The Nature and Extent of the Sex Industry in New Zealand: An Estimation

Prostitution Law Review Committee

April 2005
Foreword

The Prostitution Law Review Committee is pleased to introduce this report entitled The Nature and Extent of the Sex Industry in New Zealand: An Estimation. The report provides baseline information on the sex industry prior to the passage of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 (the Act). It will assist the Committee evaluate the extent to which the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 (the Act) is meeting its purpose.

The Act came into force on 28 June 2003. The Act decriminalises prostitution (while not endorsing or morally sanctioning prostitution or its use). It repealed offences associated with soliciting and brothel keeping.

The purpose of the Act is to:
- safeguard the human rights of sex workers and protect them from exploitation
- promote the welfare, occupational health and safety of sex workers
- create an environment that is conducive to public health and
- protect children from exploitation in relation to prostitution.

Prostitution is now subject to the same laws and controls that regulate other businesses.

The Prostitution Law Review Committee was established under Part 4 of the Act to review the operation of the Act and to consider related matters. The Act charged the Committee with preparing a report assessing the number of persons working as sex workers in New Zealand, and to report its findings to the Minister of Justice. The Committee commissioned the Ministry of Justice’s Research and Evaluation Team to undertake this work.

As stated in the introduction to the report, any estimate of the size of the sex industry must be viewed with caution. The report is a useful indication of the numbers of those working in the sex industry in New Zealand prior to the introduction of the Act, not a definitive assessment. Accordingly the Committee emphasises the caveats given in section 2.2 of this report.

The report is divided into two distinct sections to reflect the different sources of information. The first section reports on the findings of a telephone survey of NZ Police Districts and Areas. This survey canvassed specific police staff in a position to offer information and insight on the sex industry in their area. The second section is based upon an audit of the number of advertisements for commercial sexual services undertaken by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC). In addition, an interview with some members of the NZPC gives a fuller picture of the nature of the sex industry in New Zealand and is designed to be complementary to the information provided by the NZ Police. The views expressed in this report are those of the participants and are not necessarily the views of their organisations.

The Committee are charged with reviewing the operation of the Act in three to five years. The Committee’s review of the Act will include an assessment of:
- the operation of the Act since its commencement
• the impact of the Act on the number of persons working as sex workers in New Zealand and
• the nature and adequacy of the means available to assist persons to avoid or cease working as sex workers.

The Committee will also assess whether amendments need to be made to the law in relation to sex workers or prostitution.

This report delivers the Committee’s first requirement under the Act. The Committee would like to acknowledge the following people for their valuable contributions to the report:

• Wendy Searle for managing the project and writing the report.
• Heide Pusch who undertook much of the early fieldwork to develop the police survey.
• Scott Spackman, from the NZ Police who facilitated and assisted with the police survey.
• NZ Police who participated in the survey.
• Chris Ford, Harry Quinn and Shane Cotter of the NZ Police who assisted in the pre-testing and development of the Police survey.
• Catherine Healy and Calum Bennachie of the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective.
• Trish Knaggs, Alison Chetwin and Angela Lee from the Research & Evaluation Unit, Ministry of Justice who reviewed drafts of the report.
• Vivienne Morrell for proof-reading the report and Judith Spier for formatting the report.
• Chelly Walton and Lisette Nolan from the Ministry of Justice.
Contents

Tables 7
Figures 7
Executive Summary 9
1 Introduction 15
  1.1 Background 15
  1.2 The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 15
Part A: Survey of New Zealand Police 17
  2.1 Introduction 17
    2.1.1 Background 17
    2.1.2 Forms of prostitution in New Zealand 17
  2.2 Methodology 19
    2.2.1 Introduction 19
    2.2.2 Method 20
    2.2.3 Content of survey 22
    2.2.4 Data analysis 22
    2.2.5 Limitations 22
  2.3 Findings 23
    2.3.1 Size of the sex industry 23
    2.3.2 Characteristics of those working in the industry 32
    2.3.3 Exploitation of sex workers 37
    2.3.4 Police role 38
    2.3.5 Other issues 39
  2.4 Summary 41
Part B: New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective 43
  3.1 Introduction 43
  3.2 Methodology 43
    3.2.1 Audit of Advertisements 43
    3.2.2 Interview 44
    3.2.3 Definitions 44
  3.3 Findings 45
    3.3.1 Extent of the sex industry in New Zealand 45
    3.3.2 Characteristics of those working in the industry 49
    3.3.3 Exploitation of sex workers 50
    3.3.4 Role of New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective 51
  3.4 Summary 52
4 Conclusion 53
References 57
Appendix 1: Police survey 59
Appendix 2: Police Areas Canvassed 65
Appendix 3: New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective - interview schedule 67
Tables

Table 2.1 Police Districts participating in survey 21

Figures

Figure 2.1  Number of businesses by sector 24
Figure 2.2  Number of sex workers in each sector 25
Figure 2.3  Proportion of sex workers in each sector 25
Figure 2.4  Comparison of proportions of sex workers by sector, 2001 & 2003 26
Figure 2.5  Number of sex businesses by police district 27
Figure 2.6  Number of street workers by police district 28
Figure 2.7  Number of massage parlour workers by police district 28
Figure 2.8  Number of escort agency workers by police district 29
Figure 2.9  Number of rap/escort workers by police district 30
Figure 2.10 Number of private workers by police district 31
Figure 2.11 Number of ship workers by police district 32
Figure 2.12 Proportion of female, male and transgender/transsexual sex workers across each of the sectors 33
Figure 2.13 Number of under age workers by sector 34
Figure 2.14 Proportion of under age workers in each sector 34
Figure 3.1 Numbers of advertisements in Auckland and Wellington newspapers – 4 July 2003 45
Figure 3.2 Gender breakdown of private advertisements – Auckland – 4 July 2003 46
Figure 3.3 Gender breakdown of agency advertisements – Auckland – 4 July 2003 46
Figure 3.4 Gender breakdown of agency advertisements – Wellington – 4 July 2003 47
Figure 3.5 Gender breakdown of private advertisements – Wellington – 4 July 2003 47
Figure 3.6 Proportion of sex workers in each sector – NZPC estimation 48
Executive Summary

Introduction

This report presents a research effort by the Ministry of Justice to assess the size of the sex industry in New Zealand. It does so acknowledging that any attempt to establish the size of the sex industry must be viewed with caution. It is an industry where much of its activity has been 'hidden' and the non-regulated and fluid nature of the industry means that any estimate will simply be an indication of actual numbers. In addition, limitations in the accuracy of data also mean that the findings in this report cannot be taken to be an accurate assessment of the size of the sex industry in New Zealand. However they are useful in providing an indication of the approximate numbers of those in the industry.

The research was driven by the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 (the Act) at the end of June 2003, which required an assessment of the numbers of sex workers in New Zealand as soon as practicable after the commencement of the Act. This was to enable an assessment in three to five years time of the impact of the Act on the size of the industry.

This report is divided into two distinct sections. The first is a telephone survey of the NZ Police Districts and Areas. The survey involved canvassing specific police staff in a position to offer information and insight on the sex industry in their area. The survey was undertaken during the months of October 2003 to February 2004 which was as soon as practicable after legislation came into force. However respondents were asked to give a picture of the sex industry as close as possible to June 2003.

The second section of the report is based upon an audit undertaken by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC) of the numbers of advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and Auckland. Dates chosen for the exercise were 4 July 2003, 3 October 2003, 5 December 2003 and 7 May 2004.

These two separate reports are designed to be complementary. They gather data from two different sources and use different methods. Therefore, any attempt to compare the information in the two reports and draw conclusions in these comparisons must be done cautiously.

Part A: Survey of New Zealand Police

Background

Attempts to establish numbers of persons working in the sex industry have been conducted in the past. For many years the figure estimated by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective has been in the vicinity of 8,000. One of the most recent rigorous efforts to assess the size of the sex industry was undertaken by the National Bureau of Criminal Intelligence of the New Zealand Police in 2001 (The Vice Scene in New Zealand June 2001).
The 2001 survey involved canvassing specific police staff who could offer information and insight on the sex industry in their area. This assessment identified a total of 306 businesses over the areas surveyed and just over 4500 individual sex workers. However, one of the major limitations of the 2001 police survey was that it was not a nationwide survey. While all four metropolitan centres were canvassed, a sampling regime only was conducted in provincial areas.

