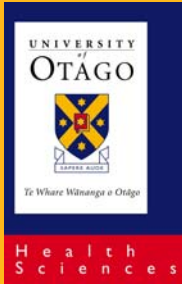


Decriminalisation of sex work in New Zealand

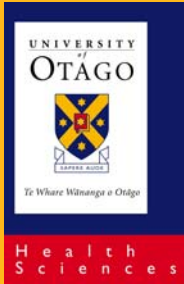
Gillian Abel
Lisa Fitzgerald
Cheryl Brunton

Funded by:
Health Research Council of New Zealand
Ministry of Justice



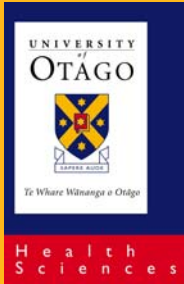
Overview of Presentation

- Background to decriminalisation
- Research design
- Estimating numbers of sex workers
- Health and safety
 - Sexual health
 - Violence and exploitation
 - Emotional health
- Effectiveness of decriminalisation as a harm minimisation strategy



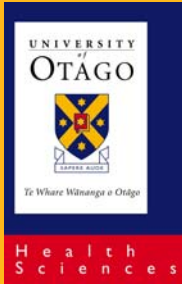
Establishment of NZPC

- Established 1987
- NZ response to AIDS epidemic
- Funded from 1988 by Ministry of Health
 - 6 drop-in centres
 - National Co-ordinator: Catherine Healy
- ‘Collective voice’



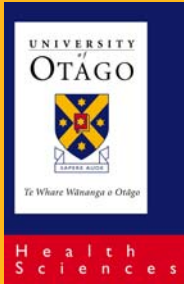
Background to Prostitution Law Reform in New Zealand

- Prior to 2003, sex work was not illegal but all related activities were criminalised:
 - Summary Offences Act 1991 (soliciting)
 - Crimes Act 1961 (brothel keeping)
 - Crimes Act 1961 (living on the earnings of prostitution)
 - Crimes Act 1961 (procuring sexual intercourse)
 - Massage Parlours Act 1978



Lobbying for Decriminalisation

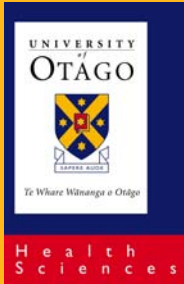
- Participation of politicians across the political spectrum 1988-2003:
 - Helen Clark
 - Maurice Williamson
 - Catherine O'Regan
 - Tim Barnett
- Other organisations and volunteers
- Bill introduced to parliament 21 September 2000 as a private member's bill
- Select Committee
- PRA implemented 25 June 2003 by 60 votes to 59 (1 abstention)



Purposes of the PRA

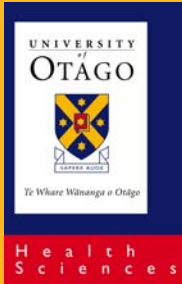
Decriminalise prostitution and create a framework that:

- safeguards the human rights of sex workers and protects them from exploitation
- promotes the welfare and occupational health and safety of sex workers
- is conducive to public health
- prohibits the use of prostitution of persons under 18 years of age
- implements certain other related reforms



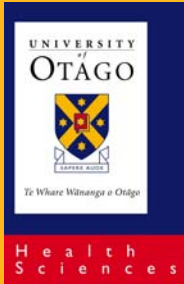
Review of the PRA

- Sections 42-46
- Establishment of Review Committee under Ministry of Justice
- 11 members chaired by Paul Fitzharris



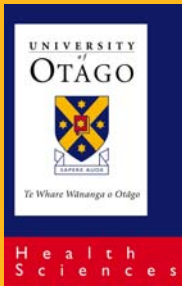
Previous research

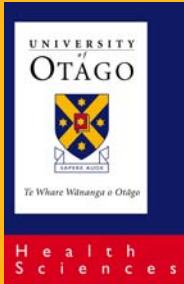
- 1997-1999 HRC funded research: “Safer sex practices among Christchurch female sex workers” (PI: Libby Plumridge)
 - Estimation of numbers of sex workers in Christchurch
 - Survey of 303 female sex workers in Christchurch
 - Qualitative longitudinal research with 30 sex workers in Christchurch and Wellington



Research Design

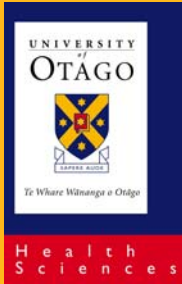
- Community-based Participatory Approach
- Mixed methods
- Multi-centre





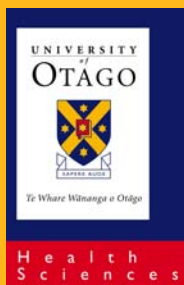
Research methods

- Estimation of numbers of sex workers
- Survey: Purposive sampling of 772 sex workers
- Semi-structured interviews with 58 sex workers
- Semi-structured interviews with regulatory officers



