

BIG BROTHEL

A SURVEY OF THE OFF-STREET
SEX INDUSTRY IN LONDON

THE POPPY PROJECT

AUGUST 2008

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This report is dedicated to the many women who have lost their lives as a result of prostitution.

Thank you to all the prostitution survivors who generously gave up their time to talk to us.

Sarah Mills painstakingly trawled data, found needles in haystacks, and kept a sense of humour and cool head throughout.

Louise Hinchliffe created the database and provided technical expertise.

Nicky Pruss conducted interviews with women survivors of prostitution.

Quotations from men who buy sex are taken from interviews conducted by the authors and other researchers in December 2007 for an international research project on demand for prostitution (publication pending), with thanks to Dr Melissa Farley of Prostitution Research & Education.

Without the men who telephoned brothels and obtained the crucial information on which this report is based, it would have been impossible to conduct this survey. Their work was often unpleasant and disturbing, but they behaved ethically and sensitively throughout the process.

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putting women first

FOREWORD

As the Chief Executive of Eaves, an organisation which deals with the consequences of male violence towards women and children, I welcome this report into the largely-ignored off-street sex market in London.

Prostitution helps to construct and maintain gender inequality. To achieve gender equality we need to start from the understanding that these differences are social, not biological, constructions. We need to develop diverse kinds of interventions to challenge and change these perceived, artificial differences.

Nowhere is the inequality more stark than in the case of prostitution, where the roles of women and men are constructed as fundamentally different, in ways that support and maintain gender inequality. For example:

- Buyer/bought
- Sex drive/sexual object
- Hunter/prey

Additionally, prostitution – like other forms of violence against women, is surrounded by old and new mythologies attempting to justify it. We have been less effective in challenging these than in the case of rape, domestic violence and child sexual abuse. We know that additional sexual violence, (by which I mean further to the actual sex of prostitution) which many women describe as ‘akin to rape’, is a common, if not everyday experience of women in prostitution.

Despite increasingly permissive attitudes towards commercial sexual exploitation, women in prostitution continue to be severely stigmatised and socially excluded. They often experience lack of adequate housing, poor physical health, psychological difficulties

and emotional stress, financial problems (if the women do not have pimps as such, their money will likely go to fund their coping strategies, such as drugs and alcohol), children in care, and criminal convictions.

Women in prostitution are routinely regarded by many as dirty, promiscuous, worthless and as having chosen their fate, therefore not even deserving the status of ‘victim’. This means they are robbed of ever being seen as survivors when they do manage, against all the odds, to escape the abuse of prostitution.

We are told that prostitution is a ‘choice’, and that just a few women may have been forced. This serves to create a notion of ‘genuine’ victims and ‘non-deserving’ women, similar to some police attitudes regarding women suffering domestic abuse who may decide to return home and not press charges following an assault.

Tolerating, or worse, expanding the harm of prostitution through legalisation amounts to an official endorsement of these constructions of gender inequality. For those who say ‘prostitution has always happened and can never be eradicated’, imagine what the reaction would be if solutions to child sexual abuse were presented in this way. If governments were to say “well we can never stop it, so we must make sure that the children suffering it can have care after the event,” there would, rightly so, be universal outrage.

Prevention can only be effective if we truly recognise and embrace an end to prostitution and sexual exploitation in all its forms. We must stop the criminalisation of women in prostitution, and lobby our governments to void the prostitution-related convictions given to women.

The men who choose to pay for sex are still largely invisible. This is slowly changing, with key figures in the UK government supporting the campaign to

FOREWORD

criminalise the buying and attempting buying of prostitution services.

Our focus must fundamentally shift from seeing the prostituted women as the problem. We must acknowledge the fact that it is the buyers who fuel demand for prostitution and trafficking. Until we shift the shame and negative connotations associated with women in prostitution onto the pimps and the buyers, women will face insurmountable barriers to leave.

Women must receive appropriate healthcare and harm reduction support during their time in prostitution.

However, we need to concentrate on investing our energies and significantly expanding our resources to assist the vast majority of women who wish to exit, to do so safely and effectively, whilst bringing justice to men who pay for sex.

Denise Marshall OBE

Chief Executive Officer, Eaves Housing for Women

August 2008

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INTRODUCTION

THE SITUATION

One of the most visible developments in the sex industry during the last 30 years has been its rapid expansion and massive diversification. Globalization of the economy means globalization of the sex industry, whether one is confronted with sex trafficking, prostitution, mail order bride marketers, lap dancing and other sex clubs, sex tourism and/or pornography. There are few countries in which the sex industry is shrinking.

(Raymond, 2004)

FIVE YEARS ON: SEX IN THE CITY

- In 2004, the POPPY Project¹ published *Sex in the City*, the report of a groundbreaking mapping exercise, which investigated off-street commercial sex in London.
- One aim of *Sex in the City* was to establish evidence of the number and origins of women trafficked into London's off-street sex industry.
- Since it is now widely accepted that trafficking into prostitution is a problem, conducting research which further establishes its existence is less of a priority.
- Currently, the most pressing research need is assessment of the exploitative aspects of the sex industry which are routinely overlooked.

RESEARCH PURPOSE

To challenge the misconceptions of the off-street sex industry in London.

- In recent years, a clear shift has occurred in the ways in which sexual services are advertised.
- The normalisation of sexually explicit and exploitative images, EU expansion, the rise of the internet and low-cost travel are some of the many factors contributing to fundamental changes in how people buy and sell sex in London, and beyond.
- Primetime documentaries and dramas, such as *Secret Diary of a Call Girl*², *Glamour Girls*³ and *Respectable*⁴, customarily depict a glamorous, fun and victimless off-street sex industry, but what is really going on in London's brothels?

HOW IS THE SEX INDUSTRY IN LONDON EVOLVING?

...OR IS IT DEVOLVING?

¹The POPPY Project is the only statutorily-funded direct provider of complex services for women trafficked into prostitution in the UK. See Appendix G for further information.

²A British television show starring a former child pop star turned actress as a 'high-class call girl.' The eponymous character is based on the blogs and books of 'Belle de Jour,' a woman who worked as a London escort.

³A BBC documentary tracking young women as they try to make it as glamour models.

⁴A British comedy set in a suburban brothel run by a cynical grandmother.

INTRODUCTION

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

- In January 2008, the Government Equalities Office published *Women Not for Sale: a report on advertising women in small ads in local newspapers*.
- The research was commissioned by Harriet Harman, Minister for Women & Equality, in order to establish the nature and scale of the illegal advertisement of women for commercial sex acts in classified sections of regional and local UK newspapers.
- The report found that 75% of newspapers advertised 'women for sale,' with half of the reviewed publications specifying availability of non-British women, prompting concerns about abuse and exploitation.

Whilst it is not possible, based on their content, to identify whether any of these ads are advertising trafficked women, information from additional research and other sources would suggest that this is a distinct possibility.

(GEO, 2008)

- *Women Not For Sale* established the need for greater investigation into what is really being advertised in the back pages of family newspapers.

CIO [Central Office for Information] would recommend carrying out further research to assess accurately the scale and nature of the issue.

(GEO, 2008).

- *Big Brothel* builds upon the GEO report and thoroughly investigates the scale and nature of what the adverts represent.

This report differs from *Sex in the City* in a number of ways:

- This research is not an update, nor a revision of *Sex in the City* which sought to map sex establishments across London and investigate the prevalence of trafficking indicators in the off-street industry.
- *Big Brothel* examines aspects which are affecting the changing nature of London's sex industry, with a particular focus on brothels: premises where sex acts are bought and sold.
- Analysis concentrates solely on printed advertisements for brothels in newspaper classified sections; findings relating to chat lines and escort agencies are not included in this report.
- For *Sex in the City*, 500 hours of research time was used to identify 730 brothels, as well as chat lines and escort agencies. For this report, only 250 hours were used, due to funding restrictions. Nonetheless, comprehensive details of nearly a thousand brothels were recorded.

INTRODUCTION

CURRENT CLIMATE

- In January 2006, the Government published *Paying the Price*, the first coordinated strategy on prostitution in the UK. It recognises prostitution as a form of violence against women (Home Office, 2006).
- In December 2006, the bodies of five women brutally murdered, were discovered in Ipswich. All had been involved in street prostitution, and all the women regarded the murderer, Steve Wright, as an ordinary, regular punter.⁵
- Debate around prostitution policy intensified throughout 2007. The Government attempted to remove the archaic term 'common prostitute' from the statute book. The move was blocked due to other disputed clauses.
- In January 2008, the Government launched a six-month review into demand for prostitution, visiting several European countries to explore different legislative approaches to addressing prostitution issues.
- In May 2008, the Newspaper Society issued guidelines restricting the nature and publication of classified advertisements offering commercial sex acts, whether blatant or implied.⁶
- Omnipresent CCTV, the introduction of Anti-Social Behavioural Orders (ASBOs)⁷ and ever-decreasing tolerance for outdoor prostitution has contributed to moving activity from the streets to behind closed doors.

WHO SHOULD READ THIS REPORT?

ESSENTIAL READING FOR:

policy-makers

NGOs

service providers

support practitioners

statutory agencies

community representatives

activists

academics

students

RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECTS OF:

human rights

gender equality

violence against women

sexual exploitation

criminal justice

social justice

asylum & migration

law enforcement

public health & sexual health

⁵ An immediate and sustained reaction to the murders was to invest resources into tackling local street prostitution.

⁶ The guidelines came into force in May 2008, and seek to deter newspapers from printing classified adverts which contain ethnic information, and other possible indicators of trafficking, as selling points.

⁷ ASBOs were introduced as part of the Crime & Disorder Act 1998 and were first used in 1999.

WHAT'S ON THE MENU IN LONDON'S BROTHELS?⁸

Full sex available for fifteen quid

*Kissing, oral or anal sex without a condom
for an extra tenner*

Average age of women on offer is 21 years old

*Women representing over
75 different ethnicities are available*

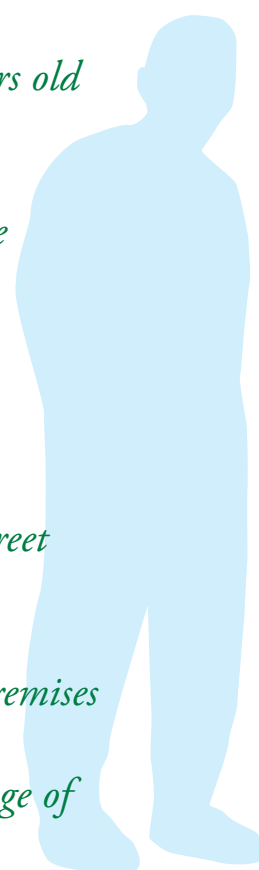
*85% of london's brothels
operate in residential areas*

*Three out of four massage parlours
and saunas are situated on the high street*

*Four out of five newspaper adverts
for 'personal services' provide sex on the premises*

*London's local papers advertise an average of
28 brothels per borough*

*Between £50-130 million is generated by brothels
through illegal advertisement in newspapers*



⁸ For a full breakdown of findings, refer to Data Analysis section (pages 16-28)

SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS

NOTE ON METHODOLOGY: THE WOMEN

Primary research was conducted over the telephone. As with all social science data collection which relies upon the disclosure of anecdotal evidence, a degree of inaccuracy is inevitable.

The following findings are calculated directly from information disclosed by people working in London's brothels. Whilst the statistics in this report represent exactly what researchers were told over the telephone, it is presumed that the source data contains some misleading information.

(See Research Limitations and Methodology, pages 12-15, for full discussion.)

"They are girls no one else wants to marry. So they work for sex. No one wants their wife to be a prostitute."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

- An absolute minimum of 1933 women working in London brothels advertised through print media were found, averaging **2 women per establishment**.
- The average age of the women in surveyed brothels was **21 years old**, with an overall range between 18 and 55 years old.
- No brothel confirmed that they provided girls under 18 years old for sex. However, **a number of premises offered 'very, very young girls'** without divulging ages.
- In total, **77 different nationalities and ethnicities** of women were given by brothels surveyed.
- According to the disclosed information, over half the women were European (55%), with nearly one-third stated to be from Asia (30%).
- African women accounted for only 6% of given ethnicities. The proportion of women identified as South American and Caribbean women was 5%, whilst the nationalities of a further 4% of women were unknown or undisclosed.

"I would need to artificially lubricate my vagina because it was dry and painful. Some men would get aggressive, especially if they were drunk. Somehow I threatened their maleness".

(Woman survivor of prostitution, 2007)

SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS

THE SERVICES

- Four out of five brothels (79%) readily admitted to providing full sex⁹ onsite.
- Prices for full sex ranged from £15 to £250, with an average price of £61.93.
- Prices for penetrative sex (vaginal or anal) without a condom started at £10 extra, up to a maximum of £200, with an average price of £71.25. Only 2% of brothels admitted to providing penetrative sex without a condom.
- 13% of brothels disclosed that they offered oral sex without a condom. Prices for oral sex without a condom ranged from £10 extra to £240 inclusive, with an average price of £58.20.
- Over one-fifth of brothels offered kissing. Prices ranged from £10 to £600, with an average price of £42.43. More than half of the brothels (52%) offered kissing for only £10, with just over 1 in 10 premises (11%) charging over £100.