**Forms of prostitution in New Zealand**

The following categorisations of prostitution were used by the police in their 2001 survey. These have been adopted in the current survey and are described below. It must be noted that these forms of categorisation will have changed since the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003. However, as this survey was attempting to gather data as close as possible to the introduction of the Act these categories were employed.

**Licensed massage parlours**

The Massage Parlours Act 1978 governed the operation of licensed massage parlours. It included provisions that require parlour operators to be licensed as well as those preventing persons with certain convictions from working as masseuses or masseurs and as operators or managers. Additionally persons under 18 were prohibited from employment as masseuses or masseurs in licensed parlours. The Act imposed a requirement that all employees’ details be recorded and available for inspection by police. This Act has now been repealed (Prostitution Reform Act 2003 Section 49).

**Rap/escort parlours**

These are premises that were not legally permitted to even offer massages and were basically brothels offering in-house services on the premises in question.

**Escort agencies**

These businesses do not operate from any usual fixed place of business. Instead they operate through telephone contact with potential clients requesting that a worker be sent to their hotel/motel room or home. The worker negotiates any sexual arrangement upon arrival. The client pays both an agency fee, plus a fee to the worker, which will vary according to the type of sexual service requested.

A number of licensed massage parlours also provide ‘out-call’ services to customers in conjunction with their in-house parlour businesses, using the same employees. In this sense they also operate as escort agencies.

**Private workers**

Independent, private workers tend to work from their own homes or rooms or provide escort services. They operate on a self-employed basis and regularly advertise in newspapers and magazines. While they are primarily freelance they sometimes have a driver or minder who
accompanies them to ensure their safety. In some areas, the police required sex workers to be registered with them.

Street workers

Street workers, as the name suggests, seek trade on the streets, predominantly in the ‘red light’ areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Some are unable to find work in other spheres such as parlours or agencies. Most transgender sex workers work from the streets, as do both female and male sex workers. Soliciting in a public place was an offence before the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003.

Ship workers

Ship workers have historically been a feature of prostitution in New Zealand. They operate around ports forming liaisons with seamen that may last from one ship’s visit to the next and sometimes evolve into longer lasting relationships. Their numbers have decreased over the years owing to changes in the shipping industry.

Methodology

A similar method to the 2001 police survey was employed in the current exercise. All 12 police districts participated in the survey with a total of 38 police respondents. These police officers were sent a survey form listing information requirements. The questionnaire was used as a basis for an interview which was then conducted over the phone over the period of November 2003 to April 2004.

Limitations

The level and quality of police information on the sex industry varied greatly around the country. Some respondents indicated that they could provide reasonably accurate figures, others indicated that the information they were providing was simply an intelligent guess. Yet others indicated that they simply did not know and would not even be able to estimate the numbers of sex workers.

In most areas police had a register of people working in the sex industry. These registers tended to be cumulative in nature. They included all persons who have registered for work in the past, not just those known to be currently active. Some workers may have remained in the industry only for a short time or decided against entering it after registering with the police. Some respondents could give an estimate of those currently active but in other cases all those on the register were included in the estimates of private workers.

Several respondents mentioned the transitory nature of sex work and also the fluidity of the sex industry. Many businesses regularly start up only to fail. The Vice Scene in New Zealand 2001 report indicated that this was particularly true of escort agencies. In addition, respondents mentioned substantial crossover between the sectors with many sex workers working in more than one employment sector.
For the reasons noted above caution must be used when interpreting the findings in this report. They cannot be taken to be an accurate assessment of the size of the sex industry in New Zealand. However, they are useful in providing an indication of the approximate numbers of those working in the sex industry in New Zealand.

Findings

- A total of 383 sex businesses were identified across New Zealand. Massage parlours represented the highest number of businesses (189) followed by escort agencies (101) and then rap/escort parlours (93).

- A total of 5,932\(^1\) sex workers were identified over the areas canvassed. Sex workers employed in massage parlours constituted nearly half of all sex workers (44%). Private workers followed in numbers accounting for 24% of sex workers. Street workers represented 11% of those working in the sex industry and sex workers in rap/escort parlours and escort agencies accounted for 10% each of the sex industry.

- Not surprisingly, sex businesses were concentrated in the Auckland Police District. There were comparatively few businesses in other police districts. Street workers were concentrated in the main centres and in particular in Auckland City and Counties-Manukau districts.

- Respondents estimated that on average 30% of street workers were transgender or transsexual. In comparison only 4% of private workers, 1% of escort agency workers and 1% of rap/escort parlour workers were identified as transgender/transsexual. Male sex workers were found primarily working on the streets, privately, or in escort agencies.

- It was estimated that there were around 200 sex workers under the age of 18 and over half (60%) were located in the street sector.

- Non-New Zealand sex workers were considered to be a significant issue in the greater Auckland area. These workers were predominantly from Thailand and China but other Asian countries were also represented.

- About a quarter of police respondents answered affirmatively when asked about exploitation of sex workers in their area. Forms of exploitation included a system of bonds and fines, use of drugs, and unreported crime against sex workers.

- About half of the police areas or districts responding to the survey indicated that they had a police officer with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution. However, in most of these cases the proportion of a person’s full-time portfolio dedicated to prostitution was very small. Police role included liaison, licensing/vetting of massage parlours, registration of sex workers and investigation of complaints.

---

\(^1\) This includes extrapolated figures from Counties-Manukau Police District.
Part B: New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective

Introduction

This section of the report is based upon an audit undertaken by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC) of the numbers of advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and Auckland. In addition, an interview undertaken with some members of the NZPC gives a fuller picture of the nature of the sex industry in New Zealand and is complementary to the information provided by the New Zealand Police in Part A of this report.

Methodology

Newspapers, the Yellow Pages and websites were checked by NZPC members for the number of advertisements for commercial sexual services on several randomly chosen Fridays. Dates chosen for the exercise were 4 July 2003, 3 October 2003, 5 December 2003 and 7 May 2004. The date of 4 July was chosen in order to represent the situation as close as possible to the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003. Subsequent dates have been chosen for monitoring purposes to determine changes in advertising following the introduction of the new legislation.

Caution must be used in interpreting these findings. The advertisements count both private workers and businesses and therefore the number of advertisements cannot be taken to represent the number of people working in the sex industry. In the case of prostitution businesses there will be more than one person working from each business. In addition, while most private workers work by themselves, some do work with one or two others. Nevertheless, in cases like this, the workers are usually advertising separately from each other, with different phone numbers for each worker.

Definitions

Massage Parlours – fixed sites which encouraged clients to visit sex workers on their premises. These were licensed under the Massage Parlours Act 1978, which has now been repealed. Some parlours also provided outcalls to clients.

Agencies/escorts – agencies initially emerged as an alternative to parlours for sex workers and operators who had convictions which prevented them from working in massage parlours. These have now become a sector in their own right. Agencies, in general, provide outcall services to clients. However agencies may also provide in-house services.

The NZPC indicated that the demarcation between the regulated and non-regulated sectors of the sex industry had become less pronounced over the years. In particular, many police in areas other than Auckland applied the same rules to the escort sector as they did to the massage parlour sector.
Findings

- There were 151 advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and 469 in Auckland on 4 July 2003. In Wellington there were 18 advertisements for agencies and the same number for parlours on the 4th July. Proportionally together, these represented about a quarter of all sex advertisements on this date. In Auckland there were proportionally more advertisements for agencies than parlours. However, advertisements for private workers represented three-quarters of the advertisements in both Auckland and Wellington.

- In Auckland, female advertisements comprised the majority of private advertisements (83%). Private advertisements for male sex workers comprised 13% of the total and advertisements for transgender workers 3%. In Wellington, 61% of private advertisements were advertising the services of female sex workers, 29% were for male sex workers and 10% for transgender workers.

- The NZPC estimated that between 50% to 70% of sex workers worked in massage parlours, 20% in escort agencies and 10% work on the street or privately.

- The NZPC estimated that the transgender sex worker population is about 5% in total, but that transgender workers represent about 50% of those working on the street.

- The NZPC did not consider there were significant numbers of under age sex workers working in the industry. Importantly, not all young people on the streets are sex workers but in many instances they have been identified as such and so inflating the numbers of under age workers.