Estimation of Numbers of Sex Workers

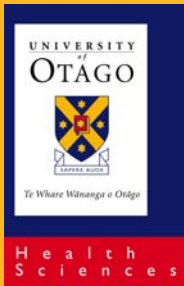
- Concerns by opponents of the PRA that decriminalisation would bring about an increase in numbers – particularly street workers
- Ministry of Justice commissioned research into number of sex workers in NZ at time of decriminalisation
 - NZ Police
 - NZPC



Estimation of Numbers of Sex Workers

Table 2.1 Estimation of numbers of sex workers in five areas of New Zealand in February/March 2006

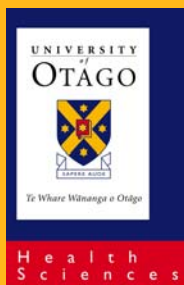
	Total workers	Private workers	Street workers	Managed workers
Auckland	(3390) 1513	551	106	856
Christchurch	(528) 392	90	100	202
Wellington	(400) 377	140	47	190
Hawkes Bay	(100) 74	42	0	32
Nelson	(50) 40	27	0	13
TOTAL	2396	850	253	1293



Estimation of Numbers of Sex Workers

Table 2.2 Estimations of sex workers in Christchurch in May 1999 and February 2006

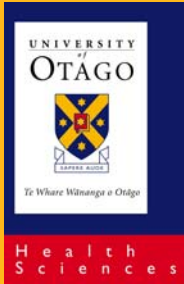
	Total workers	Private workers	Street workers	Managed workers
Christchurch February 2006	392	90	100	202
Christchurch May 1999	375	36	106	233



Estimation of Numbers of Sex Workers

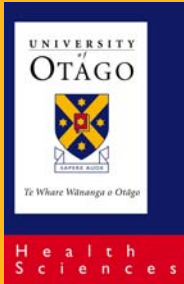
Table 2.3 Re-estimation of numbers of sex workers in five areas of New Zealand in June-October 2007

	Total workers	Private workers	Street workers	Managed workers
Auckland	1451	476	230	745
Christchurch	402	89	121	192
Wellington	389	121	44	224
Hawkes Bay	65	28	0	37
Nelson	25	17	0	8
TOTAL	2365	755	395	1215



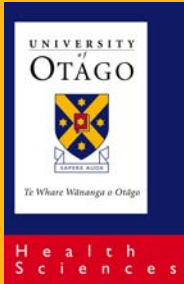
Estimation of Numbers of Sex Workers

- More than half of sex workers in study areas work in 'managed' sector
- Over a third work privately
- Only one tenth are street-based
- Numbers are stable
- PRA has had little impact on the number of people working in the sex industry
- Journal of Social Policy 2009: 38(3).



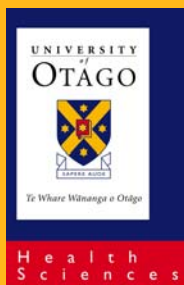
Health and Safety

- Sexual health
- Violence and exploitation
- Emotional health



Sexual Health

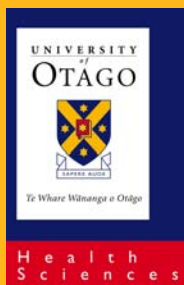
- Controllable feature of work
- High level of condom use



Sexual Health

Table 6.7 Unprotected sex in last 12 months by sector[†]

	Total % (s.e.)	Street Workers % (s.e.)	Managed Indoor % (s.e.)	Private Indoor % (s.e.)
Always use a condom for vaginal, anal and oral sex (N=704)	77.8 (1.9)	71.4 (3.9)	80.5 (2.3)	75.8 (4.1)
Unprotected vaginal sex in last 12 months (N=747)	5.5 (0.9)	12.1 (2.8)	4.1 (1.1)	5.1 (1.9)
Unprotected anal sex in last 12 months (N=744)	2.1 (0.5)	5.1 (1.9)	0.6 (0.4)	3.5 (1.3)
Unprotected blow jobs in last 12 months (N=745)	11.0 (1.3)	20.5 (3.3)	5.3 (1.2)	16.1 (3.1)
Unprotected going down in last 12 months (N=739)	13.2 (1.5)	15.7 (3.3)	9.9 (1.6)	17.9 (3.4)
Frequency clients request sex without a condom (N=754)				
All the time or often	16.2 (1.5)	27.4 (3.7)	16.4 (2.1)	10.8 (2.6)
Sometimes	28.4 (1.9)	35.1 (4.0)	28.1 (2.5)	26.2 (4.0)
Seldom or never	55.4 (2.1)	37.5 (3.9)	55.5 (2.7)	63.0 (4.3)



Sexual Health

Table Sex workers' perceptions of rights under the Act and knowledge of health and safety publications by sector[†]

	Total % (s.e.)	Street Workers % (s.e.)	Managed Indoor % (s.e.)	Private Indoor % (s.e.)
We have no rights (N=739)	8.4 (1.1)	18.8 (3.3)	6.4 (1.3)	7.0 (2.2)
We have employment rights (N=681)	92.0 (1.1)	89.9 (2.3)	91.9 (1.6)	93.4 (1.9)
We have legal rights (N=729)	95.9 (0.8)	96.3 (1.6)	96.1 (1.1)	95.5 (1.5)
We have OSH health and safety rights (N=645)	93.8 (1.0)	90.9 (2.1)	95.0 (1.3)	92.9 (2.2)
Have seen the OSH manual (N=766)	40.7 (2.1)	26.6 (3.7)	46.3 (2.7)	38.0 (4.3)
Have seen the MoH pamphlets (N=761)	67.1 (2.0)	38.2 (4.1)	80.2 (2.1)	58.5 (4.4)

Information for Clients

Clients must take all reasonable steps to use a condom or other safer sex barrier for vaginal, anal, oral or another activity which could transmit sexually transmissible infections (STIs).