“You get to choose, like a catalogue.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

THE LOCATIONS

- A total of 921 operational brothels were surveyed across London's 33 boroughs.¹⁰ Premises were identified in every area of central and greater London, with an average of 28 brothels per borough.
- The highest number of advertised brothels was found in the borough of Westminster, with 71 premises surveyed. The lowest frequency of advertised brothels (8) was found in the borough of Southwark, which has banned classified ads offering commercial sex.
- Whilst the number of advertised brothels varies widely from borough to borough, premises are spread proportionately by the respective populations of inner and outer London.

“It has a wrought iron gate, then another door, like Fort Knox. Once you're in, you're in. Not getting out till you've paid your money and you get what you want.”

(Male sex buyer, referring to a brothel in Stockwell, December 2007)

⁹ Meaning penetrative, vaginal sex.

¹⁰ Many more were contacted, but either did not answer calls or did not provide viable information – this information is not included in the statistics.

SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS

“It’s an unsettling, unhealthy experience seeing twenty guys a day and you don’t know what the next person will be like”.

(Woman survivor of prostitution, 2007)

THE BROTHELS

- An estimated range between **£50-130 million** is generated through the **illegal advertisement of brothels** in London’s papers.
- The 921 brothels which provided information represent the **‘tip of the iceberg’** of sex premises in London.
- The vast majority of contacted premises (85%) in a **residential setting with a discreet appearance**.

- Almost two-thirds of premises (63%) identified as **private flats**, and just over one-fifth of brothels (22%) said they were located in a house.
- More than one in ten brothels identified as **massage parlours**, operating in a **commercial setting with a legitimate front**, whilst 2% informed us they operated as **saunas**.
- Three-quarters of **massage parlours and saunas (73%)** were located on **main streets**.

“You sit in a Basque; you sit in a window with your red light on. When you get a client you close the curtains and you turn your red light off. Well, that starts from eight in the morning...”

(Woman working from a flat in West London)

SETTING THE CONTEXT

ATTITUDES

POWER & CONTROL

- On a fundamental level, prostitution is an absolute expression of men's power against women's subordination and lack of choices (Barry, 1979).
- Paying for prostitution services enables men to assert power and control over women in a way which would be deemed unacceptable in any other sphere.

"It's cheaper than a date and you always score at the end."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

- The existence of an industry in which women are always subordinate reinforces the outdated illusion of male privilege.
- Prostitution oppresses women in a more general sense than the dominance asserted with each individual act - it sustains an attitude that women are sexual objects for sale or hire (Parker, 1998).
- A significant number of men who buy sex are either married or in long-term relationships (Hester & Westmarland, 2004; Coy *et al*, 2007), diverting money from the household budget, which has a detrimental economic impact on family members.

MEDIA & MISINFORMATION

The commercial sex industry benefits from propaganda of unparalleled resilience. The misconceptions which inform popular opinion are often based upon fairytale distortions, far removed from the reality of prostitution.

From Hollywood glamour in *Pretty Woman* to British prosperity in *Secret Diary of a Call Girl*, it can be infinitely more palatable to believe the hype, rather than to accept the truth. Little air time and few column inches are allocated for a balanced and accurate portrayal of prostitution (Bindel, 2007).

"It's like putting your washing in a washing machine"

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

SETTING THE CONTEXT

ATTITUDES

MYTH VERSUS REALITY

“Women choose prostitution.”

It is a choice through lack of choice. A significant number of women involved in street prostitution were groomed as children. Many enter through marginalisation, dependencies and/or economic necessity.

(O'Neill, 2001; Melrose et al., 1999; Phoenix, 1999; Sanders, 2001; Pearce et al., 2003; Friedberg, 2000 in Coy, 2007).

“Men need sex.”

This is a persuasive fabrication, perpetuated throughout time. In reality, no man has ever died from having an erection. Rather, paying for sex is social construct, not a biological necessity (McLeod et al., 2008; Durchslag & Goswami, 2008; Coy et al, 2007) evidenced by the fact that most men do not buy sex (O'Connell & Anderson, 2003; Ward et al, 2005; Groom & Nandwani, 2006). Those who do pay for sex view women who sell sex as abnormal, who can or should be treated differently.

“You go to a woman who is highly sexed, and a normal woman is never as highly sexed as a prostitute. It would be wrong.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

“Prostitutes are nymphomaniacs who enjoy selling sex and make large amounts of easy money.”

One study of women in prostitution found that 9 out of 10 would leave immediately if they could, but were unable to do so. More often than not, profit generated through commercial sex does not benefit the person whose body has been sold (Farley, 2003).

“Anti-prostitution feminists are against women in prostitution.”

One of the more convincing lies coming from the pro-sex work lobby is that feminists who define prostitution as ‘abuse’ are against the women themselves. Abolitionists are supportive of women in the sex industry, but against the institution of prostitution (e.g. FCAP, 2008).

“Prostitution prevents the rape of ‘other’ women.”

Napoleon claimed in 1827, that prostitutes were a necessity because “without them, men would attack respectable women on the streets.” Irrespective of this untenable assertion, most women in the sex industry suffer rape, in addition to many women in general. Two centuries on, Napoleon's Neanderthal belief - that men are innocent victims of sexual desires and women exist to service them - is regularly echoed.

“Prostitution should not be abolished, it prevents rape and should be regulated”.

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

SETTING THE CONTEXT

ATTITUDES

“Disabled men, who might not be able to find a sexual partner, have a right to the services of prostituted women.”

Sex is not an entitlement, nor a ‘human right’. There are many ways in which anyone can enjoy consensual sex. Specialist dating services, meet-up groups, and online networks which link up disabled people are thriving.

“A prostitute is like an outlet to a pressure cooker”.

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

“Women are exploiting the men, not the other way around.”

Because money changes hands, women are said to be the ones in control. However, the reality is that women in prostitution suffer physical and sexual violence, as well as psychological abuse, on a regular basis (Raymond, 1999).

“I can get whatever I want any time. It’s easier than sex with a woman.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

“It can be made safe.”

Safety is not simply a matter of condoms or avoiding law enforcement. Pimps and buyers can be dangerous and violent. The sex industry has direct links to organised crime networks (Monzini, 2005).

“If the sex industry was legalised, women in prostitution would be safer, and the buyers less dangerous.”

There is no evidence that legalisation effectively protects the human rights of people affected by prostitution, nor that it actually improves wider issues of social justice. On the contrary, there is a growing body of evidence that legalisation results in the normalisation of sexual exploitation and the expansion of criminal networks, by facilitating both legal and underground prostitution, with larger numbers of children and vulnerable adults drawn into exploitation (e.g. Associated Press, 2008)

AIMS & OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study is to provide a snapshot of one aspect of commercial sexual exploitation in London, by identifying the scale and nature of operational brothels advertised in print media across the boroughs of London.

BROTHELS

1. Identify the scale and nature of the brothel industry in London
2. Map the locations of print-advertised brothels in London
3. Identify links between individuals and businesses in the off-street sex sector

WOMEN

4. Obtain information about the women situated in London's brothels
5. Identify potential needs of women working in London's brothels
6. Inform support services and policy-makers about the women's needs
7. Recommend strategies for women wishing to exit prostitution, and for those escaping trafficking situations
8. Identify resource implications in developing services, targeting exit strategies

TRAFFICKING INTO PROSTITUTION

9. Identify links between the off-street sex industry and trafficking into prostitution

10. Explore the growing pervasiveness of sex trafficking in London

11. Identify urgent measures to effectively tackle the spread of sex trafficking in London and nationally

LAW ENFORCEMENT

12. Provide intelligence to police and other relevant agencies
13. Identify gaps in current law enforcement activities targeting brothels

RESEARCH

14. Compare changes in the nature and profile of research for *Sex in the City*
15. Update, expand upon and refine the limited research currently available
16. Examine implications of findings in relation to London and the UK in general
17. Establish grounds for further research into London's off-street sex industry

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

BARRIERS TO MONITORING THE OFF-STREET SEX INDUSTRY

Until 2003¹², the UK Government had shown little interest in tackling policy and legislation on the sex industry, particularly off-street. Although individual local governments and police forces periodically pilot new initiatives in tackling the problems of street prostitution, such as ASBOs (Anti Social Behaviour Orders) and ABCs (Acceptable Behaviour Contracts), little has been done to properly address the problems of indoor prostitution.

There are a number of assumptions about the differences between outdoor and off-street prostitution, for example:

- Indoor prostitution is always safer;
- Women have more control in off-street settings;
- Pimps only operate on the streets;
- Women with substance dependencies always work on-street;
- A better 'class' of customer visits off-street establishments;
- Safe sex is always practised off-street;
- No underage females are involved off-street;
- Trafficking only occurs in unlicensed and 'seedy' establishments;

- Licensed establishments protect women and have no links to crime;
- Private flats are rented by individual women, not by controllers of prostitution.

Flats, that is the biggest pimp of all. The flats. It's not safe, its not.... Flats are set up to be a rip off, to be truthful with you, cause you're not going to make no money for yourself. You've got your card boys, you've the rent then you've got your maid. You're not coming out with nothing, it's a rip off. And you're not guaranteed security at the end of the day.

(Woman survivor of prostitution, 2007)

It has long been acknowledged that failure to intervene in the indoor sector can result in an increase in violence and abuse, including trafficking of women and children into prostitution.

Until police have the resources and ability to keep an eye on the saunas and massage parlours we will not really know the scale of the industry, or what goes on within it"

(Interview, CO14 Officer, 2007)

¹² When the Home Office of England and Wales began a process looking at prostitution strategy, leading to the consultation document *Paying the Price* in 2004.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

One of the recommendations from the Home Office for tackling human trafficking is that there should be:

Proactive intelligence monitoring of the sex industry and development of intelligence sources within this industry.

(Crime Reduction Toolkit, 2004).

Despite the growing ubiquity of images and references to the sex industry, there is limited public interest in questioning the glossy façade or exploring the complexities and controversies embodied in prostitution.

"I don't know why people have to research prostitution – the army shoot innocent people, McDonald's poison people; no one wants to research them. It's the only job that has no downside. It only brings pleasure to the customer, no negative effects for the customer."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

There is an absence of adequate funding and appropriate support to research the damaging aspects of the sex industry.

THE ETHICS OF COVERT INVESTIGATIVE RESEARCH

Possible sources for primary data on London's brothels include:

- People working in or around brothels;
- Support service providers;
- Metropolitan Police Service;
- Government agencies;

For people in prostitution, to discuss harmful and illegal machinations of brothels could be dangerous or detrimental for them. There is no reason or incentive for controllers of prostitution to knowingly engage with this type of research. Police and government intelligence sources are restricted, whilst service providers' records may also be confidential.

Following a detailed review of research into off-street sex industries, it became apparent that covert observation methods would be the most reliable way to obtain the requisite data, if not the only viable approach.

The telephone researchers fully complied with ethical guidelines, as provided by the British Sociological Association.

Participant or non-participant observation in non-public spaces or experimental manipulation of research participants without their knowledge should be resorted to only where it is impossible to use other methods to obtain essential data. In such studies it is important to safeguard the anonymity of research participants (BSA, 1997).

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

University Ethic Committees (in the UK) stipulate that researchers who carry out covert observations should adhere to the following requirements:

- The information is in the public interest;
- There is no other way to obtain the information;
- Potential harm to individuals or organisations is outweighed by the benefits of making the information public.

As discussed above, the methods employed during this research project, and the manner in which the research was carried out, adhered to these criteria.

LIMITATIONS ON DATA COLLECTION

- This study is not intended to be an exhaustive mapping of the sex industry in London, nor does it claim to be a piece of irrefutable scientific evidence.
- It is a survey of the brothels advertised in London's local newspapers, based on the 'capture, re-capture'¹³ method of counting hidden or partially hidden populations.
- Due to the illegality and thus secrecy of brothels, it is not possible to gain entirely accurate data.
- The quantitative data obtained through the survey is anecdotal, acquired from subjects who assumed that they were talking to prospective buyers.
- Details which could not be easily verified by an actual visitor – such as age and ethnicity – are less reliable than quoted prices and services, which followed a pattern throughout the research: a service was either available, unavailable, or it was negotiable directly with

the women. If it was on offer, in the vast majority of cases, a specific price was readily quoted.

- The amount and detail of microdata obtained varied from call to call, as did the length of each call, depending upon the willingness of the subject to disclose details.
- Only calls which succeeded in obtaining viable information were recorded; however, that information could not be standardised. For example, whilst one call gathered information on the ethnicity and the number of women, another call produced a list of services and prices.
- Statistical analysis focuses on the aggregate data for each variable (e.g. location of brothels) rather than the overall number of records.

