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# About the Centre for Gender and Sexual Health Equity

The Centre for Gender and Sexual Health Equity (CGSHE, www.cgshe.ca) is a UBC- and SFU-affiliated academic research centre that aims to reduce gender and sexual health inequities through research, policy and practice. In documenting gaps in equity together with community and drawing on an intersectional feminist lens, CGSHE's research aims to centre the voices and experiences of communities systematically marginalized due to social and/ or economic disadvantages¹, including street-involved populations, mothers/parents in poverty, Indigenous women and Two Spirit people, racialized im/migrant and refugee communities, sex workers and gender and sexual minority populations (LGBTQ2S+).

1 Marginalized populations have been defined in different ways in human rights legislation, but generally include populations systemically marginalized due to social and/ or economic disadvantages.

### About the Research (AESHA Project)

The AESHA Project (An Evaluation of Sex Workers' Health Access) is a long-standing, community-based research project of the Centre for Gender and Sexual Health Equity and the University of British Columbia. The AESHA project was initiated in 2010 and includes over 900 street-based and indoor sex workers, who complete semi-annual interviews on working conditions, access to legal, health and social supports and overall safety, health and human rights. Since its inception, the project team has included a diverse and multi-lingual staff (English, Mandarin, Cantonese and French) with current or former sex workers represented across the team, including coordinators, interviewers, sexual health nurses, students and co-authors. Given AESHA had interviewed sex workers working prior to the implementation of the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (PCEPA) in December 2014, we were in a unique position to evaluate the impact of the new legislation on sex workers' safety, health and human rights before and after end-demand law reform. AESHA research is regularly published in high-impact peer review journals, including the Lancet Sex Work Series calling for evidence-based decriminalization of sex work. AESHA findings were submitted as expert evidence and testimony in the BC Missing Women Commission of Inquiry, and CGSHE legally co-intervened in Canada v Bedford at the Ontario Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of Canada. CGSHE has regularly provided expert evidence in international policy guidelines endorsing decriminalization of sex work, including unaids, who, undp, unfpa, Amnesty

International and the Global Commission on HIV and the Law. In 2014, in the lead-up to the passage of Bill C-36 into law, CGSHE drafted an Academic Open Letter submitted to the previous Conservative Federal Government and all MPS, signed by over 500 Canadian and international scientists, on the complete lack of evidence to support end-demand sex work laws. Despite community, legal and academic concern raised about end-demand laws, the previous Conservative Federal Government passed PCEPA into law five years ago (December 2014).

The majority of research evaluating PCEPA is drawn from longitudinal research with 900+ cis and trans women sex workers, as well as a smaller sample of 100 qualitative interviews with managers/third parties, cis and trans men, Two Spirit and gender diverse sex workers, and clients (sex buyers). The community of sex workers is diverse. Among the 907 cis and trans women sex workers interviewed bi-annually as part of AESHA: 61% worked in indoor venues (e.g. massage parlours, beauty establishments, micro-brothels, bars, hotels, out-call and in-call), and 39% worked primarily in street-based settings; 31% identified as a gender and/ or sexual minority with 6% trans women and Two Spirit sex workers and 93% cisgender women. Compared to general population estimates in BC and across Canada, there was significant overrepresentation of Indigenous (38%) and racialized im/migrant sex workers (24% Chinese, 3% Thai/Vietnamese/Korean/Japanese, 2% Black and 1% Latin/Central/South American).

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Canada has joined an increasing number of countries globally, including Norway, Sweden and France, in adopting end-demand sex work laws (also referred to as the Nordic model). This legal approach criminalizes the purchase of sex (buyers/clients) and third parties<sup>2</sup> who receive material benefits from sex work, while leaving selling of sex legal. On December 20th 2013, the Supreme Court of Canada in a landmark unanimous decision (Canada v Bedford) struck down prior prohibitive sex work laws. CGSHE was a co-intervenor in the Bedford case on the basis of AESHA evidence on the harms of prohibitive laws restricting sex workers' ability to negotiate safety, health and human rights. The Supreme Court of Canada deemed the previous sex work legislation unconstitutional as sex workers were forced to choose between their liberty interest (obeying the law) and their right to security of the person.

