



YORK ST JOHN
COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Men & Boys

Selling Sex in the Bradford District

A Report By:

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Executive Summary

This report provides a summary of key findings from a study commissioned by Yorkshire MESMAC exploring the experiences and needs of men and boys who are involved in selling sex in the Bradford district. This study consisted of three related projects outlined below.

Project A: Survey of Agencies in the Bradford Area

The first author (PH) conducted an interview-based survey of 31 representatives from 21 local statutory and voluntary sector agencies exploring their perceptions of the issue of men and boys involved in selling sex, and considering ways in which local services could best respond to their needs. Responses indicated that:

- 78% of agency representatives believed that young men selling sex in the Bradford area was an issue that needed to be addressed.
- 52% of agency representatives had direct evidence of young men who were involved in selling sex in the Bradford area.
- 87% felt that action should be taken to address the issue of young men involved in selling sex in the Bradford area. Suggestions offered are outlined on page 9.

Project B: Local Awareness of Men Selling Sex

Thirty-seven men under the age of 40 completed a short questionnaire (Appendix 2) exploring their levels of awareness and possible involvement in selling/purchasing sexual services. Results indicated that:

- Adverts for men selling sex had been observed by gay/bisexual and heterosexual men in the Bradford district.
- One-third of gay/bisexual men and one young heterosexual man had been approached by a man and offered sex for money on more than one occasion.
- 10% of the gay/bisexual men surveyed reported having sold sex.

- Reasons for offering sexual services or receiving payment for sex included being pressurized to perform in pornographic videos or pictures, or receiving shelter/accommodation for the night.

Project C: Men Selling Sex

Seven men who sell or have sold sex in the Bradford area were interviewed by the first author using a structured interview schedule (see Appendix 3). Responses suggested that:

- Sex with young men under the age of 16 is sought by men in the Bradford area.
- Men who sell sex on the streets have less control over the types of sex for which payment is offered than those who are house/flat/hotel-based.
- Men who sell sex on the streets face much more violence than those who sell sex from a house/flat/hotel.
- Selling sex on the streets often follows a chance encounter with an exploitative older man during teenage years.
- Selling sex from a house/flat tends to be a deliberate decision by older men.

Recommendations

- Provision of a local support service responding to the needs of men and boys who are involved in selling sex.
- Commission further research exploring the issues highlighted in the report.

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In compiling this report, discussions with various statutory and voluntary sector agencies have produced a number of conflicting policy approaches when describing men who offer sexual services in return for some form of recompense whether it be monetary or in kind. Throughout this report we have opted to describe the interaction between adult men and their sexual partners as 'selling sex'. In many cases this is an accurate reflection of the interaction where sex (including non-penetrative sex) is offered in return for financial reward. However, sex may also be provided for payment in kind (a bed for the night, a meal, drugs or alcohol). We acknowledge that the term 'selling sex' is problematic, however, it has been used solely as a short hand way of describing the extensive and varied nature of the agreements made where sex is used as a commodity. For those young men selling sex between the ages of 16 years (the legal age of consent) and 18 years, we believe that the question of agency has yet to be addressed fully either in law or in the policies and practices of those working with such youth. However, we acknowledge that the participation of young people under the age of 18 years in the sale of sex is defined by the majority of statutory and voluntary sector agencies as both 'exploitative' and 'abusive', and we have opted to describe these young people as being 'involved in selling sex' rather than 'selling sex'.

We have also avoided usage of the term 'prostitute' as, under current law, a 'rent boy', 'escort' or 'masseur' cannot be described as a 'common prostitute' and, therefore, cannot be prosecuted under the Street Offences Act 1959.

We wish to stress that no moral judgement is made of any men who currently sell sex or have, in the past sold sex.

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Special thanks go to the men who took part in the interviews, as they showed great courage in telling their stories, sometimes for the first time, to a complete stranger. Their stories need to be heard.

Introduction

In recent decades, the sale of sex has gone almost unnoticed in the United Kingdom (UK), except when called into focus by horrific events such as the murder of prostitutes by Peter Sutcliffe (the so-called 'Yorkshire Ripper'). While feminists in the 1980's fought to bring subjects such as domestic violence and child sexual abuse into the public arena, it was only after this battle had been initiated that child prostitution, the sexual abuse of men and boys, and the fate of young men involved in selling sex emerged as comparable issues of public concern (McMullen, 1987; Lew, 1988; Foster, 1991).

Currently, the law regards prostitution very differently according to whether the person selling sex is female or male. While the act of selling sex for financial gain is not currently a criminal offence, both soliciting and many of the sexual acts associated with prostitution are. Furthermore, according to the Street Offences Act of 1959, men who sell sex are not, in law, 'common prostitutes' and therefore cannot be prosecuted as such. Although the reform of sex laws in England and Wales is currently under way, the degree to which these discrepancies are addressed has yet to be understood fully.

A 1999 briefing paper prepared for the National HIV Prevention Information Service (NHPIS) by EUROPAP-UK (European Network for HIV/STD Prevention in Prostitution) surveyed 17 projects working with women and men who sell sex. Projects based in cities reported working with as many as 2000 women and men who sold sex. Extrapolations based on the average number of contacts by workers from these projects and then estimated over the concurrent 120 'sex worker' projects in the UK suggested that approximately 1-2 citizens per thousand are engaged in selling sex. These figures were found to be comparable with similar project in the Netherlands and Belgium. It was estimated that women make up the majority who sell sex (ranging from 85-90% nationally), although men may constitute as much as 30-40% in major cities.

In terms of child prostitution, significant multi-agency publications such as 'Working Together to Safeguard Children' (1999) and the follow-up 'Safeguarding Children Involved in Prostitution'

(2000), re-designated children who sell sex or are forced to have sex with others as victims of abuse or children in need rather than criminals. Prior to this, children who were below the age of consent were more likely to be prosecuted under criminal law for importuning (boys), soliciting for prostitution (girls), lewdness or gross indecency (Barlow, Bowley, Butler, Cox, Davies, Gryk, Hamilton, Smith and Watson, 1999). Home Office statistics in the early 1990's showed caution and conviction rates for child prostitution at a ratio of 25 girls to every boy, including a caution of a 10 year old girl (1992), and several convictions of girls aged 12 and boys aged 14 years.

Charities such as The Children's Society (Stein, Rees and Frost, 1994; Barrett, 1997) and Barnardo's (Palmer, 2001) have taken steps to educate and inform policy concerning the abuse of children through prostitution in Britain. Stein *et al.* (1994) noted that one in seven of the runaways in their study had provided sex for money as a survival strategy. Furthermore, Matthews (2000) noted that as many as two-thirds of the men who sold sex and who were interviewed for this study came from local authority care or residential accommodation as children.