If you do not practise safer sex you could be prosecuted and fined up to \$2,000. If you think you may have an STI contact a doctor, nurse, sexual health service or family planning clinic.



HEALTH AND SAFETY INFORMATION FOR CLIENTS

The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 states that sex workers and their clients must adopt safer sex practices (by using a condom or other appropriate barrier) to reduce the risk of getting or passing on sexually transmissible infections (STIs).

Clients and sex workers must not state or imply that a medical examination means they are not infected or likely to be infected with an STI. You may be prosecuted and fined up to \$2,000 in a court of law if you do not comply with the Act.

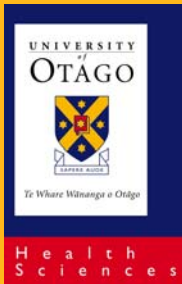
Further Information

If you would like more information and/or health services please contact:

- Your General Practitioner
- Sexual Health Services under 'S' in the white pages of your local phone book or details on www.sexfiles.co.nz
- Family Planning Association on 0800 FPA LINE or www.fpanz.org.nz
- Public Health Unit of your local District Health Board
- Health Education Resources on www.healthed.govt.nz

To find out more about the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 contact:

- Ministry of Health www.moh.govt.nz
- New Zealand Prostitutes Collective in the white pages of your local phone book.



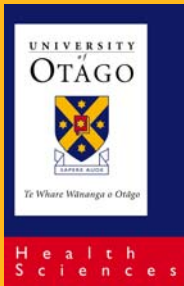
Sexual Health

You cannot do a job without using protection. The law has changed so much. It's made people think a lot more.

(Joyce, Street and Private, Female)

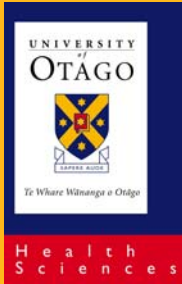
It's always been my own sort of morals. Like I have morals out there. I won't do sex without protection, I won't put myself in jeopardy or, you know, like that. And it's the law now, which is really good and I say that to them and they can't – yeah, they might get offended and be like, "Oh well I don't want you," sort of thing and go somewhere else. But at least I know I'm safe, and I know, you know, I've given them a reasonable explanation and that it's the truth.

(Sally, Street, Female)



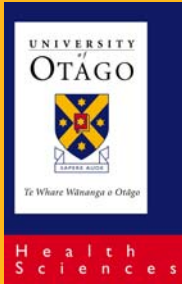
Sexual Health

- Increased legal rights afforded some legitimacy to their occupation.
- Counter to the stigma attached to sex work.
- Decriminalisation has provided a powerful stage from which to negotiate safer sex.



Violence and Exploitation

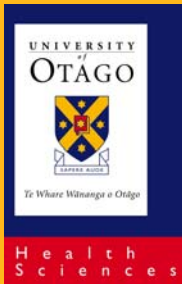
- Majority of sexual transactions go without incident.
 - Few indoor sex workers experience serious violent incidents while working
 - street-based sector is acknowledged as the sector most susceptible to violence
- The realisation of employment and legal rights has given many sex workers confidence to avert or react to situations which hold the potential for violence.



Violence and Exploitation

*Um so yeah, so say just the power it's given us as the professionals, that we have the law behind us and we can say, "Look if you do this, we can prosecute you," like any other place where they break, you know, the law.
(Sheila, Managed, Female)*

*It surely must give us rights. We're not invisible people. We are human beings, and if we're being attacked, we have the right also to the same protection as anyone else. Um I must say when the law changed, it did turn, it did make it even easier because you could just ring the Police and just say, you know, and they'd be up there like a shot.
(Josie, Private, Female)*

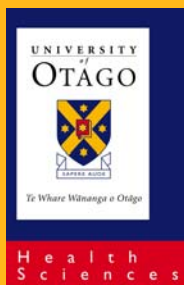


Violence and Exploitation

- Risk of violence downplayed by managed and private workers
- Law allows for explicit statements to clients which avoids unmet expectations

You know, whereas now, cause I like being very upfront and honest, I can say in the lounge, “Look, X, Y and Z because of X, Y and Z,” and it’s all upfront. Everybody knows what’s going on, there’s no innuendo, you’re not going to get as many, I would expect, problems in the room, because you sorted everything out beforehand, cause you can be open and honest as to what’s going on. And then once you get in the room, you can just have fun and be relaxed, rather than, you know, if you haven’t discussed things in the room, and then you get – I mean in the lounge – and then you get into the room and they’re expecting certain things, then that can get a little bit awkward.