In December 2014, in blatant disregard of the Supreme Court of Canada Bedford decision, extensive research and growing consensus by human rights bodies, the previous Conservative Federal Government enacted the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (PCEPA) in December 2014. In addition to maintaining the criminalization of third parties and communicating, and thus replicating the former laws struck down for violating sex worker's right to security, the PCEPA criminalized the purchase of sexual services for the first time in Canada. The PCEPA defines sex work as a form of inherent exploitation and frames all sex workers as victims and all clients and third parties as violent criminals. The explicit goal of PCEPA is to end-demand for sex work, despite the fact that research from Sweden, Norway and France has consistently shown that end-demand laws do not reduce sex work, but instead push it further underground (Open Letter, 2014; Le Bail & Giametta, 2014).

Given growing concern of end-demand laws and the unanimous decision by the Supreme Court of Canada that Canada's previous laws violated sex workers' security of the person, we aimed to use 9 years of rigorous community-based research to understand how and whether the new laws replicated the same harms as previous criminal laws in Canada. Our specific research questions were:



- What are sex workers' experiences of safety, working conditions and human rights under end-demand laws?
- Did rates of reporting violence and access to justice change under end-demand laws?
- Did the end-demand laws reduce stigma and barriers to housing, social and health supports for sex workers?
- Did end-demand laws (and corresponding changes to immigration laws restricting involvement in the sex industry among foreign nationals) differentially impact safety, working conditions, labour rights and access to justice among racialized im/migrant sex workers?
- Did criminalizing clients and the new communicating provisions reproduce the same risks for violence and police intimidation of street-based sex workers?
- How did continued criminalization of third parties under end-demand laws impact sex workers' workplace safety and risk of violence?

While sex workers may be of any gender, the majority of this research report draws on interviews with 900+cis and trans women sex workers pre/post-PCEPA as well as a smaller sub-set of ~200 in-depth qualitative interviews with third parties in indoor venues and im/migrant workers, cis and trans male and gender non-binary sex workers, and sex buyers (clients) of all genders. The below summarizes key evidence published in peer review journals, including the American Journal of Public Health, BMJ Open, PLos One and the Journal of Immigrant Health.

<sup>2</sup> Third parties are individuals other than sex workers or clients working in the sex industry, including mangers, owners, bookkeepers and drivers.

## KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS EVALUATING END-DEMAND LEGISLATION (PCEPA)

What are sex workers' experiences of safety, working conditions and human rights under end-demand laws?

72%

of sex workers report no improvements in working conditions with PCEPA

26%

### of sex workers reported negative changes in working conditions with PCEPA

- Reduced ability to screen prospective clients
- Reduced access to safe workspaces
- Reduced access to clients (which meant longer hours for less pay or having to take riskier clients)

Machat et al., 2019.

### Did rates of reporting violence and access to justice change under end-demand laws?

In analyses of access to justice over 9 years, rates remained unchanged with no differences in rates of reporting violence to police in the pre-PCEPA vs post-PCEPA era. Only 26% of incidents of violence were reported to police. The majority of sex workers had not reported violence to police. A staggering 87% of racialized im/migrant sex workers and 58% of Canadian-born sex workers reported not reporting workplace violence to police.

### Access to Justice (2010-2018)

"I've needed the police's help with bad dates and they've done absolutely nothing. The fact that it's not legalized you kinda can't do it, you know." - Cisgender woman; sex worker

of incidents of violence were reported to police

of sex workers reported violence to police

of im/migrant sex workers had unreported violence

of Canadian-born sex workers had unreported violence

## Reasons for unreported violence:

- Lack of trust with police and justice system
- Immigration concerns
- Concerns that sex workers do not have legal protection from violence under current laws



No difference in rates of reporting violence pre-PCEPA (2010-2013) vs PCEPA (2015-2018)

McBride et al., 2019; 2020.

"When we did have the odd incident happen, [police weren't] even notified, which in the long run puts us in a higher level of danger cause now people think, they can get away with things." - Cisgender woman; owner, manager

## Did the end-demand laws reduce stigma and barriers to housing, social and health supports for sex workers?

Previous research by AESHA and many others (see also: Bedford Case) have shown that prohibitive sex work laws prevent access to health and social supports and safe, secure housing due to concerns of disclosing sex work status, sexual stigma and discrimination and fear of arrest or loss of immigration status. In longitudinal analysis, sex work stigma (fear of disclosure of sex work status to family, friends, home community and health providers) was the strongest barrier to accessing health care for sex workers (Lazarus et al., 2011), and intersected with cultural and language barriers and fear of losing immigration status for racialized im/migrant sex workers (Goldenberg et al., 2017). Criminalization of sex work gives broad latitude for exploitation without recourse by housing managers and building staff. This can include evictions due to sex work, and affects some of the most marginalized and street-involved sex workers by not

allowing them to bring clients indoors to their own rooms in single room occupancy hotels and social housing (Lazarus et al., 2014). Queer women sex workers overwhelmingly describe intersecting sexual stigmas that prevent access to safe, secure housing (Lyons, 2019).

