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The Bedford Regency
1140 Government Street
Victoria, BC, CANADA, V8W 1Y2

CIHR Team Grant Meeting III:

Gender, Violence and Health, Contexts of Vulnerabilities, Resiliencies and Care among People in the Sex Industry

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University
of Victoria

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Introduction

Cecilia Benoit, CARBC and Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

This report summarizes the discussions at the third Team Meeting of the CIHR *Team Grant on Gender Violence and Health, Contexts of Vulnerabilities, Resiliencies and Care among People in the Sex Industry* (henceforth Team Grant), which took place on June 6 & 7th, 2013 at the Bedford Regency Hotel in Victoria, BC.

The priority that Canadians place on health is reflected in the dramatic decrease in premature mortality and increase in disability-adjusted life expectancy in recent decades. Yet, these benefits are not shared equally by all Canadians. This CIHR Team Grant focuses on reasons for variability in health and safety among people involved in Canada's sex industry, some of whom face elevated risks of violence and premature death. The Team Grant's research program draws together a multi-disciplinary and multi-sectorial team of knowledge users, collaborators, scholars and trainees, many of whom have worked for over two decades to raise public awareness about these issues. The team is working collaboratively to: a) identify key factors linked to violence and vulnerabilities in the Canadian sex industry at systems, social, and individual levels; b) estimate the impact of gender on violence-related links between sex workers, clients, romantic partners, supervisors and regulators; c) ensure that useful knowledge generated by the research program informs policies and practices aimed at improving the safety and health of sex workers and those they relate to at work and in their personal lives.

Participants at the meeting included many of the community partners/knowledge users and project researchers belonging to the Team Grant (see Appendix A: Participant List).

The three main objectives of the meeting were: 1) to present the preliminary findings of the research to date; 2) to obtain feedback from the community partners and knowledge users on ways to apply the results to programming, policy and public education; and 3) to present an opportunity for the community partners and researchers to inform the data analyses going forward so the synthesized knowledge is of use for KE purposes and future academic papers.

Questions to be addressed

Day One

Introduction to the Meeting

- What are the successes and ongoing challenges of the research to date, the emerging findings about the people involved in the Canadian sex industry (sellers, their partners, buyers and

managers), and the legal structures that regulate sex work in Canada, and what are the apparent consequences for the people involved in this industry? This included a discussion of the sites we have visited and how we have gone about collecting the data.

- Who are some of the new community partners who are interested in becoming part of the team?
- A brief introduction about the role and objectives of each community partner's agency or organization.
- Updates and Preliminary Findings for Projects 2 through 5 (workers, clients, intimate partners, managers)

Day Two

Updates and preliminary findings for Project 6 (Regulators and law enforcement)

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- Challenges of designing and implementing Project 7 (Detailed ethnography)
- What is of interest to each organization or agency involved in the research project and how can the research inform their work?
- Group discussion about how the research project will address these interests.
- What are the next steps regarding data collection activities, management of the different projects, etc.?

Day 1:

Participants to the meeting

Participants on Day 1 included the PIs: Cecilia Benoit, Chris Atchison; Lauren Casey, Mikael Jansson, Rachel Phillips, Dan Reist, Fran Shaver, and Kevin Walby; co-applicants Warren Michelow and Bill Reimer; support staff, post-doctoral fellows, and research assistants: Marie Marlo-Barski, Mary Clare Kennedy, Leah Shumka, Sinead Charbonneau, Natasha Potvin, and Caitlin Janzen; and community partners: Teresa Chiesa, John Craig, Susan Davis, Wendy Kellas, Barb Peck, Betty Poag, Sandra Sasaki and Todd Wellman.

Cecilia welcomed everyone and talked briefly about the plan for days one and two and the new website created since the last team grant meeting; the website has already proven to be a useful tool in recruiting interview participants. Cecilia invited all the participants to say a few words about themselves and their work or organization. By seating order:

- Dan Reist from CARBC in Vancouver co-leads Project 1 (Knowledge Exchange) along with Cecilia. Dan asked the participants to reflect on who it is that we need to influence with this knowledge and this will help direct our knowledge exchange.
- Barb Peck from the Victoria Women's Sexual Assault Centre said that their centre had made a

decision to become more trans inclusive and they had been working on that over the past year.

- Susan Davis with the BC Coalition of Experiential Communities for the past year, among numerous other projects, has been working with the city of Vancouver's task force to try and implement an action plan drafted by the city to require business rather than individual workers to have licences.
- Warren Michelow is a PhD student at UBC and is affiliated with CARBC.
- Caitlin Janzen is a research assistant working on Project 5, the managers' project.
- Kevin Walby is a professor of Sociology at UVic and works with Fran on Project 6 and the entire team on Project 7.
- Teresa Chiesa works at the Ministry of Health as the director for Women's and Maternal Health. She is looking to the research results to help shape policy.
- Chris Atchison is a researcher with Project 4, sex buyers.
- Todd Wellman is with the Victoria Police Department, Special Victims Unit. His section specializes in investigations of sexual offences and often deals with people working in or associated with the sex industry. They work with organizations like PEERS and the Women's Sexual Assault Centre.
- John Craig is in charge of the Investigative Services Division of the Victoria Police Department.
- Bill Reimer is from Concordia University and he has been helping with methodological issues on several projects.
- Wendy Kellas from Carrier Sekani Services in Prince George is the coordinator for the Highway of Tears initiative in BC. Carrier Sekani Services works with First Nations on violence prevention, among other health and social issues.
- Mikael Jansson is a sociologist at the University of Victoria and is leading Project 3 on the intimate partners of sex workers.
- Fran Shaver is from Concordia University and is working with Kevin on Project 6, on regulators.
- Mary Clare Kennedy is working with Cecilia on Project 2 and with Mikael on Project 3.
- Natasha Potvin is Montreal based and has worked on Projects 2, 3, 5 and 6.
- Leah Shumka is from the University of Victoria and is a post-doctoral fellow on Project 2.
- Rachel Phillips is a post-doctoral fellow at CARBC and she leads Project 5 on managers.
- Lauren Casey is a PhD student at the University of Victoria and co-investigator on Project 5. Sandra Sasaki is the education manager at Positive Living North in Prince George.
- Marie Marlo-Barski is the executive assistant for the entire team grant project.

Cecilia listed the community partners who were not able to attend or who were delayed. She also listed potential community partners from across the country interested in joining the team; these groups see the results as potentially useful in improving the health and well-being of the communities they work in. These include SWAN in Kitchener/Waterloo, SHIFT in Calgary, and STELLA, AFS, REZO, and ASSTEQ in Montreal.

