

March 27, 2014

Right Hon. Stephen Harper, Prime Minister, Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada,  
Mr. Thomas Mulcair, MP, Leader of the Official Opposition, the New Democratic Party of  
Canada,  
Mr. Justin Trudeau, MP, Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada,  
Mr. Jean-François Fortin, MP, Interim Leader of the Bloc Québécois,  
Ms. Elizabeth May, MP, Leader of the Green Party of Canada,

Dear Sirs and Madam,

***Re: Evidence-Based Call for Decriminalization of Sex Work in Canada and Opposition to Criminalizing the Purchasing of Sex***

We, the undersigned, are profoundly concerned that the Government of Canada is considering the introduction of new legislation to criminalize the purchasing of sex. The proposed legislation is not scientifically grounded and evidence strongly suggests that it would recreate the same social and health-related harms of current criminalization. We join other sex worker, research, and legal experts across the country and urge the Government of Canada to follow the Supreme Court of Canada's decision and support decriminalization of sex work as a critical evidence-based approach to ensuring the safety, health, and human rights of sex workers.

A large body of scientific evidence from Canada,[1] Sweden and Norway (where clients and third parties are criminalized), and globally[2] clearly demonstrates that criminal laws targeting the sex industry have overwhelmingly negative social, health, and human rights consequences to sex workers, including increased violence and abuse, stigma, HIV and inability to access critical social, health and legal protections. These harms disproportionately impact marginalized sex workers including female, Indigenous and street-involved sex workers, who face the highest rates of violence and murder in our country. In contrast, in New Zealand, since the passage of a law to decriminalize sex work in 2003, research and the government's own evaluation have documented marked improvements in sex workers' safety, health, and human rights.[3]

**Therefore, we call on the Government of Canada to join with global leaders, community, researchers and legal experts in rejecting criminalization regimes, including those that criminalize the purchase of sexual services, and instead support the decriminalization of sex work in Canada as scientifically-grounded and necessary to ensuring the safety, health, and human rights of sex workers. Below, we briefly outline our key concerns.**

**1. Criminalization of any aspect of sex work undermines access to critical safety, health and legal protections:** The science is unequivocal that where sex work operates within a criminalized and policed environment -whether targeting sex workers, their working conditions, or the people they work with, for, or hire (clients, managers, bodyguards, or other third parties)- sex workers are placed in an adversarial relationship with police and are unable to access critical social, health and legal protections. Both peer review research and the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry Report have shown that within criminalization environments, stigma and discrimination of sex workers are major barriers for sex workers to reporting violence and abuse to authorities and accessing other critical health and social supports both in Canada and globally [4] In the official evaluation of the ban on purchasing sex in Sweden, sex workers clearly reported that the law increased police scrutiny, stigma and discrimination, and deterred reporting to police.[5] In contrast, the New Zealand Prostitution Reform Act (2003) placed the human rights and occupational health and safety of sex workers as the central goal of their law reform; and government's own evaluation showed sex workers were significantly more likely to report abuse to authorities following decriminalization.[6]

**Canadian researchers and academics call for evidence-based policies that are consistent with safety, health and human rights for sex workers and communities.**

We are calling on the federal government to demonstrate leadership when addressing these challenging issues by promoting evidence-based laws and policies that protect the safety, health and human rights of sex workers. We encourage Canada to adopt the decriminalization of sex work recommendations of the World Health Organization, UNFPA, UNAIDS Advisory Group on HIV and Sex Work, and the Global Commission on HIV and the Law.[19] We invite you to work together with sex workers, researchers and legal experts to develop evidence-based policy approaches that promote the safety, health, and human rights of sex workers.

We look forward to your response.

CC: Members of Parliament of Canada

Signed,

1. Gillian Abel, PhD | University of Otago | Christchurch, NZ
2. Barry Adam, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
3. Anu Aggarwal, PhD
4. Laura Agustin, PhD | The Naked Anthropologist
5. Aziza Ahmed, MA, JD | Northeastern University School of Law | Boston, MA
6. Michel Alary, MD, PhD | Université Laval | Québec, QC
7. Sarah Allan, LLB/JD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
8. Paul Amar, PhD | University of California | Santa Barbara, CA
9. Solanna Anderson, MA | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
10. Elena Argento, MPH | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
11. Robert Argue, PhD | Professor Emeritus, Ryerson University | Sudbury, ON
12. Chris Atchison, MA | University of Victoria | Vancouver, BC
13. Cheryl Auger, MA, PhD (c) | Political Science Department, University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
14. Jacenta Bahri, MA
15. Brook Baker, JD | Northeastern University School of Law | Boston, MA
16. Natasha Bakht, LL.M. | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
17. Gillian Balfour, PhD | Trent University | Peterborough, ON
18. Nandinee Bandyopadhyay, MA
19. Stefan Baral, MD | Centre for Public Health and Human Rights | Toronto, ON
20. Julie Bates, MSc | Urban Realists Planning & Occupational Health & Safety Consultants | Sydney, AU
21. Katharine Bausch, MA | Trent University | Toronto, ON
22. Ahmed Bayoumi, MD, FRCPC | Toronto, ON
23. Calum Bennachie, PhD | New Zealand Prostitute's Collective | Wellington, NZ
24. Darcie Bennett, PhD | Pivot Legal Society | Vancouver, BC
25. Cecilia Benoit, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
26. Benjamin Berger, JSD | Osgoode Hall Law School | Toronto, ON
27. Rachel Berger, PhD | Concordia University | Montreal, QC
28. Elizabeth Bernstein, PhD | Barnard College | New York, NY
29. Manjima Bhattacharjya, PhD | Mumbai, Maharashtra
30. Steven Bittle, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
31. Gary Bloch, MD | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
32. John Boan, PhD | University of Regina | Regina, SK
33. Mandy Bonisteel, RN, OMC | George Brown College | Toronto, ON
34. Colin Bonnycastle, MSW | University of Manitoba | Thompson, ON
35. Suzanne Bouclin, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
36. Pierre Boulos, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON

**2. Enforcement prohibiting *communication in public spaces* between sex workers and their clients directly elevates risks for violence, abuse and other health and social harms.** Since the Communication Law was enacted in 1985 to reduce “public nuisance”, the number of sex workers who have gone missing and been murdered in Canadian cities has escalated dramatically, with disproportionate numbers of Indigenous women. Evidence has consistently shown that in order for sex workers and their clients to avoid police detection, sex workers have to work alone, in isolated areas and rush into vehicles before they have the opportunity to screen prospective clients or negotiate the terms of transactions, severely limiting their ability to avoid dangerous clients or refuse unwanted services (e.g. unprotected sex).[7] The Supreme Court of Canada identified client screening as one of the most vital tools available to sex workers to protect their safety and health.[8] In Sweden and Norway where laws criminalize the purchasing of sex, research has shown that enforcement targeting clients still forces sex workers to operate in clandestine locations to avoid police, increases their insecurity,[9] and places them at continued and increased risk for violence, abuse and other health-related harms, including HIV infection.[10] A report commissioned by City of Oslo in Norway (2012) found that the rate of strangulation and threat with a deadly weapon of sex workers had increased substantially in the three years since the implementation of the criminalization of clients.[11]

**3. Criminalization of any aspect of sex work hinders sex worker’s ability to establish safer workspaces, to work collectively, and engage third parties who can increase their safety.** Both the Supreme Court of Canada and the two lower courts in *Bedford* clearly highlighted access to indoor spaces as a critical safety measure, based on two decades of evidence from local and international sex workers, academics, and legal experts.[12] In Canada, an evaluation of safer indoor work spaces in 2012 within supportive low-income housing in Vancouver demonstrated that when sex workers have opportunities to move off-street, they can increase their control over their working conditions and are able to adopt safety and security measures that protect their health, safety and overall well-being.[13] Safer indoor spaces also provide a critical connection with social, health, and legal supports, including accessing police protections in cases of violence or abuse. However, in a law enforcement environment where clients remain targets for arrest, criminalization would continue to prevent sex workers from bringing clients indoors to safer indoor spaces; thereby reproducing the same harms as the current criminalized model. By contrast, in New Zealand and New South Wales, Australia, where sex work is fully decriminalized, sex workers have access to safer indoor work spaces and have increased control over the conditions of their work.[14]

**4. Criminalizing the purchasing of sex does not reduce or eliminate prostitution.** Following the ban on purchasing of sex, a number of evaluations of the criminalized regime from Sweden have found no evidence that the overall number of sex workers was reduced.[15] Of note, public health researchers in New Zealand have repeatedly estimated the size of the sex industry in 5 locations, and compared with 1999 (prior to decriminalization), the data show no increase in overall numbers of sex workers.[16]