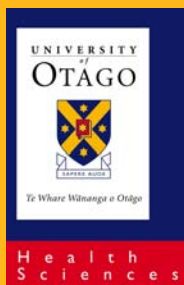
(Sheila, Managed, Female)



Violence and Exploitation

Table 6.2 Ability to refuse clients in last 12 months by sector[†]

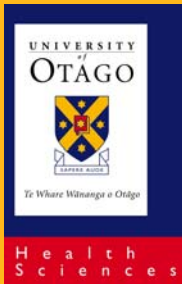
	Total % (s.e.)	Street Workers % (s.e.)	Managed Indoor % (s.e.)	Private Indoor % (s.e.)
Felt that they had to accept a client when they didn't want to in last 12 months (N=768)	35.3 (2.0)	41.7 (4.0)	37.5 (2.6)	29.1 (3.9)
Refused to do a client within the last 12 months (N=768)	69.8 (2.0)	85.5 (2.9)	61.3 (2.7)	77.1 (3.9)
Participants who had refused to do a client in last 12 months and who were penalised (N=540)	10.5 (1.4)	9.5 (2.6)	12.4 (2.2)	8.3 (2.4)
More able to refuse to do a client since law change (N=493*)	64.8 (2.5)	61.9 (4.8)	67.3 (3.3)	62.7 (5.1)



Violence and Exploitation

Table 6.3 Ability to refuse clients in last 12 months for Christchurch female 1999 and 2006 samples

	Christchurch 1999 %	Christchurch 2006 %
Felt that they had to accept a client when they didn't want to in last 12 months		
Street Workers	53	44
Managed Workers	58	45
Private Workers	63	38
Refused to do a client within the last 12 months		
Street Workers	85	82
Managed Workers	47	68
Private Workers	77	77



Violence and Exploitation

Int So before the law changed, with those sorts of clients, would you have gone to get your boss?

H Yes, I would have, and I would not, I would have refused the job. I would have got in trouble and probably been fined, but I still wouldn't do the job without the protection.

Int So the boss used to fine, the bosses used to fine...

H Yeah, we used to get fined all the time.

Int Yeah, tell me about that. Has that changed?

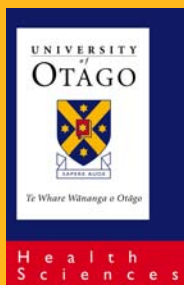
H Oh that's totally changed up here. I don't know if it's changed anywhere else, but up here it has totally changed. Um we don't get fined or anything like that now. Um it's, you know, it's, if we don't want to do a job, we don't have to do it.

Int And that's changed since the law changed?

H That has changed, yeah, because before we had to always do it, no matter what, how we felt, we still had to do the job. Because he's paid for your time, you've got to give him that time, and it's like, "But I don't want to use, you know." "I'm not going to do it without protection." And you know, back then it was like, "Mate, you're just going to do, you know, as you're told," sort of thing. But since it's become legal and since I've been working up here, we don't, if we don't want to do the job, we don't do it, just like that.

(Hilda, Managed, Female)

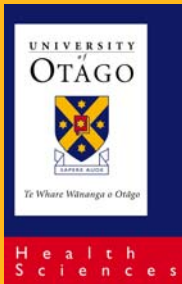
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Violence and Exploitation

Table Sex workers' perceptions of rights under the Act and knowledge of health and safety publications by sector[†]

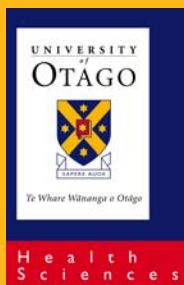
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→ We have employment rights (N=681)	92.0 (1.1)	89.9 (2.3)	91.9 (1.6)	93.4 (1.9)
We have legal rights (N=729)	95.9 (0.8)	96.3 (1.6)	96.1 (1.1)	95.5 (1.5)
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Have seen the OSH manual (N=766)	40.7 (2.1)	26.6 (3.7)	46.3 (2.7)	38.0 (4.3)
Have seen the MoH pamphlets (N=761)	67.1 (2.0)	38.2 (4.1)	80.2 (2.1)	58.5 (4.4)



Violence and Exploitation

Um it also made the owners absolutely awful because you had no rights as such, as in like you worked 14-hour shifts, um they fined you, they bonded you; just all these real small things that made the sex industry quite unpleasant. But some, the majority of the places that I had worked at, the bosses were really good to their staff and that was before the law reform. But I have friends that worked for other places that were brothels, massage parlours then, rap parlours, and they were treated like dogs. Um made to work ungodly hours, weren't allowed to leave, um their money was fined off them. So they could earn like \$600 a shift and go home with \$200, because \$400 of that was lost in fines. And I think with the PRA it's made it easier for people from say NZPC, um also from the health sector, as in Auckland Sexual Health etc, easier for them to get into the premises to see the workers, because the PRA has a provision in there that the Medical Officer of Health is allowed to come in. Um they also have OSH or the Labour Department that can come in and inspect the premises and make sure that it's up to scratch with the health and safety aspects. Um some places I have heard of and actually been there but not worked there, they don't launder their towels properly, and with that you're liable to end up with skin infections and many other little nasty things. Um and it's made them appreciate their staff because without the staff, well, you know, they really don't have a business unless they're going to do it themselves. (Laugh)