- NZPC key informants indicated that exploitation of sex workers most frequently occurred in their employment conditions.
1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This report presents a research effort by the Ministry of Justice to assess the size of the sex industry in New Zealand. It does so acknowledging that any attempt to establish the size of the sex industry must be viewed with caution. It is an industry where much of its activity has been 'hidden' and the non-regulated and transitory nature of the industry means that any estimate will simply be an indication of actual numbers. In addition, limitations in the accuracy of data also mean that the findings in this report cannot be taken to be an accurate assessment of the size of the sex industry in New Zealand. However they are useful in providing an indication of the approximate numbers of those in the industry.

The research was driven by the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 at the end of June 2003, which required an assessment of the numbers of sex workers in New Zealand as soon as practicable after the commencement of the Act. This was to enable an assessment in three to five years time of the impact of the Act on the size of the industry.

This report is divided into two distinct sections. The first is a telephone survey of the NZ Police Districts and Areas. The survey involved canvassing specific police staff in a position to offer information and insight on the sex industry in their area. The survey was undertaken during the months of October 2003 to February 2004, which was as soon as practicable after legislation came into force. However respondents were asked to give a picture of the sex industry as close as possible to June 2003.

The second section of the report is based upon an audit undertaken by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC) of the numbers of advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and Auckland. Dates chosen for the exercise were 4 July 2003, 3 October 2003, 5 December 2003 and 7 May 2004.

These two separate reports are designed to be complementary. They gather data from two different sources and use different methods. Therefore, any attempt to compare the information in the two reports and draw conclusions in these comparisons must be done so cautiously.

1.2 The Prostitution Reform Act 2003

The Prostitution Reform Act came into force at the end of June 2003. Included in the Act is the establishment of the Prostitution Law Review Committee. The role of the Committee is to review the operation of the Act and related matters.

There are two aspects to this review which are set out in section 42 of the Act:

1. The Committee must as soon as practicable after the commencement of the Act assess the number of sex workers in New Zealand and any prescribed matters relating to sex workers or prostitution.
2. In three to five years the Committee must:
   (i) review the operation of this Act since its commencement; and
   (ii) assess the impact of this Act on the number of persons working as sex workers in New Zealand and on any prescribed matters relating to sex workers or prostitution; and
   (iii) assess the nature and adequacy of the means available to assist persons to avoid or cease working as sex workers; and
   (iv) consider whether any amendments to this Act or any other law are necessary or desirable and, in particular, whether the system of certification is effective or could be improved, whether any other agency or agencies could or should administer it, and whether a system is needed for identifying the location of businesses of prostitution; and
   (v) consider whether any other amendments to the law are necessary or desirable in relation to sex workers or prostitution; and
   (vi) consider whether any further review or assessment of the matters set out in this paragraph is necessary or desirable.
Part A: Survey of New Zealand Police

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Background

Attempts to establish numbers of persons working in the sex industry have been conducted in the past. For many years the figure estimated by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective has been in the vicinity of 8,000. One of the most recent rigorous efforts to assess the size of the sex industry was undertaken by the National Bureau of Criminal Intelligence of the New Zealand Police in 2001 (*The Vice Scene in New Zealand* June 2001). This survey was in part prompted by the Prostitution Reform Bill which was at the time before the Justice and Electoral Select Committee. The need to define the nature and extent of the sex industry in New Zealand was identified as important for any future assessments and against which to measure the impact of any legislative change.

The 2001 survey involved canvassing specific police staff who could offer information and insight on the sex industry in their area. These police officers were sent a survey form listing information requirements. After a suitable time period to allow participants to consider and address information requirements telephone interviews were conducted. This assessment identified a total of 306 businesses over the areas surveyed and just over 4500 individual sex workers.

However, one of the major limitations of the 2001 police survey was that it was not a nationwide survey. While all four metropolitan centres were canvassed, a sampling regime only was conducted in provincial areas. While it may be safe to conclude that the majority of the sex industry would have been captured by the survey, it cannot purport to represent the sex industry in New Zealand as a whole. Appendix 2 contains a list of the centres canvassed.

2.1.2 Forms of prostitution in New Zealand

Defining ‘sex work’ or prostitution is not a straightforward exercise (Jordan 2005). Most commonly it is considered to be the exchange of money for sex. However, as Jordan notes, alternatives to cash can also be exchanged. The definition of sex can also be problematic and while the assumption denotes sexual intercourse a wide range of sexual services exist for exchange. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 defines sex worker as a person who provides commercial sexual services.

The sex industry in New Zealand is primarily split between the indoor and outdoor sector. This was the conclusion arrived at by a major study of female Christchurch sex workers in 1999 (Plumridge & Abel 2001). The number of women working in the 22 parlours and escort agencies in Christchurch was estimated during two months of the outreach work regularly undertaken by the NZPC. Detailed analysis of advertisements in the escort columns of The
Press was carried out over three weeks to estimate the number of women working in small private arrangements.

The survey found considerable segmentation in the sex industry between street and indoor venues with little crossover from one venue to the other. Before the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 the indoor sector could be further categorised into regulated and non-regulated sectors. The regulated sector comprised licensed massage parlours over which the police had a degree of regulatory control. The non-regulated sector comprised escort agencies, rap and escort parlours and private workers over which the police had no direct regulatory authority.

The following categorisations of prostitution were used by the police in their 2001 survey. These have been adopted in the current survey and are described below. It must be noted that these forms of categorisation will have changed since the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003. However, as this survey was attempting to gather data as close as possible to the introduction of the Act these categories were employed.

**Licensed massage parlours**

The Massage Parlours Act 1978 governed the operation of licensed massage parlours. It included provisions that require parlour operators to be licensed as well as those preventing persons with certain convictions from working as masseuses or masseurs and as operators or managers. Additionally persons under 18 were prohibited from employment as masseuses or masseurs in licensed parlours. The Act imposed a requirement that all employees’ details be recorded and available for inspection by police. This Act has now been repealed (Prostitution Reform Act 2003 Section 49).

**Rap/escort parlours**

These are premises that were not legally permitted to even offer massages and were basically brothels offering in-house services on the premises in question.

**Escort agencies**

These businesses do not operate from any usual fixed place of business. Instead they operate through telephone contact with potential clients requesting that a worker be sent to their hotel/motel room or home. The worker negotiates any sexual arrangement upon arrival. The client pays both an agency fee, plus a fee to the worker, which will vary according to the type of sexual service requested.

A number of licensed massage parlours also provide ‘out-call’ services to customers in conjunction with their in-house parlour businesses, using the same employees. In this sense they also operate as escort agencies.
Private workers

Independent, private workers tend to work from their own homes or rooms or provide escort services. They operate on a self-employed basis and regularly advertise in newspapers and magazines. While they are primarily freelance they sometimes have a driver or minder who accompanies them to ensure their safety. In some areas, the police required sex workers to be registered with them.

Street workers

Street workers, as the name suggests, seek trade on the streets, predominantly in the ‘red light’ areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Some are unable to find work in other spheres such as parlours or agencies. Most transgender sex workers work from the streets, as do both female and male sex workers. Soliciting in a public place was an offence before the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003.

Ship workers

Ship workers have historically been a feature of prostitution in New Zealand. They operate around ports forming liaisons with seamen that may last from one ship’s visit to the next and sometimes evolve into longer lasting relationships. Their numbers have decreased over the years owing to changes in the shipping industry.

Forms of the sex industry not included

Strip clubs and peep shows have not been included in the data collected as part of this survey. While both are part of the wider sex industry no actual physical contact occurs between the worker and the client. Peep shows, which operate from a fixed place of business, involve voyeuristic activity whereby workers perform activities of an erotic or sexual nature for customers to view.

In many instances strip club owners also run businesses such as massage and escort parlours. Both operations are commonly run from adjoining or nearby premises and in such instances female employees are often concurrently involved in both activities (The Vice Scene in New Zealand, 2001).

The Vice Scene in New Zealand report did count such establishments and found that there were 10 peep shows and 16 strip clubs in the areas canvassed.

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 Introduction

A similar method to the 2001 police survey was employed in the current exercise. All 12 police districts participated in the survey with a total of 38 police respondents.
The aim of the research was to assess the size and nature of the sex industry in New Zealand. More specifically we wanted to assess:

1. The size of the sex industry
   a. numbers of sex businesses
   b. numbers of sex workers

2. Characteristics of those working in the industry
   a. Gender of sex workers
   b. Age of sex workers, particularly under age
   c. Non-New Zealand resident sex workers
   d. Connections with organised crime

3. Exploitation of sex workers

4. Police role with respect to prostitution

2.2.2 Method

The New Zealand Police is divided into 12 districts. Each district has a central headquarters from which subsidiary and suburban stations are managed. Table 2.1 lists each of the districts along with its associated areas. The table also includes information on the population of each district, both number and percentage.