**5. Criminalizing any aspect of sex work undermines efforts to address human trafficking.** The conflation of sex trafficking and sexual exploitation with sex work (*the exchange of sex for money among consenting adults*) undermines efforts to address these critical human rights issues. In the US and increasingly in Canada, funds intended for use to address human trafficking have been misused on anti-prostitution enforcement efforts. In two separate governmental evaluations of the Swedish criminalization regime, police reported that it creates an obstacle to prosecuting “traffickers and coercive pimps”.[17] Furthermore, scientific evidence and the experience of anti-trafficking organizations suggest that criminalizing the purchase of sex renders it more difficult to assist individuals in situations of coercion and abuse.[18]

37. Raven Bowen, MA | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
38. Jason Boyd, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
39. Mark Boyd, MD | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
40. Neil Boyd, LLM | Professor, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
41. Borce Bozhinov, MD | STAR-STAR | Skopje, Macedonia
42. Ella Bradley, BSW | University of Windsor | Chatham, ON
43. Suzanne Brisette, MD | Centre hospitalier de l'université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
44. Deborah Brock, PhD | Associate Professor, York University | Toronto, ON
45. Chris Bruckert, PhD | Associate Professor, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
46. Zabrina Brumme, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
47. Laurence Brunet, MSc | McGill University | Montreal, QC
48. Chloe Brushwood Rose, PhD | Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, York University | Toronto, ON
49. Licia Brussa, PhD | TAMPEP International Foundation | Amsterdam, Netherlands
50. Katherine Burress, RN | Casey House | Toronto, ON
51. Karen Busby, JD, LLM | Faculty of Law, University of Manitoba | Winnipeg, MB
52. Denton Callander, PhD | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
53. Kenneth Camargo, MD, PhD | Rio de Janeiro State University | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
54. Thais Camargo, MSc
55. Deanna Campbell, MA, JD (c) | Vancouver, BC
56. Anna Carastathis, PhD | California State University Los Angeles | Los Angeles, CA
57. John Carlsley MD, CM, MSc, CCFP, FRCPC | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
58. Sarah Carlsley, MSc | Toronto, ON
59. Marie-Eve Carrier-Moisan, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
60. Patrizia Carrieri, PhD | INSERM | Marseille, France
61. Claire Carter, PhD | University of Regina | Regina, SK
62. Connie Carter, PhD | Canadian Drug Policy Coalition | Victoria, BC
63. Sheila Cavanagh, PhD | York University | Toronto, ON
64. Helen Cerigo, MSc | Toronto, ON
65. Yao Chi Hang, MA | Chinese University of Hong Kong | Hong Kong, China
66. Alexandra Choby, PhD | University of Alberta | Edmonton, AB
67. Sandra Ko Hon Chu, LLM | Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network | Toronto, ON
68. Alison Clancey, MSW | Vancouver, BC
69. Deborah Clipperton, MA, CP | York University | Toronto, ON
70. Claudia Coeli, MD, PhD | Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
71. Marisa Collins, MD, MDSc, CCFP, FCFP | Pemberton, BC
72. Jason Congdon, MSc | School of Communication, Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
73. Sandra Connely, MSc | Niagara Falls, ON
74. Bruno Cornellier, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
75. Sonia Correa, MSc | Abai/ SPW | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
76. Patrice Corriveau, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
77. Anna-Louise Crago, PhD (c) | Trudeau Scholar, University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
78. Marion Crook, PhD | Gibsons, BC
79. Joanne Csete, PhD, MPH | Columbia University | London, UK
80. Anne Dagenais Guertin, MD | Gatineau, QC
81. Isolde Daiski, Ed.D | Toronto, ON
82. Darcy Dalgaard, M.Ed | Victoria, BC
83. Amber Dean, PhD | McMaster University | Hamilton, ON
84. Kathleen Deering, PhD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
85. Sonja Dolinsek, MA | Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin | Berlin, Germany
86. Basil Donovan, MD | Sydney Hospital | Sydney, AU
87. Liza Doyle, MPH | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
88. Putu Duff, MSc, PhD (c) | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
89. Richard Elliot, LLM | Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network | Toronto, ON

90. Deanna England, MA, BA (Hons.) | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
91. Danya Fast, PhD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
92. Maritza Felices-Luna, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
93. Shawna Ferris, PhD | University of Manitoba | Winnipeg, MB
94. Thomas Fleming, PhD | Professor of Criminology | Wilfred Laurier University | Toronto, ON
95. Anna Forbes, MSS | Kensington, MD
96. Juliana Francis, MSc | Movimiento de Mujeres Feministas | Managua, Nicaragua
97. Margot Francis, PhD | Brock University | Toronto, ON
98. Jennifer Fraser, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
99. May Friendman, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
100. Caspar Friesen, BSc, MD | University of British Columbia | Victoria, BC
101. Robert Gaucher, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
102. Mary Gavan, PhD | Vancouver, BC
103. Leah George, MD, MSc | Calgary, AB
104. Andree Germain, MSW | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
105. Mark Gilbert, MD, MHSc | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
106. Fiona Gold, RN | BC Centre for Disease Control | Vancouver, BC
107. Shira Goldenberg, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
108. Tonantzin Goncalves, PhD | UNISINOS | Porto Alegre, Brazil
109. Todd Gordon, PhD | Society, Culture and Environment, Laurier University Brantford |  
Toronto, ON
110. Kelly Gorkoff, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
111. Andrew Gray, MD | McGill University | Montreal, QC
112. Devon Grayson, MLIS | Vancouver, BC
113. Pauline Greenhill, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
114. Silvia Guillemi, MD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
115. Gordon Guyatt, MD, MSc | McMaster University | Dundas, ON
116. Devon Haag, MSc | Vancouver, BC
117. Thomas Haig, PhD | Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
118. Helga Hallgrimsdottir, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
119. Julie Ham, MSW, PhD (c) | Monash University, Melbourne AU
120. Stacey Hannem, PhD | Department of Criminology, Wilfred Laurier University |  
Branford, ON
121. Ross Harvey, FMP | Mission, BC
122. Ashley Heaslip, MD
123. Robert Heynen, PhD | Department of Communications Studies, York University |  
Toronto, ON
124. Heidi Hoefinger, PhD | John Jay College, City University of New York | New York, NY
125. Robert Hogg, PhD | Simon Fraser University / BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS |  
Vancouver, BC
126. Kirby Humnuik, PhD (c) | Vancouver, BC
127. Sarah Hunt, PhD | Camosun College | Victoria, BC
128. Mary Ives, RN, MHS | Fraser Health Authority | Chilliwack, BC
129. Shahnaz Islamova, MSc | Tais Plus NGO | Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
130. Mikael Jansson, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
131. Leslie Jeffrey, PhD | University of New Brunswick St. John | Saint John, NB
132. Bryan Jones, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
133. Darlene Juschka, PhD | University of Regina | Regina, SK
134. Angela Kaida, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
135. Lara Karaian, PhD | Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Carleton University |  
Pakenham, ON
136. Mohammad Karamouzian, MSc | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
137. Lisa Kelly, JD, JSD (c) | Harvard Law School | Vancouver, BC
138. Kamala Kempadoo, PhD | Professor, York University | Toronto, ON
139. Perry Kendall, MD | Victoria, BC