In the Bradford area, there is a visible 'red light district' where women and young girls sell sex on the streets, and Scarr (1998) undertook a nine-month research project into the sexual exploitation of women and girls in the Bradford district. Bradford Working Women's Project (BWWP) and Barnardo's Streets and Lanes Project (SALs) continue to work in response to this, but to date very little is known about men and boys who sell sex in the area. Indeed, the local Vice Squad is unaware of any cautions or convictions of males in the Bradford district for soliciting or actually selling sexual services. Nevertheless, as Palmer (2001) points out, male prostitution is more hidden than its female equivalent, and societal attitudes to homosexual activity and commercial sex position male sex workers as doubly stigmatised.

Background of the Present Study

The study was commissioned by Yorkshire MESMAC with monies from the Community Safety Fund to undertake a four month exploratory investigation of the needs of young men who sell sex in the Bradford area. Based upon recommendations from the Steering Committee, four objectives were determined:

1. To gather intelligence on the scale of the issue of young men involved in selling sex nationally, collating information about existing services and experience/evidence from other UK projects, police forces, social and youth services.
2. To gather intelligence on the nature and scale of the issue in the Bradford area specifically, consulting with Yorkshire MESMAC, the Vice Squad, Streets and Lanes Project, the Missing Persons Project (MISPER), the Working Women's Project, Youth and Social Services.
3. To undertake a small-scale research project exploring the experiences and needs of young men who are involved in selling sex.
4. To produce a report with recommendations for the way ahead.

Context of the Study

Bradford's Multi-Agency Prostitution Forum has received reports of prostitution involving men and boys within the local district. Investigating the issue has been set as a key priority in the Safer Communities Strategy Action Plan 2002-2005. In response to this, a multi-agency steering group was formed to oversee a feasibility study that would assess whether there is a need for action, and if so, what form the response should take.

The Steering Committee included representatives from the following organisations:

- Bradford Health Development Service
- Bradford Youth Service
- Education Bradford
- Men's Health Team

- Barnardo's Streets and Lanes Project
- Bradford Social Services
- West Yorkshire Police
- Yorkshire MESMAC
- Youth Offending Team

Methodologies Employed

This study has employed a range of methods to achieve the stated objectives:

Objective 1

(see Introduction)

Literature searches were conducted by the primary researcher, Patricia Hudson (PH), who also liaised with national organisations to gain an overview of previous and ongoing research in the UK.

Objective 2

(Project A: Survey of Agencies in Bradford Area)

PH approached representatives of key local agencies in the Bradford area and undertook an interview-based survey exploring perceptions of the nature of the issue (if any), and considering ways in which local services could best respond to the needs of young men who sell sex.

Objective 2 cont...

(Project B: Local Awareness of Men Selling Sex)

Linked to the above survey, questionnaires were distributed to men under the age of 40 both on and off the local 'gay' scene exploring their levels of awareness and possible involvement in selling/purchasing sexual services.

Objective 3

(Project C: Men Selling Sex)

Searches were made for advertisements of sexual services being sold by and for men in the Bradford area. Participants were identified and contacted through published e-mail addresses or telephone numbers, and also through networking with individuals and groups requesting a face-to-face interview. In consultation with the Steering

Committee, the interview schedule was devised to gather information on the following key issues:

- The backgrounds and profiles of men engaged in selling sex
- Where and how this form of prostitution operates locally
- What are the health-risk factors for young men engaged in selling sex
- What other risk factors are associated with selling sex locally
- What diversionary strategies (e.g. routes for exiting prostitution) were considered by men selling sex
- Level and nature of the support services accessed
- The level and nature of the support services needed by young men selling sex
- How could current services be improved

Objective 4

(Dissemination)

In accordance with the contract between Yorkshire MESMAC and York St John College, the primary mode of dissemination is in the form of a final report, published by York St John College, outlining the findings from this study and informed by the comments offered by members of the Steering Committee.

Project A: Survey of Agencies in the Bradford Area

Thirty-one workers (15 male and 16 female) from 21 statutory and voluntary agencies in the Bradford area were contacted (see Appendix 1 for list of agencies).

Method

Generally representatives of the various agencies contacted by the lead researcher (PH) were interviewed either by telephone or in their places of work. Interviews focused around four themes/issues:

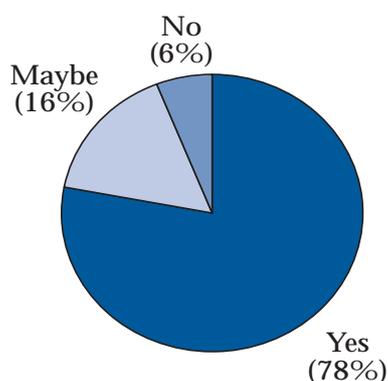
- Whether or not there is a perceived issue of young men selling sex in the Bradford area
- Whether there is evidence of the nature/scope of the issue
- Does each agency have specific policies regarding young men who are or may be selling sex?
- What level of action should be taken to address this issue?

Results

Young Men Selling Sex in the Bradford Area

Twenty-four of the 31 interviewees (78 %) believed that young men selling sex in the Bradford area was an issue that needed to be addressed. Five (16%) believed that it may be an issue and only 2 (6%) indicated that, from their perspective they did not perceive young men selling sex as a significant issue.

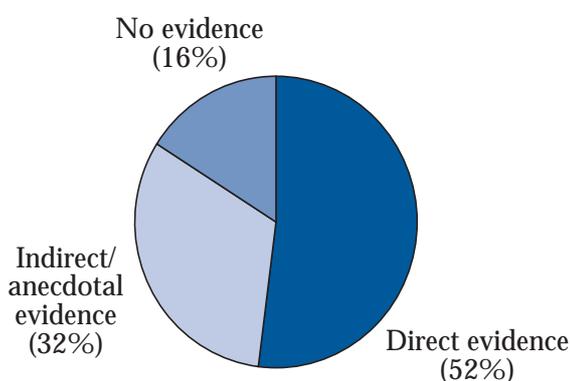
FIGURE 1: Young Men Selling Sex In The Bradford Area



The Nature and Scope of the Issue

Sixteen of the interviewees reported that they had direct experience of working with or had witnessed young men selling sex in the Bradford area. Ten (32%) said that they had indirect knowledge either through conversations with colleagues or through working with individuals who knew of young men who sold sex. Five interviewees (16%) reported that had no knowledge or experience of the issue.

FIGURE 2: Nature and Scope of the Issue



Policies Surrounding Young Men Selling Sex

Twenty-three of the interviewees (74%) reported that their agencies currently have no specific policy for working with young men as opposed to young women, but would, where appropriate, use child protection procedures if the individual concerned was under the age of 18 years. Eight interviewees (11%) currently do not work with males under 18.

None of relevant agencies had a specific policy relating to young men selling sex

What Action Should be Taken?