COMPARISONS WITH POPPY STATISTICS

- Any comparison with the referral data of women believed to have been trafficked into the UK and the statistics obtained from London's brothels should be treated with caution.
- Whilst POPPY statistics are obtained directly from trafficked women, the information from brothels was, more often than not, provided by a third party, such as a maid, receptionist or manager.
- Even in cases where women providing services spoke directly with the researchers, the provided information could not be checked directly with the women, in the interests of their security, although it was possible to establish a level of continuity of disclosure through double-counting.

¹³ Also known as the Lincoln Index, this is a method used to estimate the size of mobile population units.

METHODOLOGY

- Male researchers were recruited and trained to telephone brothels, asking precise questions about the women and services available, as well as the nature of the establishment itself.
- Researchers conducted the interviews under the guise of prospective brothel visitors, recording information as verbatim.¹⁴ Please see Appendix F for the list of questions given as guidance to the researchers.¹⁵
- Data collection took place on weekdays between 11am and 11pm, over the course of six months, between autumn 2007 and spring 2008, for a total of 250 hours.
- All available statistics were recorded by the researchers (such as the number of sex establishments) and any relevant and useful data included in the body of the report.
- The information obtained by the researchers was cross-referenced in order to avoid 'double-counting' and to ensure sites were located in the correct borough. Addresses were confirmed using an online database.
- The researchers usually worked in pairs (with one making calls whilst the other entered data onto the computer) and were supervised by senior female researchers.
- Pay-as-you-go mobile phones were used to telephone brothels so that calls could not be traced, to ensure the protection of both subjects and researchers.
- All establishments were called twice in an attempt to check the accuracy of details, for example, numbers of women working, prices, and services on offer.
- Although approximately 1500 brothels were identified, just under a thousand premises were surveyed, partially because some advertised numbers were defunct, other numbers continually went through to voicemail or were left unanswered.
- In some cases, potential participants were unwilling to disclose information, through lack of inclination, lack of time or suspicion. In addition, limited resources restricted the time which could be allocated to research sessions.

¹⁴ See pages 12-14 for methodology and limitations.

¹⁵ Although the researchers attempted to ask as many questions as possible from the list, they were briefed to cut the call short if the person on the other end appeared to become apprehensive or concerned. On other occasions, the person answering refused to give certain details.

DATA ANALYSIS

THE WOMEN

AGE

- The average age of women available in brothels was 21 years old;
- The given ages of women ranged from 18 years to 55 years old;
- Numerous establishments offered 'young girls' or 'babyface girls' but refused to specify ages.

Greek girl described as 'very very young'...

(Brothel operator in London, 2008)

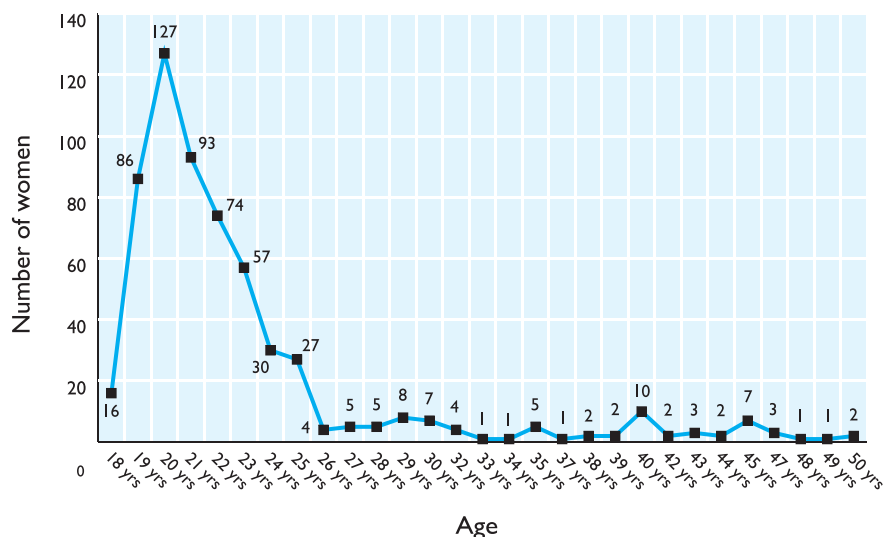
Youth is a major selling point within the sex industry, both in the UK and globally. In Cambodia, for example, a

12 year old virgin may cost \$500; the next night, she could be sold again for only \$2 (UNICEF, 1995).

A multi-country study for the International Organisation for Migration found that three-quarters of men who buy sex prefer women under 25 years old, whilst over one-fifth of buyers (22%) prefer girls under eighteen years old (Anderson & O'Connell Davidson, 2003).

Unlike some other parts of the world, child sexual abuse in London tends to occur discreetly. During this research, no information was disclosed to confirm the availability of underage girls in London brothels. However, young women dominate the data. Because of the premium placed upon youthfulness, it is likely that some ages cited by the surveyed brothels are misleading. An inclination to 'round down' ages is suggested by minor peaks at 30 years, 35 years, 40 years and 45 years old.

FIG. 1. AGES OF WOMEN IN LONDON'S BROTHELS



DATA ANALYSIS

THE WOMEN

ETHNICITIES

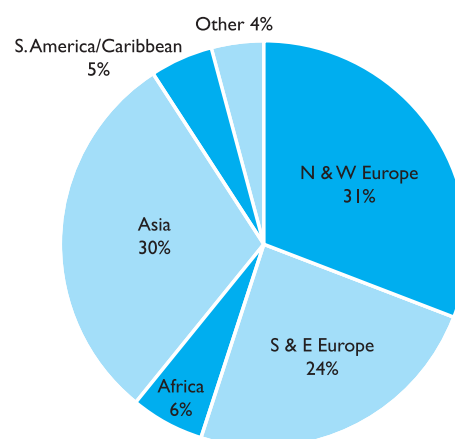
- Brothels stated that 55% of women were European, of which almost half were apparently from Southern and Eastern Europe (44%), compared to 56% from Northern and Western Europe.
- Nearly one-third of women were from Asia (30%), according to the disclosed information.

“I don’t know how they get the Chinese girls in – there’s a different one every week. I think they have an agreement with a college and come in on student visas.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

- African women accounted for only 6% of given ethnicities.
- The proportion of women identified as South American and Caribbean women was 1/20, whilst the nationalities of 4% of women was unknown or undisclosed.
- In total, 77 different nationalities and ethnicities of women were cited by the brothels surveyed.

FIG. 2. RACIAL ORIGINS OF WOMEN IN LONDONS BROTHELS BY REGION



DATA ANALYSIS

THE WOMEN

INDICATORS OF ETHNIC MISREPRESENTATION

- Previous research has found that the true racial identity of women from certain countries may be concealed, findings which are confirmed by reports from formerly trafficked women, who were forced to say they were from a country other than that of their actual country of origin (Dickson, 2004).
- Formerly trafficked women from Albania report being sold as Greek, Italian and South American, while postings expressing doubt over the identity of women regularly feature on buyers' websites.

"Although descriptions from the advertisements may not be reliable, almost half of the publications carrying the adverts had some which indicated nationality or race as an apparent 'selling point.'" (GEO, 2008)

- The incidence of racial misrepresentation from brothels is unknown. During data collection for this survey, active suspicions were periodically raised as to the accuracy of given ethnicities.
- One researcher noted that the phone was picked up by "an 'Italian' lady who picked up herself. 40 years old, definitely did not sound Italian." Another reported that the maid, "Said the ethnicities were Spanish, Brazilian but [I] heard her talking with one to see if she did anal and it was neither language."
- Such anecdotal evidence cannot be verified without placing participants at risk. However, it is possible to compare the prevalence of assumed ethnicities, as given by brothels, against the actual ethnicities of women being trafficked into the UK.

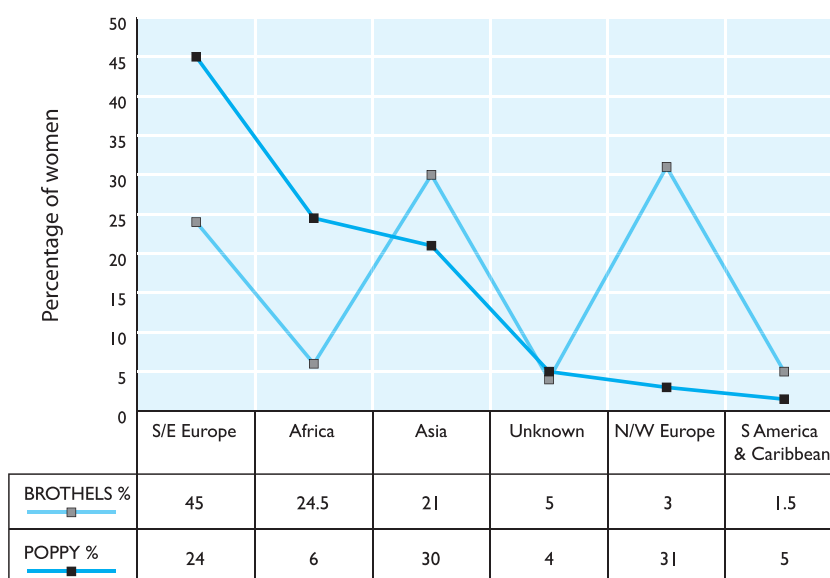
"I made a list in my mind. I told myself that I'll be with different races e.g. Japanese, Indian, Chinese... Once I have been with them I tick them off the list."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

DATA ANALYSIS

THE WOMEN

FIG. 3. ORIGINS OF POPPY REFERRALS AGAINST WOMEN IN LONDON'S BROTHELS



- There is relative parity between figures from Asia, South America and the Caribbean, and unknown ethnicities, suggesting reasonable accuracy in the ethnicities given by brothels for those regions.

"I have met Eastern Europeans and the newspapers say there are a lot of them trafficked here. But they come to you, they look cheerful, they may be putting on an act but I don't really know."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

- Significant disparity exists between figures from Southern and Eastern Europe, Northern and Western Europe, and Africa. Whilst it is not possible to establish the reasons behind the inconsistencies, an element of misrepresentation is apparent.
- 'Exotic' source regions given by brothels, such as South America and Asia are roughly in line with POPPY statistics (within a margin of 10 percent).
- Regions composed of some countries with negative ethnic or political connotations (for example Roma countries, or conflict zones in Africa) represent a margin of over 20 percent difference compared to POPPY data.

DATA ANALYSIS

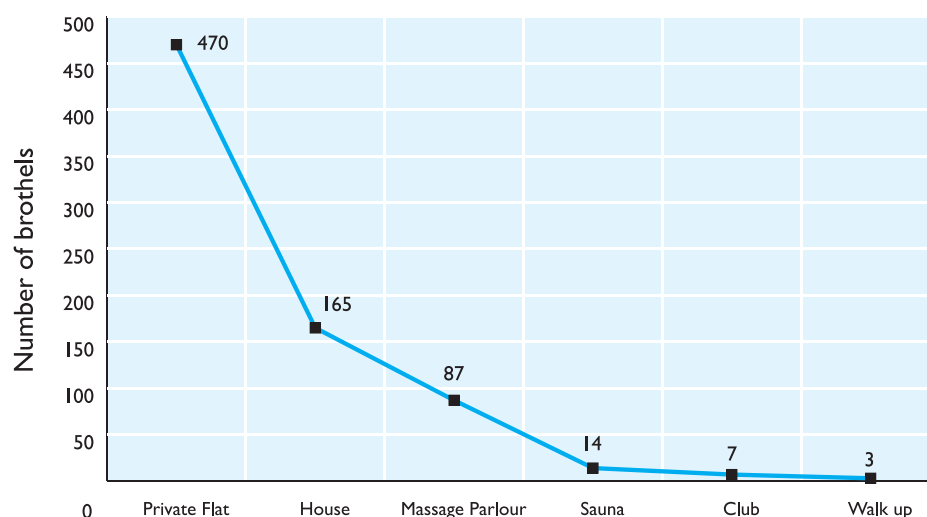
THE BROTHELS

"It's like going for a drink. You are not doing anything illegal."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

- Despite the narrow research criteria (limiting contact sources to print media only), around 1500 brothels were identified with ease.
- Almost two-thirds of identified brothels (n=921) provided viable information.
- 81% of surveyed brothels provided information about the type of premises (n=746).
- Of these 746 premises, almost two-thirds (63%) were identified as private flats (residential appearance; discreet).
- Over one-fifth of brothels (22%) found said they were located in a house (residential appearance; discreet).
- Over one in ten brothels identified as massage parlours (commercial appearance; legitimate front).
- Three-quarters of massage parlours (74.7%) were located on main streets.
- A similar number of establishments advertised as saunas were also located on high streets (71.4%).
- Only 2% informed us they operated under the guise of a sauna (commercial appearance; legitimate front).
- 0.5% said they were walk-up flats (semi-commercial). This low number may be explainable by the fact that walk-up flats tend to publicise their business in nearby streets, rather than in newspapers, using runners and phone cards.