140. Lisa Kerr, JD, LLM, JSD (c) | New York University | Vancouver, BC
141. Thomas Kerr, PhD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS/ University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
142. Ummni Khan, JD, MA, LLM, SJD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
143. Julie Kille, BScN, RN | Vancouver, BC
144. Alexandra King, MD | Vancouver, BC
145. Malcolm King, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
146. Gary Kinsman, PhD | Department of Sociology, Laurentian University | Sudbury, ON
147. Mieke Koehoorn, PhD | Vancouver, BC
148. Steven Kohm, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
149. Kat Kolar, PhD (c) | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
150. Rodney Knight, MSc, PhD (c) | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
151. Andrea Krusi, MSc | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
152. Marc Lafrance, PhD | Concordia University | Montreal, QC
153. Tammy Landau, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
154. Jeffrey Langer, MA | Laurentian University | Sudbury, ON
155. Rosanna Langer, PhD | Laurentian University | Sudbury, ON
156. Jennifer Lavoie, PhD | Wilfred Laurier University | Brantford, ON
157. Stephanie Law, MJ | McGill University | Montreal, QC
158. Tuulia Law, MA | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
159. Robert Leckey, PhD | McGill University | Montreal, QC
160. Cory Legassic, MA | Dawson College | Montreal, QC
161. Lucie Lemonde, PhD | Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
162. Annalee Lepp, PhD | Chair, Department of Women's Studies, University of Victoria/ Director, GAATW Canada | Victoria, BC
163. Jacqueline Lewis, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
164. Katherine Lippel, LLL, LLM | Canada Research Chair on Occupational Health and Safety Law | Montreal, QC
165. Abby Lippman, PhD | McGill University | Montreal, QC
166. Mona Loufty, MD, FRCPC, MPH | Women's College Research Institute; Associate Professor, Department of Medicine, University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
167. John Lowman, PhD | Simon Fraser University | West Vancouver, BC
168. Tara Lyons, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
169. Gayle MacDonald, PhD | St. Thomas University | Fredericton, NB
170. Josephine MacIntosh, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
171. Shoshana Magnet, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
172. Janet Maher, PhD | Toronto, ON
173. Lisa Maher, PhD | Kirby Institute for Infection and Immunity/ University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
174. Kristina Mahnicheva, MD | Tais Plus NGO | Dushanbe, Tajikistan
175. Olga Marques, PhD | University of Ontario Institute of Technology | Oshawa, ON
176. Stephanie Marsan, MD | Université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
177. Brandon Marshall, PhD | Brown University | Providence, RI
178. Jessica Martin, MA | York University | Toronto, ON
179. Corinne Mason, PhD | Brandon University | Brandon, MB
180. Bradley Mathers, MBChB, MD | Sydney, AU
181. Eleanor Maticka-Tyndale, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
182. Jennifer Matthews, MSc | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
183. Sergio Maulen, MD | Buenos Aires, Argentina
184. Ruth McCarrell, RN | Providence Health Care | North Vancouver, BC
185. Bill McCarthy, PhD | Professor, Department Chair, Department of Sociology, University of California Davis | Davis, CA
186. William McCready, MD | Thunder Bay, ON
187. Drew McDowell, MA, PhD (c) | University of Calgary | Calgary, AB
188. Nicole McFadyen, PhD (c) | Toronto, ON

189. Helen Meekosha, MA | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
190. Nengeh Maria Mensah, PhD | Professeure, École de travail social, Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
191. Emily van der Meulen, PhD | Department of Criminology, Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
192. Erin Michalak, PhD | Vancouver, BC
193. Esther Miedema, PhD | Amsterdam, Netherlands
194. Robin Milhausen, PhD | University of Guelph | Guelph, ON
195. Cari Miller, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
196. M-J Milloy, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
197. Julio Montaner, MD, FRCPC | Professor, Department of Medicine, University of British Columbia; Director, BC Centre of Excellence in HIV/AIDS; Past President, International AIDS Society | Vancouver, BC
198. Melissa Munn, PhD | Coldstream, BC
199. Michelle Munro, MSc | Agrteam Canada | Ottawa, ON
200. Laura Murray, MHS | Columbia University | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
201. Viviane Namaste, PhD | Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
202. Vrinda Narain, DCL | McGill University | Montreal, QC
203. Ariel Nesbitt, MPH | Oak Tree Clinic Research | Vancouver, BC
204. Ruth Neustifter, PhD, RMFT | University of Guelph | Guelph, ON
205. Zoe Newman, PhD | Toronto, ON
206. Trent Newmeyer, PhD | Brock University | Toronto, ON
207. N. Nicole Nussbaum, LLB | London, ON
208. Nadia O'Brien, MPH | Université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
209. Tamara O'Doherty, MA, JD | Simon Fraser University | Langley, BC
210. Marcia Oliver, PhD | Wilfred Laurier University | Toronto, ON
211. Maggie O'Neill, PhD | Professor, Durham University | Durham, UK
212. Treena Orchard, PhD | University of Western Ontario | London, ON
213. Michelle Owen, PhD
214. Katrina Pacey, LLB, MA | Pivot Legal Society | Vancouver, BC
215. Charles-Maxime Panaccio, SJD | Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
216. Colette Parent, PhD | Université d'Ottawa | Gatineau, QC
217. San Patten, MSc | Mount Allison University | Halifax, NS
218. Kathryn Payne, MA | George Brown College | Toronto, ON
219. Monika Penner, M.Ed | Edmonton, AB
220. Isabelle Perreault, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
221. Heather Peters, PhD | Quesnel, BC
222. Justin Piché PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
223. Phillip Pilon, MA | York University | Toronto, ON
224. Catherine Pirkle, PhD | Université Laval | Québec, QC
225. Nancy Pollak, MALS | Langara College | Vancouver, BC
226. Susan Price, RSW
227. Rebecca Raby, PhD | Brock University | St. Catharines, ON
228. Momin Rahman, PhD | Department of Sociology, Trent University | Peterborough, ON
229. Genevieve Rail, PhD | Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
230. Rajive Rajan, MD
231. Frances Ravensbergen, PhD | QC
232. Cheryl Reed-Elder, PhD
233. Alexandra Regier, MA | Vancouver, BC
234. William Reimer, PhD | Concordia University | Laval, QC
235. Dan Reist, MTh | University of Victoria | Mission, BC
236. Jamie Reschny, PhD (c) | University of Northern British Columbia | Prince George, BC
237. Lindsey Richardson, D.Phil | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC

238. Megan Rivers-Moore, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
239. Dominique Robert, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
240. Pascale Robitaille, MA | Montreal, QC
241. Annika W. Rodriguez, M.Phil | International Community Health | Oslo, Norway
242. Becki Ross, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
243. Eric Roth, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
244. Sean Rourke, PhD | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
245. Perrine Roux, PhD | INSERM | Marseille, France
246. Melanie Rusch, PhD | Island Health | Victoria, BC
247. Trish Salah, PhD | Assistant Professor, Department of Women's and Gender Studies, University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
248. Anne Salomon, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
249. Joan Sangster, PhD | Trent University | Peterborough, ON
250. Ginetta Salvalaggio, MD, MSc
251. Alejandra Sarda-Chandiramani, MD | Mama Cash | Buenos Aires, Argentina
252. Cristine Sardina, MSJ | Desiree Alliance | Tucson, AZ
253. Michael Schwandt, MD, MPH | University of Saskatchewan | Saskatoon, SK
254. Jamie Scott, MD, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Port Moody, BC
255. Javier Segura del Pozo, MD | Madrid City Council | Madrid, Spain
256. Kate Shannon, PhD, MPH | Associate Professor of Medicine, University of British Columbia; Director, Gender and Sexual Health Initiative, BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
257. Frances Shaver, PhD | Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
258. Alexis Shotwell, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
259. Jean Showeller, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
260. Eric Shragge, PhD | Concordia University (retired) | Montreal, QC
261. Jacob Siegel, MPH | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
262. Reed Siemieniuk, MD | Medical Reform Group | Toronto, ON
263. Joel Simpson, PMP, LLM | Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD) | Georgetown, Guyana
264. Paul Simpson, PhD | Kirby Institute for Infection and Immunity/ University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
265. Bruno Spire, MD, PhD | INSERM & AIDES | Marseille, France
266. Malcolm Steinberg, MD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
267. Kyle Stevens, MD | Kelly Ave Medical Clinic | Summerland, BC
268. Steffanie Strathdee, PhD | Carlsbad, CA
269. Marie-Eve Sylvestre, PhD | Faculté de droit, Université d'Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
270. Alison Symington, LLM | Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network | Toronto, ON
271. Jason T., MSc | Toronto, ON
272. Marliss Taylor, RN | Streetworks | Tofield, AB
273. Sophie Thériault, PhD | Faculté de droit - Université d'Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
274. Athena Thiessen, MFA | Winnipeg, MB
275. Gerald Thomas, PhD | Centre for Addictions Research of British Columbia | Summerland, BC
276. Heidi Thomas, RN, BScN | H'ulh-etun Health Society | Duncan, BC
277. Sarah Thompson, PhD | Department of Criminology, Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
278. Kimberly Thomson, MA | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
279. Ryan Thoreson, D.Phil | Yale Law School | New Haven, CT
280. Jim Thorsteinson, MD | North Vancouver, BC
281. Meaghan Thumath, RN, MPH | University of British Columbia School of Nursing | Vancouver, BC
282. Louise Toupin, PhD | Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
283. Steven Tufts, PhD | Toronto, ON
284. Laura Track, LLB | Vancouver, BC