Longitudinal analyses of pre/post end-demand law reform showed no improvements in health and social support access. In fact, there was a 41% reduction in access to health services and a 20% reduction in access to sex worker-led/community services (e.g. drop-in spaces, mobile outreach and peer support) after the implementation of PCEPA. This may be attributed to restrictive funding policies focused solely on transition programs to exit the sex industry (similar to the US PEPFAR anti-prostitution pledge overturned by the US Supreme Court).

# Health & Social Support Access Post-PCEPA Implementation (2015-2018)

\*After adjusting for type of work, age, race/ethnicity, career years in sex work and drug use

- No improvements in access to health services for sex workers following PCEPA. In fact, there was a 41% reduction in access to health services under end-demand criminalization (2015-2018) compared to pre-PCEPA (2010-2013)
- No improvements in access to support services following PCEPA. In fact, there was a 21% reduction in access to community-led support services under end-demand criminalization (2015-2018) compared to pre-PCEPA (2010-2013)

Argento et al., 2019.

# Did end-demand laws (and corresponding changes to immigration laws restricting involvement in the sex industry among foreign nationals) differentially impact safety, working conditions, labour rights and access to justice among racialized im/migrant sex workers?

Contrary to public perceptions, the majority of new im/migrant sex workers are in Canada legally and engaged in consensual exchange of sex for money (sex work) and are not victims of sex trafficking (forced sexual labour). Most im/migrant sex workers were working in Canada on short-term, open or temporary visas, while others were in the process of applying for full citizenship. As such, under the current legal landscape, the overwhelming majority of im/migrant sex workers fear reporting violence to authorities. Across the board, racialized im/migrant sex workers were the most likely to report harms post-PCEPA law reform.

### Racialized im/migrant sex workers more criminalized under PCEPA

- Most likely to have reported negative changes post-law reform
- Higher rates of unreported violence (87%)
- More likely to report workplace inspections (by police or immigration)
- Fear of inspections directly linked to increased police harassment and reduced access to health services

Machat et al., 2019; McBride et al., 2019.

### CRIMINALIZING CLIENTS & COMMUNICATING

"Harassing the clients is exactly the same as harassing the women. You harass the clients and you are in exactly the same spot you were before. I'm staying on the streets. I'm in jeopardy of getting raped, hurt." - Cisgender woman; sex worker

## Did criminalizing clients and the new communicating provisions reproduce the same risks of violence and police intimidation for street-based sex workers?

In Canada v Bedford, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the previous communicating law as unconstitutional. The new communicating law and targeting of clients under end-demand laws reproduces the same effects as the previous laws, including reduced ability to screen prospective clients and/or negotiate the terms of transactions.

AESHA research demonstrated that rates of physical and sexual violence against street-based sex workers were unchanged under end-demand enforcement efforts (24.6% vs 23.9%). Qualitative in-depth interviews

and ethnographic work with street-involved sex workers showed that policing strategies targeting clients reproduced the same harms and risks of violence as previous criminal laws (Krüsi, 2015; My Work Should Not Cost Me My Life, SWUAV, CGSHE & Pivot, 2015).

End-demand enforcement approaches of street-based sex work reproduces the harms created by the previous criminalization of sex work, including:

 forcing rushed negotiations and forgoing critical safety strategies to screen prospective clients

#### CRIMINALIZING THE PURCHASE OF SEXUAL SERVICES

S.286.1(1) Obtaining sexual services for consideration is punishable by imprisonment and fine; mandatory minimum fines apply if the offence occurs in a public place that is, is in view of, or is next to a park or the grounds of a school or religious institution or where persons under the age of 18 can reasonably be expected to be present

### CRIMINALIZING COMMUNICATING

s.213(1) Stopping or impeding traffic for the purposes of offering, providing or obtaining sexual services s.213(1.1) Communicating for the purpose of offering or providing sexual services for consideration in a public space or in any place that is in view of or next to a school ground, playground or daycare centre

2.286.1(1) Communicating for the purpose of obtaining sexual services for consideration is punishable by imprisonment and/or fine; higher penalties apply in a public place that is, is in view of, or is next to a park or the grounds of a school or religious institution or where persons under 18 can reasonably be expected to be present.