FIG. 4. TYPES OF BROTHELS IN LONDON



DATA ANALYSIS

THE BROTHELS

MANAGEMENT

- It was possible to establish the role of the person who answered the phone in 86% of cases (790 brothels).
- Of 790 phone calls, the majority were answered by a designated maid (58%).
- One-third of calls were answered directly by women working in the brothel (33%).
- In 6% of cases, a male manager answered the phone.
- The brothel owner picked up the phone in 1% of cases, whilst only one doorkeeper (security personnel) answered a call (0.1%).

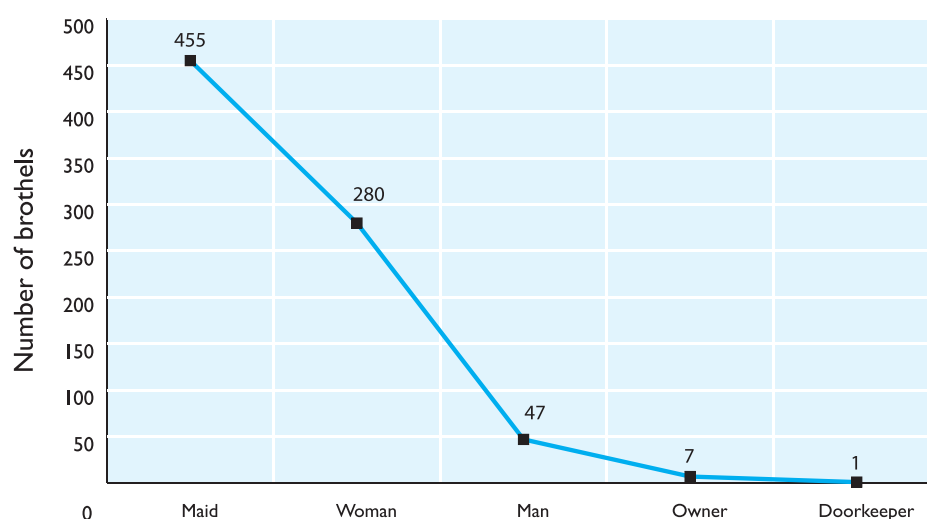
- A quarter of brothels contacted were happy for visitors to bring their own drinks (n=226),
- Drinks were served at 12% of brothels (n=114), despite the fact that licences for alcohol are supposedly “very rarely given” to establishments operating as massage parlours¹⁶.
- 18% of brothels contacted were happy for stag parties to book group visits in advance (n=164).

“We have a dirty Oriental bitch who will do stag nights, anal, and the rest.”

(Brothel operator in London, 2008)

- 6% of surveyed brothels also offered a call-out service (n=57).

FIG. 5. PERSON WHO ANSWERED PHONE IN BROTHEL



¹⁶ Interview with Westminster council licensing officer.

DATA ANALYSIS

THE SERVICES

AVAILABLE SERVICES

FULL SEX

- 79% of surveyed brothels offered full sex (n=728).
- Prices ranged from £15 for to £250, with 27 different price levels.
- Average price for full sex: £61.93.
(Fig. 8 page 33)

"If she isn't crying but says no, I keep on.
I only stop if she is really crying."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

ANAL SEX

- 14% offered anal sex (n=128).
- Prices ranged from £20 to £240.
- Average price for anal sex: £93.87.
(Fig. 10 page 34)

KISSING

- 22% of premises provided kissing (n=200), and 185 prices were obtained.
- Range of prices: £10 - £600 (17 different price levels)
- Average price for kissing: £42.43
- Over half of surveyed brothels charged only £10 extra for kissing: (52%)
- 1 in 10 premises charged over £100 for kissing or French kissing (10.8%).
(Fig. 13 page 35)

"I get sexual satisfaction for money. She may not get satisfaction, I don't care."

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

FULL SEX OR ANAL SEX WITHOUT A CONDOM

- Only 19 brothels admitted to providing penetrative sex without a condom.
- The vast majority of premises told us to negotiate directly with the women.
- Prices were obtained in 8 cases, ranging from £10 to £200.
- Average price for full sex without a condom: £71.25.
(Fig. 11 page 34)

ORAL SEX WITHOUT A CONDOM

- Almost two-fifths (n=358) offered oral sex without a condom (39%).
- A third of premises (33.5%) gave a price over the phone for oral sex without a condom.
- Prices ranged from £10 extra to £240 inclusive, the most frequent price was £10 accounting for 16%, followed by £80 at 12.5%.
- Average price for oral sex without a condom: £58.20.
(Fig. 12 page 35)

DATA ANALYSIS

THE SERVICES

ANECDOTAL INDICATORS OF TRAFFICKING

WHAT THE BROTHELS SAY:

UNPROTECTED SEX

Everything with a condom but £10 extra without”

“For no condom and anal call tomorrow. Eastern Europeans promised later in week”

ANAL

“£30 extra for anal if caller is 'smallish down there”

“Anal price negotiable 'depending on size”

“The younger girl does anal”

KISSING & UNPROTECTED ORAL ('ORAL WITHOUT')

“French kissing £10”

“Kissing available for £20 "depending on what you look like.”

“Add £10 to prices for French kissing. Situated near a mosque and primary school.”

“Get hand relief, oral without, full sex, kissing at £70 for 30 minutes, £100 for 1 hour.”

“Where they are cheap, there are usually trafficked prostitutes.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

“She was frightened and nervous. She told me she had been tricked. I had sex with her and she seemed fine with the sex. She asked me to help her, but I said there was little I could do. She might have been lying to me”.

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

DATA ANALYSIS

THE PRICES

‘SPECIAL OFFERS’

- Researchers repeatedly noticed the ways in which women were marketed to them, with reference to ‘happy hour’ discounts and delivery charges, along with a wide range of special offers, designed to entice potential buyers and undercut local competition.
- Similar deals were simply not available five years ago, compared to the current scale, range and pricing of offers. A few examples of the ‘bargain buys’ offered to researchers:

- **“Special offer of oral without, 69, kissing and anal for an hour £250, above chicken shop”**
- **“£20 discount on first visit .Women size 8-10 very horny”**
- **“House special: £80 for 20 minutes with two girls”**
- **“£150 per hour introductory deal - includes oral without, kissing and anal”**
- **“£60 for 'cum twice' option”**
- **“Usual session £150 for 1 hour. Can have 30 min taster for £80”**
- **“If you spend over £50 you’re allowed oral without condom”**
- **“All things catered for, oral without is tonight’s special”**
- **“£90 for 30 mins oral without, 'greedy boy' cum twice”**
- **“Full service with oral (completion on body), 30 mins for £60 or 60 mins is £80 (normally £90 but tonight is a 'special deal') all services except anal”**
- **“Special offer of oral without, 69, kissing and anal for an hour £250...we’re above a chicken shop”**
- **“French kissing free, tonight only”**
- **“£150 per hour introductory deal - includes oral without, kissing and anal.”**
- **“£70 for full personal, 90 for greedy boy which is kisses and cuddles and everything and unlimited cum”**
- **“Anal and without available. Discount available today £10 off all services above £50”**
- **“Special offer: oral without and anal for £100”**
- **“Voucher for first timers which is 50% off next visit”**
- **“£150 for as many times as you can”**
- **“£1000 quote for a party with four women plus £50 delivery”**

DATA ANALYSIS

THE PRICES

THE PRICES

COSTINGS PER DAY/WEEK/YEAR

- With the average price of full sex in a London brothel at a current estimate of £61.93, a woman working five days a week, serving three customers per day for 48 weeks in a year would generate £44, 589.60 annually.
- Based on an absolute minimum of 1198 women working solely in brothels which advertise through local London newspapers, an estimated £53.5 million is generated for brothels through this medium alone.

“It is actually cheaper to go to prostitutes than a normal woman.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

- For a woman working seven days a week, serving five customers daily for 50 weeks a year, £108,377.50 would be generated. Multiplied by the minimum of 1198 women, a total of £129.8 million would be generated through the illegal advertisement of brothels in London's papers.
- Recent research on the prevalence of advertisement of commercial sex in UK local newspapers found that the revenue accrued by publishers from 'personal services' adverts totalled an estimated £44 million nationally (GEO, 2008).

“I don't need to impress any ordinary girls. All I need is to be reasonably clean and pay the money.”

(Male sex buyer, London, December 2007)

DATA ANALYSIS

THE BOROUGH

THE DOUGHNUT EFFECT

- The winning candidate in London's mayoral election of May 2008 invested significant resources courting suburban boroughs – the outer 'doughnut' ring of greater London.
- It was argued that too much focus was given to inner London, emphasising that most Londoners lived and worked beyond the central area of the capital.

According to the Office of National Statistics, outer London consists of:

- **Barking & Dagenham**
- **Barnet**
- **Bexley**
- **Brent**
- **Bromley**
- **Croydon**
- **Ealing**
- **Enfield**
- **Greenwich**
- **Harrow**
- **Havering**
- **Hillingdon**
- **Hounslow**
- **Kingston upon Thames**
- **Merton**
- **Redbridge**
- **Richmond upon Thames**
- **Sutton**
- **Waltham Forest**

- Of the relevant premises,¹⁷ 60% were located in outer London (n=536), with 40% based in inner London (n=366). This division mirrors the population split between central and greater London, whereby suburban boroughs accommodate 61% of London's residents, compared to 39% living in central boroughs.¹⁸
- The placement of research calls was guided solely by advertisements in local newspapers, which comprehensively cover the whole region (for a full list, see Appendix B).
- The results suggest that supply and demand for brothels in London is not susceptible to the 'doughnut effect' - in other words, despite peak central boroughs, such as Camden and Westminster, brothels advertise and exist all over London, catering geographically for the proportionate populations of inner and outer London (page 27).
- However, there is no apparent correlation between individual borough population and the number of brothels surveyed (page 27).

¹⁷ The total number of brothels surveyed across London is 921, including a number of premises operating in several boroughs through additional escort services – the 19 relevant records have been removed from these calculations, leaving a remaining 902 brothels.

¹⁸ 2001 Census

DATA ANALYSIS

THE BOROUGH

FIG. 6. ADVERTISED BROTHELS IN LONDON BY BOROUGH

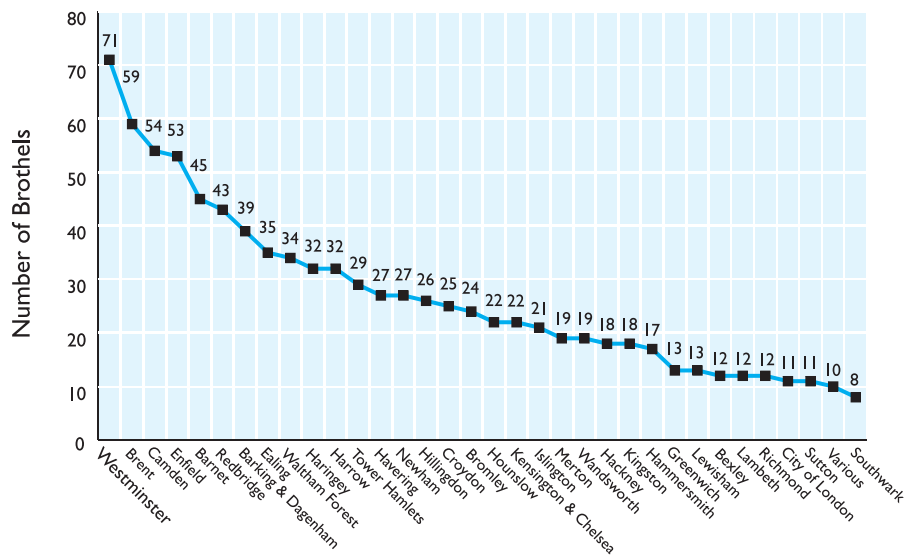
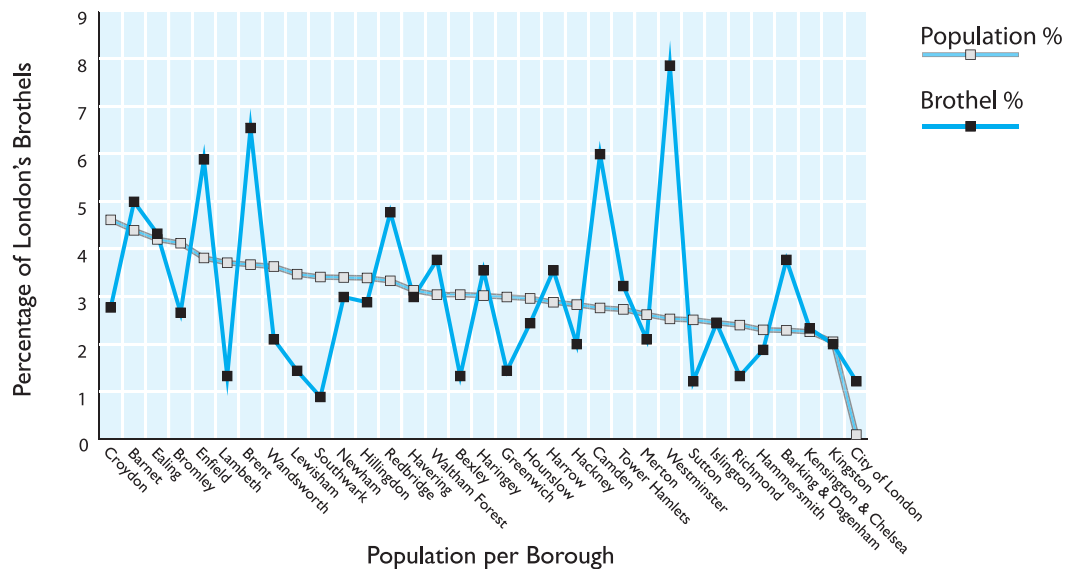


FIG. 7. PROPORTION OF BROTHELS PER BOROUGH AGAINST POPULATION PER BOROUGH



DATA ANALYSIS

THE BOROUGH

Borough	Westminster	Enfield
Location	Heart of central London	Northern most borough 12 miles from centre
Characteristics	Seat of national power; Capital of UK sex industry	Leafy suburbia; Urban industry
Population	232,000	285,000
Ethnic Minorities	Over 30%	Almost 40%
Surveyed Brothels	71	53

- In terms of the availability of 'specialist services' and accompanying average prices, brothels in Westminster consistently rank higher than London as a whole.
- Whether central premises are more willing to provide information over the phone or whether a higher proportion of establishments offer specialist services cannot be ascertained from this research.
- The latter possibility is in keeping with Westminster's reputation for expensive property, convenience and diversity.