285. Francine Tremblay, PhD | Concordia University | Deux-Montagnes, QC
286. Kathryn Trevenen, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
287. Mark Tyndall, MD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
288. Mariana Valverde, PhD | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
289. Kim Varma, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
290. Tamara Vukov, PhD | Université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
291. Stephanie Wahab, PhD | Best Practices Policy Project | Portland, OR
292. Pamela Walker, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
293. Kai Wang, MD | Toronto, ON
294. Grant Wardell-Johnson, BEc, LLB, CTA | Sydney, AU
295. Thomas Waugh, PhD | Program in Sexuality, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
296. Kevin Wilson, BA (Hons.), MSc. (c) | Dalhousie University | Halifax, NS
297. Yasmin Winsor, MScN | BC Centre for Disease Control | Vancouver, BC
298. Teresa Whitaker, PhD | Sex Workers' Alliance Ireland | Dublin, Ireland
299. Melissa Autumn White, PhD | UBC Okanagan | Kelowna, BC
300. Stephen Whittle, LLB, MA, PhD | Manchester Metropolitan University | Stockport, England
301. Robert Winston, MD, FRCPC, FACP | BC Cancer Agency | Surrey, BC
302. Peter Woods | Emeritus Mayor | Patron Local Government New South Wales | Sydney, AU
303. Kristopher Woofter, PhD (c) | Concordia University/ Dawson College | Montreal, QC
304. Sean Yaphe, MPH | McGill University | Montreal, QC
305. Alan Young, LLM | Associate Professor, Osgoode Hall Law School | Toronto, ON
306. Kate Zinszer, MSc | Montreal, QC

[1] Lowman J. (2000) Violence and the outlaw status of (street) prostitution. *Violence Against Women*, 6(9), pp. 987-1011; Shannon K (2010) The hypocrisy of Canada's prostitution legislation, *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 182(12), p.1388.

[2] WHO (2012) Prevention and treatment of HIV and other STIs for sex workers in low and middle Income countries: Recommendations for a public health approach; Shannon K & Csete J (2010) Violence, condom negotiation and HIV/STI risk among sex workers. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 304(5) pp. 573-4; Csete J. & Cohen J., (2010) Health benefits of legal services for criminalised populations: The case of people who use drugs, sex workers and sexual and gender minorities. *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics*, 38(4), pp. 816-831.

[3] Abel G., Fitzgerald L., & Brunton C. (2009) The impact of decriminalisation on the number of sex workers in New Zealand. *Journal of Social Policy*, 38(3), pp. 515-531; Abel G., Fitzgerald L, & Brunton C. (2007) The impact of the Prostitution Reform Act on the health and safety practices of sex workers', Report to the Prostitution Law Review Committee, University of Otago, Christchurch.

[4] Supra note 2; See also Oppal WT., (2012) Forsaken: The Report of the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry; Shannon K. et al. (2008) Social and structural violence and power relations in mitigating HIV risk of drug-using women in survival sex work. *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(4), pp. 911-921; Lazarus L. et al. (2012) Occupational stigma as a primary barrier to health care for street-based sex workers in Canada. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 14(2), pp. 139-150.

[5] Skarhed A. (2010) Selected extracts of the Swedish Government Report SOU 2010:49, The ban against the purchase of sexual services: An evaluation 1999-2008, Swedish Institute.

[6] Supra note 3.

[7] Supra note 1, 2 and 4; See also Shannon K. et al. (2009) Structural and environmental barriers to condom use negotiation with clients among female sex workers: Implications for HIV-prevention strategies and policy. *American Journal of Public Health*, 99(4), pp. 659-665.

[8] Canada (Attorney General) v. Bedford, 2013 SCC 72

[9] Gerds AH. (2010) Lokale Konsekvenser av Sexkjøpsloven i Bergen. En kartleggingsrapport om kvinnene, markedet og samfunnet. Bergen: Utekontakten i Bergen; Skilbrei ML. & Holmström C. (2013) Prostitution policy in the Nordic region: Ambiguous sympathies, Ashgate Publishing Company, Burlington.

[10] Chu S & Glass R. (2013) Sex work law reform in Canada: Considering problems with the Nordic model, *Alberta Law Review*, 51(1), pp. 101-124; Dodillet S. & Östergren P. (2011) The Swedish Sex Purchase Act:

Claimed success and documented effects; Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police, Working Group on the Legal Regulation of the Purchase of Sexual Services (2004) Purchasing sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands: legal regulation and experiences. Oslo, Norway; Östergren P. (2004) Sex workers critique of Swedish prostitution policy; Levy J. (2013) Swedish Abolitionism as violence against women, Sex Worker Open University (SWOU) Sex Worker's Rights Festival, Glasgow, April 6, 2013.

[11] Bjørndahl, AU. (2012) *Fartige Forbindelser: En rapport om volden kvinner i prostitusjon i Oslo utsettes for.*

[12] *Supra* note 7.

[13] Krusi A. et al. (2012) Negotiating safety and sexual risk reduction with clients in unsanctioned safer indoor sex work environments: A qualitative evaluation, *American Journal of Public Health*, 102(6), pp. 1154-1159.

[14] *Supra* note 3.

[15] *Supra* note 5; See also The National Board for Health and Welfare of Sweden, Socialstyrelsen (2007) *Prostitution in Sweden*; National Council for Crime Prevention, Regeringskansliet (2000) *Förbud mot köp av sexuella tjänster Tillämpningen av lagen under första året BRÅ-rapport*, Stockholm.

[16] *Supra* note 3.

[17] *Supra* note 11.

[18] Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW). (2011) *Moving beyond 'supply and demand' catchphrases: Assessing the uses and limitations of demand-based approaches to anti-trafficking*; La Strada International et al. (2014) *NGO Platform Statement ahead of the vote in the European Parliament on the Report of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)).* (Accessed March 8, 2014).

[19] Global Commission on HIV and Law (2012), *Risks, rights and health*; *Supra* note 2.

---

Le très honorable Stephen Harper, Premier ministre du Canada et chef du Parti conservateur du Canada

M. Thomas Mulcair, MP, chef de l'Opposition officielle et chef du Nouveau parti démocratique du Canada

M. Justin Trudeau, MP, chef du Parti libéral du Canada

M. Jean-François Fortin, MP, leader parlementaire par intérim du Bloc Québécois

Mme. Elizabeth May, MP, chef du Parti vert du Canada

**Objet : Demande fondée sur des données probantes de la décriminalisation du travail du sexe au Canada et opposition à la criminalisation de l'achat de services sexuels**

Messieurs et Madam,

Nous soussignés sommes profondément préoccupés à l'idée que le gouvernement du Canada envisage l'introduction de nouvelles dispositions législatives visant à criminaliser l'achat de services sexuels. Les dispositions proposées ne sont pas fondées sur le plan scientifique. D'ailleurs, tout porte à croire que ces dispositions ne changeraient en rien la situation quant aux problèmes sociaux et de santé causés par les lois criminelles actuelles. Nous nous associons aux autres experts en matière de travail du sexe, de recherche et de questions juridiques de partout au pays pour exhorter le gouvernement du Canada à respecter la décision de la Cour suprême du Canada et à appuyer la décision concernant la décriminalisation du travail du sexe en considérant celle-ci comme une approche critique fondée sur des données probantes conçue en vue de protéger la sécurité, la santé des travailleurs du sexe et la protection de leurs droits.