- displacing sex workers to isolated and hidden spaces to avoid police persecution of clients, and reducing safety protections against violence from clients or violent predators posing as clients
- limiting access to police protections in cases of violence for fear of clients being targets of arrest

Below are the key ways that criminalization of clients and communicating laws negatively impact sex workers' safety, health and human rights:

Enforced displacement increased risks of violence and reduced ability to screen clients. Research has shown that enforcement of the prohibition on communicating in public spaces for the purposes of sex work pushes some of the most marginalized sex workers to dark alleys, industrial settings and more isolated and hidden indoor and off-street spaces, where they have little protection from violence or ability to screen prospective clients and safely negotiate terms of transactions, which are critical safety strategies (Shannon et al., 2008; Shannon & Csete, 2010; Krüsi et al., 2015; Lyons et al., 2017). In longitudinal analysis, enforced displacement has been directly and independently linked to increased risk of both physical violence and rape (Shannon et al., 2009) and reduced ability to negotiate terms of transactions including safer sex practices with clients (Shannon et al., 2009; Deering, Rusch et al., 2014; Krüsi et al., 2015). In qualitative research with trans women and Two Spirit sex

workers, criminalization of sex work, negative interactions with police and enforced displacement have been shown to push sex workers to isolated spaces, forcing them to rush negotiating terms of transactions including gender identity disclosure, which amplifies risks of violence (Lyons et al., 2017).

Policing and fear of arrest increase risks of violence to sex workers. Under Canada's previous criminal sex work laws, policing of sex work has been shown to directly and indirectly increase risks of physical violence and rape of sex workers. Policing shapes risks of violence directly through intimidation and abuse by authorities (e.g., forced confinement or detainment without arrest, confiscation of condoms or other property without arrest, verbal intimidation and police raids) and indirectly through surveillance and enforced displacement to isolated areas (e.g., being told to move on) (Shannon et al., 2008; Shannon et al., 2009; Shannon & Csete, 2010; Lyons et al., 2017). Qualitative research reveals how criminalization creates and perpetuates stigma by police, society and communities against sex work, and in doing so, places blame for violence on sex workers. This research highlights that the intersecting effects of criminalization and stigmatization continue to undermine sex workers' citizenship rights to police protection and legal recourse, and perpetuates labour conditions that render sex workers at increased risk for violence and poor health (Krüsi et al, 2016).

"When [clients] are trying to avoid police like that you just get into the vehicle, right."
- Transgender woman; sex worker

Mistrust of police creates an adversarial relationship and reduces reporting of violence. Arrest, fear of arrest and intimidation by police can cause fear and mistrust, and make sex workers less likely to report violence to authorities and seek legal recourse (Shannon, Rusch et al., 2008; Anderson et al., 2015; Goldenberg et al., 2017). As sex workers have said in qualitative research, this fear and mistrust is amplified by decades of police apathy, a culture of mistrust surrounding missing women, and a lack of recourse and response to violence by police and the judicial system, particularly for Indiqenous sex workers who described how racism and colonialism shape current and historical policing practices (Shannon, Rusch et al., 2008; Duff et al., 2015). Fear associated with police and immigration raids, along with language and cultural barriers, prevent im/migrant sex workers from safely accessing police protections in cases of violence or exploitation (Anderson et al., 2016).

Criminalization of communicating limits the ability of sex workers to safely negotiate condom use. In a manuscript published in the Lancet Sex Work and HIV Series in 2015, criminalization is identified

as a primary structural driver of increased HIV burden among sex workers (Shannon et al., 2015). When sex workers are pushed to work in isolated areas due to police and forced to rush negotiations of safer sex, they may be forced to forgo client condom use to prioritize immediate safety over their sexual health (Shannon, Kerr et al., 2008; Shannon & Csete, 2010). In longitudinal analysis, court-ordered sanctions (e.g. red zone/no-go restrictions), enforced displacement, lack of access to safer indoor spaces and violence have all been directly linked to increased risk of client condom refusal and reduced ability of sex workers' agency to negotiate safer sex work practices (Shannon, Strathdee et al., 2009; Krüsi et al., 2012; Deering et al., 2013). Similarly, a systematic review and dynamic modelling paper in *The Lancet* demonstrated that the most effective intervention to prevent HIV infections is full decriminalization of sex work, which could reduce HIV infections by 33-46% in sex workers across diverse settings in Canada, Kenya and India, through reducing violence and police harassment and increasing access to safer indoor workspaces (Shannon et al., 2015).