Service	Full Sex			Anal			Kissing		
Borough	Offered	Range	Average	Offered	Range	Average	Offered	Range	Average
Westmin'	86%	£25-240	£80	42%	£40-240	£145	24%	£80-240	£151
Enfield	79%	£30-135	£80	26%	£80-200	£120	25%	£20	£20
London	79%	£30-135	£80	26%	£80-200	£120	25%	£20	£20

- In autumn 2007, Enfield Council took the commendable step of commissioning a mapping project to seek information as to the scale and nature of human trafficking in the borough (Bindel and Atkins, 2008).
- There is a great deal of work to be done to introduce and sustain the most basic human rights in relation to the sex industry, by reversing the current growth of abuse and exploitation within prostitution.
- This unprecedented move resulted in findings which both informed and dismayed the council, not least because of the implications of research findings, and the consequent recommendations.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

BROTHELS

1. Identify the scale and nature of the brothel industry in London

- This survey illustrates the prevalence of brothels in every part of London.
- Print classified adverts are one of the most blatant ways to market brothels,¹⁹ suggesting the premises identified represent merely the ‘tip of the iceberg.’

2. Map the locations of print-advertised brothels in London

- In every recorded case, the borough location was established. In many cases, specific addresses were also obtained, including brothel names, postcodes, directions, and descriptions of concealed entrances.

3. Identify links between individuals and businesses in off-street premises

- This survey produced a range of results in terms of individuals working in brothels, and the people managing premises (see Data Analysis for details).
- On several occasions, babies were heard crying in the background, and children could be heard playing, suggesting some women working from home or in a family environment.

WOMEN

4. Obtain information about the women situated in London’s brothels

- Detailed quantitative data was obtained about women in London’s brothels. A fraction is included in this report, focusing upon ages, ethnicities, and services.
- In addition, diverse qualitative information was gathered. For example, when women providing services personally answered calls, researchers regularly noted that they sounded ‘miserable’... ‘subdued’... ‘tired’... ‘exhausted.’²⁰

5. Identify potential needs of women working in London’s brothels

- The ubiquity of dangerous and discounted services raises serious concerns about the health and safety of women working in brothels. In numerous cases, researchers were told that they could do ‘anything’ to the available women – in all instances, the person providing the information was male.
- The difficulties for women in minimising health risks are compounded by buyers who pay extra to avoid wearing condoms, despite widespread availability.²¹

¹⁹ Available in every newsagent, supermarket and petrol station across the country.

²⁰ One woman told a researcher she had only had seven hours sleep in the last week.

²¹ Networks of outreach services and drop-in centres supply free condoms, however; accessibility is no longer the primary problem.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

6. Inform support services and policy-makers about the women's needs

- This report will be circulated widely to relevant agencies and individuals, using a range of media, networks and distribution methods.
- Further information is available upon request, including interviews and seminars.

Recommendation: Statutory agencies should include information on the realities of prostitution in training on gender equality and gender-based violence.

7. Recommend strategies for women wishing to exit prostitution, and for those escaping trafficking situations

- A handful of dedicated exiting services exist across the UK, such as Safe Exit Tower Hamlets in East London and 3D Exit in Plymouth.

Recommendation: Long-term funding must be secured and further expertise developed to roll out exit strategies and referral services for trafficked victims in all local authorities areas.

8. Identify resource implications in developing services, targeting exit strategies

- The current lack of adequate specialised services and consequential limited expertise is resulting in a failure to fulfil human rights obligations enshrined in domestic and international instruments.²²

Recommendation: Significant greater investment of resources is urgently needed to create a framework of national provision, and further develop existing services.

TRAFFICKING INTO PROSTITUTION

9. Identify links between the off-street sex industry and trafficking into prostitution

- Widespread availability of high-risk services suggests significant numbers of women who lack control, choice or economic alternatives.
- Incredibly low prices for formerly 'specialist' or 'luxury' services indicates a saturated market, which includes a growing number of trafficked women (POPPY Project Statistics 2003-2008).

10. Explore the growing pervasiveness of sex trafficking in London

- Of the women identified in *Sex in the City*, 81% were foreign nationals. *Big Brothel* recorded a slight increase to 84%.
- Indicators of trafficking were found in every borough of London.

Recommendation: Sensitisation training for all police, immigration and other agencies who come into contact with women working in brothels must be implemented as core training.

²² For example, the UK Human Rights Act 1998, the UN Palermo Protocol 2000, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

11. Identify urgent measures to effectively tackle the spread of sex trafficking in London and nationally

Recommendation: In order to stem the rise in demand for prostitution, which fuels trafficking, the purchase or attempted purchase of sex acts should be criminalised, expanding current sanctions against kerb crawling.

Recommendation: Policy-makers and service providers should recognise the continuum of violence in commercial sexual exploitation, and avoid making artificial distinctions between trafficked and non-trafficked women in prostitution.

Recommendation: Full implementation of the provisions in the European Convention on Action Against Human Trafficking should follow UK ratification in January, accompanied by rigorous, long-term monitoring.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

12. Provide intelligence to police and other relevant agencies with intelligence

- Information regarding illegal activities, including trafficking indicators, has been recorded and compiled into a dossier for relevant law enforcement agencies.²³

Recommendation: Following brothel raids, police assistance and specialist support must be offered to all those offering commercial sex, not only those who are coerced.

²³ Sensitive information which may prejudice police investigations, such as specific locations, is not included in this report.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

13. Identify gaps in current law enforcement activities targeting brothels

- Brothels operate under a thin veil of legitimacy, whether as inconspicuous flats in quiet neighbourhoods or as neon-lit saunas on high streets.
- The willingness of so many brothels to pursue blatant advertising, discuss available services over the phone and provide exact location details suggests confidence in a climate of virtual impunity.

Recommendation: Law enforcers must be enabled and encouraged to monitor the off-street sex industry effectively.

16. Examine implications of findings in relation to London and the UK in general

- This survey provides unprecedented insight into the functioning of London's brothels. Refer above to Data Analysis section for exploration of research findings.
- Lack of available resources played a partial role in limiting this survey to i) brothels ii) print media.

Recommendation: New funding streams must be allocated to enable the advancement of research into the off-street sex industry.

RESEARCH

14. Compare changes in the nature and profile of research for *Sex in the City*

- The similarities and differences between *Sex in the City* and *Big Brothel* are discussed above, in the Introduction (pages 7-8), Research Limitations (page 20) and Data Analysis: The Women (pages 24-25).

15. Update, expand upon and refine the limited research currently available

- Independent brothel research varies considerably in its scope and objectives, typically with a notably smaller sample population.
- By conducting the research in a covert manner, an unprecedentedly large number of brothels were surveyed and wide ranging information was obtained.

17. Establish grounds for further research into London's off-street sex industry

- Guidelines introduced in May 2008 by the Newspaper Society have restricted the publication of adverts, limiting scope for future research of the same nature.

Recommendation: Research must adapt with technology to develop effective mechanisms for studying commercial sexual exploitation which occurs, or is initiated, online.

GRAPHS

FIG. 8. BROTHELS OFFERING FULL SEX

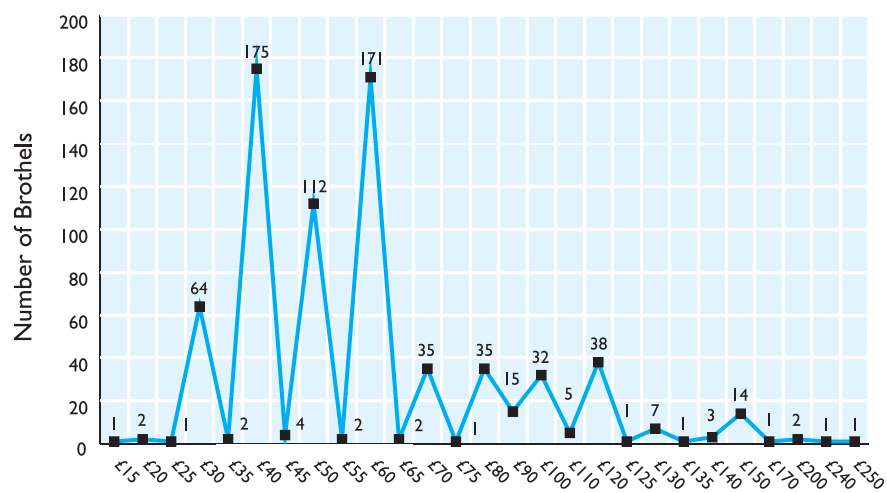
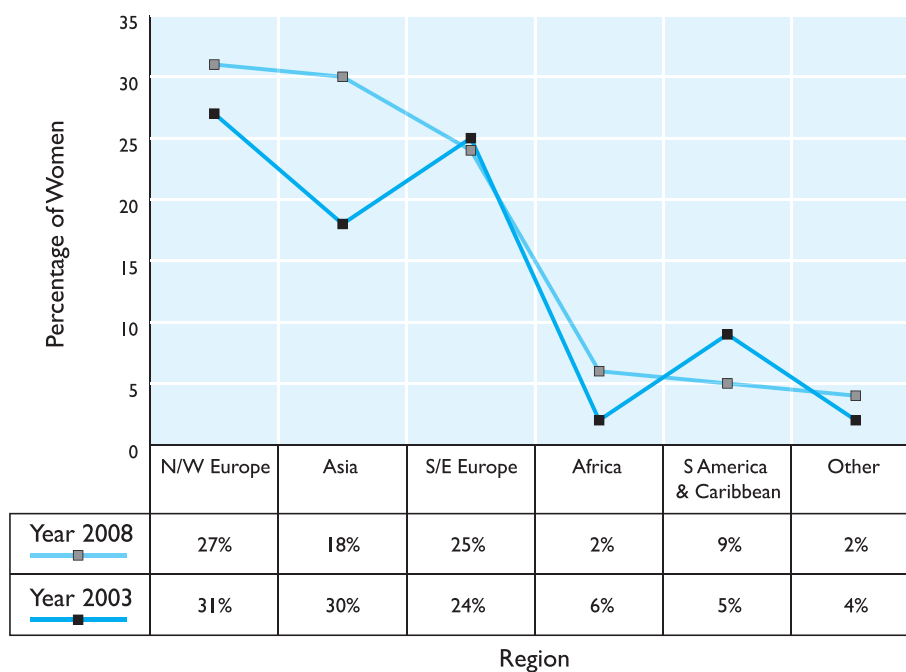