All District Commanders were sent a letter in October 2003 from the Office of the Police Commissioner along with several surveys. They were asked to forward a survey (Appendix 1) to each police area within their district and to nominate a contact person and forward this name to the Ministry of Justice researcher. In a few cases the person with a portfolio responsible for prostitution was located at a district level and so answered on behalf of the whole district. In most cases, however, respondents answered the survey at an area level. In some cases, more than one respondent answered the survey for one area. This happened where no one police officer had information on prostitution for a whole area, but rather for a particular sub-area. However, where possible, respondents were encouraged to gather this information on behalf of the area. A total of 38 police officers participated in the survey.

The Ministry of Justice researcher contacted the nominated person two to three weeks after they received the questionnaire. The questionnaire was used as a basis for an interview which was then conducted over the phone over the period of November 2003 to April 2004. Most of the interviews were undertaken by February 2004 but in a couple of cases interviews were conducted as late as April 2004 to ensure that we had included all possible police areas in the survey. Respondents were asked for permission to tape record the interview. The purpose of taping the interview was a back-up to the written record of the interview to ensure that all information had been recorded correctly. Respondents were informed that the tape would be stored securely and that only researchers would have access to the tapes. They were also informed that the results of the survey would be published in a report.

While all police districts participated in the survey, information could not be gathered for one area and one sub-area due to the lack of police personnel available to answer the survey. It is unlikely however, given that these were rural or provincial areas that their responses would have made a significant difference to the overall numbers presented in this report.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police District</th>
<th>Police Area</th>
<th>Population (June 2003)**</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northland</td>
<td>Whangarei</td>
<td>144,990</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaipara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Shore/ Waitakare</td>
<td>Waitakare</td>
<td>476,590</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North Shore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rodney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland City</td>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>397,200</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern Area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City Area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties-Manukau</td>
<td>Papakura</td>
<td>434,110</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Otahuhu/ Papatoetoe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manurewa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pukekohe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Otara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland airport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Howick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikato</td>
<td>Waikato West</td>
<td>305,210</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waikato East</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamilton City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay of Plenty</td>
<td>Rotorua</td>
<td>311,030</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taupo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tauranga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whakatane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>Gisborne</td>
<td>193,550</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Napier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Palmerston North rural</td>
<td>341,870</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palmerston North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruapehu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Plymouth/ Taranaki rural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>Kapiti-Mana</td>
<td>444,010</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Hutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper Hutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wairarapa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasman</td>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>165,060</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nelson Bays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Hagley/ Ferrymead</td>
<td>507,470</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hornby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Brighton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydenham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Dunedin City</td>
<td>288,280</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Otago rural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
* One area and one sub-area did not participate in the survey.
** Estimated NZ resident population 30 June 2003.
2.2.3 Content of survey

Participants were asked to respond to questions on the nature and extent of the sex industry in New Zealand. They were asked to give an indication of the number of sex businesses in their area and the total number of sex workers. They were also asked questions regarding the gender of sex workers, under age sex workers, non-New Zealand resident people working in the sex industry, connections with organised crime, exploitation of sex workers and whether their area had an officer with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution.

As the aim of the survey was to establish numbers working in the sex industry as close as possible to the introduction of Prostitution Reform Act 2003 respondents were asked to specify numbers as of June 2003.

Questions for the survey were developed in consultation with the National Bureau of Criminal Intelligence of the New Zealand Police and Ministry of Justice policy staff. The New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective was sent a questionnaire for their comment. The questionnaire was piloted in the Wellington District and subsequent to the pilot one additional question was added on the police role with respect to prostitution. Results from the pilot study are included in the findings reported here.

2.2.4 Data analysis

Data was entered and analysed using a Microsoft Access database. Responses to open-ended questions were entered into Microsoft Word.

2.2.5 Limitations

The level and quality of police information on the sex industry varied greatly around the country. Some respondents indicated that they could provide reasonably accurate figures, others indicated that the information they were providing was simply an intelligent guess. Yet others indicated that they simply did not know and would not even be able to estimate the numbers of sex workers.

In particular, Counties-Manukau Police District was unable to estimate the numbers of rap/escort parlours, the numbers of sex workers working in escort agencies and escort/rap parlours and the number of private workers. Because Counties-Manukau represents a significant proportion of the New Zealand population (see Table 2.1), analysis was undertaken to extrapolate some of these figures based on the total New Zealand population and these have been included in the overall totals.

In some cases respondents gave a range in which the likely figure of sex workers would fall. For example, they might indicate that there were between 20 and 30 street workers. Where this was the case, the mid range has been used, that is, 25 street workers in the example given. Where there was an estimate with no mid-range – for example 5-6 sex workers, the highest figure given has been used (that is 6).

A couple of respondents were not able to break down the numbers of sex workers by each of the categories. Instead they gave an overall figure of the number of sex workers in their area.
or district. In these cases, the number of sex workers has been split evenly among the different categories.

In most areas police had a register of people working in the sex industry. These registers tended to be cumulative in nature. They included all persons who have registered for work in the past, not just those known to be currently active. Some workers may have remained in the industry only for a short time or decided against entering it after registering with the police. Some respondents could give an estimate of those currently active but in other cases all those on the register were included in the estimates of private workers.

Several respondents mentioned the transitory nature of sex work and also the fluidity of the sex industry. Many businesses regularly start up only to fail. The *Vice Scene in New Zealand* 2001 report indicated that this was particularly true of escort agencies. In addition, respondents mentioned substantial crossover between the sectors with many sex workers working in more than one employment sector.

For the reasons noted above caution must be used when interpreting the findings in this report. They cannot be taken to be an accurate assessment of the size of the sex industry in New Zealand. However, they are useful in providing an indication of the approximate numbers of those working in the sex industry in New Zealand.

### 2.3 Findings

#### 2.3.1 Size of the sex industry

**Number of businesses**

The survey of police identified a total number of 383 sex businesses across New Zealand (see Figure 2.1). Massage parlours represented the highest number of businesses (189) followed by escort agencies (101). This is the reverse of the findings of the *Vice Scene in New Zealand* survey 2001, which found that massage parlours rate second behind escort agencies in the number of actual businesses identified over the areas canvassed. The 2001 report also found very low numbers of rap/escort parlours (6) whereas in the current survey 93 were identified.
When comparing findings between the 2001 and the current survey it is important to keep in mind that the 2001 survey was not nationwide and while it includes all main centres, it only represented a sample of provincial areas. It is possible that escort agencies and rap/escort parlours are concentrated in greater numbers in provincial areas than in the main centres. In addition, some respondents to the current survey indicated that a number of licensed massage parlours also provide ‘out-call’ services to customers in conjunction with their in-house parlour business, employing the same sex workers. Where this was the case, they have generally only been included in the count of massage parlours. Massage parlours are generally more established and larger in size when compared to escort agencies, which ebb and flow to a greater degree. Many agencies are small, employing in some cases only 4–5 workers.

Perhaps one of the more perplexing differences between the 2001 and 2003 surveys is the significant difference in the number of rap/escort parlours. These were defined as unlicensed premises that are not legally permitted to even offer massages but are basically brothels offering in-house services on the premises in question. It is possible that there has been a degree of definitional crossover between the two surveys, with some escort agencies classified as rap/escort parlours in 2003. It is also possible that there has simply been a large growth in the non-regulated sector of the sex industry over these years. Certainly, The Vice Scene in New Zealand report 2001 indicates a trend in the previous years in a growth in the non-regulated sector.

**Number of sex workers**

A total of 5932 sex workers\(^2\) were identified over the areas canvassed. Of these, sex workers employed in licensed massage parlours were by far the largest group (see Figure 2.2). Figure 2.3 shows that sex workers employed in massage parlours constituted nearly half of all sex workers.

---

\(^2\) This includes extrapolated figures from Counties-Manukau Police District.
workers (44%). Private workers followed in numbers accounting for 24% of sex workers. Street workers represented 11% of those working in the sex industry and sex workers in rap/escort parlours and escort agencies accounted for 10% each of the sex industry.