Twenty-seven (87%) of interviewees felt that action should be taken to address the issue of young men selling sex in the Bradford area. Suggestions for the types of action that should be considered included:

- Changes in legislation
- More research on the issues, who it affects and possible ways to help young men exit this lifestyle

- More information for professionals working with young men specifically
- Ways to talk about issue to facilitate disclosure and reduce stigma
- Assertive outreach as a technique for engaging this hidden group
- The provision of grounded information for statutory and voluntary agencies working with young people
- The provision of information and advice for young men selling sex
- The provision of information and advice for all sex workers on harm reduction strategies
- Free condom distribution
- The provision of a befriending service to offer non-judgemental support
- Drop-in service for information, advice, sexual health

Key Points for Consideration

The majority of interviewees believed that there was an issue around young men selling sex in the Bradford district. Overall, 84% of interviewees had some evidence – direct or indirect – to support this view. Although most of the professionals who encounter young men as part of their jobs indicated that local child protection procedures would be used to protect vulnerable youth, no one believed that their agency had specific guidelines for dealing with young men who may be at risk as a result of selling sex. Most interviewees said that they would welcome additional information and services, although three qualified their responses by saying that services should be provided if supported by this and other research findings.

The high number of interviewees who had some evidence relating to the existence of young men who sell sex suggests that there is an issue to be addressed in the Bradford area.

Project B: Local Awareness of Men Selling Sex

Questionnaires were distributed to young men in the area through Bradford Youth Service, Bradford Social Services, Men's Health Team, and Youth Offending Team over a five-week period. Questionnaires were also distributed in two outreach sessions that took place in a public house widely used by the local lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community.

Ten questionnaires were returned from Bradford Social Services and the Youth Service. The young men ranged in age from 14-18 years, with average of 16 years. All 10 identified as heterosexual.

Twenty-seven men completed and returned questionnaires from the two outreach sessions. Ages ranged from 18-36 years, with an average age of 24 years. Twenty-one respondents identified as gay, 1 identified himself as bisexual, and 5 did not supply this information. All respondents are included in the analysis.

Method

The questionnaire asked respondents about their awareness of men selling sex and sexual services in the Bradford area, and also their involvement in buying and/or selling sexual services. Respondents were required to tick or check those responses that best reflected their experiences. They were asked to state whether they had no knowledge, limited knowledge, past or present knowledge or involvement in the trading of sex and sexual services. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.

Results

The low response rates from all organisations/venues bar the gay scene means that it is not possible to apply differential analyses to the data. Consequently, descriptive statistics are offered comparing the responses from those gay men who completed questionnaires during the two outreach sessions (labelled 'LGBT Venue'), and those young heterosexual men who were accessed through Bradford Social and Youth Services (labelled 'S&YS').

Awareness of Sex for Sale (Table 1)

Twenty-one of the 27 respondents who attended the LGBT Venue (78%) had seen advertisements for male escorts/masseurs in papers or magazines, on the internet, and in public places. Four (15 %) had considered replying to an advert but no one reported doing so. By way of contrast, 3 young heterosexual men reported having seen adverts in the press and on the internet, and 4 had seen them in public places. Only one had considered replying to an advert, and no one reported having done so.

Awareness of Soliciting/Importuning (Table 2)

Nine respondents from the LGBT Venue said that they had been offered sex for sale by a man on the streets (33%), 8 (30%) had been approached in pubs/clubs, and 5 (19%) in public sex environments or other places. No one reported paying for sex or sexual services, although one man reported offering something other than

TABLE 1: Awareness of Sex for Sale

	LGBT Venue (n=27)	S&YS (n=10)
Seen adverts for escorts/masseurs	21	3/4
- considered replying to an advert	4	1
- have replied to an advert	0	0

TABLE 2: Awareness of Soliciting Importuning

	LGBT Venue (n=27)	S&YS (n=10)
<i>Offered sex for money by a man</i>		
- on the streets	9	1
- in pubs/clubs	8	5
- in public sex environments	5	1

TABLE 3: Involvement in Selling Sex and Sexual Services

<i>Reasons for providing sex or sexual services</i>	LGBT Venue (n=27)	S&YS (n=10)
- payment/pressure to participate in pornography	3	1
- bed/accommodation	8	0
- drugs/alcohol	1	0

money in return for sex. One member of the heterosexual group reported being approached often in the past by men selling sex in pubs/clubs, the streets, and in public parks/toilets. None reported paying for sex or sexual services, either with money or in kind.

Involvement in Selling Sex and Sexual Services (Table 3)

Three (11%) of the respondents from the LGBT Venue reported having been paid or otherwise pressurized into participating in pornographic pictures or videos. One young heterosexual man also reported having been paid or pressurised into performing in pornographic pictures or videos. Eight (30%) of respondents from the local public house reported having had sexual contact with a man to whom they were not attracted because this gave them a bed for the night and one reported having received drugs/alcohol as payment. No one from the heterosexual group reported similarly doing so.

In terms of the nature of the sex provided, 2 respondents from the LGBT Venue reported that they had received money for manual masturbation, 3 had sold oral sex and 3 had sold penetrative sex. One respondent had been paid for sex with two or more men on several occasions.

Key Points for Consideration

Awareness of the availability of sex for sale by men for men was found to be widespread among those who returned questionnaires. Approximately one third of those men who attended an LGBT identified venue had been approached by men selling sex, but only one of them reported having paid for it in kind. Just under one third had used sex to secure a bed for the night, and approximately one tenth reported having been involved in pornography or selling sexual services at some point in their life.

As might be expected, those young men who identified as heterosexual were slightly less aware of gay sex for sale, and were substantially less likely to have been approached by men selling sexual services. While no one from this group reported having bought or sold sexual services, either in cash or in kind, one reported being aware of adverts for gay sex and had considered responding, had been frequently approached by men selling sex in different locations, and had been involved in making pornography.

Overall, around 10% of respondents from the LGBT Venue had been involved in selling sex, and 10% of both gay and non-gay men had been involved in pornography. Whether it is their sexual orientation, their younger age or an interaction of these factors that leads the non-gay group to have less contact with prostitution cannot be inferred at this juncture as the number of respondents in both groups is too small to make generalisations about population norms. However, these figures attest to the fact that both gay-identified and heterosexual young people maybe at risk from those manufacturing pornography and other forms of sexual exploitation in the Bradford area.

Project C: Men Selling Sex

For this part of the study, participants were recruited through advertisements in local newspapers and LGBT magazines, and through networking with colleagues from Yorkshire MESMAC and various other local agencies. The lead researcher (PH) contacted respondents and those men who advertised sexual services for men in Bradford and the surrounding area by telephone (using advertised telephone numbers), text messages and e-mail. Prospective participants were invited to take part in a series of semi-structured interviews described previously on page 8.

In total, some 29 men were found to be advertising sex for sale in newspapers, magazines, public sex environments, on the internet or through escort agencies within a 15 mile radius of Bradford city centre. A further 2 men responded to publicity about the study, and informal networking produced 5 potential contacts - a total of 36 men working in the Bradford area. Of these, 30 were still offering sexual services for payment. In terms of sexual orientation identification, the majority identified as gay, 2 identified as bisexual and 3 identified as transsexual. In terms of ethnicity, the majority identified primarily as White/European. Three identified themselves as being of Asian/South East Asian, and two identified themselves as Chinese.

Ten men agreed to be interviewed although only 7 actually took part. Of these, only 4 were still working at the time the interviews took place. Two participants were in their twenties, 3 in their thirties, and 2 in their forties. Three participants reported having sold sex or having provided sex for some form of payment at or before the age of 18 years.

