

Attitudes, Beliefs, and Knowledge of Prostitution and the Law in Canada

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Techniquement, la prostitution n'est pas illégale au Canada. Toutefois, les lois actuelles rendent illégal le fait d'acheter ou de vendre du sexe dans la plupart des circonstances. La légalité de la prostitution a récemment été portée à l'attention du public après que trois de ces lois aient été jugées inconstitutionnelles par un juge de la Cour supérieure de l'Ontario. La présente étude a sélectionné 238 étudiants canadiens de premier cycle pour une enquête sur leurs connaissances des lois canadiennes sur la prostitution et leur attitude en la matière. En outre, la relation entre cette attitude, et les croyances en ce qui a trait à la prostitution de façon plus générale, a fait l'objet d'un examen. Les résultats indiquent que, bien que la majorité des étudiants comprennent bien la plupart des lois qui ont trait à la prostitution, ils ne sont pas au courant des situations où la prostitution pouvait avoir lieu sans violer la loi. De plus, les étudiants ne savent pas en général que la sollicitation à des fins de prostitution dans un endroit public et le fait de se trouver dans une maison de débauche sont des actes illégaux. Nous avons trouvé que le nombre d'années depuis l'arrivée des participants au Canada permettait de mieux prévoir le degré précis de connaissance des lois. Le genre, l'ethnicité, et les croyances en rapport avec divers aspects de la prostitution permettaient de beaucoup mieux prévoir les attitudes envers la loi. Les participants voyaient la prostitution des femmes et la prostitution de rue plus négativement que la prostitution des hommes et la prostitution en établissements. Les implications en ce qui a trait à l'éducation et aux modifications à la législation actuelle et aux politiques publiques font l'objet de discussion.

Mots clés : prostitution, commerce du sexe, lois, attitudes, politique publique

Prostitution in Canada is technically not illegal; however, current laws make the act of buying or selling sex illegal under most circumstances. The legal status of prostitution was recently brought to public attention after three of these laws were deemed unconstitutional by an Ontario Superior Court judge. The present study recruited 238 Canadian undergraduate students to investigate their knowledge of, and attitudes toward, current Canadian prostitution laws. In addition, the relationship between these attitudes and beliefs about prostitution more generally, were examined. The results indicate that

while most students have an accurate understanding of the majority of the laws relating to prostitution, they are unaware of situations in which prostitution can take place without breaking the law. Further, students are generally unaware that communicating for the purposes of prostitution in a public place and being found within a bawdy house are illegal. The number of years participants had lived in Canada was found to be a significant predictor of more accurate knowledge of the laws. Gender, ethnicity, and beliefs about aspects of prostitution were significant predictors of attitudes toward the law. Participants perceived female and street prostitution more negatively than male and indoor prostitution. Implications with respect to education and changes to the current legislation and public policy are discussed.

Keywords: prostitution, sex trade, laws, attitudes, public policy

The legal status of prostitution-related activities recently came into the public spotlight after three of Canada's prostitution laws were deemed unconstitutional and struck down by an Ontario Superior Court judge (*Bedford v Canada* 2010). Both the Ontario and federal governments subsequently appealed this decision, and the future of the laws regarding communicating for the purposes of prostitution, keeping a common bawdy house, and living off the avails of prostitution are uncertain.

Potential changes to these laws raise questions about Canadians' opinions with respect to prostitution and its legal status. Prostitution is technically legal in Canada; however, several laws make it difficult to engage in prostitution without breaking the law. For example, under the bawdy-house laws (*Criminal Code*, s 210 and s 211), it is illegal to keep or be found within a *common bawdy house*, defined in section 197 as "a place that is kept, occupied, or is resorted to by one or more persons for the purposes of prostitution or the practice of acts of indecency." This law makes it illegal for anyone to engage regularly in prostitution within the same establishment. As a result, it is illegal for prostitutes to work out of their homes, in brothels, or in massage parlours. In conjunction with a law that prohibits communicating in a public place (i.e., on the streets) for the purposes of prostitution (*Criminal Code*, s 213), these laws make it difficult for people to engage in prostitution legally. The *Criminal Code* further prohibits living on the avails of prostitution as well as procuring individuals into prostitution (*Criminal Code*, s. 212). This also affects the legality of indoor prostitution venues, which involve profiting from others' involvement in prostitution. Finally, it is also illegal to buy or attempt to buy sexual services from those who are under the age of 18 (*Criminal Code*, s. 212[4]).