Figure 2.2  Number of sex workers in each sector

Figure 2.3  Proportion of sex workers in each sector
The Vice Scene in New Zealand report identified just under 4500 sex workers over the areas canvassed. However, this number included workers in peep shows and strip clubs which have not been included in the current survey. If these workers were removed from the total number this would leave a total of 4272 sex workers identified in 2001. It must be noted again however, that not all police areas were canvassed as part of the 2001 survey, so it cannot be taken to be an estimate for New Zealand as a whole. It is useful though, to compare proportions of workers in each of the sectors across both surveys. Figure 2.4 compares the findings of the 2001 survey with those of the 2003 survey. It shows the proportion of sex workers in each of the sectors as identified in 2001 and 2003.

Figure 2.4  Comparison of proportions of sex workers by sector, 2001 & 2003

As with the current survey, in 2001, workers in massage parlours accounted for the greatest proportion of those working in the sex industry. However, there were significant differences in the proportions of sex workers in escort agencies and rap/escort parlours and the proportions of street workers. In 2001 workers in escort agencies accounted for 32% of all sex workers compared to 10% in 2003. Again, one of the reasons for this may be that the current survey counted sex workers in businesses which doubled as both massage parlours and escort agencies only once.

Workers in rap/escort parlours accounted for 10% of sex workers in 2003 compared to only 1% of sex workers in 2001. Similar reasons to those already explained concerning the differences in number of businesses apply here. Interestingly, the difference in the number of street workers in both surveys is substantial (3% in 2001 compared to 11% in 2003). Yet, all the main centres, where street workers are located were canvassed as part of the 2001 survey. Street workers were concentrated in large numbers in Counties-Manukau and Auckland Police Districts (see Figure 3.6 below). Respondents from these two police districts indicated
considerable difficulty in estimating numbers of sex workers, including numbers of street workers. In one case, a respondent was only able to provide numbers of sex workers as a total across all sectors, including street workers. Where this was the case, numbers were divided evenly among those sectors. Respondents also indicated substantial crossover between the sectors.

**Sex businesses and workers by police district**

This section provides an analysis of the sex industry by police district.

**Businesses**

Figure 2.5 shows the total number of sex businesses, that is, massage parlours, escort agencies and rap/escort parlours across each police district. Not surprisingly, businesses were concentrated in the Auckland Police District. There were comparatively few businesses in other police districts. Counties- Manukau was not able to estimate the number of rap/escort parlours. This figure was not extrapolated due to the large variation between districts in the number of rap/escort parlours and the large concentration of sex businesses in the Auckland District.

**Figure 2.5 Number of sex businesses by police district**

![Bar chart showing number of sex businesses by police district](image)

**Street workers**

Figure 2.6 shows that the street workers were concentrated in the main centres. The majority of street workers were located in the Auckland City and Counties-Manukau districts. Smaller numbers were found in Wellington (50) and Christchurch (75). Two street workers were identified in Rotorua and none were identified in any other districts.
Figure 2.6  Number of street workers by police district

Massage parlour workers

Figure 2.7 shows the number of workers in massage parlours in each police district. Auckland City had by far the highest number of workers in massage parlours at 1,880. Canterbury was identified as having 211 sex workers in massage parlours and Wellington 119.

Figure 2.7  Number of massage parlour workers by police district
Escort agency workers

Auckland Police District had the largest numbers of sex workers working in escort agencies. Numbers in other police districts were relatively small in comparison. Counties-Manukau Police District was unable to identify the numbers of workers in escort agencies. However, further analyses showed that each escort agency had on average about six sex workers. Counties-Manukau was able to identify three escort agencies and on that basis it would be expected that Counties-Manukau would have 18 escort agency workers on average. This number has been included in Figure 2.8.

Figure 2.8 Number of escort agency workers by police district

Rap/escort parlour workers

Figure 2.9 again shows that rap/escort parlour workers were concentrated in Auckland Police District, with considerably smaller numbers in other districts. Again, Counties-Manukau was unable to estimate this number. Counties-Manukau was also unable to estimate the number of rap/escort parlours in their district so the numbers of rap/escort parlour workers has not been extrapolated.
Private workers

Figure 2.10 shows a more even spread of private workers around New Zealand compared to escort agency and escort parlour workers, who are concentrated in Auckland Police District. Substantial numbers of private workers were identified in the Southern Police District, Wellington, Central, and Canterbury Police Districts. However, it must be noted again that this number is primarily based on the police register and as noted this information was often cumulative. In particular, respondents for the Southland Police District indicated that the information on private workers included all those registering over a period of several years and they were unable to give an estimate of actual current numbers.

The figure of 155 private sex workers in Counties-Manukau District has been extrapolated from the number of private sex workers identified across New Zealand as a whole. Analysis showed that there were approximately four private sex workers per 10,000 of population. Based on the population of Counties-Manukau (see Table 2.1) there would be about 155 private sex workers.
Figure 2.10 Number of private workers by police district

Ship workers

In total, only 33 ship workers were identified for New Zealand as a whole - not surprisingly, located in port cities. Figure 2.11 shows that 10 of these were located in the Bay of Plenty District (Tauranga), eight in the Eastern District (Hastings), five in Tasman (Nelson Bays) and 10 in Canterbury (Christchurch).
Figure 2.11 Number of ship workers by police district

![Bar chart showing the number of ship workers by police district.]

2.3.2 Characteristics of those working in the industry

Gender of sex workers

Respondents were asked to give an approximate indication of the proportions of female, male and transgender/transsexual sex workers in the various sectors within their police district or area. Figure 2.12 contains the results of this analysis for all police districts. It compares the proportion of female, male and transgender workers in each sector. It can be seen that the street sector is considerably different to the rest of the sex industry with respect to gender breakdown. Respondents estimated that on average 30% of street workers were transgender or transsexual. This proportion varied considerably across areas from 5% through to 50% of street workers identified as transgender/transsexual. In comparison, only 4% of private workers, 1% of escort agency workers and 1% of rap/escort parlour workers were identified as transgender/transsexual.

This pattern of gender breakdown has been identified elsewhere in New Zealand and in other countries. Transsexuals/transgender people have found it generally hard to get work in massage parlours and it has been speculated that many transsexuals work in the sex industry due to difficulty in finding employment elsewhere. A study of transgender people in Sydney found that 45% had spent some time working in the sex industry, with 70% of these having worked on the streets (Perkins, 1994, cited in Jordan 2005).

A submission to the Justice and Electoral Law Reform Select Committee noted that male sex workers are more likely to be working privately. Some escort agencies exist that have only male workers and a few massage parlours may occasionally have male workers operating through them (PRB 111, 2001, cited in Jordan 2005). Again this is borne out through the findings of this survey. Male sex workers were found primarily working privately, in escort agencies or on the streets. Only 2% worked in massage parlours.
Figure 2.12 Proportion of female, male and transgender/ transsexual sex workers across each of the sectors

Age of sex workers

The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 created a number of offences relating to those under 18 being involved in prostitution. These included making it an offence for any person to pay for sexual services to be provided by any person under the age of 18 years, or for any person to employ those under 18 years in the sex industry. Respondents were asked to give an indication of the total number of under age sex workers in each of the sectors. Under age workers were defined as those under the age of 18. Many respondents indicated that they were either unaware of under age workers or that there were none in their area. Three respondents were not able to estimate numbers of under age workers but indicated that they have had information of under age workers in the past.

However, several respondents (10) were able to identify under age sex workers. These respondents were primarily those representing larger urban centres. Figure 2.13 and 2.14 shows the total number and proportion of under age sex workers that were identified in each of the sectors. In total 210 under age sex workers were identified with three-quarters of these being identified in one police district. Over half the under age workers (60%) were located in the street sector. This is perhaps not surprising given the non-regulated environment of the street sector. However, significant proportions of under age workers were also said to be found in escort agencies and working privately. A quarter of all under age workers were identified as working in escort agencies and 10% were identified as working privately.
Further analysis was undertaken to determine what proportion of sex workers in each of the sectors were under the age of 18. Twenty per cent of street workers and 8% of escort agency workers were under the age of 18. This compares to 2% of private workers and 1% of rap/escort parlour workers.
Massage parlours were generally perceived as high risk places for under age workers as they could be more easily exposed, but three respondents mentioned that sometimes false IDs are used in the parlours. So, for example, a sex worker who is over 18 would register to work in a massage parlour but a friend who is under age would work as a double in their place.