Project 2: National Survey of People Working in the Canadian Sex Industry

Co-Principal Investigators: Cecilia Benoit, CARBC and Department of Sociology, University of Victoria, and Patricia Spittal, School of Population and Public Health, University of British Columbia

Cecilia gave an update and overview of the preliminary findings of Project 2; a study of people who identify as sex workers. For the purpose of the study, sex workers were defined as people who had a) received money for direct physical sexual contact on at least 15 different occasions in the previous 12 months, b) who are legally able to work in Canada and c) who are aged 19 or older. They interviewed people who work in the metropolitan area of each designated city and those who travel there for work. To date, 200 interviews were conducted in six cities across five provinces. These include Victoria BC, Calgary, AB, Fort McMurray AB, Kitchener/ Waterloo ON, Montreal QC and St. John's NFLD. Most of the data has been collected and entered, and the interviews from Victoria and some of the other sites will be transcribed by the end of the summer. The research survey questions have the following objectives:

1. To determine who are the people working in the sex industry in Canada and for what reasons;
2. To understand which key factors are shaping the health, safety and well-being of sex workers (e.g., geography, legal and policy setting, the delivery environment);
3. To answer complex questions regarding the intersectionality of key demographic variables like gender, sexuality, race, and age, with violence and resiliency;

This research is more complex than other studies done to date. One of the goals was to have Eastern and Western provinces represented, as well as a Prairie Province. There are not enough funds in the budget to do all provinces but our study does provide a nationwide snapshot. Project 2 provides a diverse sample of six large and medium size metropolitan areas. Montreal enabled the researchers to conduct the interviews in both official languages, English and French. Cecilia felt that the bilingual approach, along with a large number of surveyed sex workers, will allow Team Grant members to report more general findings than previous Canadian surveys. The goal is to reach a sample of 215-220 participants, which will allow for the option of doing statistical analyses. The sample is varied, including women, men and trans people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The interviews were on average two hours long and all the measures used have been proven reliable and used on other populations. The preliminary findings emerging from the 42 interviews conducted in Victoria and the 55 interviews done in Montreal were:

- Most participants identify themselves as white (81%), with 19% reporting as visible minorities and 14% identifying as Aboriginal. Cecilia reminded everyone that these numbers are very preliminary and will likely change once the entire data set is entered. The median age of the participant is 34 years (ranging from 19 – 61). The majority have completed high school (70.4%) and report a median annual personal income of \$30,000 and an average household income of \$40,500 (these numbers are comparable to other research that Cecilia and her colleagues have conducted comparing sex workers to other female-dominated low prestige occupations such as hairstyling and food and beverage work). The Project 2 questionnaire contained many questions on gender and has provided very interesting data; for example, people use their gender fluidly across their personal and work lives, sometimes as a way to attract clients. Just over 34% of participants report that their sexual orientation was different in the sex industry than in their personal life. Complex data is also emerging on where people advertise; increasingly, people advertise on the internet. Another section looked at where people deliver services; it's not a simple on/off street dichotomy.
- Health, well-being, safety and resiliency are major areas of interest. About half the participants reported good or excellent physical health which is consistent with other studies of sex workers. A lot of data on substance use was collected. Cecilia feels that it is more useful to compare sex workers with workers in other service occupations rather than with the general public.

- One of the big surprises so far is that victimization of sex workers was not as high as expected. Only about half of the victimization that occurs happens within the sex industry – i.e., when sex workers are working. There were more instances reported among people who work more closely to the street than indoors. Some of that violence is perpetrated by clients but workplace violence also occurs at the hands of co-workers and/or managers. Some of the victimization reported is perpetrated by intimate partners. Workers talked about varied strategies they employ to keep safe. These were often strategies they developed over time and used at work but not consistently in their personal lives. Collected and available data will allow a comparison between interpersonal violence in this group with other studies of sex workers, as well as compared to other vulnerable worker groups. It will also be interesting to compare levels of violence to other industries where personal services are delivered. All of this will be clearer once the data set is completed.
- Another important finding is the high levels of perceived stigma reported, regardless of work location, gender, age, and so forth. The perception among sex workers is that the general public views sex work negatively, but whether or not this impacts sex workers directly is contingent on their social supports and developed forms of resiliency, a subject we are exploring in greater depth in the qualitative data emerging from the study.
- Lastly, Cecilia reported on resiliency – the ability to maintain a positive sense of mental, emotional, and physical wellbeing during times of difficulty and transition. Sex workers scored fairly high on resiliency. This shows that, at least at the personal level, some sex workers have the ability to resist the constraints that create hardship in their lives.

The next step is to complete the data collection in Calgary, then enter all the data into SPSS for quantitative analysis, as well as complete the transcriptions for qualitative analysis. Cecilia expects to have the majority of the transcriptions completed by the end of the summer.

Discussion:

Lauren wondered if taxes were factored into the reported income. Cecilia reported that the income is estimated but is pretty accurate because it is similar to that reported in other studies she has conducted on the working conditions and health of sex workers. It is gross not net. Susan ventured that it may be linked to the GST threshold, because people who go over \$29,900 pay a few percentages more. Some people in the study are on disability so that would be included as their income. There were separate questions for household and personal incomes.

Susan asked about bylaws and how they may affect workers. Cecilia replied that that is something Project 6 will look at more closely, but Project 2 also has numerous questions about licensing, interaction with the police, the participants' knowledge of the law, etc. Susan asked if the research for all the projects happens at the same locations, and Cecilia replied that yes, each project goes to the same communities. Only Chris' project is national and most of his surveys are being conducted online. Susan inquired if the other projects also had online questionnaires - they do not. Cecilia said that she decided against doing an online questionnaire because of cost and delays this would generate, and because the project already has a rich data set from the face-to-face interviews. This includes information collected from people who tour.

Natasha was wondering if we saw any difference between French and English speaking, or east and west communities. Cecilia said that we will be able to look at that but that is not available yet. She does not anticipate large regional differences. What she did notice is a difference in the acceptability of sex work

in different communities, in organizations, and even people who called after seeing the ad in the paper. Warren inquired about partner violence: if the intimate partner was the “pimp”, would that show up in both columns - partner and manager? Mikael replied that it is rare that people think of their intimate partners as managers so it is unlikely to show up in the manager column. Natasha remarked that in Montreal sometimes the “drug pusher” (dealer) is also the “pimp”. Susan underlined that exploitation is not exclusive to the sex industry but can also happen elsewhere particularly when migrant workers are employed. Cecilia said that we will be able to compare data but likely our survey does not capture the extremes. We do capture data on work related injuries; if these are reported to the police, and if they received medical care for those injuries. We will be able to compare that data with the general population.

Project 3: Factors Linked to Violence and Resiliency in Sex Workers’ Romantic Relationships: Intimate Partners of Sex worker: Update and preliminary findings

Principal Investigator: Mikael Jansson, CARBC, University of Victoria

Mikael presented some preliminary findings, spoke about how the data was collected, the successes and the challenges of Project 3 on the project of the intimate partner project to date. Mikael hypothesizes that the health of sex workers is linked to the quality of their intimate relationships, meaning the people they live with: married or common-law spouses, girlfriends or boyfriends. One of the reasons we are interested in this is because of three pieces of legislation in Canada which are particularly directed at sex workers. Those are the communications, bawdy house, and living off the avails sub-sections of the criminal code. Courts in Ontario looked at this and agreed that all three impede sex workers’ health and safety. The piece of legislation particularly affecting sex workers’ intimate partners is living on the avails. Essentially, in the absence of contrary evidence, people charged with this crime are guilty until proven innocent. With the help of Mary Clare, Mikael looked at how this law is implemented, but the search is not complete. What is clear is that this law is rarely used to charge people; Mikael has not found a case where a Canadian has actually been convicted. Most recorded cases involved an adult living off someone under 18. Most victims worked for the offender for a short time, the longest being two months; and none of the cases so far involved intimate partners of sex workers. The courts looked to see if there was abuse perpetrated by the offender, if drugs were given by the offender, and the percentage of money taken from the worker by the offender.

Next Mikael talked about the data collection process. Along with Cecilia, they have been travelling and conducting interviews for over six months. One of the best parts for him was meeting many wonderful people who, as he put it, are trying just like everyone else to make sense of their lives, and doing their best to support each other in challenging situations. He found that their struggles are similar to the struggles all couples face.