The average age of entry into prostitution is between the ages of 14 and 16 (Koverola, Nadon, and Schluderman 1998); therefore, many enter prostitution at an age in which it is illegal to do so.

The paradox that prostitution is technically legal but difficult to conduct in a legal manner may result in confusion about Canada's prostitution laws. This may be exacerbated by the fact that prostitutes are clearly visible on the streets and known indoor-prostitution venues appear to stay open without apparent legal action or consequences, potentially leading the public to believe that soliciting, bawdy-house, and pimping laws do not exist. Moreover, the lines dividing legal associated activities, such as stripping, and illegal aspects of prostitution are becoming increasingly blurred (Farley 2004). For instance, in many strip clubs customers can legally purchase lap dances in which strippers grind their genitals against customers while wearing little or no clothing. The similarities between providing or paying for this activity and providing or paying for sexual services within an indoor-prostitution venue may lead some people to believe that the latter activities are legal in Canada.

As a result, a significant proportion of Canadians may be unaware of the actual nature of prostitution laws in Canada, potentially leading some individuals to engage in prostitution activities with no awareness of the illegality of their behaviours. In support of this, Wortley, Fischer, and Webster (2002) found that 17% of Ontario men who had been arrested under the communication law in Ontario were apparently unaware that it was illegal to talk to a prostitute about buying sex.

With respect to attitudes relating to the legal status of prostitution, Wortley et al. (2002) found that almost half of their sample reported believing that prostitution should be illegal – a curious finding given that the sample comprised men who had been arrested for soliciting sex. The participants in this study may have been influenced by the fact that the study was being conducted as part of an offender-diversion program. However, these findings were in contrast with those of Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, and Brucker (2001), whose sample of customers in the United States, who had also been arrested for soliciting sex and who were also mandated to take part in a psycho-educational program designed to educate them about the impact of prostitution on prostitutes, agreed with statements that prostitution should be decriminalized and legalized.

With respect to beliefs about prostitution more generally, Wortley et al. (2002) found that 57% of their sample believed prostitution is dangerous, 45% believed that most prostitutes have a drug problem, 37% believed prostitutes are forced by pimps to engage in prostitution, and 29% believed most prostitutes enjoy what they do. Kennedy, Klein, Gorzalka, and Yuille (2004) and Sawyer et al. (2001) found that beliefs about prostitution varied by ethnicity, with men of Indo-Asian descent being significantly less likely than men of other ethnicities to endorse the statements, "There is nothing wrong with prostitution" and "No matter what society tries to do prostitution will always exist." Sawyer et al. (2001) also found that most men in their sample endorsed inaccurate and negative beliefs about prostitution, with endorsement varying with age, ethnicity, and sexual satisfaction.

Although research has been conducted with men who have been convicted of prostitution-related offences, no research has been conducted to assess the awareness and opinions of other groups or constituencies in the population about the legal status of prostitution or the relationship between views on legalization of prostitution and more global beliefs and attitudes about the sex trade. As prostitution is a controversial social and political issue, understanding the relationship between attitudes and beliefs about prostitution and knowledge and beliefs about current prostitution law is an important component of understanding opinions relating to prostitution.

Therefore, the first aim of the present study was to investigate knowledge of, and attitudes toward, current Canadian prostitution laws in a group of undergraduate university students at a culturally diverse western Canadian university. The second aim was to look at the beliefs individuals have regarding different forms of prostitution. Third, the extent to which demographic variables predicted knowledge of prostitution laws and prostitution-related beliefs and the extent to which demographic variables predicted attitudes toward prostitution's legal status were examined.