Un ensemble considérable de preuves scientifiques provenant du Canada,[1] de la Suède et de la Norvège (où les clients et les tiers sont criminalisés), ainsi que d'ailleurs dans le monde,[2] démontrent clairement que les lois pénales ciblant l'industrie du sexe ont des conséquences très négatives sur l'intégration sociale, la santé et les droits des travailleurs du sexe. Elles favorisent notamment l'accroissement des cas de violence et de maltraitance, la stigmatisation, les risques d'infection par le VIH et l'incapacité de se prévaloir des services sociaux, sanitaires et juridiques cruciaux. Ces préjudices touchent d'une manière disproportionnée les travailleurs du sexe marginalisés, notamment les travailleuses du sexe, les femmes autochtones et les personnes qui travaillent dans la rue, qui subissent les taux les plus élevés de violence et de meurtre au pays. En Nouvelle-Zélande par contre, depuis l'adoption en 2003 d'une loi décriminalisant le travail du sexe, les études scientifiques et l'évaluation mandatée par le gouvernement lui-même ont démontré qu'il y a eu des améliorations notables en ce qui a trait à la sécurité, à la santé et aux droits des travailleurs du sexe.[3]

**Nous demandons donc au gouvernement du Canada de se joindre aux chefs de gouvernement, aux chefs communautaires, aux chercheurs et aux experts juridiques des quatre coins de la planète pour rejeter les modèles de criminalisation, notamment ceux qui criminalisent l'achat de services sexuels, et, au lieu de cela, pour appuyer la décriminalisation du travail du sexe au Canada comme étant scientifiquement fondée et nécessaire pour assurer la sécurité, la santé et les droits des travailleurs du sexe.**

Voici brièvement nos principales préoccupations :

**1. La criminalisation de tout aspect du travail du sexe limite l'accès des travailleurs aux garanties fondamentales en matière de sécurité, de santé et de droits juridiques.** La recherche est catégorique : Là où le travail du sexe se fait dans un contexte de criminalisation sous surveillance policière- que cette surveillance cible les travailleurs du sexe, leurs conditions de travail ou les personnes avec qui ou pour qui ils travaillent, ou encore les personnes qu'ils embauchent (clients, gestionnaires, gardes du corps ou autres tiers)-, les travailleurs du sexe sont placés dans une relation conflictuelle avec les autorités policières et sont incapables de se prévaloir des services sociaux, de santé et juridiques essentiels. Des recherches évaluées par des pairs et le *Missing Women Commission of Inquiry Report* ont

montré que, dans un environnement de criminalisation, la stigmatisation et la discrimination envers les travailleurs du sexe entravent leurs possibilités de signaler aux autorités les cas de violence et de maltraitance et d'accéder, tant au Canada qu'ailleurs dans le monde, à d'autres services sociaux et de santé pourtant essentiels. [4] Dans le cadre de l'évaluation officielle de l'interdiction d'avoir recours aux services sexuels en Suède, les travailleurs du sexe ont signifié clairement que la loi a engendré une augmentation du niveau de surveillance policière, de stigmatisation et de discrimination, et a découragé les signalements à la police. [5] En revanche, la loi réformant la législation sur la prostitution en Nouvelle-Zélande, le *Prostitution Reform Act (2003)*, a mis les droits et la santé et la sécurité au travail des travailleurs du sexe au centre de leur réforme. Le gouvernement a mené sa propre évaluation, et celle-ci a conclu que les travailleurs du sexe étaient nettement plus susceptibles de signaler les cas de maltraitance aux autorités après la décriminalisation de la prostitution. [6]

**2. L'application des mesures interdisant la *communication dans les endroits publics* entre les travailleurs du sexe et leurs clients est directement liée à un accroissement des risques de violence et de maltraitance et d'autres problèmes de santé et sociaux.** Depuis l'adoption de la loi sur le racolage visant à réduire les problèmes de « nuisance publique » en 1985, le nombre de travailleurs du sexe qui ont été portés disparus ou qui ont été assassinés dans les villes canadiennes a augmenté de façon spectaculaire, dont un pourcentage disproportionné de femmes autochtones. Les preuves récoltées ont toujours montré que, dans le but d'éviter que les travailleurs du sexe et leurs clients soient détectés par les forces policières, les travailleurs doivent travailler seuls dans des endroits isolés, et entrer à la hâte dans les véhicules avant d'avoir eu l'occasion d'évaluer au préalable les clients potentiels et de négocier les conditions de la transaction, limitant ainsi considérablement leur capacité d'éviter les clients dangereux ou de refuser de fournir des services indésirables (p. ex., les rapports sexuels non protégés). [7] La Cour suprême du Canada a déterminé que l'évaluation préalable des clients est l'un des outils les plus précieux dont disposent les travailleurs du sexe pour protéger leur sécurité et leur santé. [8] En Suède et en Norvège, où les lois criminalisent l'achat de services sexuels, les recherches ont démontré qu'en dépit de l'application de mesures ciblant les clients, les travailleurs du sexe sont toujours contraints d'exercer leurs activités dans des endroits clandestins pour éviter la surveillance policière, souffrent d'un sentiment élevé d'insécurité [9] et sont exposés à un risque accru et continu de violence, de maltraitance et d'autres problèmes liés à la santé, y compris l'infection par le VIH. [10] Un rapport commandé en 2012 par la ville d'Oslo en Norvège soulignait que la fréquence des cas d'étranglement et des menaces d'agression armée s'était accrue considérablement dans les trois années qui ont suivi l'application de la loi sur la criminalisation des clients. [11]

**3. La criminalisation de tout aspect du travail du sexe limite la capacité des travailleurs du sexe d'établir des lieux de travail plus sécuritaires, de travailler en commun et d'embaucher des tiers qui peuvent assurer leur sécurité.** La Cour suprême du Canada et les deux tribunaux inférieurs dans l'affaire *Bedford et al.* ont clairement fait ressortir que l'accès à des espaces intérieurs était critique à la sécurité des travailleurs du sexe en se fondant sur deux décennies de preuves obtenues de travailleurs du sexe au Canada et dans d'autres pays, d'universitaires et d'experts juridiques. [12] A Vancouver en 2012, une évaluation de lieux de travail plus sécuritaires à l'intérieur de logements avec services de soutien pour personnes à faible revenu, a démontré que, lorsque les travailleurs du sexe ont la possibilité de quitter la rue, ils sont en mesure de mieux gérer leurs conditions de travail et d'adopter des mesures visant à protéger leur santé, leur sécurité et leur bien-être en général. [13] Des espaces intérieurs plus sécuritaires permettent également d'établir des liens cruciaux avec les services sociaux, de santé et juridiques, notamment l'accès à la protection de la police dans les cas de violence ou de maltraitance. Toutefois, dans un environnement où la loi ferait en sorte que les clients pourraient faire l'objet d'arrestations, la criminalisation continuerait d'empêcher les travailleurs du sexe d'amener leurs clients dans des espaces intérieurs plus sécuritaires, causant ainsi les mêmes préjudices que le modèle criminalisé actuel. En Nouvelle-Zélande et en Nouvelle-Galles-du-Sud (Australie) par contre, où le travail du sexe est complètement

décriminalisé, les travailleurs du sexe ont accès à des espaces intérieurs plus sécuritaires, et sont capables de mieux gérer leurs conditions de travail.[14]

**4. La criminalisation de l'achat de services sexuels ne contribue pas à réduire ou à éliminer la prostitution.** À la suite de l'interdiction de l'achat de services sexuels, plusieurs évaluations du modèle de criminalisation en Suède ont conclu qu'il n'existait aucune preuve que le nombre total de travailleurs du sexe avait été réduit.[15] Il convient de remarquer que des chercheurs en santé publique en Nouvelle-Zélande ont estimé à plusieurs reprises la taille de l'industrie du sexe dans cinq endroits différents et que, comparativement à 1999 (soit avant la décriminalisation), les données montrent qu'il n'y a pas eu d'augmentation du nombre total de travailleurs du sexe.[16]

**5. La criminalisation de tout aspect du travail du sexe nuit à l'efficacité des efforts déployés pour lutter contre la traite de personnes.** L'appariement de la traite de personnes à des fins sexuelles et de l'exploitation sexuelle au travail du sexe (*l'échange de sexe pour de l'argent entre adultes consentants*) compromet l'efficacité des efforts déployés pour régler ces questions cruciales relevant des droits de la personne. Aux États-Unis, et de plus en plus au Canada, les fonds destinés à combattre le problème de traite de personnes ont été redirigés vers des initiatives pour soutenir l'application des lois contre la prostitution. Lors de deux évaluations gouvernementales distinctes du modèle de criminalisation suédois, la police a indiqué que le modèle constituait un obstacle à la poursuite des « trafiquants et des proxénètes coercitifs ». [17] En outre, les données scientifiques et les expériences d'organismes actifs dans la lutte contre la traite de personnes nous suggèrent que la criminalisation de l'achat de services sexuels rend plus difficile la tâche de venir en aide aux individus qui sont victimes de coercition et de maltraitance.[18]

**Les chercheurs et les universitaires canadiens exigent des politiques fondées sur des données probantes qui sont compatibles avec la protection de la santé, de la sécurité et des droits des travailleurs du sexe et des collectivités.**

Nous demandons que le gouvernement fédéral fasse preuve de leadership pour résoudre ces enjeux en promouvant des lois et des politiques fondées sur des données probantes qui assurent la protection de la sécurité, de la santé et des droits des travailleurs du sexe. Nous encourageons le Canada à adopter les recommandations relatives à la décriminalisation du travail du sexe de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé, du Fonds des Nations Unies pour la population, du groupe consultatif de l'ONUSIDA sur le VIH et le commerce du sexe et de la Commission mondiale sur le VIH et le droit.[19] Nous vous invitons à collaborer avec les travailleurs du sexe, les chercheurs et les experts juridiques afin d'élaborer des approches politiques fondées sur des données probantes qui favorisent la protection de la sécurité, de la santé et des droits des travailleurs du sexe.