FIG. 9. REGIONAL ORIGINS OF WOMEN IN SEX IN THE CITY AGAINST 2008 FINDINGS



GRAPHS

FIG. 10. ANAL SEX

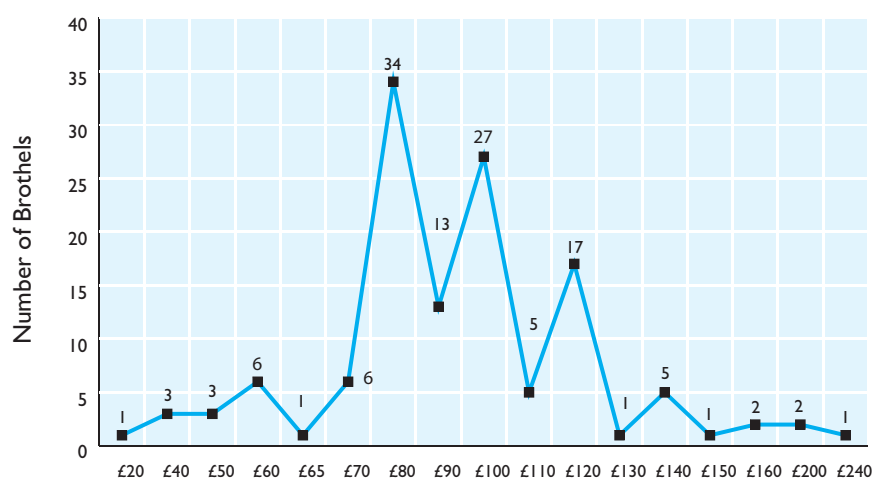
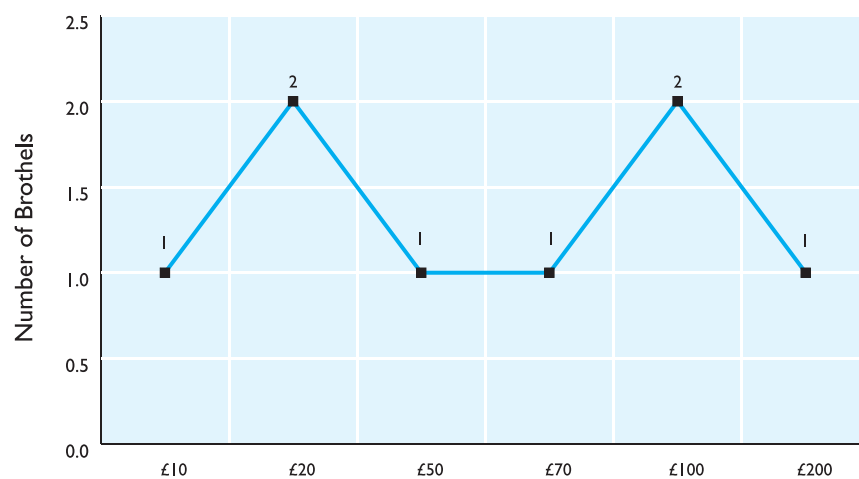


FIG. 11. FULL SEX OR ANAL SEX WITHOUT A CONDOM



GRAPHS

BIG BROTHEL

FIG. 12. ORAL SEX WITHOUT CONDOM

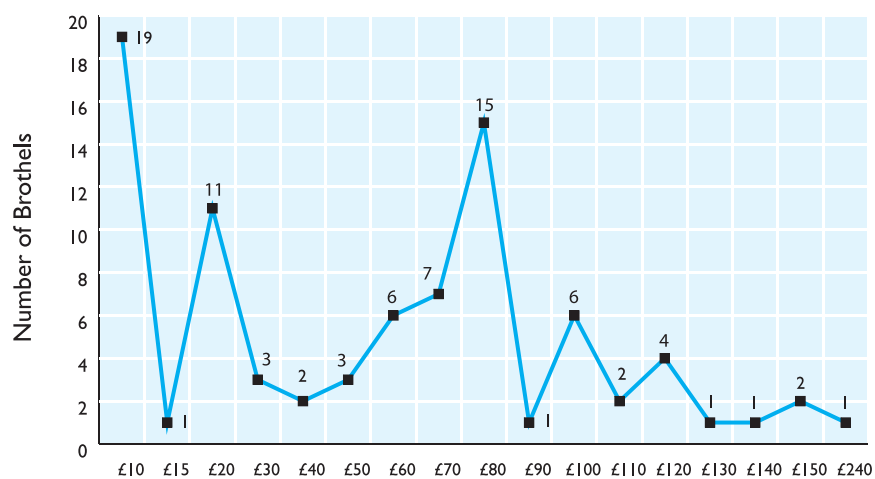
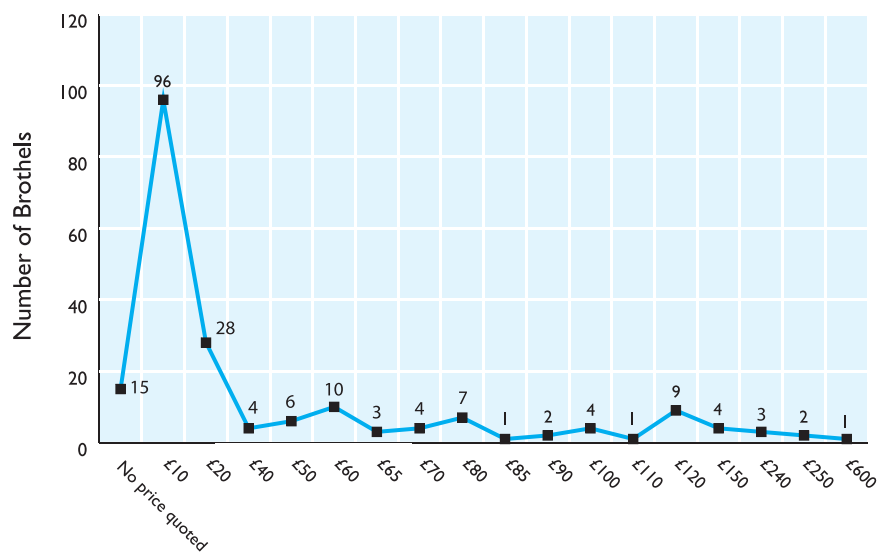


FIG. 13. KISSING



TABLE

FIG. 14. RACIAL ORIGINS OF WOMEN

Ethnicity	Number of women	Ethnicity	Number of women
English	194	Bulgarian	3
Eastern European	189	Black/White	3
Oriental	146	Taiwan	2
Asian	103	Scandinavian	2
Spanish	41	Pakistani	2
Italian	41	Norwegian	2
Black	37	Mixed Race	2
African	29	Mexican	2
Exotic	28	Iranian	2
Brazilian	27	Greek	2
Polish	23	English/Indian	2
European	20	Australian	2
Japanese	17	Ukrainian	1
Indian	17	South Asian	1
Russia	16	South African (white)	1
Swedish	13	Slovakian	1
Portuguese	13	Mauritian	1
Chinese	13	Madagascan	1
Caribbean	13	Latin	1
Thai	11	Italian/Spanish	1
South American	10	Indian/Portuguese	1
Czech	10	Indian/Jamaican	1
Malaysian	8	Indian/Caribbean	1
White	7	Hong Kong	1
Korean	6	Hispanic	1
French	6	Hawaiian	1
Singapore	5	English/Saudi Arabian	1
Lithuanian	5	English/Oriental	1
Hungarian	5	English/Malaysian	1
Western European	4	English/French	1
Various	4	English/Caribbean	1
Turkish	4	Dutch	1
Mediterranean	4	Dubai	1
Romania	3	Cyprus	1
Estonian	3	Cuban	1
Egyptian	3	Croatian	1
Colombian	3	Arabic	1

APPENDIX A

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7.	Bexley News Shopper
8.	Brent & Wembley Leader
9.	Brentford Chiswick and Isleworth Times
10.	Bromley News Shopper
11.	Camden Gazette
12.	Camden New Journal
13.	Croydon Advertise
14.	Croydon Guardian
15.	Croydon Post
16.	The Docklands
17.	Ealing Gazette
18.	Ealing Informer
19.	Ealing Leader
20.	East London Advertiser
21.	Edgware and Mill Hill Times
22.	Enfield Advertiser
23.	Enfield Gazette
24.	Enfield Independent
25.	The Founder
26.	Fulham & Hammersmith Chronicle
27.	Greenwich Borough News Shopper
28.	Greenwich Independent
29.	Hackney Gazette
30.	Ham & High Broadway
31.	Hampstead & Highgate Express
32.	Haringey Advertiser
33.	Haringey Independent
34.	Havering Yellow Advertiser
35.	Harrow & Wembley Observer
36.	Hendon and Finchley Times

37.	Hornsey and Crouch End Journal
38.	Hounslow Borough Chronicle
39.	Hounslow Chiswick & Whitton Informer
40.	Hounslow, Feltham and Hanworth Times
41.	Hounslow Guardian
42.	Hounslow & Isleworth Informer
43.	Ilford & Redbridge Yellow Advertiser
44.	Ilford Recorder
45.	Ilford & Redbridge Post
46.	Islington Gazette
47.	Kensington & Chelsea Informer
48.	Kensington & Chelsea News
49.	Kilburn Times
50.	Kingston Informer
51.	Kingston Surbiton and New Malden Times
52.	Lewisham Independent
53.	Loot (miscellaneous)
54.	Marylebone Express
55.	Marylebone, Paddington & Pimlico Mercury
56.	Muswell Hill Journal
57.	Newham Recorder
58.	Paddington & Westminster Times
59.	Richmond Informer
60.	Richmond and Twickenham Times
61.	Romford Recorder
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APPENDIX C

TERMINOLOGY

PROSTITUTION AS 'SEX WORK': LANGUAGE & DEFINITIONS

Language, or the way we define and describe prostitution is crucial to our understanding of what prostitution actually is, how the law enforcers deal with it and how it affects societies in general. As one campaigner against the sex trade explains, 'new' language with which to describe the abuse of women by the pro-prostitution lobby can be inadvertently picked up and used by well-meaning professionals who are ignorant of the fact that such words and phrases are inappropriate.

Some pro-prostitution activists claim that in order to de-stigmatise prostitution, language should reflect the status of prostitution as 'work'. Jo Doezema, a vocal member of the Network of Sex Work Projects, an organisation which campaigns for prostitution to be redefined as work and for all laws pertaining to prostitution, including pimping, to be abolished, believes that: "To label a women 'abused' or 'trafficked' means to disempower her. She has the right to define as a sex worker, or even a migrant sex worker, and no-one has the right to define what she is except her" (Doezema, 2004).

A worrying addition to the 'sex work' discourse used by the pro-prostitution lobby is that of 'juvenile sex worker' used by a senior member of an international organisation against child sexual exploitation (In conversation with the author, 2005).

Another example of the misuse of language and confusion of typologies is blatantly apparent in the "Study on National Legislation on Prostitution and the Trafficking of Women and Children" (Transcrime, 2005). In this document, the authors confuse meanings of terms used to describe the views of those who subscribe to the view that all forms of prostitution constitute violence and abuse of women and children.

In the report, the authors claim that 'abolitionism' is a State policy in which street and off-street prostitution are not prohibited. "This system aims to abolish the State intervention on prostitution." Similarly, the term 'new abolitionist' which is not a term in common parlance in the anti-trafficking field, is supposed to mean countries which do not prohibit outdoor prostitution, and allow indoor prostitution (women being sold from flats and private establishments) but do not allow brothel prostitution.

The response from CATW (Raymond, 2005) states that, "Abolitionism has nothing to do with the division between indoor and outdoor prostitution. Abolitionist policy...is clearly outlined in the 1949 United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others (resolution 317 (IV) of 2 December 1949), which is its primary articulation." Prohibition is described, in the Transcrime Report, as "...if outdoor and indoor prostitution are prohibited." However, as CATW points out "Prohibitionist policies in theory criminalise those who solicit for prostitution, pimps or other exploiters, as well as those who facilitate prostitution activities... One basic difference between abolitionism and prohibitionism is the penalisation of both victims and prostitute users..."

What used to be called prostitution...is now called sex work. Trafficking has become migration for labour. Trafficked women are migrant sex workers, traffickers themselves are agents and brokers or immigration organisers. Debt bondage, long recognised as a modern form of slavery, has become contract work

(Jeffreys, 'Different words, same dangers from trade in women', Sydney Morning Herald, April 2005).

APPENDIX D

THE PROSTITUTION DEBATE

TO LEGALISE OR NOT TO LEGALISE?

Some governments have sought to regulate prostitution in an effort to curb trafficking and other forms of commercial sexual exploitation, on the assumption that if prostitution was properly controlled, child prostitution and trafficking could be eliminated. In several countries, this is proving to be a failed social experiment. For example, research examining legal and policy regimes in four countries: Australia (Victoria), Sweden, the Netherlands and Ireland found that legalisation helps the illegal sector to flourish (Bindel and Kelly, 2003)

If the outcome of legalisation is a rapid expansion of both legal and illegal provision, it follows that this results in an increase of all of the harmful and anti-social elements of prostitution (Erikson, 2003; Raymond, 2005). Legalisation has so far resulted in growth of the sex industry – both the legal and illegal sectors – and has not effectively addressed the key issue of street prostitution. It places significant burdens on police and local authorities to attempt to enforce regulations and combat the flourishing illicit elements.

A number of jurisdictions have established legalized prostitution. Not surprisingly, such policies increase and embolden the commercial sex industry within the jurisdiction, thereby increasing the demand for commercial sex and fuelling the sex-trafficking market (Huda, 2006).

Parts of Australia, Germany, the Netherlands and New Zealand have legalised brothel prostitution. The 'successes' of legalised regimes have been promoted to governments and NGOs in other countries, particularly those - such as the Balkans - which have recently experienced conflict and are under the watch of the international community.