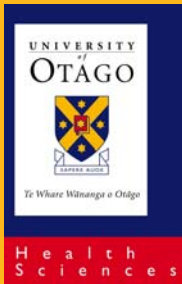
(Becky, Managed, Female)



Violence and Exploitation

Table 7.4 Sex worker perceptions of police attitudes and policing by sector of work[†]

	Total % (s.e.)	Street Workers % (s.e.)	Managed Indoor % (s.e.)	Private Indoor % (s.e.)
Police care for safety of sex workers: (N=657)				
Most concerned	17.2 (1.7)	23.7 (3.5)	16.4 (2.3)	15.1 (3.2)
Some concerned	60.0 (2.3)	50.7 (4.2)	63.1 (3.0)	59.1 (4.7)
None concerned	23.0 (2.0)	25.4 (4.1)	20.5 (2.5)	25.8 (4.2)
Police attitudes changed for better following PRA (N=417*)	57.3 (2.8)	65.8 (4.6)	48.8 (4.0)	64.2 (5.5)
Visitation of police to workplace in last year: (N=693)	31.3 (1.9)	74.5 (3.6)	32.8 (2.8)	9.9 (2.3)



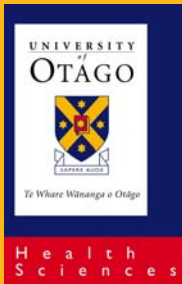
Violence and Exploitation

But um now for the last couple of years, the Police have been really good, really onto it. So we've been having more patrol cars going down the street and then hangouts. yeah, now they actually care. Before they just didn't care... You know, if a girl, if a worker gets raped or, you know, anything like that, there wasn't much, then there wasn't much they could do. But now that the law's changed, it's changed the whole thing.

Joyce, Street, Female

Yeah, confident, I've got a lot more confidence, and I know that I can ring them to say, "Oh this has happened, and blah blah blah." I haven't had to do that, but I just know that I can. Cause that's the law, that's the law change. That it's legal now to be able to work, prostitution, and to do, you know. And so I was like, yeah, I just know that it's legal now. Whereas before it was all hush hush, you couldn't go to the Police, cause what would you say? "Oh I went to do this sex job, but this person, they didn't pay me."

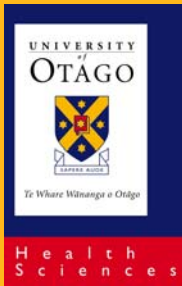
Sally, Street, Female



Violence and Exploitation

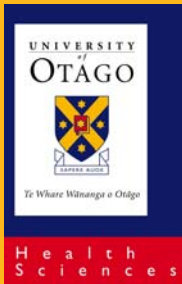
I think now it's more easier to actually go to the Police, but I don't think I would. It depends what happens. I mean, God forbid, nothing. You know, um yeah, but um (.) like I said, it depends what the bad thing is, you know. So far I've been lucky. Um and would it be a hassle? If it's a hassle of having to, and would it work out, and would it go my way, and would it be in the newspapers for start, you know. Would I have name suppression? If my name's in the newspaper, I'd feel so stink... Because, you know, people might think, "Oh, I know her. I know that name," you know, and then like I said, not a lot of people know what I do, and then the others might say, "See, I knew, I heard right, see, I knew she was a hooker."

Dee, Managed, Female



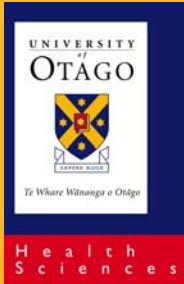
Violence and Exploitation

- Knowledge of rights and improved relationships with police has enabled sex workers to feel more secure in their work environment.
- Ongoing perceptions of stigmatisation continue to impede the full realisation of their rights.



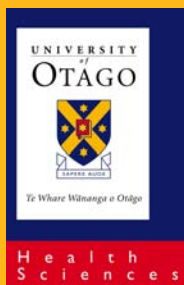
Emotional Health

- Decriminalisation did not bring social acceptance of sex workers
- Goffman's (1963) 'felt stigma': internalized their negative image and feared being discriminated against on the grounds of their social unacceptability.
- Aware change in regulation of the sex industry had little or no impact on social perceptions of their job:
"no laws can change stigma. No laws have the power to do that. The people have to change"
(Petal, Private, Female).