A couple of respondents mentioned that under age workers they were referring to were those aged 16 and 17, not children aged 14 or 15. On the other hand a couple of other respondents indicated that they were aware of 14 and 15 year olds working in the sex industry. One stated that these were mainly young people working on the streets where sex work was dictated by necessity. Another mentioned that many of these 14-15-year-olds had gang affiliations and were held over by the gangs and working for drug deals.

The Vice Scene in New Zealand 2001 report showed similar findings to the current survey. In particular the report noted that there were only sporadic instances reported of young people aged 16 and 17 working in massage parlours, more commonly in the larger metropolitan centres. Under age workers in the non-regulated sector were believed to be more prevalent but respondents indicated a lack of knowledge concerning such involvement.

Research studies have shown that it is not uncommon for sex workers to enter the sex industry in their teenage years. Of approximately 300 sex workers surveyed in Christchurch in 1999, 31% reported being under the age of 18 when they started work in the sex industry and this was significantly higher in the street sector (62%) (Plumridge & Abel, 2001). However, only 4% of those interviewed were currently under the age of 18, with this proportion being significantly higher in the street sector (11%).

Saphira (2001) undertook a study to investigate the extent and characteristics of child prostitution in New Zealand. Written questionnaires were sent to key agencies and community informants and 43 interviews were conducted with people working with young people. A total of 195 child prostitutes under the age of 18 were described and over 145 of these children were under the age of 16 years. However, the questionnaire did not reveal whether each child was a distinct case or whether the same children were well known and counted more than once.

**Non-New Zealand sex workers**

Respondents were asked to indicate whether the issue of non-New Zealand sex workers was a significant one in their area. They were then asked to estimate the approximate proportion of sex workers in their area/district who were non-New Zealand resident workers and what countries the workers mainly came from.

Only four respondents said that the issue of non-New Zealand residents working in the sex industry was a significant one in their area. Not surprisingly those who indicated that this was a significant problem were from the greater Auckland area – Auckland and North Shore/Waitakere Police Districts. A few additional respondents indicated that it was either an issue but not a significant one or they were unsure as to whether it was a significant issue. Some mentioned that it was an increasing problem, particularly among international students.
Respondents who said that the issue of non-New Zealand resident workers was significant estimated that between 25% and 60% of sex workers in their respective areas were non-New Zealand residents.

However, a number of other police areas indicated that while this was not a significant issue in their area, nevertheless they had a small proportion of non-New Zealand resident workers in the sex industry. This ranged from 1% to 2% through to 10% of workers.

Respondents were asked to indicate the countries that non-New Zealand resident workers mainly come from. Twelve respondents mentioned Thailand, six mentioned China, two mentioned Taiwan and two Korea. Other countries included Vietnam, Philippines, Cambodia and Laos.

These findings are similar to those of The Vice Scene in New Zealand 2001 report. The vast majority of Asian sex workers were Auckland based with significantly smaller numbers in Wellington and Christchurch. While some North Island provincial centres reported sporadic presence of Asian workers these were believed to originate primarily from Auckland. A New Zealand Auckland Police District report (1999) conservatively estimated that at mid-1999 there were 500 Thai sex workers in the Auckland area alone.

What perhaps is new in the current survey is the reported increase in international students involved in the sex industry. A couple of respondents indicated that international students either gravitate towards the sex industry as a way of making extra income or that people intending to work in the sex industry in New Zealand use student visas as a way of entering the country.

**Connections with organised crime**

Respondents were provided with a brief description of organised crime:

> The New Zealand Police primarily view organised crime as a "continuing association of persons having as its object or one of its objects, the acquisition of income or assets by means of a continuing course of criminal conduct" (New Zealand Police. Organised Crime Strategy 2000-2004, p.9)

Respondents were asked to identify what proportion of businesses had connections with organised crime and also what proportion of sex workers had connections with organised crime. Eight respondents identified connections between organised crime and massage parlours in their police district or area and on average this represented two-fifths of massage parlours in these areas. Proportions however varied from one-fifth through to nearly three-quarters of businesses who had connections with organised crime. Respondents were also asked to identify the proportion of workers with connections with organised crime. It did not necessarily follow that because a massage parlour had connections with organised crime its workers also did. In three cases respondents indicated that massage parlour workers had connections with organised crime though none of the businesses themselves did. Eight

---

respondents in total signalled a connection between sex workers in massage parlours and organised crime (generally gangs).

Seven respondents identified connections between organised crime and escort agencies and six identified connections with escort agency workers. Three respondents indicated that they had one escort parlour in their police district or area which had connections with organised crime. The other areas identified from one-fifth to about three-quarters of escort agencies involved with organised crime.

Three police districts identified a connection between street workers and organised crime. They indicated that on average two-fifths of street workers had connections with organised crime. Gang involvement in the control of street workers and in protection rackets was mentioned by respondents. The Vice Scene in New Zealand reported an involvement of both ethnic and white-power gangs in the street sex industry particularly linked to the control of under age workers.

Twelve respondents identified a connection between organised crime and private workers. This ranged from nearly one in ten through to three-fifths of private sex workers, with an overall average of about a third. One respondent mentioned that most private sex workers would have connections with organised crime, but it just really depends on the degree of involvement.

The Vice Scene in New Zealand report indicated that while not all sex workers and businesses are under the control or influence of organised crime groups there were definite links between organised crime and the sex industry in New Zealand. In terms of licensed massage parlours two main forms of linkages with organised crime were identified - directly through owners and operators or indirectly via sex workers. In the case of the latter, respondents mentioned personal associations existing between sex workers and gangs. The report also stated that in the non-regulated sector involvement of crime was more direct in nature and practically all police canvassed for the 2001 survey mentioned an increase in connections between drugs and the sex industry.

### 2.3.3 Exploitation of sex workers

Police respondents were asked if they were aware of exploitation of sex workers in their area and just over a quarter (11) answered affirmatively. Exploitation took a variety of forms.

#### Bonds and fines system

Three respondents mentioned a system of fines and bonds. Workers in parlours were fined for turning up late or not doing what a client wanted them to do. Parlour owners held back credit or wages and used this to pressure workers to come in when sick. Some parlours also required a bond for the privilege of working there which was not paid back if the worker left after a short period.

In addition, one respondent mentioned that some workers did not get their fair share of money charged in some parlours - one business was known to charge the client $145 per hour but the worker only got $45.
Use of drugs

Three respondents mentioned the use of drugs in combination with sex work. This included sex workers being forced to work in order to fuel their drug habit or that of their boyfriends. In some cases it was reported that workers were given free drugs to get them ‘hooked’ and were then forced to work to supply their habit.

Unreported crime against sex workers

A couple of respondents indicated that many sex workers did not report crimes committed against them.

Foreign workers

Three respondents mentioned exploitation of immigrant sex workers. This could take several forms. One mentioned that passports were sometimes withheld from foreign workers. Another indicated that students were brought here on the pretence of learning English and were then forced to work as sex workers.

Street workers

A couple of respondents mentioned that street workers were particularly vulnerable to exploitation. One mentioned the territorial aspect of the street industry and another that some street workers were under the influence of minders.

Other forms of exploitation

Other forms of exploitation included workers being forced to have unprotected sex, stand-over tactics in return for sexual favours and gang involvement.

2.3.4 Police role

Respondents were asked to indicate if their district or area had a person with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution.

About half of the areas/districts responding indicated that they had an officer with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution. In most of these cases the proportion of a person’s full-time portfolio dedicated to prostitution was very small. Only in the larger centres was this proportion greater than 20%. In the case of Christchurch 50% of a person’s full-time portfolio was dedicated to prostitution and in Auckland City it was 45% of a full-time position. In most other cases the proportion was 5% or less.

Respondents were asked to outline the role this person had with respect to prostitution. Most respondents indicated that this person had multiple roles.
Liaison

In three-quarters of cases this person had a liaison role. This liaison might be with the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective, massage parlours, sex workers or city council. The officer with this portfolio would often be the contact point for any questions or issues. Several specifically mentioned that they were the first point of contact for sex workers who may be having difficulties or were being harassed. A couple also mentioned that they would provide information for sex workers – for example briefings on personal safety.