Project 3 recruitment is closely related to Project 2. Part of Cecilia’s recruitment script included a question about having a partner six months or longer, and the willingness to be interviewed together. This provided a very selective sample. The research is a mixed method approach. The questions asked to the intimate partner and similar to those asked to sex workers in Project 2 but focussed on the job/occupation of the intimate partner. Most questions worked really well for workers in other occupations. The way the data are being collected is to first have separate interviews with the sex worker and the partner, and then bring them together for a final “couple interviews”. This approach seemed to make it easier for people to

share with Mikael and Cecilia the struggles they face as a couple. The entire interview can run long, sometimes over four hours. Mikael hopes to do several more couple interviews in Calgary and Victoria.

A preliminary analysis of the Project 3 interviews indicate that the average age for this group is 40, ninety percent identify as men, and 60% as straight. In terms of ethnicity, 75% identify as white and 20% as Aboriginal. Sixty-seven percent are either married or living common-law. (See Appendix, pp.) These are relatively disadvantaged people with low prestige occupations. They have similar career trajectories as the sex workers. The median individual income is \$30,000 and the household income is \$55,000. Forty-five percent say that they are in good health and 65% report good mental health. Being at the Centre for Addictions Research, Mikael is particularly interested in substance use; one hundred percent had tried alcohol and marijuana at some point in their lives, which is not unusual for the Canadian population. The use of other substances was higher than expected compared to the Canadian population, particularly the use of crack cocaine, heroin and crystal meth.

Next Mikael looked at how these individuals were affected by the criminal code. He looked at their interactions and impressions of the police. Sixty-five percent felt that the police did a good or average job of enforcing the law; 55% felt that the police responded to calls and were approachable, but only a minority felt that the police treated sex workers fairly. The confidence in the police was relatively low (See Appendix, pp.). The qualitative data points to variations within the individual police; some respondents felt that police were concerned with them, others that police harassed them for no particular reason. The harassment may be linked to being poor and using substances.

Like Project 2, this project asked participants what they knew about the laws surrounding sex work. Two extremes emerged: one is that prostitution is perfectly legal. On the other hand, several people said that everything about sex work is illegal. Most people knew that buying or selling sex is legal but that some things surrounding it are illegal. In particular, people seemed aware of the solicitation section. There was little knowledge or concern about living on the avails. Mikael was concerned that this may have a bearing on eventually changing that law.

Discussion:

Susan raised the point that having laws specifically designed for a group sets that group apart and can lead to them being treated differently by the police. Todd felt that as long as the laws are ambiguous it will have a negative impact on the workers but also that it creates difficulty for police officers. The clearer it is for citizens, the better for everyone. He felt that this current state of flux is not helping anyone. Mikael said that Fran and Kevin will look at some of the dilemmas police are facing when trying to keep people safe while upholding the laws of the land. Cecilia underlined that even if the partners do not feel directly affected by the living off avails law, they appear very worried about their partner and the effects of laws on them. That is something that has emerged from the couple interviews. Those laws indirectly limit intimate partners' ability to help the worker and be supportive. Mikael confirmed that although we don't have all the data yet, one thing that is emerging is how isolated couples feel. Many sex workers feel isolated from their friends and family. Their intimate partners also feel isolated because they have no one, apart from their partner, to share domestic joys and struggles with. The researchers have yet to find a partner who is in touch with another partner of a sex worker. There are support groups but it is rare that partners attend them. Bill R. felt that the living off the avails law contributes to isolation and Mikael said that it also relates to stigma. Mikael felt that, from his research to date, that partners feel the stigma more

than the sex workers themselves. The partners scored higher in the survey on the stigma scale. Fran wondered how that compares to house-husbands; and a question was also raised about possible differences between isolated rural areas and urban centres. Mikael replied we could eventually compare the data if we applied the same measure targeting house-husbands; and he expects to find geographic differences, including that it may be hard to build a large clientele in a small community. Leah thought it interesting that the numbers for physical and mental health are reversed for sex workers and their partners; she wondered if the stigma and isolation associated with physical disability and the same associated with work status is what brings some of these couple together. Cecilia said that Project 2 asks the workers about their intimate relationships and Project 3 asks the same questions of the partners so it will be very interesting to compare data both from a positive and negative point of view. Bill concluded that from those comparisons we can learn a lot about the dynamics of relationships within couples. Sinead asked if issues of child welfare or child apprehension have come up in the interviews. Mikael replied that they are the minority but he has heard of custody cases where this has come up. Cecilia and Mikael offered to share the questionnaires for their projects in case participants had more questions that haven't come up yet on the data being collected.

Project 4: Positioning Sex Buyers in the Nexus of Violence, Gender and Health: Preliminary Findings from the Sex, Safety and Security Study

Principal Investigator: Chris Atchison, Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

Project 4 focuses on sex buyers and is still actively recruiting participants. Chris cautioned that his findings are very preliminary and it would be unwise to draw conclusions at this point. The target sample is much higher than the data collected to date. Buyers are not easy to identify. The recruiting strategy is multi-layered, starting with online forums like Backpage and Craigslist, active participation in review boards and discussion forums (there are about 17 major ones in Canada at the moment), a social media campaign (Twitter, Facebook and LinkedIn), referrals from sex sellers (sex workers), and viral recruitment which involves putting information into social spaces or particular communities. This latter recruitment strategy is similar to snowball sampling. Chris said that he had to become creative with his advertising - more "informing" than advertising in the traditional sense, through press releases and feature articles. The research team has posted in the classifieds under personal ads and various dating sites. He also writes comments that point to his research on relevant articles published in the media. He has 565 twitter followers to date. Twitter is more than advertising; it also forms the basis for knowledge exchange. Out of 2563 visitors to his website, 417 went on to complete an interview. One issue that Chris is dealing with is that 34% of potential participants dropped out after reading the ethics statement – the informed consent statement required by ethics at UVic. After eliminating possible duplicates, Chris was left with a working sample of 177 completed to date (See Appendix p.). Fran wondered why the consent form was so off-putting to people and Chris replied that it's the technicalities of risk and the laborious language, but he is trying to come up with strategies so people understand that the consent process is about protection rather than entrapment. Bill suggested putting a brief clip of Chris explaining the consent form on the website. Chris concluded that we need more conversations between ethics boards and researchers, particularly when it comes to studying marginalized populations.

Preliminary results indicate participants range in age from 19 – 67, with a median age of 42. Close to half are 46 years or older. The great majority (92.5%) identify as male. Chris and his team members are

working on getting more females and couples to complete the online survey. They are likewise trying to reach more clients of varying physical capacities, such as people with disabilities. Their recruitment messages need to be adjusted for various groups. Susan suggested approaching doctors and Chris said that it is in the works, but again it requires a very different marketing strategy which is time consuming.

In terms of race, culture and ethnicity, buyers are mainly Canadian residents (96.3%), with the majority (84%) having been born in Canada. Just over 11% are visible minorities. Sixty-six percent are employed full time, while 6.1% report having a disability, being on social assistance or having no economic support. These preliminary data suggest the team is reaching people on disability and on the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum, but not enough of them. The income extremes are represented (over \$100,000 annual income or living below the poverty line), indicating they are also reaching high income niche groups. Most buyers surveyed so far are high school graduates (91.6%) while almost 20% have advanced degrees. In terms of relationships, over half (53.5%) are currently involved with a non-commercial sexual partner; of these, 68.3% indicated that regardless of their non-monogamous behaviour they consider their relationship to be monogamous. Generally speaking, this is an experienced group of buyers, and for 34.3% of them prostitution was their only source of sex during the previous 12 months. Monogamous relationship can be non-sexual which may explain why for some this is their only source.