Method

As noted above, prospective participants were approached by telephone, text message, e-mail or by personal introduction, and invited to take part in the study. Interviews took place in a mutually agreed venue ensuring the safety of both the researcher and the participants. Confidentiality was guaranteed to all participants and expenses were paid where required. Participants were informed that interviews would take no more than one hour to complete and would only be tape-

recorded with their consent. Prior to the interview, each participant received a follow-up call from the researcher to check that the arrangements were still convenient. All interviews followed the same basic outline (see Appendix 3). Prompts were used if necessary to clarify answers or to obtain further information. Brief biographical details were requested, along with questions about definitions of selling sex ('work'), first experiences of selling sex, the process of selling sex itself, how it did/might end, perceived and actual risks and needs, and feelings about selling sex.

Five of the interviews were tape-recorded and annotated in detail at a later date; two participants were unwilling to be recorded so contemporaneous note-taking was used (these interviews were less spontaneous and were written up in less detail). The transcripts were subject to content analysis, and are presented according to the main themes identified from the data.

Results

Biographical Details

Three of the participants described themselves primarily as working class, and sold sex on the streets. Of the remaining four, three described themselves as middle class, and one was unsure how to categorise his background. All four reported meeting men for sex in residential locations (flats, houses or hotels). The majority (5) had completed secondary education, and all identified as gay or bisexual. All but one was 'out' to their friends and family.

Definitions Associated with Selling Sex

The definitions participants used to describe selling sex varied according to the venue in which they met men or the nature of the way in which they advertised themselves. Those who were street-based described themselves as "a rent boy", "prostitute, rent boy, escort" or as one indicated, "I don't have a term for what I do". Those who were house/flat/hotel-based described themselves as "a masseur", "a qualified massage therapist" who "will offer other sexual services", "a prostitute" or "an escort".

First Experience of Selling Sex

Initial involvements in selling sex varied greatly according to whether or not the participants were street-based or house/flat/hotel-based. Those participants who described themselves as masseurs or massage therapists had undertaken training in massage, and they together with the house/flat/hotel-based escort had their first experience of selling sexual services only after they had placed an advertisement in the press or on the internet.

Beforehand I was nervous as I'd only done a short introductory course in massage, so I wondered if I'd be up to scratch in that respect. But he was nervous too, and afterwards I felt elated that I'd done it. I quite enjoyed it, and that's what encouraged me to keep doing it.

I suppose it started because I was in a sauna one day, and this man wanted me to play with him, and he gave me money afterwards – I think it was about £20. I hadn't planned to be a prostitute but I was unemployed at the time, and when I got the cash it made me realise that I could use my body to get a decent standard of living, cos [*sic*] it was impossible to survive on what the dole gives you.

The first assignment I waited for a week [after placing an advertisement] for a call to come in. He turned up, but I couldn't understand why he was paying for it – he was younger than me but quite good-looking. So I thought, 'I can do this: massage, hand job, forty quid, thank you very much'.

One participant offered massage in addition to his professional day-job; the other two began selling sexual services as a premeditated move to find an alternative source of income, and all were at least in their mid-twenties when they began. However for those who worked on the streets, their introduction to selling sex was much more stark and exploitative, and occurred before the age of 18 years:

I felt disgusting. I was fifteen. I was on holiday down south, and it just happened. I was in a public toilet and somebody just offered me cash to play with him – I got a packet of fags and a couple of quid. I went home and had a bath. Later, I thought, 'what an easy way to get money'. About a year later, I went to a public toilet in [town near Bradford], and just stood around, waiting. I didn't ask anyone, I just waited for them to approach me. I hadn't really planned what would happen. And it was horrible, but I only had a part-time job, so I used to work in between my shifts. I was at school so I used to skip lessons to work.

The guy who raped me when I was staying in [Bradford] hotel gave me £5 spending money – that was my first full sexual experience and I spent the money on food. I was fifteen and a half, and had left home as my parents couldn't accept me. [The next occasion was] in [Bradford district] public toilets. I got £10, which was a lot of money for me as I had no job or qualifications. I went into the toilets to have sex but I didn't expect payment – he asked me to go with him. If I'd had a job or qualifications I would have told him to get lost.

A guy offered me a pound – it doesn't sound much now, but I was 12 then. I felt dirty afterwards, and there was a gap of a few months, then I did it to survive. I was young and wanted clothes, stuff like that, and it was the only way to get the money because I was too young to work any other way.

In contrast to those house/flat/hotel-based participants who reported having sold sex following a chance encounter in adulthood, all of those who sold sex on the streets were very young when they first began (12 and 15 [two] years). As the quotations illustrate (above), these first experiences left them feeling shocked, upset, or guilty about what they had done. Various factors seem to have played their part in the decision-

making process that led to participants selling sex proactively:

- a perceived ability to earn 'easy money'
- a lack of access to gay pubs and clubs and other 'gay' people
- a lack of confidence in their ability to get a 'good' job made them all turn to sex work

For the majority of participants enjoyment was not a factor in selling sex.

Selling Sex

Participants reported that the men with whom they had paid sex came from diverse backgrounds and ages (from 20 to 70 plus years) as one street-based participant described:

Punters can be straight, curious, elderly, lonely, horny. Usually they are older, forty plus, mainly English but some Asian. I work in the street, or from flats, and will do out calls for regulars only because you get too many time wasters. I do anything – kinky sex, wooden spoons [spanking], whatever they want.

Two participants who were 12 and 15 years old when they first became involved in selling sex reported having had a pimp for a while. Both felt that, in retrospect, this was an exploitative relationship, and one (street-based) felt that, even though he was engaged in a romantic relationship with the man he described as his 'pimp', it did not dull the feeling of exploitation:

I was in a relationship with an older guy but I paid all the bills so I was keeping him too.

Both participants who were involved in selling sex at 15 years of age had engaged in what may be described as 'survival sex', however, only one of them (street-based) had exchanged sex for food or shelter.

Those participants who reported becoming involved in selling sex between the ages of 12 and 15 years demonstrated much less control over the

course of their lives than the other men in this study. **All were or are street-based** and perceived those who paid for sex as having much of the power in determining the nature of the sex to be provided. They also reported working in many more locations and moving around in order to offer 'fresh meat' to new 'clients'.

I worked around the railway stations, the Interchange, by word of mouth, in dark cars, up a dark lane. You did whatever you were told to do. All the power was taken away from you so you're open to abuse. I did all sorts even when I didn't want to.

Those participants who began selling sex after the age of 18 years were house/flat/hotel-based and had a clear idea about the limitations they placed upon their 'clients' in terms of services offered:

I had a very, very nice flat near the station, I used to vet the punters – I'd get them to park near the station and I'd hang about there to check them out before they rang me to find out the full address. I'd agree a price on the phone then get the money up front. I'd not do out visits – I nearly did one but he drove by me and never stopped. And you're more in control in your own place, can hide your money, stuff like that.