Emotional Health: Stigma

- Participants discussed ongoing stigma associated with sex work which affected their emotional health
- Stigma: ‘...when elements of labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination occur together in a power situation that allows them’ (Link and Phelan 2001)



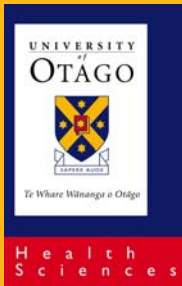
Self rated perceptions of health

Table 10.16 Self rated perceptions of health for sex worker and general populations by gender[†]

	Total Female Sex Workers Mean (95% CI)	General Population Females[‡] Mean (95% CI)	Total Male Sex Workers Mean (95% CI)	General Population Males[‡] Mean (95% CI)
General Health	74.3 (72.3-76.3)	75.4 (74.7-76.2)	75.5 (69.0-82.0)	75.6 (74.8-76.4)
Mental Health	72.3 (70.6-74.1)	82.1 (81.5-82.6)	74.8 (69.8-79.8)	84.6 (84.0-85.2)
Energy and Vitality	63.5 (61.8-65.3)	62.8 (62.1-63.4)	67.0 (62.3-71.7)	67.6 (66.8-68.5)

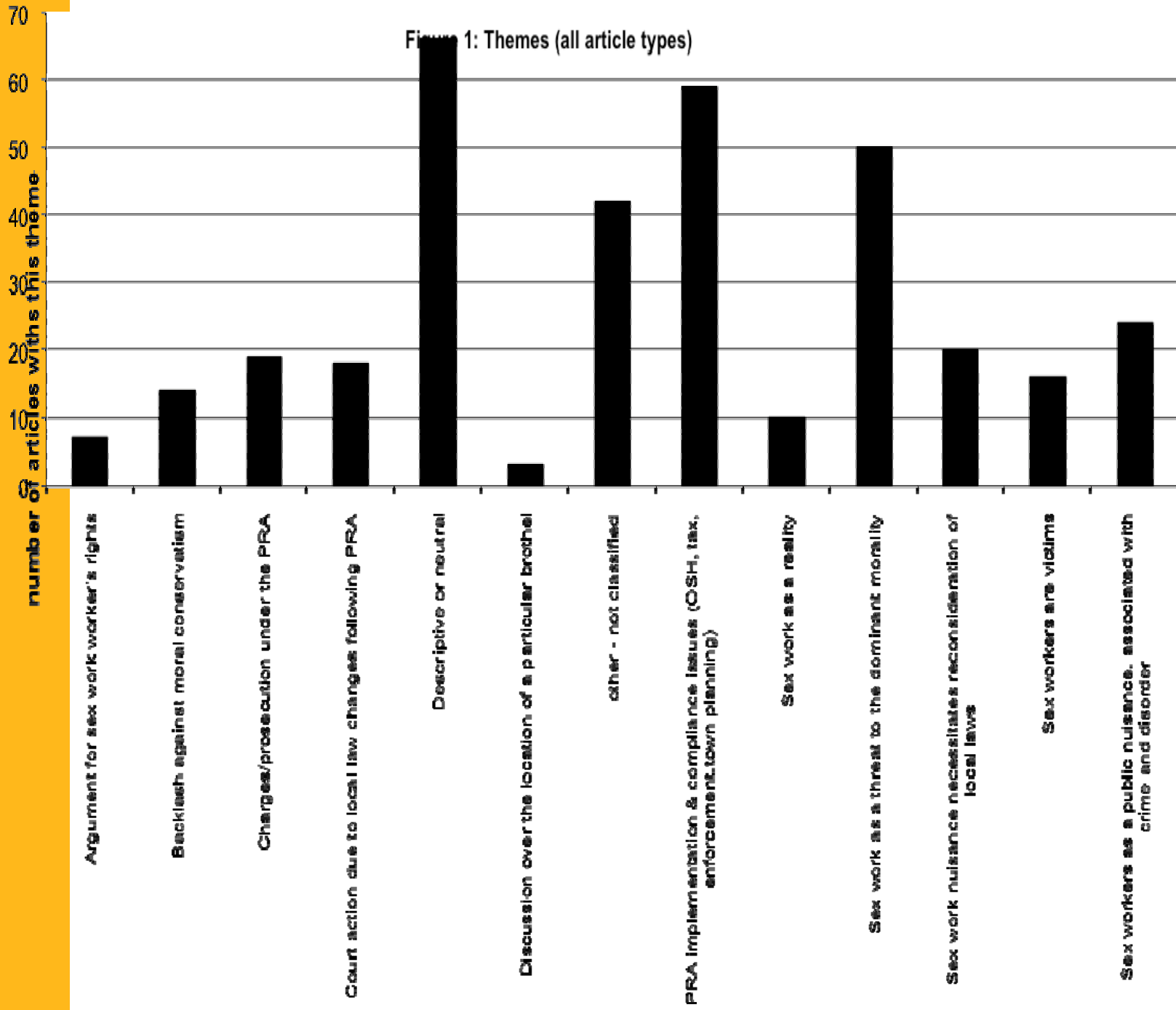
[†] Weighted estimates to account for variation in probability of selection and response.

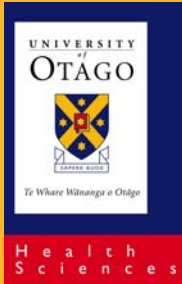
[‡] Ministry of Health, 2004.



Media representations reinforced stereotypes of sex work

- Much media interest in sex industry post PRA
- Often reinforced existing discourse of sex work as threat to dominant morality
- Participants described a contradiction of increased empowerment post PRA, yet also increased stigmatization due to this increased media attention

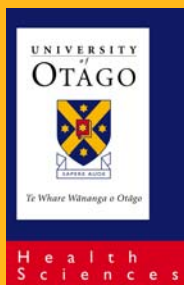




- *Media misrepresentations*

Misrepresentations also as in um (.) people getting on there talking about (.) the sex industry, when I don't really feel they know anything about it. Making comments and (.) talking about how it's got out of hand and there's more prostitutes now than ever.