Chris pointed out that we often try to estimate the number of indoor versus outdoor sex workers; looking at buyers may help in this regard; for example, 44.9% prefer independent in-calls. The great majority preferred female sellers. In terms of age, there seems to be a 10 year gap, where people generally prefer sellers who are roughly ten years younger, and 18.9% had no preference at all. Nearly half of the respondents preferred the same race or ethnicity as their own. Findings also included the average length of sessions and what services people request mostly; and statistics on condom use (79.3% report using sexual safety precautions all of the time or almost all of the time when they are with a sex seller). (See Appendix p.)

Just over half reported arranging a meeting over the phone or online and then finding out that the person has misrepresented themselves. A number of buyers reported being verbally abused or threatened and some had valuables stolen. The numbers line up with the numbers of respondents who reported being abusive towards sellers. Violations of norms were also reported, such as refusing to wear protection, or arguing with a seller over price or length of encounter. When there are no conflict resolution tools—as is often the case with semi-illegal activities—the problems that arise get reported on forums or can end in violence. Chris believes that only a very small number of people who purchase sex are habitually violent and an even smaller number do not intent to purchase sex but simply want to enact violence against sex workers. He feels that there needs to be a distinction made between types of buyers and not to lump everyone as “clients.”

Chris again cautioned that the sample is too small to draw conclusions at this stage and that his goal is to find a more diverse sample. He hopes to achieve that over the next several months.

Discussion:

Fran asked if the online questionnaire is in English only. Chris is intending to have it translated into French before going to Montreal; the target is by July 15th 2013. Originally, he planned to have the

questionnaire in Mandarin and several other languages as well, but budget restrictions will not allow for that. Leah suggested going through sex positive stores and their websites as a means of reaching trans participants and those with disabilities. Bill suggested sports and recreation sites. Chris replied that they did but got “booted off.” He is publishing an article in *Wire Magazine*, comparing Mac and PC sex buyers, hoping for exposure for the study. Cecilia cautioned against dismissing newspapers too quickly as she had mixed results across the country, for example, 30 – 40% of Calgary participants came from an ad in the Calgary Sun. Chris intends to try and publish more feature articles rather than buying ad space. Natasha suggested contacting sexologists who may agree to help spread the word about the study. Chris will be going on the road starting July 15th and will coordinate that with a print campaign: posters, pamphlets, cards, etc. although this kind of activity did not generate quality contacts in the past.

Project 5: Supervising Sex Work: Challenges to Workplace Safety and Health

Co-Principal Investigators: Rachel Phillips, CARBC, University of Victoria; Bill McCarthy, University of California, Davis, and Lauren Casey, University of Victoria

Project 5 defines a manager as a person who earns an income from providing direction to sex workers, including training, hiring, monitoring, disciplining, and setting workplace standards. Even though people did not always identify with the term “manager” or with all these activities, they could relate to some of the criteria; hiring, assigning work and monitoring and enforcing workplace standards, were the most common ones.

Recruitment for Project 5 includes compiling a list of adult businesses (such as escort, massage, and erotic dance), through internet searches, review boards, industry advertising, yellow pages and local papers and putting ads on online industry sites like Backpage, PERB, TERB, CERB, etc. The research team contacts people by email, phone and text using the compiled list of contacts as a sampling frame. This is followed by in-person visits to those businesses. The phone and in-person visits have yielded the most responses to date.

Project 5 research goals are to describe managers’ demographic and work backgrounds, to understand the content and context of sex industry workplaces from a management perspective, and to investigate manager roles in the vulnerability and resiliency workers. Forty-nine interviews were done to date: ten in Victoria, fourteen in Montreal, eight in St. John’s, ten in Kitchener, one in Fort McMurray, and six in Calgary. The data collection is not finished; Rachel intends to go back to Calgary as well as possibly try to reach groups that appear underrepresented, or prioritize certain cities where more interviews were expected.

Rachel has divided the data according to business type: in-call or out-call escort businesses, massage businesses, erotic dance, and other. The “other” included drivers who work for a collection of independents and who described themselves as coordinating those independents—which is debatable as a case of management. The rest were managers associated with one particular business. There was little overlap between these businesses. Just under half of the escort businesses had a fixed in-call work site. Overall, in terms of where these escort businesses deliver their services, over half reported that they have a designated in call site. The rest reported only operating out call services. This makes a difference in terms of where services are likely to be delivered. Those who reported having an in call location, reporting doing 80% of their service calls in their in call site, whereas those who did not have an in call

site did the vast majority of their services on an out call basis (although a minority of calls were reportedly done in call sites, suggesting these businesses have temporary in call sites).

Rachel and her team are not sure if this has any bearing on violence and resiliency; they plan to look more closely at this issue down the road. Less than a third of the businesses had a municipal license. Massage businesses had a fixed site 100% of the time; they did all their work there and the majority had municipal licenses; the implications of these differences in the way massage and escort businesses tend to be organized will be explored in future analyses.

The preliminary results indicate that the median income for managers was about \$40,000, so slightly higher than for sex workers. The median age for managers is 35, and over 78% have completed high school. About 14% identify as Aboriginal and about the same for visible minorities. Around 60% of the respondents identify as female. Gender identities were not diverse among the management population (all identify as man or woman) and 76% identify as heterosexual, so there was less diversity in sexuality among the management population as well in comparison to sex workers. Forty-four percent report differences in gender presentation at work, with females becoming more masculine at work while males report being more feminine in the workplace. Almost 75% identify as the owner of the business. The median years of managing in the sex industry is five. The median number of persons supervised is nine, while the median number of clients served per day is seven. Business was not as booming as people might expect. For some managers the goal is to make sure each worker gets at least one client per day. Forty-four percent reported that they had police visit their business at least once; 29% had been charged while working, with bawdy house being the most common charge. Almost half had been sex workers themselves (See Appendix p.).

In terms of conflict and violence, the preliminary results suggest that sex workers end service encounters due to disagreement or discomfort twice as often as clients do. Managers often state workers have the autonomy to end a service and this provides evidence to that effect. While the same questions as Project 2 were asked on instances of taking something, threat of force, unwanted touching or sexual activities, or condom removal, the managers are being asked to reflect on all instances involving workers or clients, and not individual cases so the rates are not directly comparable. Nevertheless the minority of managers' report victimization of both clients and workers in their workplaces; workers are most likely to be subject to sexual violence whereas clients are most likely to be subject to theft.

The stigma measure is also the same one used as Project 2. Worker stigma for managers is 4.3. This is their perceptions of what people think of managers in the sex industry; very close to what sex workers report of stigma. They report their physical and mental health as better than that of workers.

The next questions were about strategies managers employ to reduce violence and increase safety. Telephone communication is an important screening tool: how people talk, if they are intoxicated, what services they request, what location, etc., are taken into consideration. Other precautions included projecting a professional image, hiring workers who have basic safety sensibilities, check-ins between workers and drivers or workers and managers, use of code words, use of cameras (mostly in massage parlours), having (or pretending) to have backup, information sharing such as blacklists, etc. Choosing the work site is an important consideration for managers with in-call services. They were conscious of discretion but not being hidden to the point of compromising safety.