Method

Participants

Participants consisted of 154 female and 85 male undergraduate students from the University of British Columbia. All participants were at least 18 years old, with a mean age of 21.04 ($SD = 3.02$; range = 18–46). The

Table 1: Years in Canada by ethnicity

Ethnicity					
# of Years in Canada	East Asian (n)	Caucasian (n)	Middle Eastern (n)	East Indian (n)	Other (n)
1–5	17	8	3	1	1
6–10	31	7	4	1	1
11–15	29	6	2	0	0
16–20	34	27	1	8	2
21–25	19	18	1	6	1
26+	0	5	0	0	0

majority of participants were of East Asian descent (54.4%), followed by Caucasian (30.1%), South Asian (6.7%), and Middle Eastern (4.6%) descent. The mean number of years spent in Canada was 14.86 ($SD = 7.07$). Participants had completed a mean of 14.86 years of education ($SD = 0.98$). The distribution of years in Canada, broken down by ethnicity, can be seen in Table 1. At the time of study participation, 59.7% of participants were single, 36.6% were in a committed relationship, 2.1% were in a common-law relationship, and 1.7% were married. All participants were recruited through the Department of Psychology undergraduate human subject pool, the only available subject pool at the University of British Columbia.

Measures

Knowledge of Prostitution Laws: Fourteen scenarios relating to the sex industry were constructed by the authors to measure knowledge of current Canadian prostitution laws (Appendix 1). For each scenario, participants were asked to indicate whether they believed the scenario to be legal or illegal in Canada and to indicate how confident they were in their answer from 0% (*not at all confident, completely guessing*) to 100% (*entirely confident answer is correct*).

Beliefs about Prostitution: Fifteen items assessing beliefs about those working in prostitution were designed by the authors (see Table 3). These 15 items assessed beliefs about men/women involved in street/indoor prostitution. Participants were asked to indicate the percentage of male, female, indoor, and street prostitutes to which they believed each question applied.

An additional seven items asking about prostitution in general were also included. These questions asked about beliefs regarding the percentage of times when male and female prostitutes enjoyed sex with their customers, the percentage of customers who were married, the percentage of men and women believed to seek out prostitutes at some point in their lives, the percentage of male prostitutes believed to be heterosexual, and the percentage of clients of male prostitutes believed to be women.

Finally, two open-ended questions asked participants to describe what they believed were the positive and negative aspects of working as a prostitute and a third question asked about attitudes toward prostitution legislation. Specifically, participants were asked if they believed that the current prostitution laws should be changed, and if so, to describe the changes that should be made.

Procedure

Participants were notified of the study through an online posting via the university's Department of Psychology human subject pool. Interested individuals came in person to a laboratory located within the Department of Psychology on the campus of the University of British Columbia, where they were informed of the purposes of the study and consented to participate. Completion of the questionnaire package took approximately one hour and took place within the laboratory. After completion of the questionnaire package, participants were debriefed. Data were collected from September 2007 through March 2009.

Results

Knowledge of Canadian prostitution laws

Internal consistency for the Knowledge of Prostitution Laws measure was supported with a moderate Cronbach's alpha of 0.59. Of the 14 scenarios describing various prostitution-related activities, participants correctly identified a mean of 9.92 ($SD = 1.80$; range = 4–14) scenarios as being either legal or illegal in Canada. Participant confidence in ability to identify each scenario as legal or illegal ranged from 66.7% confidence for scenario 1 (asking a prostitute on the street how much she charges for sexual services) to 88.5% for scenario 5 (having sex with a prostitute who claims to be 19 but is only 15). Three scenarios were incorrectly labelled as either legal or illegal by a significant number