Licensing/ vetting of massage parlours

About two-thirds indicated that they had a role in licensing or vetting of massage parlours. They would ensure that the massage parlour met the requirements under the Massage Parlours Act 1978 and included conducting checks of massage parlours on a regular basis. This person might also undertake checks on sex workers who were applying to work at a massage parlour. The Act required that all employees’ details be recorded and available for inspection by the police.

Registration of sex workers

In some areas police maintain registers which contain details of known sex workers and their employment situation. About half of the respondents indicated that the officer with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution was responsible for keeping the register of sex workers.

Investigation of complaints

A small number of respondents indicated that the role of the police with respect to prostitution was to investigate complaints. A couple specifically mentioned that they would investigate complaints about under age sex workers. They would also deal with any complaints from the public.

2.3.5 Other issues

Respondents were given the opportunity to comment on any other significant aspects of the prostitution scene in their area or whether they had any further comments they wished to add. Most police (32) responding on behalf of their areas or districts took this opportunity to say something.

Nearly half of those who responded (15) stated that prostitution was not a significant issue in their area or district. These respondents indicated that the numbers of those working in the sex industry were small or that there was a limited customer base, although a few acknowledged that the fact that they were not aware of prostitution in their area did not necessarily mean it did not exist. Several also stated that while the sex industry did exist in their area it had a very low profile and there had been few reports of problems.

Not surprisingly, most of the respondents who said that prostitution was not a significant issue in their area or district came from provincial or rural areas. There were a few exceptions
however, with some respondents from larger urban centres indicating that prostitution was not a significant issue for them.

Nearly a third of those (11) commenting in general about the sex industry in their area mentioned the Prostitution Reform Act 2003. The research was undertaken several months after the legislation came into effect. A minority (6) commented negatively on the new legislation and several considered the legislation to have significant shortcomings. There was particular concern over the reduction of police powers with respect to certification and inspection of parlours. Respondents considered that this would allow for greater involvement of organised crime in the sex industry. Respondents indicated that police involvement in the sex industry was desired by the industry themselves - both sex workers and owners of massage parlours. One respondent commented that the sex industry was concerned that the new legislation would drive them underground. Another indicated that if one of the purposes of the new legislation was safety of sex workers then it would fail in doing this by restricting police access to brothels.

A couple of respondents reported that there had been increases in those wanting to work in the sex industry since the introduction of the Act in 2003, although one said that this may simply be a temporary increase. A couple of others, however, indicated that the industry had had a lower profile since the new legislation. One respondent mentioned that nothing had changed since the introduction of the legislation and gave the reason that the industry was already catering for the needs of locals.

Several respondents noted a connection between drugs and the sex industry and in particular the drug 'P'. One noted a rapid increase in the proportion of sex workers using 'P'. There were also reports of sex workers manufacturing and dealing in 'P'. One respondent indicated that 'P' was especially connected with sex workers in rap/escort parlours.

Several respondents also commented on the good relationship they had as police with the sex industry in their area or district. They mentioned that they would have regular contact with the sex businesses in their area and that those working in the industry would contact the police when there were problems to report.

A couple of respondents mentioned the transient and fluid nature of the sex industry, making it very difficult to estimate with any accuracy the numbers of those working in the sex industry. One indicated that sex workers sometimes move between centres, depending on local events.

One respondent mentioned the association in their area between crime and the sex industry. In particular it was mentioned that offenders would drive sex workers to their jobs and then later commit burglaries.

---

4 Methamphetamine.
2.4 Summary

- A total of 383 sex businesses were identified across New Zealand. Massage parlours represented the highest number of businesses (189) followed by escort agencies (101) and then rap/escort parlours (93).

- A total of 5,932\(^5\) sex workers were identified over the areas canvassed. Sex workers employed in massage parlours constituted nearly half of all sex workers (44%). Private workers followed in numbers accounting for 24% of sex workers. Street workers represented 11% of those working in the sex industry and sex workers in rap/escort parlours and escort agencies accounted for 10% each of the sex industry.

- Not surprisingly, sex businesses were concentrated in the Auckland Police District. There were comparatively few businesses in other police districts. Street workers were concentrated in the main centres and in particular in Auckland City and Counties-Manukau districts.

- Respondents estimated that on average 30% of street workers were transgender or transsexual. In comparison only 4% of private workers, 1% of escort agency workers and 1% of rap/escort parlour workers were identified as transgender/transsexual. Male sex workers were found primarily working on the streets, privately, or in escort agencies.

- In total, 210 workers under the age of 18 were identified and over half (60%) were located in the street sector. Three-quarters of these under age workers were identified in one police district.

- Non-New Zealand sex workers were considered to be a significant issue in the greater Auckland area. These workers were predominantly from Thailand and China but other Asian countries were also represented.

- About a quarter of police respondents answered affirmatively when asked about exploitation of sex workers in their area. Forms of exploitation included a system of bonds and fines, use of drugs, and unreported crime against sex workers.

- About half of the police areas or districts responding to the survey indicated that they had a police officer with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution. However, in most of these cases the proportion of a person’s full-time portfolio dedicated to prostitution was very small. Police role included liaison, licensing/vetting of massage parlours, registration of sex workers and investigation of complaints.

---

\(^5\) This includes extrapolated figures from Counties-Manukau Police District.
Part B: New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective

3.1 Introduction

This section of the report is based upon an audit undertaken by the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC) of the numbers of advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and Auckland. In addition, an interview undertaken with some members of the NZPC gives a fuller picture of the nature of the sex industry in New Zealand and is complementary to the information provided by the New Zealand Police in Part A of this report.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Audit of Advertisements

Newspapers, the Yellow Pages and websites were checked by NZPC members for the number of advertisements for commercial sexual services on several randomly chosen Fridays. Dates chosen for the exercise were 4 July 2003, 3 October 2003, 5 December 2003 and 7 May 2004. The date of 4 July was chosen in order to represent the situation as close as possible to the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003. Subsequent dates have been chosen for monitoring purposes to determine changes in advertising following the introduction of the new legislation.

The NZ Herald (Auckland), Truth (Auckland) and Dominion Post (Wellington) were the major newspapers searched for sex advertisements. Advertisements in the Yellow Pages were also included. Unlike the main newspapers, the New Zealand Truth is not archived at public libraries and back copies were requested through the Auckland NZPC. Back copies for 3 October and 5 December 2003 had not yet been received at the time of writing this report. Therefore accurate numbers cannot be given for Auckland for those dates.

Several websites advertising sex services were also checked for the number of advertisements. Most of these do not include portraits, so it was almost impossible to tell if the same person was advertising on different sites with the same name and a different phone number, or a different name and phone number. The advertisements on the websites tend to be free to workers. Therefore, unless the worker advises the webmaster to remove their name because they are no longer working, their working name and phone number may remain there indefinitely. Newspaper advertisements are not subject to this proviso as payment is required.

Chinese newspapers, and in particular, Mandarin Times, New Times and Chinese Herald, were also searched for the number of advertisements for commercial sexual services. However, these
newspapers were only obtained for the 7th of May 2004. Therefore, advertisements for Chinese sex workers are not included in the count of advertisements on any of the earlier dates.

People advertising in one or more publications were identified through confirming the matching phone numbers. In some cases they used more than one name – that is, using a different name for each publication. Where such cases were identified they were given one entry in the listing.

Caution must be used in interpreting these findings. The advertisements count both private workers and businesses and therefore the number of advertisements cannot be taken to represent the number of people working in the sex industry. In the case of prostitution businesses there will be more than one person working from each business. In addition, while most private workers work by themselves, some do work with one or two others. Nevertheless, in cases like this, the workers are usually advertising separately from each other, with different phone numbers for each worker.

### 3.2.2 Interview

A key informant interview was undertaken with two members of the NZPC where they were asked to respond to questions on the nature and extent of the sex industry in New Zealand. They were asked to give an indication of the proportion of sex workers in each of the sectors of the sex industry. They were also asked questions regarding the gender of sex workers, under age sex workers, non-New Zealand resident people working in the sex industry, connections with organised crime, exploitation of sex workers and the role of the NZPC. An Interview schedule can be found in Appendix 3.

### 3.2.3 Definitions

**Massage Parlours** – fixed sites which encouraged clients to visit sex workers on their premises. These were licensed under the Massage Parlours Act 1978, which has now been repealed. Some parlours also provided outcalls to clients.