According to the managers interviewed to date, some of the barriers to the safety of workers include the legal environment as some managers are reluctant to have in-call locations, to provide condoms, to engage in open communication when negotiating services, and to keep records regarding their business. Similarly, managers, like sex workers, are unlikely to report concerns to police except when really necessary. They report that clients often assume the managers will not involve authorities because of the legal grey areas in which they operate.

Discussion:

Barb wondered what percentage of managers used safety precautions. Rachel said that they all did. Some differences emerged between in-door and out-door businesses but it was too early to identify them yet. Mikael wanted to know more about the hiring practices, what do managers look for when they hire a worker? According to Rachel, relatively little, the more people associated with the business, the more likely they are to be able to attract and provide services to a range of clients. There is also a high turnover among staff creating difficulties with scheduling. Rachel stated that managers report that they do not often fire workers as they are needed for the business to function. Susan asked if they talked about fines. Rachel said that people reported using them but that they are rarely collected. Susan also asked if “the managers tried to paint a rosy picture or did they admit to things like their drivers being on drugs?” Rachel said that this kind of information is more likely to come out in Project 2 where workers are asked about managers. Managers are more likely to be critical of other managers. Of course one cannot say that all managers operate in an ethical way. Susan also asked if the “booking girls” were interviewed because that role sometimes overlaps with a manager’s. Rachel replied that “booking girls” are interviewed, but only if they identify themselves as being responsible for managerial aspects of the business.

Fran was intrigued by the word “discipline”. That term was used by the researchers but not by the managers themselves. It came from a standard definition of manager. The only forms of discipline used by managers vis-a-vis sex workers are fines and not booking calls. Susan made a comment about substance use and workers not being hired on that basis. Sinead replied that although that does happen, some managers reported trying to help their workers get off drugs rather than firing them. A question was raised that, if the projects overlap, were the manager and workers from the same business being interviewed? The study is not designed that way so we do not know, although it is possible. Barb remarked that the high turnover rate might point to dissatisfaction with management but that will be reflected more in Project 2.

Knowledge Exchange

Cecilia asked the community partners to reflect on the information they heard throughout the day. Dan started a discussion by reminding everyone that although the reported results were preliminary, it is important to begin considering their significance and potential use. Dan is excited about the data sets that are emerging and feels that we can all draw on the accumulated knowledge. As researchers and members of organizations alike, we along with our partners have the collective ability to influence outcomes, to help shape the way things happen in society. Dan asked the partners present to reflect on what are some of the insights that are already beginning to take form, and which will have implications for changing the situation for sex workers in our country; and secondly, what are the questions we already have for which the answers may be found in these data. These are things we should consider: what do the data suggest,

what should we do to change the world, and what are the questions in the world that we might want to direct back to the data? The richer we can make that dialogue, the greater our ability to make positive contributions in society. What has emerged for Dan are issues about the law - almost every team grant project touched on it so it is clearly becoming a theme. Another area could be workplace conditions. Dan asked the group to reflect on what issues ring true for them.

Susan suggested we be mindful of forcing another bad law reform, like the one proposed on criminalising clients; if the Supreme Court strikes down the current law, she hopes it will not be simply replaced with another (like criminalising clients, pimps, etc.) that would create more problems such as amplifying fears around human trafficking. Susan hopes that data from the various projects will show that human trafficking is not happening in any significant way and any changes like the ones mentioned would have an adverse effect - since the problem they are trying to combat is not really there. She is hoping for more understanding between workers, buyers and managers and how they may be affecting each other; Sandra felt that one of the things she will take away from this is that stigma and discrimination awareness need to be broader to include sex workers.

Dan felt that this was a great start to the conversation – what can I do; we have to look at what research can do, and what the partners can do, each in their own settings? How can we help the respondents be empowered from this research? What can the industry do, what can the regulators and policy makers do? We need to keep these questions in mind all the time so when we come to the end of the research phase we can work out specific strategies about who benefits from the knowledge generated here.

Bill said that one of his nagging concerns is the current climate of fiscal constraints, particularly in the area of social services, and that we are moving towards a punishment model rather than a preventative one when it comes to crime. He believes that this will continue for a number of years. What we can do with the research is to think long term and strive to preserve the institutions that we need. When social agencies get cut it falls on the police and that can be the basis of an alliance. In terms of thinking where the research may have the biggest impact, it may not be immediate and direct, but may be something to think about for the future. For example, the training of young researchers becomes extremely important. The conditions may change and we want to be ready to respond to them. Bill felt that if the court challenge is successful, all it says is that the current system is “no good, then it’s back in the hands of the legislators and we know that that’s not always good news.” We need to think how this research can inform future discussions.

Dan agreed that we need to look at what an ideal world would look like; more importantly, the steps that will take us in the right direction. Some of it will have to do with the relationships we build in the community and with whom, like police and social service agencies, municipal governments, etc.

Barb would like to see resources such as factsheets, something that is easily disseminated and easy to access. She would like the research to answer questions about the accessibility of their services.

Cecilia said that there is a lot of information in the survey specific to many service organisations. For example, workers have been challenged by STI clinics who wondered why they get tested so often. Clients do not get tested because they have the same fears of being judged as the sex workers. This information will be very important for health and safety issues that should not be there and that are costly

to the health care and social justice system. Dan commented when we find these very specific situations, we should start formulating strategies on what to do to change the situation, like getting clinics to change their culture so we could develop a strategy for that. We can look for specific ones that can be high yield opportunities to bring about a change.

Susan added that BC is in a unique situation and can lead by example, that it is better to prevent than to cure after the fact, and that is one way to fight fiscal restraint. If we could have something short and simple to take to the people and share the information, we can combat that. She felt that some of the money earmarked for social programs is not used properly and there are duplications of services.

Betty said that she is a public health nurse and she would like to see more partnerships with the health agency of Canada that is responsible for health promotion and disease prevention, to really get them on board working across all sectors, looking at how to deliver services in a truly accessible way. That, for her, would be an important report finding. Health workers get a narrow focus through their education: society's biases, values, beliefs and assumptions are reflected in the people working in this area. Education and information are important. The next thing is to work across sectors, sitting in the same room, and talking and listening. To change a policy or practice we need to understand the business. Dan agreed that it is about building bridges for those people we are trying to change as opposed to overpowering them.

Fran added that, even after all these years in research, she is still surprised about how hard it is to answer the question—What can I do?—both as an individual, and an organisation. She often speaks to the converted but she occasionally gets challenged by ordinary people, like her neighbours for instance. It would be easier to change the topic but Fran feels we should take every little opportunity to speak out. It may be difficult, but rather than avoiding those discussions when they come up, finding ways to get the message out in creative and positive ways is important.

Cecilia concluded the day by inviting everyone to dinner and talking about tomorrow's plan as well as plans for an international conference next year.

Day 2:

Cecilia gave a brief introductory welcome.