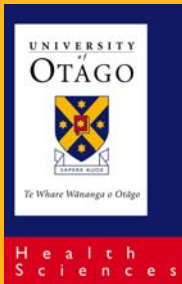
(Petal, Private, Female)



Emotional Health

Table Sex workers' confidants by sector[†]

	Total % (s.e.)	Street Workers % (s.e.)	Managed Indoor % (s.e.)	Private Indoor % (s.e.)
Who do you tell that you work in the sex industry (N=746)				
Any family member	46.0 (2.1)	63.6 (3.4)	40.3 (2.7)	47.5 (4.5)
Any close friend	72.4 (2.0)	84.5 (3.1)	67.9 (2.6)	74.4 (4.2)
Partner	46.8 (2.1)	50.5 (4.2)	46.0 (2.8)	46.5 (4.5)
Health workers	66.2 (2.1)	70.1 (3.6)	62.3 (2.7)	70.7 (4.2)
Youth workers	9.5 (1.2)	21.5 (3.1)	7.3 (1.6)	7.6 (2.2)

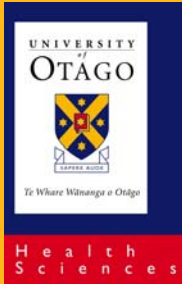


Emotional Health

- *Risks of discrediting*

Yeah, so after I'd been talking to this woman about everything, that I was studying at university, and that I was a parent, and you know, all the things I was involved in, I just felt like it was too hard for me to say that I was a sex worker, because I just felt like it was going to discredit everything, you know, all the other wonderful things that I was doing in my life. And you know, you always have that fear that they're going to feel sorry for you and, you know, I don't want to be felt sorry for.

(Jenny, Managed, Female)

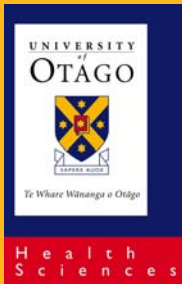


Emotional Health

Shame – don't have the attributes of the 'normal'

Um personally I'd rather people not know, um just because I think a lot of people, who aren't in the industry, just don't understand. And I was like that before I, before I was working as well. They look at it as grotty and as dirty and as, mmm, this whole bad thing. It's not as um accepted, I guess, um you know, by normal people out there and all that kind of stuff. So I think that's why I choose not to tell people is because they judge, immediately judge when they don't know about it, yeah.

(Virginia, Managed, Female)

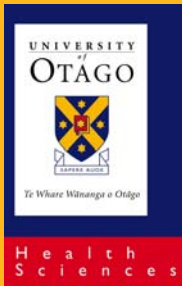


Emotional Health

Risks of exposure of double life

Um but just the stigma that is attached to it nowadays, which I think is starting to go a little bit, cause most of my friends know, and they don't have an issue with it. Um but having said that, um I wouldn't tell my mum, mainly cause she's of an older generation and I don't think she'd react to it in that way, rather than actually, you know, sitting down with me and talking about why I decided to do this and why I'm still doing it. She'd just go, "Oh my God," you know, and all the horror stories again that the media loves to pander is the first thing that's going to come into their mind. Um the other bad thing is, of course, I'm always slightly worried that somebody from my day job might turn up there, but that hasn't happened yet, so we'll cross that bridge when we get to it. But at the end of the day, if they're in there and well, you know, I know that they've been there, so. Mmm, and like I said before, because it's a society, that does sort of, could impact on my career choices in the corporate environment, and ironically shut me back into the world, you know, into the um the prostitutes' world, of which they, you know, they don't want you in there, but because they know you were there, you're kind of stuck there cause now they won't let you out. Which is really, really stupid, but it's the way it is.

(Sheila, Managed, Female)

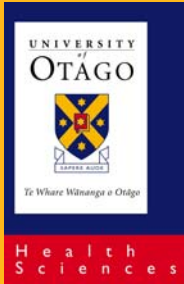


Emotional Health

Professional distancing as emotional protection

I mean there is a few mental boundaries that you need to put up because you are so close physically to a person. And that doesn't happen too much in other jobs apart from say nursing, or maybe working as a mortician, you know. And I'm sure those people, you know, nurses get attached to their patients, and it is especially I'd say working with children can be extremely difficult. So they would also need to put up their mental boundaries and say, "Look, this is work. You know, I'm going to have to, this kid's screaming in pain, but I still need to inject whatever it is into them because that's your job."

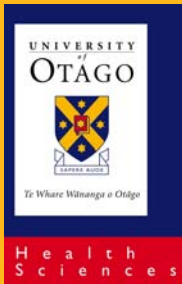
(Sheila, Managed, Female)



Emotional Health

Dual identities

*The person I turn into, I'm a totally different person. I'm not me. I'm different, I'm (Sally), I'm a different woman.
(Sally, Street, Female)*



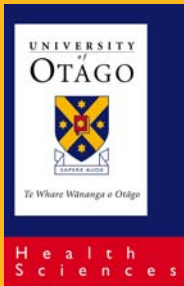
Emotional Health

Multiple identities, or selves, can be more easily sustained if “role and audience segregation are well managed” (Goffman, 1963) (p.81).

