alternative measures authorized under section 717(1)(a) of the *Criminal Code* (Canada), or
   (c) seizure of the vehicle is causing or will cause undue financial hardship.

(3) Subject to subsection (2) and any decision of the Board in an appeal commenced pursuant to section 40, when a person who is in a motor vehicle at the time it is seized or immobilized under subsection (1) is convicted of an offence referred to in that subsection, the vehicle is forfeited to the Government subject to any security interest registered under the *Personal Property Security Act* before the seizure or immobilization.

(4) If no person is convicted of an offence in respect of which a motor vehicle is seized under this section, a peace officer shall release the vehicle.
### 8.3 List of Key Informant Interview Contacts

#### Review of Cnd. Models

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Contact</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COARSE – Edmonton</td>
<td>Kate Quinn, Chandria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prostitution Diversion Program - Winnipeg</td>
<td>Diana Bussi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salvation Army – safe beds - Toronto</td>
<td>Brenda Wootten</td>
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<td>Streetlights – Diversion Programs - Toronto</td>
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<td>Stepping Stones - Halifax</td>
<td>Jeff Liberatore</td>
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<td>John Howard Society – Prostitution Offender</td>
<td>Ian Mitchell</td>
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<td>Diversion (John School) - Vancouver</td>
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#### Review of Calgary Models

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<tr>
<td>Mental Health Diversion Project</td>
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<td>CSART – Calgary Sexual Abuse Response Team</td>
<td>Annemarie Tocher</td>
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<td>Home Front – Calgary Family Violence Court</td>
<td>Kevin McNichol</td>
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<td>CARRT</td>
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#### Research & Community Development

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<td>University of Calgary</td>
<td>Debb Hurlock</td>
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<td>Hindsight</td>
<td>Sue McIntyre</td>
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#### Justice System Interviews

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<td>Calgary Legal Guidance</td>
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<td>Reagan Hossack</td>
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<td>Elizabeth Fry</td>
<td>Shannon Brooker – Fine Fund</td>
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<td>Elena Schacherl</td>
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<td>Gail Morris</td>
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<td>Charlene Diamond</td>
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<td>Crown Prosecutor</td>
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<td>Lloyd Robertson</td>
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<td>Suzanne Kendall</td>
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## Service Provider Interviews

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<td>Rosalie Carter</td>
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<td>DOAP Team</td>
<td>Nicole Bealing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alpha House</td>
<td>Kathy Christiansen</td>
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<td>Women’s Centre</td>
<td>Susan Gilles</td>
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<td>Linda Hughes</td>
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<td>Boys &amp; Girls Club</td>
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<td>Joanne Young</td>
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<td>Karen Wyllie</td>
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<td>Calgary Drop In Centre</td>
<td>Jennifer Scullion</td>
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<td>Exit Program</td>
<td>Al Babin</td>
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<td>Hull Homes</td>
<td>Brian Hume</td>
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<td>Calgary Communities Against Sexual Abuse</td>
<td>Wanda Randalls – previous Stepping Out worker</td>
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## Community Interviews

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<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
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<tr>
<td>Community Life Improvement Council</td>
<td>Barry Davidson</td>
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<tr>
<td>City of Calgary By-Laws – Community Support Officers</td>
<td>Greg Steinrath – preliminary contact</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria Crossing</td>
<td>David Lowe - BRZ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beltline Community Association</td>
<td>Gillian Bowles – Social Issues Cmt</td>
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<td>Beltline Police Liaison</td>
<td>Sandra Surbeck</td>
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<td>Forest Lawn Community Association</td>
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<td>Allison McSweeney</td>
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<td>Inglewood Community Association</td>
<td>Minfred Baum</td>
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