Quitting

Two participants who had been based in a house/flat/hotel reported that they no longer sold sex. Reasons for quitting included becoming involved in a significant relationship with another man who also sold sex, or undergoing professional training:

I 'retired' when I met somebody I got very close to. I stopped him from doing it so I had to stop myself! No regrets, but I think it made me more understanding, I think I learned a lot from it, and I've got more compassion now. So I think I'm saying that, in a way, I'm glad I did it, and maybe I can help other people in a similar situation now.

Only one participant who was street-based reported that he no longer sold sex because of a change in his HIV status:

I stopped after I was diagnosed HIV positive. Knowing I was positive and needing to protect others, and also feeling that I'd be kicked out of the [gay] scene for selling sex, and gay people were the only ones with compassion about AIDS, so I'd have been cutting off my only support network if I'd carried on being a prostitute.

Of the four men who are still working, three (two house/flat/hotel-based and one street-based) said that they would stop if they had a partner who objected to their occupation. Otherwise, only age might cause them to stop, though this was less of a concern for those who offered massage:

I would stop if I met someone I'd want to date long-term, but I'd carry on doing the massage in a more professional way, without the extras. I see no reason to stop until I get fed up with it.

The youngest participant, who was in his mid-twenties and street-based, was the most age-conscious. At the time of his interview, he believed that he was too old to make a lot of money as men who sought and paid for sex tended to want boys or young men aged 16 or under:

I'm too old, really, but I won't retire as it's easy money. You can make more if you're younger, as guys prefer under 16s.

Although all of the participants said that they were aware of other men selling sex in the Bradford area, only those who were street-based said they were likely to have some contact with one or more of them, suggesting that house/flat/hotel-based men tend to work in isolation.

Potential Risks and Subsequent Needs

All participants acknowledged that there remain risks associated with selling sex, however, those risks differ according to the manner in which sex is sold. All those who had worked or continue to work on the streets had been beaten up and/or raped at some point, had been obliged to have unprotected sex, had not been paid, or had been obliged to get into a client's car. Powerlessness, fear and a lack of protection (due to a fear of being arrested) were key issues that emerged for this group.

When I was younger I was beat up by [name provided] so I went to the police station. I got there but then I didn't go in and make a complaint as I didn't think I would be believed.

There's risks in anything. Getting stabbed, beat up, nicked – I guess they'd be specific to this work. Someone tried beating me up once.

Because it's illegal to have gay sex as a teen and it's illegal to sell it, you have no comeback. Hanging around toilets, railway stations, and going with strangers is deadly dangerous. I wasn't taught anything about AIDS back then and I thought older men didn't get it – there was a lot of unprotected sex too. Some guys insisted on unprotected sex or they wouldn't pay. Some didn't pay, and some were very dominant, brutal almost. Being young and illegal, you just had no protection.

For those who sold sex from a house/flat or hotel some of the potential risks participants described were very different to those quoted above:

I feel that I'm reasonably intelligent and I try to be very careful about who I have as clients. I'm not desperate to work seven days a week so I can be choosy, and I feel I've some way of trying to suss people out through chatting on the internet. I think more of the legal risks as I have a

professional job in the daytime so that would really mess things up if I got caught.

You could get a nutter client but that applies to most work situations. I feel less threatened than in my former job.

In terms of sexual health, there was an acknowledgement of the potential risks associated with having sex with a stranger; one man considered selling sex to be no more problematic than having sex for pleasure with a man he might meet from the internet:

Health-wise, I use condoms if I do something high-risk, but it's only like having sex with anyone. I'd been meeting people off the internet for sex, just for fun, so that side of it didn't bother me.

However, fears were expressed about being forced to have unprotected sex:

You risk being used, but I put myself in a position where I could be used as I needed the money. Some of the punters can be a bit dodgy, shall we say? It's scary if you get a guy who's more powerful than you are – if you get a bear who won't take no for an answer you've had it. The real fear is if they shag you and don't use a condom. Then there's nobody you can turn to for help and you could be dead.

Generally, street-based participants reported being less likely to access regular health screening. One participant who had sold sex in Europe as well as in the UK noted that, because prostitution is regulated overseas, health screening is mandatory. However, because he had had sex before the legal age of consent, he was reluctant to access regular health care in the UK until he suspected that he had contracted a Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI).

Those selling sex in a house/flat or hotel reported having fewer needs and requirements in terms of support services than those who were street-based.

Two said they did not need any further support, as they had already accessed those services they required. Furthermore, one had ceased to sell sex at the time of the interview. The remaining two participants said that they would welcome both formal and informal social support, a change in legislation, unionisation, and the provision of free condoms - although one suggested that this support was needed for those men who sold sex in order to buy or obtain drugs.

For those participants who were street-based both the legalisation of prostitution and the provision of free condoms were highlighted as immediate needs. They also believed that they would benefit from the provision of an outreach and counselling service, as well as a befriending network and a place to go for information, advice and other forms of social support that were not necessarily linked to sexual health services. They suggested that such services needed to be accessible, convenient and above all non-judgemental.

How Do Participants Feel About Selling Sex?

Participants were asked to provide 'adjectives' or 'phrases' that best describe the way they feel about selling sex.

Street-based participants described selling sex as:

- Angry – very angry
- Blank it out
- Disgusting
- Dodgy
- Don't talk about it
- Easy money
- Fabulous
- Filthy
- Frightening
- Interesting
- Money
- Raped
- Tramp

House/flat and hotel-based participants described selling sex as:

- Caring
- Different
- Dignity
- Exciting
- Giving pride
- Giving service
- Horny
- It's in the past now
- Lucrative
- Naughty
- No regrets
- Relaxing
- Risky/risqué
- Sexy

Key Points for Consideration

All of the participants who were interviewed either lived in Bradford and the surrounding areas or sold sex there, or have/had clients from there. Based upon the evidence contained within the interviews described above, and the previous two surveys, it is clear the sex is sold within the Bradford area and that, in some cases, those who sell sex are under the age of legal majority. Furthermore there remain men for whom the purchase of sex with young men under the age of 16 is desirable.

Our analyses suggest that there is a clear divide in the experiences of men who sold sex on the streets as compared to those who have sold sex from a house/flat or hotel. Participants who were street-based tended to have less control over the types of sex for which payment was offered, they had experienced more violence, and had a more negative view of selling sex than those who were house/flat/hotel-based. However, they did know of other men selling sex, much more than their house/flat/hotel-based counterparts. This observation may have significant ramifications for those who provide support for men who sell sex in Bradford as it suggests that any such service, if

appropriately and sensitively staffed, can gain access to a network of men who sell sex on the streets of Bradford and its outlying areas.

Men who had sold sex on the streets reported feeling much more isolated, and had a greater desire for dedicated support services than those who were based in a house/flat or hotel. The types of services suggested included the provision of an outreach and counselling service, as well as a befriending network and a designated place to go for information, advice and other forms of social support that were not linked to sexual health screening. Having said that, there remained within this group a recurrent fear that there is a propensity to judge harshly those who sell sex. Consequently, participants reinforced the need for both a non-judgemental and confidential support service that was not linked directly to law enforcement.