More difficult for private workers

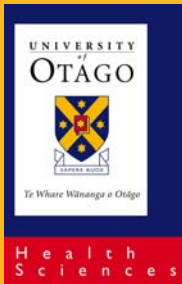
I guess when you're working in a normal job, you know, you're performing for someone else. You are you um (.) are doing a particular job where you get to keep some of yourself away from the work. And I think in the industry, in the sex industry, as much as can close a part of yourself down and you create maybe an alta-ego or alto-alternative sort of person, I think that um there is so much more um emotional and psychological connections that sex work can get to that in employment can't. You know what I... Yes, I can, I can go to work and have a good day and be said, "You've done a good job," and, "Have you done this, have you done that?" and I can go home and then be myself as well. But a sex worker, I found doing privately, especially if there's a, if these clients are coming into my home, it's very, very hard to decipher between your working name and you, apart from just... I mean just your name, you know, like I found that me and (Trish) were different. But um because of what we do, because of the intimacy, and because of the connection, and because of the touching, because of the (.) yeah, that sometimes we blend. Where at work I can be different, and in a normal job I can be a certain role. I can be a manager or something, and then I come home and then I'm me. It's very hard to, I think that's one of the challenges, to be able to separate without um losing yourself completely.

(Trish, Private, Female)



Resistance to dominant discourses of sex work

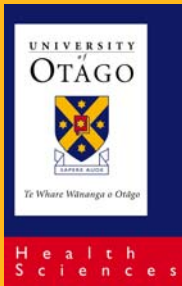
- Participants articulated everyday acts of resistance
- Constructed and drew on other identities to define themselves outside dominant discourses



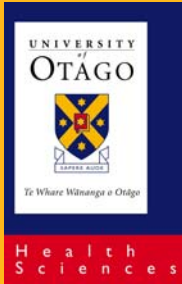
- Managed and private sex workers discussed multi-faceted lives as resistance to dominant discourses of sex work

I play darts. I have my friends. Um at the moment I'm going back to the gym and things like that, so I make sure there's some other things in my life other than sex. I get out of the house. ...But when I was by myself for about a year, I found I used to get so stagnated and I was doing nothing, putting a lot of weight on, being miserable, that I had to get out. And so you have to. You can not just do this job 24/7, it's just not worth your health. So yes, I play, I play my darts, I have friends, I go out and (.) I sometimes go to the pictures. I go round to see people for coffee and things like that.

(Liz, Private and Managed, Female)



- *I think people will only stigmatise you if you stigmatise yourself. I mean I'm proud of what I do. I make a lot of money at what I do. And so why do I need to be ashamed of it? I'm one of the best people in New Zealand at my profession so why should I be ashamed of it. Because if I was lawyer I'd be singing from the rooftops. If you don't behave like your ashamed of what you do then people aren't going to treat you like you should be*

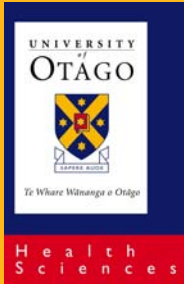


Emotional Health

- Female street-based workers were less able to achieve compartmentalised lives

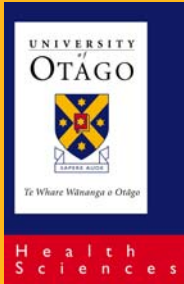
My life is really just sex work, because all I do is go to work, get my drugs and I'm well, sleep during the day, and then get ready, go to work again. It's the same shit every day.

(Sarah, Street, Female)



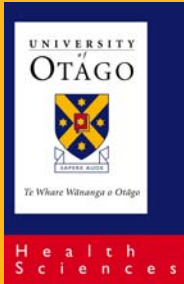
Has decriminalisation minimised harm?

- Increased rights have positively impacted on health and safety of sex workers
- Decriminalisation has reinforced sex workers ability to ensure safer sex and secure their working environment.
- Positive gains for minimising harm to sexual health and experiences of violence and exploitation
- Less effective in minimising harm to emotional health



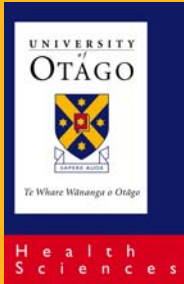
Segmented industry

- Older workers more able to cope with emotional stresses
- Street-based workers less able to maintain separation of work and private lives



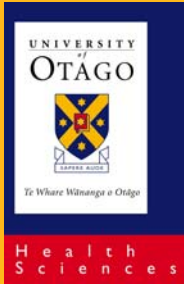
Stigma and public health

- Stigma associated with significant mental health problems
 - reduced life chances
 - Unemployment
 - Depression
 - Status loss
 - Constricted social networks



Conclusions

- There have been many positive outcomes of the PRA
- Some areas it is too soon to expect change
- Few if any negative consequences in terms of health and safety of sex workers or numbers attracted to participate in sex industry.



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