Although criminalising those selling sex and the 'blind eye' approach of unofficial tolerance (without accompanying policy or procedural measures), favoured by many countries are tactics which have proved unsuccessful, legalised regimes are beset with problems, both long and short term, in countries that have introduced it.

In addition to expansion and normalisation, legal brothels tend to be owned by sex business entrepreneurs, often with links to organised crime and it is rarely easier for women themselves to establish and maintain collectives, as it is often maintained by those who support legalisation.

APPENDIX D

THE PROSTITUTION DEBATE

THE FALSE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION

It is often argued that trafficking is 'forced prostitution', thereby creating the impression that non-trafficked prostitution is voluntary and that prostitution is a career choice which is free from harm.

The lack of clarity and absence of unity, amongst policy-makers, practitioners and the general public, on how to effectively address the many issues concerning local women in prostitution and the men who use them, has facilitated the proliferation of certain forms of sexual exploitation (such as trafficking into prostitution) through loop-holes, and regional variations in services, tolerance, and interest.

Women who have not been trafficked are being sidelined for support, particularly with regard to resources and initiatives, based on the erroneous assumption that trafficked women are 'more deserving victims.' In reality, women who have been trafficked also have incredibly limited access to support, despite popular media attention and significant policy developments over recent years.²⁴

One stark example of the way that trafficking is seen as different and much worse than prostitution is the proposal from a senior member of the UK government suggesting that men who buy sex from trafficked women be charged with rape²⁵. Although this idea may have moral standing, it is without legal foundation in cases where the man did not know that the woman was trafficked. A requirement to ask a woman whether or not she has been trafficked before having sex would be unworkable, in terms of the burden of proof – already blurred and unsatisfactory in rape prosecutions – and because victims of trafficking rarely self-identify,

particularly in potentially dangerous situations. It could also reinforce the false impression that trafficked women are victims of abuse, whereas local women in prostitution are not. Whilst many men who buy sex neither know nor care about the circumstances of the women they use (McCleod *et al.*, 2008; Durchslag and Goswami, 2008) there is a growing body of evidence from women, trafficked or not, regarding their experiences of prostitution as akin to rape (Zimmerman, 2006; Farley *et al.*, 2003).

THE EFFECTS OF LEGALISATION

Legalisation opens up opportunity for entrepreneurial pimps. A 'drive-thru' brothel that features eight garages into which buyers drive to buy sex has become a huge success in Cologne, Germany (Bindel, 2006). Profits have risen so fast that this style of brothel may be expanded to other cities. Germany has a significant and growing problem with women being trafficked into its towns, cities and even villages. The reason why countries with legalised or 'tolerated' regimes experience an increase in trafficking and local sex industry activities is because a formal lack of law enforcement scrutiny acts as a massive incentive for traffickers (CATW, 2008).

Holland has been considered the 'best practice' example of how to control the industry and keep the women in it safe. Before the country's sex industry became inundated with trafficked women and children – in other words, before legalisation – there were strict codes of conduct adhered to by most women selling sex: no kissing, no unprotected sex, and anal sex was purely a "specialist" service costing a fortune and provided by few. But the industry is now being shaped by the huge influx of desperate, vulnerable women coming to the EU from Eastern Europe, Africa and South-East Asia to work in prostitution.

²⁴ The Government funds 35 bed spaces at the POPPY Project, whilst estimated numbers of victims run into thousands.

²⁵ Smith, Joan, 'The Independent', September 29, 2005, Sex with a trafficked woman is rape

APPENDIX D

THE PROSTITUTION DEBATE

By definition, there are no pimps in Amsterdam's red light area. According to Dutch legislation, men who own the windows and brothels, and live off the earnings of prostitution, are now "managers" or "facilitators". Only around 100 of Holland's estimated 25,000 prostitutes have registered as union members, and most of them work on phone-sex lines or as 'erotic dancers.'

"Before, I saw it [prostitution] as something illegal and wrong – not morally wrong, but I didn't want to pay for sex because I didn't have to pay for sex. But in that different setting, the context where there are different views, it rubs off on you very quickly"

(Punter on how a visit to Prague, where brothel prostitution is legal, changed his views on prostitution).

There is even a buyer's friendship group, the Foundation for Man & Prostitute, the world's only formal customers' organisation. Based in Amsterdam, it was set up in 1986 to provide "support and friendship". They discuss issues from how to combine having relationships with visiting prostitutes, to how to access the best services. In a nutshell, legalisation does nothing to help the women; benefits only pimps and punters; and creates societies where the buying and selling of women's bodies is normalised.

Despite the difficulty of obtaining accurate statistical data due to the clandestine nature of the industry, the following estimates have been given:

- There are about 80,000 women in prostitution in the UK (Kinnell, 2006);

- Around 85% of UK prostitution is believed to take place in off-street establishments (Dickson, 2004);
- An estimated 79% of women in off-street premises are foreign nationals (Dickson, 2004).

Estimates of the number of trafficked women in the UK vary significantly, unsurprising given the profoundly inaccessible demographic. Official figures range from between 142 and 1420 (Kelly & Regan, 2000) to 4000 (Home Office, 2003). Unofficial media-reported estimates, which include anonymous police sources, range in the tens of thousands: '10,000 irregular migrant women in UK prostitution' (Guardian, 2005); 25,000 'sex slaves' and 50,000 'women from every continent' (Daily Mirror, 2005).

A Note on Demand:

Most men that use brothels do not go looking for a trafficked or a non-trafficked woman, they want someone to have sex with. These are men who believe women are commodities. Why should we be asking men who go to brothels only to report those women who they think are foreign trafficked when we know all prostitution is abuse. We will never reduce the demand for prostitution if we allow men a get-out clause. All women in prostitution deserve our support and all men who are part of the demand side of this problem should be re-educated.

(Press Association Newsfile, 20 April 2006).

APPENDIX E

ASPECTS OF THE SEX INDUSTRY

CHATLINES

- Five years ago, chatline numbers were largely restricted to premium rate '0898' prefixes making them easy to identify and categorise.
- The inexorable rise in mobile communications, and the anonymity attained through pay-as-you-go handsets have revived premium rate phone calls.
- Texts, picture messages, video clips, and live streaming on mobile phones have ensured the survival of chatlines.
- Adverts appear in the classified sections of local newspapers, as well as on primetime terrestrial television.

INTERNET

- Despite a growing body of research, there remains a lack of knowledge about commercial sex which occurs or begins online.
- Nonetheless, it is evident that a large amount of London's commercial sex encounters now rely upon the internet for ease, economy and discretion.
- In terms of popularity and dominance, the internet now appears to be one of the leading sources of advertisements for commercial sex acts (PunterNet, 2008).
- Government job centres advertise jobs for webcam stripping, which offer £10 per hour to the woman (the online customer pays £39) – such adverts are accessible by 17 year olds.

RESIDENTIAL PREMISES

- Private flats and houses form the least noticeable aspect of the off-street industry, without visible adverts or signs. There is evidence that the number of private flats used to sell sex - but owned by a third party - are growing.
- Community involvement is essential to counter exploitation within these locations – often the only source of intelligence of the premises being used as a brothel.

LAP DANCING CLUBS

- London has around 70 lap dancing clubs, with new ones opening on an almost monthly basis (Object, 2008).
- The number of clubs across the UK has doubled to around 300 since the Licensing Act 2003 came into force, which places lap dancing clubs outside London on the same level as karaoke bars and pubs.
- Premises in the United Kingdom that offer entertainment for the public, and advertises or charges for such entertainment, are required to possess a Public Entertainment Licence (PEL).
- Any venue that is subject to a PEL is exempt from the requirement to register as a 'Sex Encounter Establishment' in order to offer sexual entertainment.
- Many sex businesses are classed as 'adult entertainment', like strip clubs and topless bars.

APPENDIX E

ASPECTS OF THE SEX INDUSTRY

BROTHELS

- Whereas street prostitution is at least partially visible, indoor prostitution often takes place in establishments masquerading as, and indeed often licensed as legitimate businesses such as massage parlours, saunas, lap dancing clubs, escort agencies and marriage bureaus.
- The dangers facing women in the off-street sex industry, as well as its links to organised crime, are increasingly accepted, despite efforts to trivialise the reality of working in brothels.

[The buyer took] money back, tried to take off condoms, trying to dominate me as on the wall there was whips and handcuffs. When I went into the flat that's how it was like, all that. And I had to defend myself so, I kept a knife, I always kept a knife underneath my mattress.

(Women survivor of prostitution)

- One former senior police officer, interviewed for the purposes of this report²⁶, makes it clear that police monitoring of the off-street sex industry is essential to root out criminality and violence:

“Pro-active policing of the sex industry is essential. Unless we go into the saunas and see what is happening, we are losing an opportunity to detect abuse and illegality”

(Former Supt. Heather Murray, 2007).

²⁶ Former Supt Murray is a consultant to law enforcement teams on trafficking and sexual exploitation in England and Wales.

APPENDIX F

SELECTED RESOURCES

I. GUIDELINES FOR TELEPHONE RESEARCHERS

- Please try to record as much information as possible on to the database immediately after the call is made.

KEY INFORMATION FROM EACH CALL:

1. **Ages of the women**
2. **Ethnicity - how many foreign nationals**
3. **Numbers who work at any one time
(size of brothel)**
4. **Sexual services and fees**
5. **Door entrance (location; charge)**

SAMPLE QUESTIONS TO ASK:

Age:

- What sort of ages are they?
- How old will she be?
- I don't really want anyone over 18/21 is that ok?
- Do you have any less experienced girls?
- How about 16 year olds?

Ethnicity:

- Have you got any e.g. Oriental / Asian /Black /Exotic / Eastern European girls?
- Where exactly is she/are they from?
- What does she look like?
- What's her English like?
- I don't want a foreigner; I just want an English girl – have you got any?

Numbers:

- How many have I got to choose from?
- Can I choose, or will I just have whoever is there?
- It's for a stag night – there will be quite a few of us – can we have a girl each?
- If I like the girl can I make a regular appointment just to see her?

Sexual services:

- What do the ladies offer?
- Will she do kissing?
- What are the prices for:
- Straight sex – sometimes called 'everything' or 'naughty boy'
- Blow job (French)
- Hand relief
- Anal sex (Greek)
- BDSM (Bondage, discipline, Sadomasochism)
- 3-somes
- Is it a private arrangement with the girl if I want to have sex without a condom? What will this cost?

Payment:

- Do you accept credit cards?
- Is it just cash?

Door entrance:

- Where is the shop entrance?
- How much does it cost to get in?
- Will it be obvious that I'm coming to the flat/parlour/sauna
- Are there separate entrances to the girls' bedrooms?

Type of Place:

- Is drink served?
- Is there a bar?
- Can I bring my own drinks?
- Can I shower before / afterwards?
- Do you have porn / adult / blue movies?
- Do you do a call out service? What are the rates?
- How long can I stay?

Other questions:

- Will it be discreet? You are discreet aren't you?
- I'll be bringing a corporate client with me – I want him to be really comfortable and relaxed – any special services you provide? He likes [Oriental/African/Eastern European/young etc.] women – will that be ok?
- Are the girls clean? What is your condom policy?
- Are you the owner? (note if man or woman)

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Who answered the phone?

- Door-keeper/security/bouncer
- Maid/ receptionist
- Owner?/Man/woman?
- One of the women?

Was the line:

- Answered – flat/parlour/sauna
- Engaged
- Voicemail
- No answer, no voicemail
- No anonymous calls accepted
- Line dead (out of business)
- Fax
- Not selling sex

2. REFLECTIONS FROM TELEPHONE RESEARCHERS

INTERVIEWER 1

I have been aware of the argument that pornography and prostitution weaken the structure of the family, and had thought of it as a woolly right-wing knee-jerk. However, doing the calls for the project, repeatedly exposing myself to sex described in two-dimensionally economic terms, I found a resulting change in my own attitude; the idea of sex started to be devalued and demeaned, its sanctity lost. I think that quite apart from the obvious effects on the women working in these places, there is a knock-on across society if they become more acceptable, that more and more men find themselves thinking in more reactionary terms without being aware of it, and unpleasant and damaging behaviour must follow. That is what occurred to me, that and it's bloody horrible.

INTERVIEWER 2

I found it very strange how much they were willing to discuss over the phone, how blunt they were and how

little persuasion they needed to tell their exact whereabouts. One was particularly worrying as she'd drive and meet the punter in abandoned buildings or the countryside, I thought she was really endangering herself. Also, particularly the English women would go into much more explicit descriptions of what they would do, perhaps to try and seduce the punters away from cheaper foreign women they see as competition. I was also very surprised at how widespread the brothels were, even in tiny towns in Surrey and Kent for example.

INTERVIEWER 3

I suppose I was surprised that the girls moved around every day, implying there are some big suppliers of girls and that it's very well coordinated. I didn't expect women to be answering the phones, though I think this was the case for well more than half of the calls I made. The low price was surprising, things starting at around £20. I would have guessed things would start at about £50.

I remember it all being easier than I thought, the people at the brothels seemed very normal and didn't make me feel uneasy. There weren't any bits that were particularly memorable, the calls were all quite similar.