Nous espérons recevoir très prochainement une réponse de votre part.

1. Gillian Abel, PhD | University of Otago | Christchurch, NZ
2. Barry Adam, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
3. Anu Aggarwal, PhD
4. Laura Agustin, PhD | The Naked Anthropologist
5. Aziza Ahmed, MA, JD | Northeastern University School of Law | Boston, MA
6. Michel Alary, MD, PhD | Université Laval | Québec, QC
7. Sarah Allan, LLB/JD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
8. Paul Amar, PhD | University of California | Santa Barbara, CA
9. Solanna Anderson, MA | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
10. Elena Argento, MPH | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
11. Robert Argue, PhD | Professor Emeritus, Ryerson University | Sudbury, ON
12. Chris Atchison, MA | University of Victoria | Vancouver, BC

13. Cheryl Auger, MA, PhD (c) | Political Science Department, University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
14. Jacenta Bahri, MA
15. Brook Baker, JD | Northeastern University School of Law | Boston, MA
16. Natasha Bakht, LLM | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
17. Gillian Balfour, PhD | Trent University | Peterborough, ON
18. Nandinee Bandyopadhyay, MA
19. Stefan Baral, MD | Centre for Public Health and Human Rights | Toronto, ON
20. Julie Bates, MSc | Urban Realists Planning & Occupational Health & Safety Consultants | Sydney, AU
21. Katharine Bausch, MA | Trent University | Toronto, ON
22. Ahmed Bayoumi, MD, FRCPC | Toronto, ON
23. Calum Bennachie, PhD | New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective | Wellington, NZ
24. Darcie Bennett, PhD | Pivot Legal Society | Vancouver, BC
25. Cecilia Benoit, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
26. Benjamin Berger, JSD | Osgoode Hall Law School | Toronto, ON
27. Rachel Berger, PhD | Concordia University | Montreal, QC
28. Elizabeth Bernstein, PhD | Barnard College | New York, NY
29. Manjima Bhattacharjya, PhD | Mumbai, Maharashtra
30. Steven Bittle, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
31. Gary Bloch, MD | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
32. John Boan, PhD | University of Regina | Regina, SK
33. Mandy Bonisteel, RN, OMC | George Brown College | Toronto, ON
34. Colin Bonnycastle, MSW | University of Manitoba | Thompson, ON
35. Suzanne Bouclin, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
36. Pierre Boulos, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
37. Raven Bowen, MA | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
38. Jason Boyd, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
39. Mark Boyd, MD | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
40. Neil Boyd, LLM | Professor, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
41. Borce Bozhinov, MD | STAR-STAR | Skopje, Macedonia
42. Ella Bradley, BSW | University of Windsor | Chatham, ON
43. Suzanne Brissette, MD | Centre hospitalier de l'université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
44. Deborah Brock, PhD | Associate Professor, York University | Toronto, ON
45. Chris Bruckert, PhD | Associate Professor, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
46. Zabrina Brumme, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
47. Laurence Brunet, MSc | McGill University | Montreal, QC
48. Chloe Brushwood Rose, PhD | Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, York University | Toronto, ON
49. Licia Brussa, PhD | TAMPEP International Foundation | Amsterdam, Netherlands
50. Katherine Burress, RN | Casey House | Toronto, ON
51. Karen Busby, JD, LLM | Faculty of Law, University of Manitoba | Winnipeg, MB
52. Denton Callander, PhD | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
53. Kenneth Camargo, MD, PhD | Rio de Janeiro State University | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
54. Thais Camargo, MSc
55. Deanna Campbell, MA, JD (c) | Vancouver, BC
56. Anna Carastathis, PhD | California State University Los Angeles | Los Angeles, CA
57. John Carlsley MD, CM, MSc, CCFP, FRCPC | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
58. Sarah Carlsley, MSc | Toronto, ON
59. Marie-Eve Carrier-Moisan, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
60. Patrizia Carrieri, PhD | INSERM | Marseille, France
61. Claire Carter, PhD | University of Regina | Regina, SK
62. Connie Carter, PhD | Canadian Drug Policy Coalition | Victoria, BC
63. Sheila Cavanagh, PhD | York University | Toronto, ON

64. Helen Cerigo, MSc | Toronto, ON
65. Yao Chi Hang, MA | Chinese University of Hong Kong | Hong Kong, China
66. Alexandra Choby, PhD | University of Alberta | Edmonton, AB
67. Sandra Ko Hon Chu, LLM | Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network | Toronto, ON
68. Alison Clancey, MSW | Vancouver, BC
69. Deborah Clipperton, MA, CP | York University | Toronto, ON
70. Claudia Coeli, MD, PhD | Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
71. Marisa Collins, MD, MDSc, CCFP, FCFP | Pemberton, BC
72. Jason Congdon, MSc | School of Communication, Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
73. Sandra Connelly, MSc | Niagara Falls, ON
74. Bruno Cornellier, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
75. Sonia Correa, MSc | Abai/ SPW | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
76. Patrice Corriveau, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
77. Anna-Louise Crago, PhD (c) | Trudeau Scholar, University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
78. Marion Crook, PhD | Gibsons, BC
79. Joanne Csete, PhD, MPH | Columbia University | London, UK
80. Anne Dagenais Guertin, MD | Gatineau, QC
81. Isolde Daiski, Ed.D | Toronto, ON
82. Darcy Dalgaard, M.Ed | Victoria, BC
83. Amber Dean, PhD | McMaster University | Hamilton, ON
84. Kathleen Deering, PhD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
85. Sonja Dolinsek, MA | Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin | Berlin, Germany
86. Basil Donovan, MD | Sydney Hospital | Sydney, AU
87. Liza Doyle, MPH | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
88. Putu Duff, MSc, PhD (c) | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
89. Richard Elliot, LLM | Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network | Toronto, ON
90. Deanna England, MA, BA (Hons.) | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
91. Danya Fast, PhD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
92. Maritza Felices-Luna, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
93. Shawna Ferris, PhD | University of Manitoba | Winnipeg, MB
94. Thomas Fleming, PhD | Professor of Criminology | Wilfred Laurier University | Toronto, ON
95. Anna Forbes, MSS | Kensington, MD
96. Juliana Francis, MSc | Movimiento de Mujeres Feministas | Managua, Nicaragua
97. Margot Francis, PhD | Brock University | Toronto, ON
98. Jennifer Fraser, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
99. May Friendman, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
100. Caspar Friesen, BSc, MD | University of British Columbia | Victoria, BC
101. Robert Gaucher, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
102. Mary Gavan, PhD | Vancouver, BC
103. Leah George, MD, MSc | Calgary, AB
104. Andree Germain, MSW | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
105. Mark Gilbert, MD, MHSc | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
106. Fiona Gold, RN | BC Centre for Disease Control | Vancouver, BC
107. Shira Goldenberg, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
108. Tonantzin Goncalves, PhD | UNISINOS | Porto Alegre, Brazil
109. Todd Gordon, PhD | Society, Culture and Environment, Laurier University Brantford | Toronto, ON
110. Kelly Gorkoff, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
111. Andrew Gray, MD | McGill University | Montreal, QC
112. Devon Grayson, MLIS | Vancouver, BC
113. Pauline Greenhill, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
114. Silvia Guillemi, MD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
115. Gordon Guyatt, MD, MSc | McMaster University | Dundas, ON
116. Devon Haag, MSc | Vancouver, BC
117. Thomas Haig, PhD | Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC

118. Helga Hallgrimsdottir, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
119. Julie Ham, MSW, PhD (c) | Monash University, Melbourne AU
120. Stacey Hannem, PhD | Department of Criminology, Wilfred Laurier University |  
Branford, ON
121. Ross Harvey, FMP | Mission, BC
122. Ashley Heaslip, MD
123. Robert Heynen, PhD | Department of Communications Studies, York University |  
Toronto, ON
124. Heidi Hoefinger, PhD | John Jay College, City University of New York | New York, NY
125. Robert Hogg, PhD | Simon Fraser University / BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS |  
Vancouver, BC
126. Kirby Huminuk, PhD (c) | Vancouver, BC
127. Sarah Hunt, PhD | Camosun College | Victoria, BC
128. Mary Ives, RN, MHS | Fraser Health Authority | Chilliwack, BC
129. Shahnaz Islamova, MSc | Tais Plus NGO | Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
130. Mikael Jansson, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
131. Leslie Jeffrey, PhD | University of New Brunswick St. John | Saint John, NB
132. Bryan Jones, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
133. Darlene Juschka, PhD | University of Regina | Regina, SK
134. Angela Kaida, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
135. Lara Karaian, PhD | Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Carleton University |  
Pakenham, ON
136. Mohammad Karamouzian, MSc | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
137. Lisa Kelly, JD, JSD (c) | Harvard Law School | Vancouver, BC
138. Kamala Kempadoo, PhD | Professor, York University | Toronto, ON
139. Perry Kendall, MD | Victoria, BC
140. Lisa Kerr, JD, LL.M., JSD (c) | New York University | Vancouver, BC
141. Thomas Kerr, PhD | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS/ University of British  
Columbia | Vancouver, BC
142. Ummni Khan, JD, MA, LL.M., SJD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
143. Julie Kille, BScN, RN | Vancouver, BC
144. Alexandra King, MD | Vancouver, BC
145. Malcolm King, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
146. Gary Kinsman, PhD | Department of Sociology, Laurentian University | Sudbury, ON
147. Mieke Koehoorn, PhD | Vancouver, BC
148. Steven Kohm, PhD | University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
149. Kat Kolar, PhD (c) | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
150. Rodney Knight, MSc, PhD (c) | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
151. Andrea Krusi, MSc | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
152. Marc Lafrance, PhD | Concordia University | Montreal, QC
153. Tammy Landau, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
154. Jeffrey Langer, MA | Laurentian University | Sudbury, ON
155. Rosanna Langer, PhD | Laurentian University | Sudbury, ON
156. Jennifer Lavoie, PhD | Wilfred Laurier University | Brantford, ON
157. Stephanie Law, MJ | McGill University | Montreal, QC
158. Tuulia Law, MA | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
159. Robert Leckey, PhD | McGill University | Montreal, QC
160. Cory Legassic, MA | Dawson College | Montreal, QC
161. Lucie Lemonde, PhD | Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
162. Annalee Lepp, PhD | Chair, Department of Women's Studies, University of Victoria/  
Director, GAATW Canada | Victoria, BC
163. Jacqueline Lewis, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
164. Katherine Lippel, LL.M., LL.M. | Canada Research Chair on Occupational Health and Safety  
Law | Montreal, QC
165. Abby Lippman, PhD | McGill University | Montreal, QC



166. Mona Loufty, MD, FRCPC, MPH | Women's College Research Institute; Associate Professor, Department of Medicine, University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
167. John Lowman, PhD | Simon Fraser University | West Vancouver, BC
168. Tara Lyons, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
169. Gayle MacDonald, PhD | St. Thomas University | Fredericton, NB
170. Josephine MacIntosh, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
171. Shoshana Magnet, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
172. Janet Maher, PhD | Toronto, ON
173. Lisa Maher, PhD | Kirby Institute for Infection and Immunity/ University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
174. Kristina Mahnicheva, MD | Tais Plus NGO | Dushanbe, Tajikistan
175. Olga Marques, PhD | University of Ontario Institute of Technology | Oshawa, ON
176. Stephanie Marsan, MD | Université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
177. Brandon Marshall, PhD | Brown University | Providence, RI
178. Jessica Martin, MA | York University | Toronto, ON
179. Corinne Mason, PhD | Brandon University | Brandon, MB
180. Bradley Mathers, MBChB, MD | Sydney, AU
181. Eleanor Maticka-Tyndale, PhD | University of Windsor | Windsor, ON
182. Jennifer Matthews, MSc | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
183. Sergio Maulen, MD | Buenos Aires, Argentina
184. Ruth McCarrell, RN | Providence Health Care | North Vancouver, BC
185. Bill McCarthy, PhD | Professor, Department Chair, Department of Sociology, University of California Davis | Davis, CA
186. William McCready, MD | Thunder Bay, ON
187. Drew McDowell, MA, PhD (c) | University of Calgary | Calgary, AB
188. Nicole McFadyen, PhD (c) | Toronto, ON
189. Helen Meekosha, MA | University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
190. Nengeh Maria Mensah, PhD | Professeure, École de travail social, Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
191. Emily van der Meulen, PhD | Department of Criminology, Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
192. Erin Michalak, PhD | Vancouver, BC
193. Esther Miedema, PhD | Amsterdam, Netherlands
194. Robin Milhausen, PhD | University of Guelph | Guelph, ON
195. Cari Miller, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
196. M-J Milloy, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
197. Julio Montaner, MD, FRCPC | Professor, Department of Medicine, University of British Columbia; Director, BC Centre of Excellence in HIV/AIDS; Past President, International AIDS Society | Vancouver, BC
198. Melissa Munn, PhD | Coldstream, BC
199. Michelle Munro, MSc | Agrteam Canada | Ottawa, ON
200. Laura Murray, MHS | Columbia University | Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
201. Viviane Namaste, PhD | Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
202. Vrinda Narain, DCL | McGill University | Montreal, QC
203. Ariel Nesbitt, MPH | Oak Tree Clinic Research | Vancouver, BC
204. Ruth Neustifter, PhD, RMFT | University of Guelph | Guelph, ON
205. Zoe Newman, PhD | Toronto, ON
206. Trent Newmeyer, PhD | Brock University | Toronto, ON
207. N. Nicole Nussbaum, LLB | London, ON
208. Nadia O'Brien, MPH | Université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
209. Tamara O'Doherty, MA, JD | Simon Fraser University | Langley, BC
210. Marcia Oliver, PhD | Wilfred Laurier University | Toronto, ON
211. Maggie O'Neill, PhD | Professor, Durham University | Durham, UK
212. Treena Orchard, PhD | University of Western Ontario | London, ON

213. Michelle Owen, PhD
214. Katrina Pacey, LLB, MA | Pivot Legal Society | Vancouver, BC
215. Charles-Maxime Panaccio, SJD | Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
216. Colette Parent, PhD | Université d'Ottawa | Gatineau, QC
217. San Patten, MSc | Mount Allison University | Halifax, NS
218. Kathryn Payne, MA | George Brown College | Toronto, ON
219. Monika Penner, M.Ed | Edmonton, AB
220. Isabelle Perreault, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
221. Heather Peters, PhD | Quesnel, BC
222. Justin Piché PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
223. Phillip Pilon, MA | York University | Toronto, ON
224. Catherine Pirkle, PhD | Université Laval | Québec, QC
225. Nancy Pollak, MALS | Langara College | Vancouver, BC
226. Susan Price, RSW
227. Rebecca Raby, PhD | Brock University | St. Catharines, ON
228. Momin Rahman, PhD | Department of Sociology, Trent University | Peterborough, ON
229. Genevieve Rail, PhD | Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
230. Rajive Rajan, MD
231. Frances Ravensbergen, PhD | QC
232. Cheryl Reed-Elder, PhD
233. Alexandra Regier, MA | Vancouver, BC
234. William Reimer, PhD | Concordia University | Laval, QC
235. Dan Reist, MTh | University of Victoria | Mission, BC
236. Jamie Reschny, PhD (c) | University of Northern British Columbia | Prince George, BC
237. Lindsey Richardson, D.Phil | BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
238. Megan Rivers-Moore, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
239. Dominique Robert, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
240. Pascale Robitaille, MA | Montreal, QC
241. Annika W. Rodriguez, M.Phil | International Community Health | Oslo, Norway
242. Becki Ross, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
243. Eric Roth, PhD | University of Victoria | Victoria, BC
244. Sean Rourke, PhD | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
245. Perrine Roux, PhD | INSERM | Marseille, France
246. Melanie Rusch, PhD | Island Health | Victoria, BC
247. Trish Salah, PhD | Assistant Professor, Department of Women's and Gender Studies, University of Winnipeg | Winnipeg, MB
248. Anne Salomon, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
249. Joan Sangster, PhD | Trent University | Peterborough, ON
250. Ginetta Salvalaggio, MD, MSc
251. Alejandra Sarda-Chandiramani, MD | Mama Cash | Buenos Aires, Argentina
252. Cristine Sardina, MSJ | Desiree Alliance | Tucson, AZ
253. Michael Schwandt, MD, MPH | University of Saskatchewan | Saskatoon, SK
254. Jamie Scott, MD, PhD | Simon Fraser University | Port Moody, BC
255. Javier Segura del Pozo, MD | Madrid City Council | Madrid, Spain
256. Kate Shannon, PhD, MPH | Associate Professor of Medicine, University of British Columbia; Director, Gender and Sexual Health Initiative, BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS | Vancouver, BC
257. Frances Shaver, PhD | Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
258. Alexis Shotwell, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
259. Jean Shoveller, PhD | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
260. Eric Shragge, PhD | Concordia University (retired) | Montreal, QC
261. Jacob Siegel, MPH | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
262. Reed Siemieniuk, MD | Medical Reform Group | Toronto, ON