Table 2: Knowledge of Canadian prostitution laws

Scenario	Legal or Illegal in Canada	Percentage of Participants who Correctly Identified Scenario as Legal or Illegal (N = 239)	Mean Percentage Confidence in Ability to Correctly Identify Scenario as Legal or Illegal
1	Illegal	47.3	66.8
2	Illegal	61.1	71.2
3	Legal	27.2	76.4
4	Illegal	11.3	78.3
5	Illegal	95.8	88.5
6	Illegal	77.0	75.2
7	Illegal	74.1	73.0
8	Legal	95.0	83.5
9	Illegal	82.4	76.2
10	Illegal	91.2	85.7
11	Illegal	77.0	74.8
12	Illegal	95.4	86.3
13	Illegal	77.0	70.8
14	Illegal	79.1	69.3

of participants: scenario 1 (asking a prostitute on the street how much she charges for sexual services), scenario 3 (arranging for an escort to come to a hotel room and then paying for sex), and scenario 4 (going to a bawdy-house for a non-sexual massage). These results are summarized in Table 2. Regression analyses, with demographic variables as predictors, revealed that living in Canada for a greater number of years ($\beta = 0.21$, $t(196) = 2.89$, $p < 0.01$), and being younger ($\beta = -0.15$, $t(196) = -2.10$, $p < 0.05$) were significant predictors of having greater knowledge of Canadian prostitution laws.

Attitudes toward prostitution laws

When asked whether the current Canadian laws relating to prostitution should be changed, 112 participants (46.9%) indicated *no*, 120 participants (50.2%) indicated *yes*, and 7 participants did not answer the question. Of those participants indicating *yes*, 51 (42.5%) believed that the laws should be changed in the direction of increased legalization of prostitution, while 43 (35.8%) believed that the laws should be

changed in the direction of increased criminalization. Twenty participants (16.7%) noted the need for more social services for those in prostitution. Forty-eight participants (40.0%) indicated that they felt the laws should be changed to increase safety for prostitutes. Finally, 21 participants (8.8%) spontaneously wrote that they were confused or unclear with respect to the current legislation pertaining to prostitution. Due to the open-ended format of this question, some participants gave multiple responses.

Beliefs about prostitution

Table 3 summarizes the results from questions regarding participants' beliefs about female versus male, and indoor versus street, prostitution. As can be seen in Table 3, one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of sex of prostitute/type of prostitution for all questions except for the percentage of prostitutes who started working in prostitution for financial gain. The results of post-hoc analyses are also presented in Table 3. In almost all cases, the percentage of women working in street prostitution was believed to be significantly higher than that for women working in indoor prostitution. Across many items, participants indicated the belief that female prostitution involves more coercion, victimization, and illness than male prostitution, and that, as with females, male street prostitution is more harmful than male indoor prostitution (see Table 3). No significant interaction was found between gender and beliefs about female versus male and indoor versus street prostitution.

With respect to beliefs regarding the percentage of times that prostitutes enjoy sex with their customers, participants indicated believing that male prostitutes enjoy sex with their customers more often than female prostitutes do (33.2% and 20.8% of the time, respectively; $SD = 26.22$ and 19.99 , respectively). This difference was statistically significant ($t(476) = 5.83, p < 0.001$). As a group, participants reported believing that around 51.7% ($SD = 23.97$) of customers of prostitutes are married, that 44.1% ($SD = 24.55$) of male prostitutes are heterosexual, and that 34.0% ($SD = 24.54$) of clients of male prostitutes are women.

With respect to the perceived positive aspects of working as a prostitute, participant responses fell into four main categories: money (65.2%), ease of work (17.8%), pleasure/enjoyment of the work (14.8%), and flexibility of the work (9.1%); 21.7% of participants reported that there were no positive aspects to working as a prostitute. In contrast to the four