Project 6: The Effects of Prostitution Law on Vulnerabilities, Resiliencies and Health

Co-Principal Investigators: Frances Shaver, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University and Kevin Walby, Sociology Department, University of Victoria

Fran had a later start on data collecting than some of the other projects. Project 6 is focussing on sex work regulation in Canada; at federal, provincial, and municipal levels. Material is not always easy to locate, including bylaws on massage parlours. In a nutshell, Project 6 aims to examine the interpretation and enactment of regulations on the health, security and resiliency of sex workers. Some of that information gathered will be dovetailed with Project 2, and that is the strength of this kind of research – looking at the sex industry from every angle. For Project 6 the goal is to interview police officers and licensing agents. The researchers did not originally plan to interview city officials, but they found that these officials have a

role to play so a different interview package was designed for them. The team are also interviewing service providers, and probably one to two lawyers in each of the research sites. To date, recruitment of police participants has been challenging in Montreal. In addition to the ethics approval required by the Montreal police, the researchers had to submit to criminal background checks and finger-printing. They are still waiting for their 'names to clear' before they can interview any police in Montreal. The Montreal police response was not replicated in Laval or Victoria, and the police in Kitchener/Waterloo and St. John's responded enthusiastically. The police response in Fort McMurray and Calgary remains to be seen but that is a challenge for Kevin who will be interviewing in these sites.

Licensing agents in Victoria and Laval were interviewed without difficulty. The preliminary results look at Victoria's by-law which is escort related and Laval's by-law which is massage related, with three respondents in each location. Team members to date interviewed a city official, a licensing officer and a police officer in Laval; in Victoria they interviewed two police officers and a licensing officer. The researchers found some basic differences between the two locations: the city of Victoria has a specific by-law for escorts and escort type businesses, which was most recently amended in 1994. Coincidentally, Laval's by-law (for masseurs and massage parlors) was also amended in 1994. There are plans to make changes. Looking at the costs; in Victoria, an individual license costs \$250 annually whereas a business license is \$1500 annually. The licenses are obtained from the licensing office and there are provisions about display and renewal of licenses, as well as age restrictions. In BC an individual must be 19 or older to sign a contract. It is the job of the licensing official to insure compliance and the system appears to be complaint driven. That is quite different from the situation in Laval. The fees there are \$100 for an individual and \$250 for a business, renewable annually. Licenses are purchased at City Hall. There are provisions regarding clean linens and attire, and about display and renewal of licenses. The police are in charge of regulating the by-law. The licensing officer is also a police officer who is responsible for insuring the by-laws are upheld. Laval police make semi regular visits to the massage parlours. They can impose fines if the licenses are not posted or if the workers are not wearing appropriate attire (lab coats).

In Victoria there appears to be a great deal of concern for the safety of sex workers and the building of bridges. Neither sex workers nor regular clients are targeted for arrest. It seems clear that the police in Victoria assume the majority of clients are not a problem, but when this may be the case, there is a real interest in finding out who they are and where they are.

In Montreal police are targeting clients by sending undercover female police officers. They are only nominally investigating aggressors. Summer plans include the creation of a "tolerance zone" but this is not without controversy.

The training in Victoria seems to be about trafficking and exploitation. In Laval there doesn't seem to be any sensitivity training in terms of how to approach and treat sex workers. There is however a shift towards greater leniency but that does not adequately address health and safety concerns. Despite this, many sex workers are trying to stay out of the eye of the police which can lead to working in areas with a greater chance of violence.

Discussion:

A question was raised that if a worker gets fined, does that affect their ability to renew their license and Fran will check into it. Cecilia said that, in Fort McMurray, workers have to have a criminal record check. Natasha thought that that was not the case in Laval. Fran will follow up and look at the application itself.

Todd asked if the statement that leniency does not adequately address health and safety issues is part of Fran's conclusion. She replied that that is what she got from the transcripts to date. She emphasized that leniency does improve health and safety but police are not actively trying to improve it. Todd did not agree; he felt that leniency is important because people are no longer pushed into back alleys and dark corners. Fran said that there are differences across jurisdictions. For example in Montreal, they are criminalising the clients which create problems for the workers as well. Susan said that leniency is not enough and Fran agreed with that statement. Leniency is interpreted in different ways across various jurisdictions and that why they wanted to do research across six different sites, to see how federal laws play out differently in different municipalities, and how police are applying those laws. Bill encouraged Fran to revisit the leniency issue as it is not a simple thing; for example, in the tolerance zone police are more lenient but it did not lead to improved conditions for workers as reported in various studies. Cecilia pointed to the New Zealand example where police get involved when there is conflict; otherwise it is health officers who work with the sex workers.

Susan wondered if there are any questions in the survey about the discretionary powers of the police and Fran said that some of that could be teased out. Susan used examples from Vancouver of police disrupting business because of malicious, unsubstantiated reports of minors working there. Todd said that that is unlikely to occur as there is a lot of protocol around entering a place although there may have been a few isolated incidents. Fran wants to look at day to day operations rather than extreme cases because that is how we are going to learn about how business is regulated. Sinead wondered about policing prostitution on the reserves and Fran replied that they have not looked at it specifically yet but that is a good topic to explore.

Rachel offered another example where businesses felt that they were targeted by police because of malicious complaints and believed—whether true or not—in a conspiracy by police and city officials to reduce the number of massage businesses and move them out of the city, as reported by a number of business owners from the Kitchener/ Waterloo area. About 10 years ago there was a sweep of businesses and the owners were arrested and charged under the bawdy house law. Shortly afterward, the by-laws were changed and they had to open in a different location. Rachel suggested that Fran could get the police's perspective on that time. Fran felt it important to get different perspectives from different groups of people, directly, and indirectly involved in the industry. Rachel added that businesses in Victoria are run differently, they conduct their businesses relatively openly and regard the police largely interested in issues of health and safety. In St. John's they also seemed to have the freedom to operate their businesses as they saw fit and Fran said that they will be looking at that when they go in, how the places vary depending on how the police are applying the criminal code. Susan felt that there is a lack of knowledge about the laws and that that was a problem in itself. Moving forward will include data collection, site visits, transcribing the audio recordings and beginning analysis.

Todd wanted to emphasise that police work is usually reactive rather than proactive because of strained resources. Typically the workers they respond to are those who are vulnerable. It is common that there is mental health problems and addiction involved. The majority of officers get that picture of the sex trade. The worker often has little capacity to cooperate with the police; when they do, police officers have to insure their safety afterwards. If they feel unable to do that, they have to weigh the option whether to proceed with laying charges or not. It is a much more complicated picture than it may appear at first.

Project 7: Ethnographic Snapshot of the Meanings and Interactions related to Violence, Safety and Health

Principal Investigator: Kevin Walby, Sociology Department, University of Victoria

Kevin welcomed the participants. Project 7 is an ethnographic project in one locale yet to be determined; that was the original plan, although discussions about other possibilities have developed. Kevin will go over them as well as discuss some of the emerging ethical considerations. The ethnography project was intended to speak across all the other projects, from one to six. The work would involve observation and interviews with all the different folks who were part of all the various projects. This is challenging and that is the reason there is consideration of redesigning the project depending on the outcomes we hope to achieve. Project 7 would offer an ethnographic snapshot of all the issues raised in the other projects but in one locale. Some of the questions motivating an ethnographic snapshot are how the everyday lives of people are organised around sex work, something that perhaps the other projects have not explored in depth, but still focusing on health and resiliency. The sample would come from all the different participating groups. It will be important to build trust and rapport with key informants. Having one person do the ethnographic research in the selected site, liaising with and talking to all the different people, is being considered. This will be challenging because not all the people in a given community necessarily want to be known, and this may happen if they are seen talking with the researcher. The researcher would have to become a member of each of these different communities, which is also challenging to do, particularly on a timeline. It is the kind of interviewing that happens while walking around, talking all day, spending time at work with the participants, etc. There is an additional ethical challenge to doing this in a small town. The challenge will be building trust and generating questions that will work for respondents in their particular site without breaching confidentiality. At this point, unlike the other projects, Project 7 is just beginning; it hasn't gotten off the ground yet, so there is room for further discussion and redesign if deemed necessary. Once we decide on the city and what we are going to investigate, we will need to establish or re-establish contacts, and how much will it be informed by the other project or will it stand alone. We need to weigh the risks to the participants, their time and availability.