"While they're going around chasing johns away from pulling up beside you, I have to stay out for longer [...] Whereas if we weren't harassed we would be able to be more choosy as to where we get in, who we get in with you know what I mean? Because of being so cold and being harassed I got into a car where I normally wouldn't have. The guy didn't look at my face right away. And I just hopped in cause I was cold and tired of standing out there. And you know, he put something to my throat. And I had to do it for nothing. Whereas I woulda made sure he looked at me, if I hadn't been waiting out there so long." – Cisgender woman; sex worker

## CRIMINALIZING MATERIALLY BENEFITING FROM SEXUAL SERVICES

"I just feel safe. I feel way more empowered and I feel like I can be more autonomous in that way, so working with other girls allows me to feel safe. So I can go in the room feeling comfortable, and kind of at my best."

- Cisgender woman; worker, receptionist, phone handler

## How did continued criminalization of third parties under end-demand laws impact sex workers' workplace safety and risk of violence?

Targeting of third parties limits access to workplace protections and increases violence against sex workers. Prohibitive sex work laws restrict access to third parties, limiting occupational health and safety protections for sex workers (Bruckert & Parent, 2018). Sex workers working on the street or in hidden indoor spaces are often forced to rush negotiations and have limited time to screen prospective clients due to fear of arrest for themselves or their clients (Shannon, Rusch et al., 2008; Shannon & Csete, 2010; Lyons et al., 2017). In longitudinal analyses, violence, police harassment and intimidation (without arrest), and lack of access to indoor workspaces with managers has been directly and independently linked to an increased risk of physical violence and rape of sex workers (Shannon, Kerr et al., 2009). In contrast, access to innovative safer indoor workspaces within low-income housing for women sex workers has been shown to reduce violence and enhance negotiation of sexual safety among sex workers (who previously worked on the street) through improved control over negotiation via third party/

manager sign-in of clients and support. This in turn increased access to police protections when sex workers encountered violent clients (Krüsi et al., 2014). Access to managed in-call and safer work venues has been shown longitudinally to reduce violence against sex workers and increase sex workers' ability to safely negotiate condom use with clients (Shannon et al., 2015; Duff et al., 2016).

Criminalization of third parties under end-demand legislation reproduces the unsafe working conditions that were present prior to the implementation of PCEPA. Contrary to common stereotypes, our research indicates that the overwhelming majority of third parties in indoor sex work venues are women and current or former sex workers. This problematizes assumptions of third parties as exploitative male "pimps." Our findings show that third parties in indoor sex work environments provide client screening, security and sexual health resources for sex workers; yet the implementation of end-demand laws restricted availability of condoms and constrained access to police protections in case of violence, thereby

S.286(1) & (2) Everyone who materially benefits (profits) knowing it was derived from the purchase of services S.286.2(3) Living with a sex worker, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, is presumed to be proof S.286.2(4) &(5) If a person receiving benefits is in a "legitimate" (i.e., family or intimate) relationship with or provides services at fair market value to the sex worker, exceptions may apply, but not if that person uses threats or violence, abuses a position of power or trust, provides intoxicants, or receives benefits in a "commercial enterprise" to sell sexual services

"I know I have a boss that will have my back no matter what" - Cisgender woman; worker, co-manager "At no time do you do anything you do not want to do. If a customer is rude, if he's groping and you say no, and anything else that you do not want to do, you are to step out of the room, come and get me, and I'll deal with it."

- Cisgender man; owner, manager, security, former client

undermining sex workers' health, safety and citizenship rights (McBride et al, under review; Anderson et al., 2015; Anderson et al., 2016). Indeed, access to administrative and security services from third parties was linked to an 84% increase of on- and off-street sex workers' access to occupational health and safety in Metro Vancouver. However, the implementation of PCEPA resulted in a decrease in access to third party support, thus interfering with sex workers occupational health and safety (McBride et al., 2019).

Criminalization of third parties leads to criminalization of condoms as evidence. Criminalization of managers and business owners leads to restrictions of sex workers' onsite access to condoms, sexual health information and outreach services due to fear that condoms will be used as evidence of sex work and fear of criminal sanctions by managers and owners of sex work establishments. This undermines sex workers' access

to workplace health and safety protections (Anderson et al., 2016). Further, where venues or managers are criminalized, sex workers are left without access to labour rights, police and regulatory bodies if managers or owners breach labour standards or workplace health and safety standards (Anderson et al., 2015).