Table 3: Beliefs about female, male, indoor, and street prostitution

What percentage currently working in prostitution in Canada do you believe ...	Female (Street) M (SD)	Female (Indoor) M (SD)	Male (Street) M (SD)	Male (Indoor) M (SD)	F
... are drug or alcohol dependent?	74.71 ^{a,c} (20.03)	46.67 ^d (25.28)	70.03 ^f (24.63)	51.06 (21.13)	74.87*
... were forced into prostitution by another person?	54.08 ^{a,b,c} (23.05)	44.33 ^{d,e} (25.37)	31.31 (26.97)	30.65 (25.28)	47.62*
... are living below the poverty line?	75.77 ^{a,b,c} (22.03)	44.47 ^d (25.77)	58.63 ^f (27.12)	41.12 (27.64)	89.99*
... are HIV positive?	53.60 ^{a,c} (24.65)	33.96 ^d (25.71)	54.09 ^f (26.35)	39.76 (27.10)	26.75*
... are working <i>only</i> in (either street or indoor) prostitution?	53.06 ^a (21.97)	59.97 ^d (23.80)	52.49 (27.06)	55.37 (26.42)	4.47*
... have a pimp?	63.04 ^{b,c} (23.11)	60.00 ^{d,e} (30.69)	33.11 ^f (27.37)	44.08 (32.90)	56.85*
... have completed some type of post-secondary education?	22.15 ^a (21.06)	29.23 ^{d,e} (22.15)	20.02 (20.26)	22.55 (20.74)	8.54*
... are under the age of 19?	35.73 ^{a,b,c} (19.60)	28.58 ^e (22.33)	25.32 (21.99)	22.50 (20.89)	17.25*
... started working in prostitution before the age of 19?	52.99 ^{a,b,c} (22.38)	38.60 ^{d,e} (24.90)	31.04 (25.25)	28.31 (24.73)	49.36*
... were sexually abused before their work in prostitution?	55.65 ^{a,b,c} (24.11)	42.33 (25.09)	42.69 (27.13)	38.34 (26.70)	20.20*
... voluntarily chose to work as prostitutes?	35.00 ^{a,b,c} (25.44)	44.42 (27.59)	47.11 (28.57)	50.03 (28.21)	13.39*
... have a transmittable disease, including HIV?	61.97 ^{a,c} (24.14)	39.31 ^{d,e} (25.09)	59.23 ^f (25.12)	46.11 (27.38)	42.61*
... started working in prostitution because of the money?	69.62 (26.67)	69.83 (24.24)	64.98 (27.63)	66.15 (26.52)	2.07
... suffer from milder mental illnesses such as depression or anxiety?	57.44 ^{a,b,c} (25.62)	40.92 (26.77)	45.54 ^f (28.41)	38.38 (28.15)	22.97*
... suffer from more severe mental illnesses such as schizophrenia or mental retardation?	25.22 ^{a,c} (20.50)	16.94 (17.85)	21.63 ^f (21.53)	16.51 (20.00)	10.13*

* $p < 0.01$

a Female street prostitutes significantly different from female indoor prostitutes

b Female street prostitutes significantly different from male street prostitutes

c Female street prostitutes significantly different from male indoor prostitutes

d Female indoor prostitutes significantly different from male street prostitutes

e Female indoor prostitutes significantly different from male indoor prostitutes

f Male street prostitutes significantly different from male indoor prostitutes

main categories that could be identified for positive aspects, participant responses could be grouped into nine main categories for the negative aspects of working as a prostitute: health risks (84.8%), some form of abuse (50.2%), psychological harm (43.5%), danger/physical harm (26.6%), stigma (20.3%), drug use/abuse (19.0%), engaging in an illegal behaviour (8.9%), low income (6.8%), and devaluation of sex (6.3%).

Relationship between attitudes toward prostitution laws and beliefs about prostitution

Regression analyses were performed for the criterion variables regarding law change. Belief variables hypothesized as most likely to be related to attitudes toward law change were included as predictors, along with demographic variables. The beliefs included were those regarding drug or alcohol dependence, having a pimp, working in prostitution before the age of 19, and voluntarily working as a prostitute. These beliefs were included only for female indoor and outdoor prostitution to maintain a reasonable ratio between predictors and participants. Due to the higher prevalence of female prostitution, the authors hypothesized that beliefs regarding female prostitution would have a greater impact on attitudes toward the law than beliefs regarding male prostitution. Identifying as Caucasian was the only significant predictor ($\beta = 0.12$, $t(92) = 2.98$, $p < 0.01$) of supporting the legalization of prostitution. Being female ($\beta = 0.26$, $t(92) = 2.45$, $p < 0.05$), and the belief that a smaller percentage of women working in indoor prostitution are doing so voluntarily ($\beta = -0.30$, $t(92) = 2.34$, $p < 0.05$) were significant predictors of supporting the criminalization of prostitution.