In terms of the men who were involved in selling sex from a very early age, it is significant to note that those who were street-based said it began after a chance encounter with an exploitative older man between the ages of 12 and 15 years. One corollary of this experience seems to be the likelihood of forming a 'relationship' with an older man who continues this exploitation.

Despite the greater control, choice and organisation described by those men who sold sex from a house/flat or hotel, there remained considerable risk. Participants reported that the risks they encountered in advertising sex in papers, magazines and on the internet included the fear of arrest or prosecution, social opprobrium if their activities become public knowledge, the ever-present fear of violence or the contraction of an STI. Interestingly, many of the risks highlighted were rationalised in terms of it being no more or less dangerous than meeting a stranger in a pub/club or indeed from the internet. The descriptors used by those men who were house/flat/hotel-based to illustrate the experience of selling sex were, on the whole more positive than their street-based counterparts. **These results suggest that it is towards those selling sex on the streets that services should initially focus.**

General Discussion

Men who sell sex in the Bradford district do so through a number of media. At the most fundamental level, street-based importuning continues to go on, and tends to be employed as a means of income generation by men who come from 'working class' or lower socio-economic backgrounds. Print and internet advertising is primarily favoured by those who can accommodate 'clients' in a house/flat or hotel, and these men tend to report a more affluent or 'middle class' background. As a result, there is a perception among those not working on the streets, that this form of selling sex is less hazardous and does not carry many of the dangers normally associated with prostitution. In particular, participants believed that there was a greater degree of choice (in terms of willingness to have sex with a paying client), and a greater degree of control (in terms of the nature of the sex on offer). For those men who were street-based, it is noteworthy that **all** reported having been beaten up or otherwise physically harmed by clients, and had been forced to have unprotected sexual intercourse at some point.

As noted above, men who sell sex advertise using a number of different methods, few of which are hidden either from the police or from members of the local community. A common presumption is that such advertisements are directed at members of the local gay and bisexual communities, however, this is not entirely the case. In one instance three young heterosexual men reported having seen advertisements in the press and on the internet, and four reported seeing them in public places. Indeed, one young man considered responding to the advertisement he saw. It would, therefore, seem inappropriate to ghettoise or otherwise target any form of intervention solely at one group within the local community, as there will undoubtedly be men who identify as heterosexual and yet sell sex to other men.

This study did find retrospective evidence of involvement in selling sex by boys in the Bradford area as young as 12 years of age. Furthermore, responses from participants in Project B (Local Awareness of Men Selling Sex) indicated that gay/bisexual and heterosexual young men in the Bradford area have been paid or pressurized to

perform in pornographic pictures or videos by a man or men they had met locally. The ramifications of such experiences have yet to be explored fully in terms of their relationship to the concept of 'selling sex', however, such experiences, when involuntary, are likely to have significant negative effects upon the individuals concerned in terms of feelings of self-esteem and self-worth.

In building a picture of the nature and methods by which agreements are reached where one man provides sex in return for some form of recompense, it was significant that eight of the twenty-seven respondents who completed questionnaires in the local public house reported having had sexual contact with a man to whom they were not attracted because they received shelter for a night. While it is questionable whether or not such a barter system counts as 'selling sex', we would argue that any proposed outreach or community-based service offered in Bradford **should not** be provided solely for those men who receive monetary payment for sex.

Within Bradford and the surrounding area, there are currently no dedicated support services for men who sell sex, although there are two projects for women who sell sex – the Bradford Working Women's Project (BWWP) and Barnardo's Streets and Lanes Project for young women under the age of 18 years. Elsewhere in the UK while there are various models of service provision for men who sell sex, Bradford is already very well placed to adopt a model of good practice utilising the expertise of staff from the Streets and Lanes Project. Furthermore Yorkshire MESMAC currently provides a community development worker in the city of Bradford offering a generic information, advice and support service to men who have sex with men, and a social support coordinator for people (women and men of all sexualities, cultures and backgrounds) living with HIV/AIDS. Any dedicated service provision for men who sell sex should, therefore, not be identified as one that caters solely for the gay community.

The often-remarked link between selling sex and drug use was not explored fully in this study. One participant did relate how he used soft drugs to obliterate the reality of his working and living

conditions, and the rejection he experienced from his parents who were homophobic. However, while his work and living conditions and family difficulties may have had a direct impact upon his decision to sell sex, his use of drugs seems to have been incidental (perhaps another escape mechanism, albeit transitory), rather than the reason underpinning his decision to obtain money on the streets. In terms of service provision, another participant (quoted previously) suggested that those men who sell or offer sex in order to obtain drugs may be in greater need of services providing free condoms. While Bradford does have some drug treatment and support workers who have links with various projects including Streets and Lanes, there is currently no resource available for men who sell sex. We would suggest that the closure of this gap in service provision is of paramount importance, and we believe that it would encourage greater disclosure surrounding drug usage among men who sell sex, and provide a vehicle for further research to ascertain the nature and extent of this issue in Bradford.

Conclusion

Men who sell sex do so in a number of different venues and locations. While some are street-based, often engaging in what may be described as 'survival sex', others utilise advances in technology (mobile/cell telephones and the internet), and feel better able to organise and control their contact with men who purchase sex. There is a distinct class-based divide between those who sold sex on the streets who described themselves as working-class and those who described themselves as middle-class and who advertised from a flat or house, or were willing to visit hotels.

Within Bradford, sex is sold to a wide range of men who cannot be distinguished by age, occupation or ethnic/cultural background. Agreements between men do not always involve the exchange of money; the provision of shelter, food, drugs and/or alcohol may be offered in return for sex. There is evidence that both heterosexual and gay/bisexual men in Bradford have been involved in pornography and/or selling sex from an early age. Difficulties in gaining access to the majority of men who sell sex in Bradford meant that the antecedents of such experiences were not explored fully in this study, although issues such as family discord and chance encounters with older men were reported as key factors. Men who sold sex believed that the establishment of a dedicated and non-judgemental support service for them is a necessary step forward in empowering those who are unable to determine a successful exit strategy, those who feel isolated, those who have been beaten-up and those who are being abused. Until such a service is provided, men who sell sex in Bradford remain vulnerable to violence and exploitation:

When I was younger I was beat up by [name provided] so I went to the police station. I got there but then I didn't go in and make a complaint as I didn't think I would be believed.

Recommendations

Based upon the research conducted on behalf of Yorkshire MESMAC, the following two recommendations are offered:

1. Given, the high number of professionals (Project A) who had some evidence relating to the existence of young men who sell sex in the Bradford district, we suggest the establishment of a local support service responding to the needs of men and boys involved in selling sex.