Discussion:

Cecilia said that Project 7 was originally conceived as ethnography, but now that research is well underway, she is wondering what will be the knowledge gaps that will emerge. What is it that Project 7 could do that we don't know right now? What new knowledge could we gain? The underlying question is why are we doing Project 7? Will we get new data and if it is not new, do we need to confirm what we have by doing ethnography on the ground. That is the discussion that needs to take place first, before we can decide where. Rachel voiced concerns over anonymity and confidentiality—how to write up the research without compromising the identity of the participants—especially if the research is conducted in a smaller city as talked about earlier. Chris added that if one thing had emerged over the past two days is the amazing complexity of the sex industry in Canada. He feels that no single place should be used, that hundreds of individuals within a city would need to be explored for an in-depth perspective. He did not feel this was feasible. He felt that we need to come up with something completely different, or redistribute the money across the other projects to “amp up” any areas where we could get more or better information. Cecilia would like to see the project go ahead in one form or another as would Mikael. He asked Kevin to remind everyone again about what ethnography is. Kevin replied that ethnography in the strict sense of the term would require immersion in a particular set of relations to explore some kinds of interactions. Bill reminded everyone that the bottom line is looking at the health and safety of sex

workers. For example, we could look at leniency and under what circumstances leniency is helpful. He felt we also need to ask the community partners what we could do to help them. For instance, perhaps it is important to understand how police view prostitution so we can develop a program that would contribute to better understanding. Bill felt we need to get the questions right before we decide how to conduct the project. As a group we are on the verge of making an important contribution.

Dan added that he agreed that Projects 2 to 6 can answer where vulnerability occurs, but what they may not be able to answer is how to improve the situation. Maybe we can use the funds on the “how” question, that is where Project 7 slips into knowledge exchange. Janice wondered how the information will be distributed when all the research is completed, how her organisation will be able to make use of it. Dan replied that it is an area that we will need to focus on – applied knowledge exchange. Susan suggested that whatever recommendations come from the research, Project 7 could go to one site and see if that has made any impact. We could consider how we could fill the gaps that we have seen emerge in the research and come up with best practices and recommendations for dealing with those gaps; like clients and health, how can workers talk to their partners about sex work; how to deal with city staff, etc. Managers could be given this type of information in the form of brochures when they renew their licenses and they could then distribute them to their workers. Project 7 could investigate if that makes a difference.

Barb remarked that, when speaking of gaps, it occurred to her that the general public has not been interviewed and she thinks that it could be relevant, because stigma emerged as an important reason workers may not go to a health clinic or to a counselor. Cecilia commented that that was a really good point.

Kevin concluded that there are many ideas but no consensus yet and there needs to be a collective decision before going forward. The PIs will resume the conversation via teleconference.

Project 1: Knowledge Exchange about Violence and Resiliency in the Sex Industry

Co-Principal Investigators Dan Reist, Knowledge Exchange Office, CARBC, Vancouver, BC and Cecilia Benoit, CARBC and Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

Project 1 depends on the output of Projects 2 through 6, but the group can start considering where to go with it. Dan drew everyone’s attention to the model; the bubbles on the right side represent Projects 2 through 6 (see Appendix...) that will generate knowledge at various levels of analysis: system, social and individual. On the left side are the three core objectives: to identify the factors that contribute to risk and vulnerability; the impact of gender on violence; and ensure that useful knowledge generated by this research informs policies and practices. This last part is the goal of Project 1: how do we take the knowledge and do something with it? Dan proposed an exercise: in light of what was presented the last two days, he asked everyone to reflect on what useful knowledge clusters are forming which could have significant implications for policy or practice, and write down one or two things that come to mind.

Sandra said that she has already gained knowledge from attending the meeting. She can see the research leading to safer practices within the industry. For her, increased condom use and regular testing is of interest. Dan added that one cluster of the research could point to the intersections that lead to less safe practices and we could in turn find ways to address them. Susan felt it could highlight the gaps between enforcement policy and practice, as well as the tendency to focus on outdoor workers only or ones in

crisis; to try to stabilize the industry so there are fewer people in crisis. Dan said that another cluster could be around enforcement and regulation. Rachel added stigma and sexuality as another cluster; the stigmatization of sex workers and clients relates back to concerns regarding the stigmatization of sexual behaviour generally. Dan asked who would be the target. Rachel replied that people who pay for sex are a group we don't understand well, but the issue is broader than that. Dan said that those are very different audiences that we will need to consider. Caitlin felt that we could broaden our understanding of the various business models that operate within the Canadian sex industry to inform policy and targeted outreach campaigns, to address the stigma of victimhood, to broaden our understanding of who is paying for sex. Dan underlined that we need to keep the purpose in mind when we try and do something with this diversity/complexity. One would be a policy purpose. Policy can represent that diversity. Caitlin used PEERS as an example: when they apply for funding, all the programs seem to be about trafficking, there is nothing to help people who chose to work in the industry. Chris added that ten years ago it was all about protecting children; it seems that we go through these trends and catch phrases. We need to establish normative frameworks, like safe practices, what do workers expect from their clients, what clients expect, what are the expectations of policy makers, what are the normative expectations of outreach and support workers. Dan remarked that we have collected a lot of data on those norms from different perspectives, what can we do with it? Susan suggested finding common ground. Chris thought it was also about educating everyone about the norms, about what is right or wrong, what is appropriate to help alleviate future conflicts.

Dan asked for anything else not mentioned so far and Warren added the interrelationship between substance use, mental health and sex work. Barb added trauma to that list. She also wondered how domestic violence among sex workers compared with that of the general population and Cecilia said that we can look at those numbers. Dan said that the research is yielding a lot of data which will enable us to compare this population with the general population, and will allow us to see what the similarities and differences are and what may account for those differences. Susan cautioned that we need to be extremely careful about how we present the data so we are not feeding into stereotypes such as most sex workers were abused as children. Cecilia said that that is precisely what we are doing when comparing the data with the general population, we cannot deny that abuse or neglect happens, but the preliminary numbers are lower than expected. Dan added that this is precisely the challenge, to use the data to debunk myths while pinpointing the real problems and concerns that need to be addressed. We need to reflect on the questions that our data set may be able to answer around safer practice, or enforcement, or stigma. Sandra was surprised at the low number of Aboriginal respondents wondered and if we will be missing the Aboriginal perspective. Cecilia reminded everyone that the numbers are preliminary and she expected about 20% Aboriginal respondents once all the data are entered.

Barb wanted to know about barriers to accessing services. Cecilia said that there are many good questions about that in the survey. Rachel added that we need to consider gender in all of the questions. Wendy would like to have information available for people who are considering entering the trade, to educate them on what they could be dealing with and help them make more informed decisions. Cecilia said that there are in-depth questions in the survey about when and why people enter the trade; at what age, and how they compare sex work with other jobs they had.