Criminalization of third party advertising limits sex workers' access to critical safety protections from violence afforded by online sex work. In qualitative research with cis and trans male sex workers as well as sex buyers, online sex work platforms afforded sex workers greater control over negotiations and screening of prospective clients, thereby reducing risks of violence. These results raise significant concerns about the criminalization of third party advertising of sexual services and points to the need to include the voices of sexual minority sex workers in policy discussions (Argento et al., 2016).

### Third Parties: Debunking the 'myth' of exploitative pimps

30%

of sex workers hired/engaged with third party supports for:

- Administrative support (e.g. booking clients, negotiating fees, services)
- Security protections (e.g. client screening, protection from violence)
- Of whom, 56% used third parties protections from potential aggressors

## Third party security/admin support directly linked to:





Yet PCEPA (2015-2018) directly linked to 31% reduced access to third parties

Total of 25 Third Parties interviewed (owners, managers, drivers, bookkeepers, receptionists)

68%

were current or former sex workers

38% identified as cisgender women

12% identified as cisgender men

"I feel that the law is not working. I think the government actually established the law to protect vulnerable groups. However, if the girls want to provide full services, as long as they are not underage, not pimped or forced or taken advantage of, as an owner, we provide a place for them. [In parlours] we are actually protecting the girls." - Cisgender woman; manager, owner, receptionist

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Our empirical findings summarized herein from Metro Vancouver, Canada, highlight the continued harmful effects of end-demand law approaches to sex workers' safety, health and human rights. Similar to recent evidence in France, these peer-reviewed empirical findings demonstrate that end-demand laws consistently place sex workers in harm's way. A review of the global evidence (Shannon et al., 2018) and reports from New Zealand and parts of Australia have consistently demonstrated that the full decriminalization of sex work (removal of all laws targeting sex work) is necessary to ensure the safety, health and human rights of sex workers, including access to labour and other human rights protections afforded to all workers (Open Letter, CGSHE 2014). This research demonstrates that end-demand legal approaches focused on curtailing demand by criminalizing sex workers' clients and third parties who materially benefit, replicates the same harms as prior legislation. These harms include elevated risks of violence and abuse, barriers to accessing justice and continued stigma and fear that prevent access to safe, secure housing, health and social protections. Based on close to a decade of community-based research preand post-PCEPA law enactment and subject to rigorous academic peer and community review, the key evidence-based policy recommendations are:

1. Full decriminalization of sex work through the repeal of all criminal laws prohibiting sex work. Decriminalization is a critical and necessary first step to allowing sex workers access to existing labour and human rights protections afforded to all other workers in Canada, including protections from unsafe work conditions, violence, abuse or other rights violations. Full decriminalization aligns directly with global and Canadian government commitments to protecting the bodily autonomy of all individuals and advancing gender equity, and has been endorsed by international policy

bodies including the World Health Organization/UNFPA/UNAIDS/Global Network of Sex Work Projects (2012), Amnesty International (2014) and the Global Commission on HIV and the Law (2018).

- 2. Repeal of Immigration and Refugee
  Protection Regulations that prohibit foreign
  nationals from working for employers offering
  sexual services to ensure the safety, health and
  human rights and access to justice of racialized
  im/migrant sex workers.
- 3. Extension of municipal "Access Without Fear" polices (which provide sanctuary for non-status or undocumented im/migrants when accessing city services) to police agencies to increase access to justice among im/migrant sex workers.
- 4. Given the historical and ongoing experiences of racism and colonization in access to justice for Indigenous and other racialized sex workers, Indigenous and other racialized sex workers' voices must be centred in the development of policy and law reform.
- 5. As Canada is a member state of the UN, the commitments to Leaving No One Behind in historic calls for Universal Health Coverage and to the Sustainable Development Goals must be met by removal of prohibitive laws targeting any aspect of sex work (decriminalization) and adoption of rights-based policy approaches at federal, regional and municipal levels to ensure sex workers are not left behind and have access to housing, social support and health services free of stigma, discrimination and criminalization (UHC; NSWP, 2019).
- 6. Work directly with sex workers, sex work organizations and sex work policy experts to ensure sex workers have the same access to provincial and municipal workplace protections and industry regulations, following key global examples in New Zealand and parts of Australia.

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