263. Joel Simpson, PMP, LLM | Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD) | Georgetown, Guyana
264. Paul Simpson, PhD | Kirby Institute for Infection and Immunity/ University of New South Wales | Sydney, AU
265. Bruno Spire, MD, PhD | INSERM & AIDES | Marseille, France
266. Malcolm Steinberg, MD | Simon Fraser University | Vancouver, BC
267. Kyle Stevens, MD | Kelly Ave Medical Clinic | Summerland, BC
268. Steffanie Strathdee, PhD | Carlsbad, CA
269. Marie-Eve Sylvestre, PhD | Faculté de droit, Université d'Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
270. Alison Symington, LLM | Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network | Toronto, ON
271. Jason T., MSc | Toronto, ON
272. Marliss Taylor, RN | Streetworks | Tofield, AB
273. Sophie Thériault, PhD | Faculté de droit - Université d'Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
274. Athena Thiessen, MFA | Winnipeg, MB
275. Gerald Thomas, PhD | Centre for Addictions Research of British Columbia | Summerland, BC
276. Heidi Thomas, RN, BScN | H'ulh-etun Health Society | Duncan, BC
277. Sarah Thompson, PhD | Department of Criminology, Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
278. Kimberly Thomson, MA | University of British Columbia | Vancouver, BC
279. Ryan Thoreson, D.Phil | Yale Law School | New Haven, CT
280. Jim Thorsteinson, MD | North Vancouver, BC
281. Meaghan Thumath, RN, MPH | University of British Columbia School of Nursing | Vancouver, BC
282. Louise Toupin, PhD | Université du Québec à Montréal | Montreal, QC
283. Steven Tufts, PhD | Toronto, ON
284. Laura Track, LLB | Vancouver, BC
285. Francine Tremblay, PhD | Concordia University | Deux-Montagnes, QC
286. Kathryn Trevenen, PhD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
287. Mark Tyndall, MD | University of Ottawa | Ottawa, ON
288. Mariana Valverde, PhD | University of Toronto | Toronto, ON
289. Kim Varma, PhD | Ryerson University | Toronto, ON
290. Tamara Vukov, PhD | Université de Montréal | Montreal, QC
291. Stephanie Wahab, PhD | Best Practices Policy Project | Portland, OR
292. Pamela Walker, PhD | Carleton University | Ottawa, ON
293. Kai Wang, MD | Toronto, ON
294. Grant Wardell-Johnson, BEc, LLB, CTA | Sydney, AU
295. Thomas Waugh, PhD | Program in Sexuality, Concordia University | Montreal, QC
296. Kevin Wilson, BA (Hons.), MSc. (c) | Dalhousie University | Halifax, NS
297. Yasmin Winsor, MScN | BC Centre for Disease Control | Vancouver, BC
298. Teresa Whitaker, PhD | Sex Workers' Alliance Ireland | Dublin, Ireland
299. Melissa Autumn White, PhD | UBC Okanagan | Kelowna, BC
300. Stephen Whittle, LLB, MA, PhD | Manchester Metropolitan University | Stockport, England
301. Robert Winston, MD, FRCPC, FACP | BC Cancer Agency | Surrey, BC
302. Peter Woods | Emeritus Mayor | Patron Local Government New South Wales | Sydney, AU
303. Kristopher Woofter, PhD (c) | Concordia University/ Dawson College | Montreal, QC
304. Sean Yaphe, MPH | McGill University | Montreal, QC
305. Alan Young, LLM | Associate Professor, Osgoode Hall Law School | Toronto, ON
306. Kate Zinszer, MSc | Montreal, QC

[1] Lowman J. (2000) Violence and the outlaw status of (street) prostitution. *Violence Against Women*, 6(9), pp. 987-1011; Shannon K. (2010) The hypocrisy of Canada's prostitution legislation, *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 182(12), p.1388.

- [2] OMS (2012) Prevention and treatment of HIV and other STIs for sex workers in low and middle income countries: Recommendations for a public health approach; Shannon K. & Csete J. (2010) Violence, condom negotiation and HIV/STI risk among sex workers. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 304(5) pp. 573-4; Csete J. & Cohen J. (2010) Health benefits of legal services for criminalised populations: The case of people who use drugs, sex workers and sexual and gender minorities. *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics*, 38(4), pp. 816-831.
- [3] Abel G., Fitzgerald L., & Brunton C. (2009) The impact of decriminalisation on the number of sex workers in New Zealand. *Journal of Social Policy*, 38(3), pp. 515-531; Abel G., Fitzgerald L., & Brunton C. (2007) The impact of the Prostitution Reform Act on the health and safety practices of sex workers, Report to the Prostitution Law Review Committee, University of Otago, Christchurch.
- [4] Supra note 2; voir aussi Oppal WT. (2012) Forsaken: The Report of the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry; Shannon K. et al. (2008) Social and structural violence and power relations in mitigating HIV risk of drug-using women in survival sex work. *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(4), pp. 911-921; Lazarus L. et al. (2012) Occupational stigma as a primary barrier to health care for street-based sex workers in Canada. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 14(2), pp. 139-150.
- [5] Skarhed A. (2010) Selected extracts of the Swedish Government Report SOU 2010:49, The ban against the purchase of sexual services: An evaluation 1999-2008, Swedish Institute.
- [6] Supra note 3.
- [7] Supra note 1, 2 et 4; voir aussi Shannon K. et al. (2009) Structural and environmental barriers to condom use negotiation with clients among female sex workers: Implications for HIV-prevention strategies and policy. *American Journal of Public Health*, 99(4), pp. 659-665.
- [8] L'affaire du Canada (Procureur general) c. Bedford, 2013 SCC 72.
- [9] Gerdtts AH. (2010) Lokale Konsekvenser av Sexkjøpsloven i Bergen. En kartleggingsrapport om kvinnene, markedet og samfunnet. Bergen: Utekontakten i Bergen; Skilbrei ML. & Holmström C. (2013) Prostitution policy in the Nordic region: Ambiguous sympathies, Ashgate Publishing Company, Burlington.
- [10] Chu S. & Glass R. (2013) Sex work law reform in Canada: Considering problems with the Nordic model, *Alberta Law Review*, 51(1), pp. 101-124; Dodillet S. & Östergren P. (2011) The Swedish Sex Purchase Act: Claimed success and documented effects; Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police, Working Group on the Legal Regulation of the Purchase of Sexual Services (2004) Purchasing sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands: legal regulation and experiences. Oslo, Norway; Östergren P. (2004) Sex workers critique of Swedish prostitution policy; Levy J. (2013) Swedish Abolitionism as violence against women, Sex Worker Open University (SWOU) Sex Worker's Rights Festival, Glasgow, 16 avril, 2013.
- [11] Bjorndahl, AU. (2012) Farlige Forbindelser: En rapport om volden kvinner i prostitusjon i Oslo utsettes for.
- [12] Supra note 7.
- [13] Krusi A. et al. (2012) Negotiating safety and sexual risk reduction with clients in unsanctioned safer indoor sex work environments: A qualitative evaluation, *American Journal of Public Health*, 102(6), pp. 1154-1159.
- [14] Supra note 3.
- [15] Supra note 5; voir aussi The National Board for Health and Welfare of Sweden, Socialstyrelsen (2007) Prostitution in Sweden; National Council for Crime Prevention, Regeringskansliet (2000) Förbud mot köp av sexuella tjänster Tillämpningen av lagen under första året BRÅ-rapport, Stockholm.
- [16] Supra note 3.
- [17] Supra note 11.
- [18] Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW). (2011) Moving beyond 'supply and demand' catchphrases: Assessing the uses and limitations of demand-based approaches to anti-trafficking; La Strada International et al. (2014) NGO Platform Statement ahead of the vote in the European Parliament on the Report of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)). (consulté le 8 mars 2014).
- [19] Global Commission on HIV and Law (2012), Risks, rights and health; Supra note 2.