We suggest that this service should include the following features:

- It should be located within the voluntary sector and supported by an advisory committee comprised of both statutory and voluntary sector representatives;
- It should be non-judgemental and independent of local law enforcement with lines of communication to a dedicated officer for the report of crimes against men and boys involved in selling sex;
- It should have a discreet remit to provide befriending, counselling and emotional support for men and boys involved in selling sex and not solely those who identify as gay;
- It should provide a supporting sexual health screening service, but not be located within a GU clinic or other identified sexual health resource;
- Where appropriate it should have established and discreet lines of communication with both Social and Youth Services in cases where minors are found to be involved in selling sex. (Local protocols for safeguarding children involved in prostitution should be observed - see Appendix 5);
- It should operate at times and in a locale that maximises the up-take of the service, providing outreach where necessary;
- It should be staffed by individuals with a knowledge and understanding of the issues relevant to men and boys involved in selling sex, and where possible, men selling sex should be encouraged to act as sessional workers, particularly those working on the streets.

2. To commission a programme of research and evaluation that further explores the issues highlighted in the report. In particular we would recommend that this research should aim to:

- Further explore the local socio-economic and demographic characteristics [including family backgrounds and, if appropriate, care settings for looked after children and young people] that lead to adult men and boys providing sex in return for payment either in money or in kind;
- Explore the changing pattern of selling sex, taking into account the utilisation of the internet and the mobile/cell telephone culture as a means of communication with 'clients';
- Develop on-line and telephone outreach resources for those men who sell sex from locations other than on the street;
- Monitor and evaluate the provision of those services offered in the Bradford area for men who sell sex;
- Develop training resources based upon an assessment of the needs of men who sell sex to ensure the perpetuation of service provision.

We would contend that the successful provision of such a service and a favourable evaluation of it will revolve around the following key issues:

- That staff are employed both on a full-time and part-time basis;
- That there is a commitment to working unsocial hours which may include late evenings and weekends;
- That sessional workers who are employed from a cohort of service users are appropriately trained and can demonstrate the necessary level of skill;
- That there is regular evaluation of service provision through feedback from users;
- That a system of referral to local providers of mental health, sexual health, social and youth services is established, with a named contact for each provider.

Limitations of This Study

Invariably, any research has limitations in its methodology either as a result of the time frame in which it is executed, or as a result of difficulties in accessing members of the target population. As this study was only of four months duration, it was not possible to spend a great deal of time tracking down and networking with men in the Bradford area who sell sex. As a result there was not an opportunity to build up the degree of trust and confidence between the men and the lead researcher (PH) for a detailed exploration of many of the issues highlighted in this study. Furthermore, as selling sex and homosexuality are both the subjects of social opprobrium, participating in this study required courage and trust, and a willingness to talk openly about experiences. Only a small number of men may have felt able to do this within the time frame offered. A further consideration relates to the fact that currently there is no dedicated service provision for men who sell sex and thus there was no vehicle through which the lead researcher could access the target population.

Bradford has a diverse ethnic mix. This study found some evidence suggesting that men who sell sex and their clients come from a range of social and cultural backgrounds. Evidence from projects currently running in the capital suggest that a growing number of men who sell sex are from refugee and asylum-seeking populations. Bradford has fairly large communities of refugees and asylum seekers, however, there is currently no evidence to suggest that members of these groups are selling sex. Indeed, it is unlikely that these groups would admit to any illegal or stigmatised activities that might jeopardize petitions for resettlement or asylum.

Although the sexual exploitation of children by organised paedophile networks is topical at present, this study does not address the issue sufficiently well to provide information that may assist current service providers in offering successful exit strategies for these young people. Therefore, we would suggest that much more work is required focusing upon the antecedents and inducements that lead children into selling or being forced to engage in sex.

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Appendix 1 - List of Agencies represented in Project A

Aireborough Independent Living Team
Asylum Seekers' Services
Barnardo's MisPer Project
Barnardo's Streets and Lanes Project
Bradford Council' – Community Safety Policy Department
Bradford Council-- Safeguarding Children in Prostitution Task Group (ACPC)
Bradford Independent Living Team
Bradford Learning Gateway
Bradford Working Women's Project
Bradford Youth Service
Bridge Project
Education Bradford
Leeds Metropolitan University
Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services
St Luke's GUM Clinic
Social Services' – Area Teams
Social Services – Child Protection Unit
Social Services – Residential Care Units
West Yorkshire Police – Vice Squad
Yorkshire MESMAC
Youth Offending Team

The views of an individual do not necessarily represent the views of the agency as a whole.

Appendix 2 - Project B: Local Awareness of Men Selling Sex

What is the first part of your current postcode: _____

Year of birth: 19 _____

Part 1: Please circle the answer that best describes you or your current identification

- 1.1 What gender do you identify with? male/female/transgender/other
 1.2 Sexual orientation: gay/lesbian/bisexual/heterosexual/undecided/other
 1.3 Relationship status: single/casual partner/steady partner
 open relationship/multiple partners/other
 1.4 Occupational/job status: student/working/unemployed/retired/other

Part 2: Please tick the most appropriate answer to each question.

Have you ever?	Never	1 or 2 times	A few times	Often in past	Still do
1. Seen adverts for male escorts/masseurs in papers/magazines					
2. Seen adverts selling sex on the internet					
3. Seen adverts selling sex in public places					
4. Thought about replying to an advert					
5. Replied to an advert					
6. Been approached by a man selling sex on the streets					
7. Been approached by a man selling sex in pubs or clubs					
8. Been approached by a man selling sex in public toilets/parks					
9. Been approached by a man selling sex in another location					
10. Paid for a blow job/hand job					
11. Paid for sex					
12. Given a man something other than money in return for sex					
13. Given a man something other than money in return for sexual services					
14. Been paid or pressured to be in pornographic video or pictures					
15. Pulled a man you didn't fancy so you had somewhere to stay					
16. Been given alcohol/drugs in exchange for sexual acts					
17. Been given food/clothes in exchange for sexual acts					
18. Been given other goods/services in exchange for sexual acts					
19. Been given alcohol/drugs in exchange for full sex					
20. Been given food/clothes in exchange for full sex					
21. Been given other goods/services in exchange for full sex					
22. Received money for giving a hand job					
23. Received money for giving a blow job					
24. Received money for having sex with a man					
25. Received money for having sex with a woman					
26. Received money for having sex with two or more men					
Thank you for your help. If you have answered 'Never' to all of questions 10-26, please return your form now. Otherwise, please complete the last questions.					

Where did the activities described in questions 10-26 take place? Circle all appropriate answers.

Bradford City/Bradford District/Leeds/Other Yorkshire town or city/Manchester/London/other place in England/
 Abroad.

If you would take part in a confidential study, please leave your contact details below. Thank you.