Dan asked, as the final question, what was the most important thing participants learned over the two days. Fran was excited about what a complete package we have with all the projects. She was intrigued about some of the language differences that have emerged. She will keep that in mind and try to be as clear as possible. Susan thought that it would be a good idea to take some time and think about what questions to ask the data, to process all we have heard and learned over the last two days. Bill learned how the national shrinking of resources has impacted police so they have to be social workers and psychologists, and related to that, the connection between police and sex workers via stigma. He was also impressed with all the details of the diversity. Mikael feels he understands better the extent to which

stigma affects people. We can come up with policies to reduce its impact, like when people apply for licences that they are not forced to divulge what it's for. People enjoyed learning about the research process itself, from the first meeting to this one and seeing how things are done. Janice said that the meeting helped her understand how complex sex work really is. Her organization serves many people in the industry so this has been very helpful. Dan concluded by saying that it is important to remember the broad diversity of perspectives. Cecilia added that what we have are stories of people's lives: early childhood, struggles, attempts to stay safe and healthy, barriers like stigma, how clients feel when they are robbed, etc., all this is contained in the data. We have a chance to give a message to the sex community and give them something back, like better understanding of each other and their clients. We have two years left on the grant. We will be reporting back to CIHR and she hopes to get the information out before the end of the fourth year and then we will be able to see any impact. The next team grant meeting will be an international conference, in the late spring of 2014.

The next steps discussed by team members are detailed in the conclusion and action plan tables below:

Meeting conclusions and summary

Observations	Recommendations	Resources (team members)
Project 1		
Project 1 needs to devise strategies to disseminate research findings and help formulate practical applications.	Exploring strategies: a) targeted "sense-making" presentations of ideas; b) presenting clear policy options consistent with the evidence; c) scenario based planning.	Dan Reist & Cecilia Benoit
Projects 2-6		
Presentations of preliminary findings for projects 2 - 6	Principal Investigators will review questions and suggestions from the meeting	Principal Investigators
Project 7		
Participants offered suggestions for project 7 (ethnography)	Principal investigators will discuss further options for Project 7 (ethnography) via teleconference	Principal Investigators

Action Plan

Task	Resources (team members)	Start Date	Finish Date
Operational Module			
Complete data collection and data entry for projects 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6	All Principal Investigators	October 2012	Fall 2013
Refine research design for Project 7	All Principal Investigators	July 2013	Dec 2013

Analyze results	All Principal Investigators	Summer 2013	Winter 2013
Organize meeting for Spring 2014 to discuss findings	Cecilia Benoit, Nominated Principal Investigator	January 2014	June 2014
File report to CIHR	Cecilia Benoit, Nominated Principal Investigator	Winter 2013	Spring 2014
Research Module Project 1: Knowledge Translation			
Update website	Dan Reist	Summer 2013	Spring 2014

Appendix A: Participants List

Chris Atchison

Principal Applicant
Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC

Cecilia Benoit

Nominated Principal Applicant
CARBC and Department of Sociology,
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John Craig

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Susan Davis

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Leah Shumka

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Kevin Walby

Principal Applicant
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Todd Wellman

Victoria Police Department

Appendix B: Agenda



Team Grant Meeting III

Victoria, June 6 & 7 2013

The Bedford Regency Hotel
1140 Government Street, Victoria, BC Canada V8W 1Y2
Tel: 250-384-6835 / www.bedfordregency.com

Day One:

- 9:00 – 9:30 am **Coffee;** Welcome & introductions (Cecilia Benoit). Overview of the day's events and general updates (interview locations, successes and challenges; new website)
- 9:30 – 10:00 am Community partner updates (brief introduction, significant events in their organizations within the past year)
- 10:00 – 11:00 am Preliminary findings for Project 2 (Sex Workers) - Cecilia Benoit and Leah Shumka
- 11:00 – 12:00 Preliminary findings for Project 3 (Romantic Partners) - Mikael Jansson
- 12:00 – 1:00 pm Lunch**
- 1:00 – 2:00 pm Preliminary findings for Project 4 (Sex Buyers) - Chris Atchison
- 2:00 -- 3:00 pm Preliminary findings for Project 5 (Managers) - Rachel Phillips
- 3:00 – 4:00 pm Q&A & wrap up

6:00 pm **Dinner @ the Irish Times Pub**
1200 Government St, Victoria, BC V8W 1Y2
Victoria BC, Tel. (250) 383-7775

**Dinner and non-alcoholic beverages are provided. Alcoholic beverages may be purchased separately.

Day Two:

9:00 – 9:15 am	Coffee; Welcome and plan for the day (Cecilia Benoit)
9:15 – 10:15 am	Preliminary findings for Project 6 (Law Enforcement) - Fran Shaver & Kevin Walby
10:15 – 11:00 am	Overview and direction of Project 7 (Ethnography) - Kevin Walby
11:00 – 12:00 am	Community partner interest in the project: questions and ideas about direction of analysis, both for a final report to the community as well as for academic papers (everyone)
12:00 – 1:00 pm	Lunch
	<i>Community Partners and PIs:</i>
1:00 – 2:00 pm	Dan leads group discussion about common priorities: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• a more in-depth discussion and any fine tuning going forward towards the final projects• early ideas regarding how to apply the emerging results to programming, policy and public education (both within each organization and more generally);• an opportunity for the community partners to inform the data analyses going forward so the produced materials is of use for different KE purposes and answers the questions partners are bringing to the table.
2:00 – 3:00 pm	Q&A & wrap up, including revised timeline and formal data collection, plans for TG Meeting 4 (National Conference). Meeting evaluations.

Appendix C: Meeting Evaluation

General Comments: Responses to meeting were positive and most participants were satisfied with the presentations and discussions. Participants valued the opportunity to collaborate and get to know each other better. For most respondents, the meeting served as an excellent platform for knowledge exchange. Below we present the evaluation questionnaire and responses.

Number of respondents: 9

	Yes	No	N/A
1. Was this meeting informative?	9 (100%)	0	0
4. Was networking with other team membership helpful?	9 (100%)	0	0
5. Were you able to contribute in a meaningful way?	6 (%)	0	3 (0%)
6. In your opinion, do meetings like this one facilitate knowledge exchange?	9 (100%)	0	0

2. What did you like best about the meeting?

Participants found the presentations informative and they appreciated the constructive comments from the community partners. Everyone enjoyed the networking opportunity and ease of conversation.

3. What would you change about the meeting?

Suggestions varied from allowing more time for discussion and inviting more people, to concentrating more on the result findings and less on methodology, and perhaps meeting for one day instead of two.

7. What does the research team need to keep in mind as it moves to data analysis and knowledge translation stages?

The researchers should focus on emerging gaps and look at what data may be missing. They should maintain good communication and share data between projects. Comparing results from the projects will be informative. They should be thinking of ways of applying the information to practical solutions.

8. Who should we invite to the next meeting?

Respondents suggested inviting sex workers and more community partners.

9. What should the next meeting focus on?

The next meeting should bring all the research together to foster public awareness, and knowledge exchange that will facilitate addressing policies, stigma, service barriers, etc.

Appendix D: PowerPoint presentations Day 1 and Day 2

Project 2: National Survey of People Working in the Canadian Sex Industry, preliminary findings

Project 3: Factors Linked to Violence and Resiliency in Sex Workers' Romantic Relationships, preliminary findings

Project 4: Positioning Sex Buyers in the Nexus of Violence, Gender and Health, preliminary findings

Project 5: Supervising Sex Work: Challenges to Workplace Safety and Health, preliminary findings

Project 6: The Effects of Prostitution Law on Vulnerabilities, Resiliencies and Health, preliminary findings

Project 7: Ethnographic Snapshot of the Meanings and Interactions related to Violence, Safety and Health

Project 1: Knowledge Exchange