Discussion

The results of this study indicated that participants generally had an accurate knowledge of the current prostitution laws. They were, however, unclear about the bawdy-house and communication laws. The lack of knowledge regarding the communication law is particularly noteworthy, as 91% of prostitution-related charges in Canada involve this law (Statistics Canada 2010). Greater public awareness of this law could potentially reduce the prevalence of these offences. Not surprisingly, living in Canada for a greater number of years was a significant predictor of having greater knowledge of prostitution laws. The fact that younger respondents had greater knowledge about prostitution

laws may have been due to an unmeasured variable, such as exposure to this knowledge through courses at school.

Participants in this study reported beliefs that varied for male versus female, and indoor versus outdoor, prostitution. Overall, participants perceived negative characteristics to be more prevalent in female and street prostitution. For example, underage prostitution was viewed as a greater problem among female and street prostitutes than for male and indoor prostitutes; however, studies which have been conducted with male prostitutes and prostitutes working indoors have reported similar ages of entry into prostitution as in studies with female street prostitutes (Boyer, Chapman, and Marshall 1993; Farley, Cotton, Lynne, Zumbek, Spiwak, Reyes, Alvarez, and Sezgin 2004; Phillips and Benoit 2005). Participants also believed a history of childhood sexual abuse to be more prevalent in street prostitutes than in prostitutes working indoors; however, differences between these two groups were not found in a study conducted by Farley et al. (2004). Participants further believed that street prostitutes were more likely to live below the poverty line than prostitutes working indoors, especially among females; however, Phillips and Benoit (2005) reported little variation in income between indoor and outdoor prostitution. Instead, variations in income are generally associated with geographic location and number of customers (Jeffrey and MacDonald 2006; Lowman 2000). One belief held by participants which has some empirical support is that rates of coercion tend to be higher in outdoor than indoor prostitution (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, and Yuille 2007; Lucas 2005).

The inaccurate perceptions of street versus indoor prostitution just noted may be the result of media attention to street prostitution, which increased substantially in Canada following the highly publicized arrest and conviction of Robert Pickton for the murder of numerous women involved in street prostitution in Vancouver's downtown east-side. This media attention may have made associations of street prostitution with drug addiction, poverty, and physical danger much more salient. In contrast, as indoor prostitution is much less visible, perceptions of this form of prostitution may depend much more on the glamorized and glorified images of high-end escorts that are sometimes promoted in the media.

Another reason for perceived differences between indoor and outdoor prostitution may be a lack of awareness of the degree of overlap which occurs between these two venues. Participants in the current study

considered over half of the prostitutes in each group to work exclusively in either indoor or outdoor prostitution, and this may have led to assumptions of substantial differences across these venues. However, in a sample of Canadian sex workers, only 27% worked exclusively on the streets and only 12% worked solely as escorts (Jackson, Sowinski, Bennett, and Ryan 2005).

With respect to attitudes toward the current Canadian prostitution laws, half of the participants in this study indicated that changes to the current laws should be made. Identifying as Caucasian, as opposed to East Asian, was a significant predictor of supporting legalization. This fits with previous studies which have shown East Asians to have more conservative beliefs regarding sexuality in general (e.g., Brotto, Chik, Ryder, Gorzalka, and Seal 2005; Meston, Trapnell, and Gorzalka 1996). In contrast, being female was found to be a significant predictor of supporting increased criminalization of prostitution – an interesting finding given that the majority of prostitutes are female (Smith and Seal 2007). One possibility for this gender difference in attitudes is that females may be more likely to associate dangers with prostitution and therefore believe that prostitution is harmful and should be criminalized. Alternatively, this gender difference may be reflective of general gender differences found with civil libertarian issues, where males are more supportive of legalization than females (e.g., legalization of marijuana; Makkai and McAllister 1993; Trevino and Richard 2002).