Appendix 3 - Men Selling Sex Interview Schedule

1. Tell me a little about your background, where you grew up, your family for example. What do they do?
2. How would you describe your sexual orientation and the work you do?
3. Do you always work for cash?
 - If not how are you sometimes paid?
 - What proportion cash or other things?
4. Who are your customers – age, race, occupation, gender?
5. What kind of places do you work?
6. What sorts of sex do you offer?
 - Are there things you won't do?
7. Tell me about the way in which you work?
 - How do you meet clients?
 - Where?
8. Can you keep what you earn or do you have to give anyone else a cut?
9. Do you know other guys who are involved in this kind of work in the Bradford area?
 - Can you tell me roughly how many are like you?
 - Do they all work in the same way you do?
 - If not, can you give me an example of the different ways in which others work?
 - Do you help each other out, or do you have to compete for business?
10. Tell me about the first time you did this type of work?
 - Can you tell me about how you got involved in it?
 - Did anyone – friends, family, someone you knew – encourage you to try it?
 - Did anybody else know what you were doing when you first started?
 - Who knows now?
11. What, in your opinion, are the risks involved in doing this type of work?
 - Have you ever experienced any of the things you have described?
 - Can you tell me about them?
12. What do you think you could do to cut down these risks?
 - Could others do anything to help reduce the risks?
13. Do you know what services are available for you?
14. Where can you get help at the minute, and what services have you used, if any?
 - Were you helped and how?
 - What could they have done better?
15. What sort of service would you like to have available for you in the local area?
16. What might make you give up working this way?
or
What made you give up working?
17. Finally, can give me five words that describe how you feel about the work you do?

Appendix 4 - Sex Worker Projects Visited During Study

Central London Action for Street Health (CLASH)

Run by an NHS Mental Health Trust but structured like a voluntary agency, it works in gay and general settings, offering services to the homeless, drug users, and sex workers.

The Basement Project, London

Offers advice, counselling, alternative therapies and supplies to drug users. Most of the service users are involved in sex work.

Barnardo's Young Men's Project, London

Has an explicit child protection focus, sees only boys but recognises that they don't necessarily identify as gay even if they sell sex to men. Tries to provide early interface with young homeless before they become involved in prostitution, and supports young sex workers with an aim to helping them exit prostitution.

Working Men's Project, London

NHS run, has close links with HIV and GUM services. Operates a 'one stop shop' model to address health and social needs of working men. Has active outreach programme.

Streetwise Youth, London

Aimed at over 16s, largely flat-, sauna- or brothel-based male sex workers. Provides links with health, education, careers as well as practical support and advice.

Prostitute Outreach Workers, Nottingham

Set up for women but now has dedicated male worker. Encourages former prostitutes to stay involved as volunteers, offers practical support and links with other services.

Bradford Working Women's Project

Has facilities for cooking, showering etc. as well as having housing, health and advice workers. Does regular outreach, distributing condoms and clean injecting equipment.

Barnardo's Streets and Lanes Project, Bradford

Works with girls under 18, actively tries to help working girls to exit prostitution while protecting those identifies as 'at risk' of involvement in the sex industry. The project is also involved in outreach, awareness-raising, and education via local schools.

Safeguarding Children and Young People Involved in Prostitution

This protocol applies to **all** children and young people, male and female, under the age of 18 years within the Bradford District. All agencies working as partners of the ACPC will ensure that their staff are aware of and use procedures agreed by their agency in line with this protocol.

Raising Concerns

Children/Young People Living at Home (Not Looked After by the Local Authority)

- (a) Concerns about any child/young person in the District, known to be involved in or at risk of becoming involved in prostitution should be referred to the Child Protection Unit on 01274 754343 (or out of hours, the Emergency Duty Team on 01274 530430). The referrer, if a designated post-holder from the ACPC agency, will then be informed whether the child/young person's name is on the child protection register and of any previous enquiries to the register about the child/young person.
- (b) If it appears that the concerns warrant assessment of need, the referrer will be transferred to Customer Advice and Initial Assessment Team (CAIAT) or if the child/young person already has an allocated social worker, details will be given to the referrer of whom to contact.
- (c) Social Services will decide within 24 hours or sooner what, if any action it will take to safeguard the child/young person.
- (d) If the child/young person is thought to be at risk of involvement in prostitution and there is no other worker involved, the situation will be dealt with by CAIAT staff. This will include:
 - Informing/involving the young person and their parents/carers.
 - Obtaining information from other agencies including the Police, School/LEA, Health and SALs

And where appropriate, undertaking an initial assessment of need to be completed within seven working days.

- (e) If the child/young person is known to be involved in prostitution, or is subject to Police Protection or an Emergency Protection Order because of prostitution, the situation will then be referred to the Child Protection Investigation Team (CPIT) for enquiries to be undertaken under Section 47 Children Act 1989.

A strategy discussion/meeting involving the Police, Social Services, SALs and other agencies as appropriate (including Youth Offending Team, Education and Health) will take place to share information and plan the necessary enquiries which will form part of the initial assessment/investigation.

- (f) Prior to the completion of the assessment or at any stage afterwards, where it is clear that it will be of benefit, a meeting will be held to consider how best to safeguard and promote the welfare of the child/young person and to ensure appropriate support services are made available to the child/young person and their family. Such a meeting should consider all or any of the following:
 - How to protect the child/young person from harm and prevent further sexual exploitation.
 - To establish how the young person entered prostitution and who was responsible for entry.
 - To determine what action can be taken to identify and prosecute those people who have sexually abused and coerced the child/young person into prostitution.
 - To consider risk to any other children/young people and the implementation of any appropriate action.
 - To agree, if there are any exceptional circumstances that would warrant Criminal Justice Action being taken in respect of the young person.

Consideration needs to be given to the involvement of the young person and their parents and other significant family/friends in any meetings arranged.

- (g) The outcome of the Section 47 enquiries may require that further action be taken including the convening of a Child Protection Conference or a 'core assessment of need' by Social Services.
- (h) If at any time during the investigation/assessment information becomes available that suggests that the abuse of children/young people through prostitution may involve more than one abuser or a number of children/young people there needs to be consideration as to whether the ACPC Organised Abuse procedures (Section 7) apply.

Children/Young People Looked After by the Local Authority (In Care) or on the CPR

- (a) Concerns about any child/young person in the District who is in Care of the Local Authority or already on the Child Protection Register, and where there are concerns about involvement in prostitution should be immediately referred to their allocated Social Worker (or their manager) in Bradford Social Services.
- (b) ACPC Procedures (including, where appropriate, Organised Abuse) and Agency guidelines will then be followed in these situations.
- (c) The issues identified under Section f (above) needs to be addressed and where necessary a meeting arranged involving, as appropriate, representatives of the Police, Social Services, Youth Offending Team, Education, SALs and Health to ensure that the necessary enquiries/investigations are undertaken. Subsequently the issues should be included as part of the usual review process to ensure that the concerns continue to be addressed through the care plan/ child protection plan.

Supporting Children/Young People Involved in Prostitution

All written assessments and plans (including care plans and child protection plans) for the children/young people involved in or at risk of being involved in prostitution will take into account the following:

- That their welfare is safeguarded and promoted
- The child/young person's wishes and feelings
- An 'exit from prostitution' strategy
- Their race, religion, culture, language and any disability
- That contact with family members is supported
- Local services needed by the child/young person
- The support needs of their family/carers

Services provided by agencies including SALs may include:

- Safe accommodation
- Sexual health advice
- Drug advice
- Mentoring to return to education or employment/training
- Counselling in relation to self-esteem and psychological health
- Help to pursue positive leisure activities
- Help to develop a protective network of friends and relatives who can continue support.

About the Authors

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