INTERVIEWER 4

Surprised about the number of brothels and how close some of them are (in that I noticed one was in Elmers End/Beckenham - I hasten to add I have no interest whatsoever in visiting it!)

Surprised about the matter-of-factness of the people I called, when discussing things I was embarrassed to talk about over the phones. Varying levels of suspicion from "let us know when you get to the tube station" to freely giving out the information.

The "upgrading (for lack of a better word)" of nationalities - Estonians become Swedes, Albanians become Spanish etc...

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Difficulties of understanding Chinese (?) speakers - more than happy to give you the contact details for the brothels though

INTERVIEWER 5

The first and most important point would be that there are brothels everywhere in London, and not confined to any particular type of address - they're on high streets, down alleyways and in suburban two-up two-downs. In some respects it's difficult to draw firm conclusions from the survey because of the anonymous nature of the calls. The service provider, whether maid or prostitute, obviously has a financial incentive to attract you to visit their premises, and the most efficient providers would use the conversation to work out what sort of punter you are and what you wanted. So answers to questions about nationality, age etc could be deceptive beyond the normal margin of false advertising - the provider wants to get you to turn up and will say anything to achieve that end. Maids were generally much better at this.

Some wore the skin of legal businesses - at least two advertised themselves as 'ethical co-operatives', others offered special deals, happy hours, loyalty schemes etc. Some were more creative than others, such as the 'adult parties' providers which introduced several punters to several prostitutes simultaneously. There were a number of 24-hour businesses, which was less surprising once you consider the prevalence of shift-work, and the number of women who presumably work for more than one brothel in a day.

Very few men answered the calls; unless it was an escort agency in which case it was almost always a man. Most women discussed were foreign and in their 20s, requests for underage sex were always without exception treated with horror, as were the vast majority of requests for unprotected penetrative sex, although again this might change were the enquiries face to face - ultimately even the most arcane requests didn't faze anyone, they had heard it all before.

Some were more pro-active in encouraging discussion of exact services than others, this largely was down to area - by and large the inner city establishments were happier to reveal their exact address and menu of services, while the more suburban brothels were always much more circumspect about services. A large number of very similar places in North London would pretend that they only offered sauna and massage and that anything else was negotiable with your individual masseuse on arrival.

The language and prices were generally quite uniform and based on the same sliding scales. 'Hard sports' was a new term for me. As was the concept of an 'escort tour' - an out-of-town prostitute who would work shifts at various places for a week or so. There was a surprisingly small number of specialist BDSM establishments; I imagine these advertise in different media to the more traditional brothels. I also expected to find more brothels near lapdancing venues - but, again, presumably they don't need to advertise in the same way. There was absolutely no incidence of men being offered for sex, but a number of male-to-female transvestites or transsexuals. But there was a general feeling that everything was negotiable - services, nationalities, ages, places, names..

I do remember there was a chain of SE London places which promised 'the lowest prices in London' and a place in Islington stood out as sounding particularly unpleasant and dodgy. Similarly somewhere in Queensway promised 'anything'...

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3. PUNTERNET: A BEGINNER'S GUIDE

What is a Parlour

A Massage Parlour (or Sauna, they are almost interchangeable) is a place where several girls work at the same time, nominally offering massage. It will normally have a shop front type presence and will cater for casual, walk in, customers, although in some places you can make advance appointments if you wish.

A Sauna will normally have a communal changing room, lounge and sauna area as well as private massage rooms, while a Massage Parlour may not have a lounge, just the private massage rooms.

It will normally be run by a receptionist who does just that and will not normally provide a massage or service in the room.

Why go to a parlour?

Usually it can be done on the spur of the moment, little planning is needed, and you will usually get a selection of girls to choose from.

How to find one

Local papers usually carry adverts, there are the sections in Yellow Pages for Health Clubs and for Saunas as well as the usual internet sources such as the field reports on this site, the various links available from here, www.message0.com and www.harmlessgames.co.uk.

Phone up before you go to get a description of the place and the girls from the receptionist. This will tell you about the prices and the girls they have working that day, remember more girls = more choice. You will also get some information about the facilities and the opening hours, normally 11 am until 10 - 12 pm, although some places in some areas do stay open later and some close at 7pm..

However don't believe all that the receptionist tells you especially when she is describing the girls. They are invariably described to be thinner, prettier and younger than they really are and the nationalities are usually false.

It has to be remembered that the receptionist's job is to get as many punters as possible to come in and this leads to the distortions and evasions that occur. If you remember this it becomes a lot easier.

Some places have web sites where you can see the pictures of the girls and the interior of the place. Again these are all designed to be flattering.

The Receptionist

The Receptionist is probably the most important person in the parlour running the place. They are usually a woman, although in Scotland the receptionist may well be a man, don't let this put you off as he will have seen it all before.

If you want a specific service ask the ask the receptionist, she will have heard it all before. However you may get an answer 'you will have to discuss this with the girl when you get here'. What she is actually saying is that she doesn't know who you are and isn't going to provide information that could lead to problems with the local do-gooders. Just go along and ask the receptionist when get there. She may suggest that you see a certain girl so follow her advice. Alternatively ask if you can have a private word with the girl you want and ask her directly.

Be careful because if the receptionist says that 'you will have to discuss that with the lady in the room' she probably means that all that is on offer is for the girl to massage you, oral with a condom and standard sex!

How do I pay

Most places charge an entry fee, 'door money'. This is usually in the range £10 - £25, and paid at reception before you go in. It covers the cost of the room and the use of any facilities in the places, such as the Sauna. The cost normally depends upon the type of room and the

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length of time. Extras features that may push up the cost of the room are things like a Jacuzzi in the room. You will then pay the girls separately for the services she provided in the room.

Some places offer all in prices and this normally includes the room fee and sex. You are usually told this when you phone up, or there may be a menu at reception. If you take this offer you may want to tip the girl separately if she gives an exceptional service.

What Happens

This depends on whether the place is a Sauna or Massage Parlour.

A Sauna is more likely to have a communal changing room and lounge while a Parlour will have a reception and you will normally go straight to the room. Some places, of course, are a mixture of both and if want a sauna you will use the communal changing room and lounge while if you want a massage you will go straight to the room once you have chosen your girl.

But all the places are slightly different. One thing however is constant, the receptionist will tell you what to do especially if you tell her that you have not visited the place before.

Getting In

In any case you will go in the door and see the receptionist; this may be in the lounge but in some places you will be in a small lobby talking to the receptionist through a grille.

If you are in a place with a lobby you will not be given a chance to see the girls until you have gone in, but if you go straight into the lounge you will get a chance to see the girls and you may be offered the opportunity to see round the place before you make any decision.

Once you decide to stay you will have to pay for the room.

Saunas

Places with saunas usually have a communal changing room and showers, although there may also be showers or Jacuzzis in the room. You will be given a towel and a locker key and usually a bag to put your valuables in. If you are given a bag make sure you put your wallet in it as you will have to tip the girl in the room. If you are not given a bag, leave your wallet in your locker and you pay the girl when you get dressed. Some places Aquarius in Glasgow and Chesterfields in Manchester for example, now have lockers that take £1 coins.

You get changed in the changing room put your stuff in the locker, have a shower and perhaps sauna or steam, wrap the towel round yourself and go into the lounge.

Parlours

If you are in a parlour you will usually just choose the girl you want and go straight to the room. The receptionist will ask the available girls to come and meet you, you make your choice and that's it. Sometimes you will be shown pictures of the girls especially if the girl is busy and then you may decide to wait for her to come free. Its then a case of sitting in the lounge until she's ready. Be aware that the receptionist will always say the girl will be free earlier than she really will be, just to keep you there in case you don't fancy a long wait

If you want to have a sauna you normally do this first before choosing the girl and the situation becomes more like the places with communal changing rooms.

The Communal Lounge

The girls will be sitting around and you may be offered a drink, normally non-alcoholic. There will probably be a TV set on and some papers to read.

Normally one of the girls, or the receptionist, will normally introduce the available girls to you and tell you who is busy with a customer at the present and how long they will be.

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There may well be other punters sitting round just like you wondering what to say. You can always read the papers, watch TV, and at least one place, Chesterfields in Manchester, there is a pool table where you can play the girls. The other guys sitting there are probably as embarrassed as you but you all know one thing, you are all there for the same thing.

Sometimes, especially if the lounge is small, there will be a general conversation with the girls and the other punters which at times can be very mundane but other times can be quite entertaining. In places with larger lounges it is possible to have a talk to individual girls before making your mind up.

Then it's a case of choosing the girl you want and she will take you to the room sorting the booking details out with the receptionist.

Be aware in some places, London Street Sauna, for example the number of girls exceeds the number of rooms and you may have to wait for a room to be come free.

What happens in the room

If there is a Jacuzzi you will normally have that first and usually the girl will share it with you.

Other wise you will normally be offered a shower to freshen you up, although the shower may not be in the room, but outside. Just get undressed, wrap your towel round yourself, take you valuables, have the shower and return to the room. You are not very likely to meet anybody else except the girls.

You will normally be offered a massage which can vary from good to appalling. The girl may get undressed straight away or may keep her clothes on if she has not joined you in a Jacuzzi.

At some stage you will be asked if you want 'extras' or 'have you been here before' or if she knows its your first time there 'have you been anywhere else'. The girl is just trying to make sure you know what's its all about and

that you are not somebody who as come in for a genuine massage! Just ask 'What is available' and the girl will run through the services that she offers and the prices. These usually range from £20 to £80, depending upon the place and the service. Normally the prices are set by the house and are non-negotiable.

What is available will depend upon two things, what the rules for the house are and what the girl wants to do. Often house rules will dictate that oral will be covered and all sex safe and any girl found stepping outside the rules will either be fined by the house or will have leave. Other places are more tolerant and leave it up to the girl. The receptionist is a useful source of information if you want a specialist service.

The Dark Side

However there is a dark side to all of this.

- the house will normally take all the door money for the parlour.
- the girls will have to pay to work there. This can be a fixed fee per day or so much per client or the proceeds from the first client of the day.
- some workers in parlours (not all, not even a majority, just a few, are intravenous drug users)
- some parlours are run by organised crime elements, and are useful fronts for money laundering
- there is a growing problem in UK of sex slave immigrants being forced to work in parlours against their will. The trade in Thai girls in Northampton is probably over but now it is Eastern European girls in the South East.
- many WG's are made to "audition" with the owner before being employed
- freebies to owners associates can be prevalent.

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Other Useful bits and pieces

Although many places say that they open at 10 or 11 they are not really expecting the first customer then. The first hour or so is used to clean the place up, for the girls to get changed and ready to work. Thus if you turn up as they open up you may not get the warm reception that you were hoping for. Also if you want to have a sauna or steam, using that it is available, the sauna and steam room will be stone cold having been switched off overnight.

In some places the same girls work all day, and can be quite tired at the end, especially if it has been busy. Other places work a shift system with the girls changing mid / later afternoon. These places tend to have busy and quiet times during the day. Lunchtime / early afternoon is fairly busy, often there is a quiet period from 5 - 7 and then an evening rush. Many places will allow you to make a booking in advance for a specific girl. As some girls are fairly unreliable it is always best to phone on the day to make sure that the girl is working and to make your booking then.

Accessed at <http://www.punternet.com/saunaguide.html>
on 26th August 2008

APPENDIX G

ABOUT EAVES HOUSING

Eaves is a London-based charity which provides high quality housing and support to vulnerable, homeless women – including those trafficked into prostitution (through the POPPY Project) and those who have experienced domestic violence. We also carry out research, advocacy and campaigning to prevent all forms of violence against women, through two research projects.

THE POPPY PROJECT ACCOMMODATION & SUPPORT

The POPPY Project provides accommodation and support to women trafficked into the UK for the purposes of sexual exploitation. It is the only specialist service in the UK – and the only Government-funded service – for women trafficked into prostitution. It has 35 bed spaces and an outreach team which works with women still involved in the sex industry. It also offers resettlement support for women moving on from POPPY accommodation.

THE POPPY PROJECT RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

POPPY Research and Development is a centre of excellence for research, education and training on issues relating to trafficking of women for sexual exploitation and women wishing to exit prostitution. Its unique position of conducting research about trafficking, alongside providing support and accommodation for women who have been trafficked, results in detailed and informed analysis that can help to shape public policy around prostitution and trafficking.

FUNDERS

Eaves' work is made possible by funding from London Councils, the Office for Criminal Justice Reform (reporting to the Ministry of Justice), grants from foundations and from individual donations.

LONDON'S BROTHELS BY NUMBERS

- £10 extra for oral or anal sex without condom
- £15 for full sex
- 21 the average age of women on offer
- 28 the average number of brothels advertised in local papers per borough
- 73% of massage parlours and saunas selling sex which are on the high street
- 77 ethnicities of women available
- 79% of 'personal services' adverts providing full sex
- 85% of brothels are located in residential areas
- £50-130million generated by brothels via classifieds



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