The belief that a smaller percentage of those working in indoor prostitution are doing so voluntarily was also a significant predictor of support for criminalization. Therefore, it is not surprising that those who saw indoor prostitution less positively would favour a more conservative approach to the laws. This finding is particularly interesting, as it suggests that information about prostitution, whether accurate or inaccurate, may have an impact on attitudes toward the legalization or criminalization of prostitution.

This study had several limitations that may affect the conclusions and generalizability of the results. First and foremost, the beliefs and knowledge of university students do not necessarily generalize to those of the larger Canadian public. Due to their education level, socio-economic status, and age range, participants in this study may have had less contact with the sex trade than other Canadian citizens. Alternatively, as participants were all pursuing post-secondary education, it is also possible that participants had more education about Canadian laws than does the general public. Future studies with a

more representative sample of Canadians are needed to provide information on where the majority of Canadians stand regarding beliefs and knowledge about prostitution in Canada.

A second limitation is that participants did not completely understand the prostitution laws; it is possible that responses regarding law change would have differed with greater awareness of the current legislation. A third limitation is the wording of scenario 1, which was used as an example of an offence under the communication law. While the police and courts may charge a person in this scenario, it could be argued that it is not an offence, as there is no clear evidence of intent to obtain the sexual services of a prostitute.

Nonetheless, the results of this study provide the first information as to the knowledge and beliefs about prostitution and its legal status of any subset of the Canadian public. The results suggest that numerous demographic and cognitive variables are associated with attitudes toward the legal status of prostitution. These attitudes may be influenced by erroneous beliefs, suggesting that greater education about the realities of prostitution and the current laws may be warranted. Continued examination of the public's knowledge and views with respect to prostitution and further empirical research with those involved in prostitution are essential for identifying needed changes in legislation, education, and/or public policy.

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Appendix I

Prostitution scenarios

1. You're walking down the street and pass a prostitute standing on the corner. You're curious as to how much she charges so you decide to ask her.
2. You see a woman hitchhiking and when you pull over, you find out she's hoping for a ride to the next town. That's further than you want to go so you start to decline. However, she then offers you oral sex in exchange for the ride and you agree.
3. You have an escort come to your hotel room where you pay \$100 in exchange for sex.
4. You go to a bawdy house (i.e., a brothel or massage parlour) but you just get a massage (no sexual services involved).
5. You see a prostitute who looks quite young. You ask her how old she is because you don't want to sleep with an underage girl. Although she is only 15, she tells you she is 19, and so you pay to have sex with her.
6. You go on vacation with a few friends to Thailand. While there, you have sex with a 15-year-old working in prostitution.
7. You want to have sex with an underage prostitute. You pull up to a girl who looks young, and when you ask her how old she is, she tells you that she is, in fact, underage, so you pay to have sex with her. However, the girl was lying just to make money and is actually 20 years old.
8. You go to a strip club for your birthday, and your friends buy you a lap dance in which you don't touch the stripper but she repeatedly presses her body against yours.
9. You decide to put an ad in the paper and start offering sexual services for money out of your own home.
10. You're driving in your car when you see an attractive prostitute. You're out of cash, so you make a deal to give her some marijuana instead of money in exchange for sex.
11. You are working as a street prostitute and you see a wealthy-looking man walking out of an expensive hotel. You walk up to him and offer him your services.
12. You pay a 17-year-old to have sex for money.
13. You're a masseuse and you decide to open your own massage parlour with a few friends. Once in a while you or your friends will allow some of the regular customers whom you've befriended to pay a little extra money in exchange for a hand job during the massage.
14. You're working as a stripper, and while performing a lap dance, you offer oral sex for an extra \$50, which the customer agrees to.

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