**Agencies/escorts** – agencies initially emerged as an alternative to parlours for sex workers and operators who had convictions which prevented them from working in massage parlours. These have now become a sector in their own right. Agencies, in general, provide outcall services to clients. However agencies may also provide in-house services.

The NZPC indicated that the demarcation between the regulated and non-regulated sectors of the sex industry had become less pronounced over the years. In particular, many police in areas other than Auckland applied the same rules to the escort sector as they did to the massage parlour sector.
3.3 Findings

3.3.1 Extent of the sex industry in New Zealand

This section provides an estimate of the extent of the sex industry in New Zealand. It is based on the count of advertisements in Auckland and Wellington and also on the views of members of the NZPC.

Numbers of advertisements for sex workers - Auckland and Wellington

There were 151 advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and 469 in Auckland on 4 July 2003. Figure 3.1 shows the breakdown of these advertisements by type. In Wellington there were 18 advertisements for agencies and the same number for parlours on the 4th July. Proportionally together, these represented about a quarter of all sex advertisements on this date. In Auckland there were proportionally more advertisements for agencies than parlours. However, advertisements for private workers represented three-quarters of the advertisements in both Auckland and Wellington.

Figure 3.1 Numbers of advertisements in Auckland and Wellington newspapers - 4 July 2003

With one exception, all parlours in Auckland were advertising female services. One parlour offered both male and female sex workers.

Figure 3.2 shows the gender breakdown of advertisements for private workers in the Auckland region. Female advertisements comprised the vast majority of private advertisements for sex workers. Private advertisements for male sex workers comprised 13% of the total and advertisements for transgender workers 3%.
Figure 3.2  Gender breakdown of private advertisements - Auckland - 4 July 2003

Figure 3.2 shows the gender breakdown of private advertisements in Auckland. The majority of private advertisements in Auckland advertised the services of female sex workers (85%). One in ten advertisements were for agencies offering male sex workers and 4% were offering the services of both male and female sex workers.

Figure 3.3  Gender breakdown of agency advertisements - Auckland - 4 July 2003

Figure 3.3 shows the gender breakdown of advertisements for agencies in Auckland. The majority of agency advertisements in Auckland advertised the services of female sex workers (85%). One in ten advertisements were for agencies offering male sex workers and 4% were offering the services of both male and female sex workers.

All parlours in Wellington were advertising the services of female workers. Figure 3.4 shows that in terms of escort agencies in Wellington, 89% were advertising the services of female workers and one in ten advertisements were for male workers.
Figure 3.4  Gender breakdown of agency advertisements – Wellington – 4 July 2003

Figure 3.5 shows a very different gender breakdown in private advertisements in Wellington to that found in Auckland. Only 61% of advertisements were advertising the services of female sex workers compared to 83% in Auckland. Over a quarter of private advertisements in Wellington were for male sex workers compared to 13% in Auckland. One in ten private advertisements in Wellington advertised the services of transgender workers. In contrast only 3% of advertisements in Auckland were for transgender workers.

Figure 3.5  Gender breakdown of private advertisements – Wellington – 4 July 2003

Changes in numbers of advertisements

The total number of advertisements in Auckland increased from 469 in 4 July 2003 to 531 in 7 May 2004, an increase of 13% over this period. However, there may be several factors which account for this increase. Firstly, Chinese newspapers were only obtained for the date of 7 May and Chinese sex workers advertising in this forum have only been included in that
final date. Secondly, a new website for sex advertisements commenced during the early part of 2004. Advertisements on this website have been included in the count for 7 May 2004. If these figures are discounted from those for 7 May 2004 then there was an increase by 21 advertisements (4%) for this period of time.

Wellington advertisements remained stable over this period of time at 151 advertisements. However, again advertisements in Chinese newspapers (3) and in the new website (3) have only been included in the figures for 7 May. If these are discounted, there has been a decrease of 4% in the number of advertisements between 4 July 2003 and 7 May 2004.

**NZPC estimation of the size of the sex industry**

Key informants for the NZPC were asked to estimate the proportion of sex workers working in each of the sectors at the time of the passing of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003. Figure 3.6 gives a breakdown of these proportions. It must be noted that these are approximate proportions – the NZPC indicated that between 60% and 70% of sex workers worked in massage parlours. These figures of course will vary regionally. For example, street workers generally only operate in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch and the proportion of workers in the private sector is likely to be larger in areas where there is no street work.

**Figure 3.6 Proportion of sex workers in each sector - NZPC estimation**

![Pie chart showing 70% Massage parlours, 20% Escort agencies, 10% Street/private workers]

In terms of numbers of sex workers, NZPC members estimated that there were about 400 in Wellington and 3,000 in Auckland at the time of the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003.
3.3.2 Characteristics of those working in the industry

Gender of sex workers

The NZPC indicated that a large proportion of those working on the street were transgender workers, particularly in Auckland and Wellington and to a lesser extent in Christchurch. They estimated that the transgender sex worker population is about 5% in total, but that transgender workers represent about 50% of those working on the street. Transgender workers were considered to have difficulty not only in finding work in sectors of the sex industry other than the street, but also in the employment sector as a whole.

It was suggested that male workers account for 1%-2% of all sex workers, the majority of whom are working privately. There were considered to be few male workers on the street in Wellington but the situation was different in Auckland where there were comparatively more male street workers. Massage parlours were primarily all female with occasional exceptions.

Age of sex workers

The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 created a number of offences relating to those under 18 being involved in prostitution. These including making it an offence for any person to pay for sexual services to be provided by any person under the age of 18 years, or for any person to employ those under 18 years in the sex industry. The NZPC was asked about the issue of under age workers and whether it was a significant issue in New Zealand and likely to be concentrated in some sectors more than others.

The NZPC considered that it was highly unusual for young people under the age of 16 to start out in massage parlours. Young people aged 16 to 18 would respond to advertisements and approach parlours looking for work. However, certain informal barriers existed both on the streets and in parlours to prevent under age workers. Street work was seen by young people under the age of 16 as a way of entering the sex industry. However, street workers tend to protect ‘their patch’, particularly from under age workers and would make it very difficult for under age workers to operate. In the indoor sector, under age workers usually at some stage get ‘picked up’ through having to identify their age. A lot of whistle-blowing was said to occur with older workers identifying under age workers for many different motives.

However, the NZPC did not consider there were significant numbers of under age sex workers working in the industry. Certainly there have always been under age workers, particularly dating back to the first generation of young people living on the streets, but the numbers are small and sporadic. Importantly, not all young people living on the streets are sex workers, but in many instances they have been identified as such, and so inflating the numbers of under age workers.

Older workers tend to work privately, either through choice or because they can no longer obtain work in massage parlours or escort agencies.
Non-New Zealand resident workers

Non-New Zealand resident sex workers working in the sex industry were considered to be a significant issue for New Zealand. This was particularly so in Auckland but was becoming an increasing issue in other centres, especially Wellington. The NZPC also indicated that there had been an increase in non-New Zealand resident sex workers in areas where there are language schools and universities.

Non-resident sex workers first came predominantly from Thailand due to the reciprocal visa arrangement between the two countries. Visitors from Thailand now need a visitors' visa and this has led to a drop in sex workers coming from Thailand. More recently there has been an increase in Chinese sex workers coming from parts of Asia where they speak Cantonese. There are also small numbers of sex workers coming from other parts of the world including Eastern Europe.

Connections with organised crime

Organised crime was defined by the NZPC as gangs who are recognisable by a name they associate with or an identity that they give themselves. In the main, the relationship between the sex industry and organised crime was considered to be tenuous. Certainly, individual gang members may work in the industry or may own a business or a share in a business. However, NZPC thought that gangs as a whole were seldom involved in the sex industry.

Other characteristics

- Ethnicity – Maori sex workers were considered to be over-represented in terms of street workers in Auckland and Wellington.

- Drug use – the perception that drug use, particularly injecting drug use, is high amongst street workers was considered to be fallacy. Instead, sex workers injecting drugs tended to work primarily in the indoor sector.

- Street workers often choose to work on the streets because they feel they can control their environment. In Auckland and Wellington, street workers tend to cluster together for protection, along ethnic and gender divides. In Christchurch it was noted that street workers tend to work in isolation making them more vulnerable to violence. Some street workers use mobile phones for protection.

3.3.3 Exploitation of sex workers

Bonds and fines system

NZPC key informants mentioned that sex workers were frequently exploited in their employment conditions. In particular, employers sometimes use a system of fines to coerce certain behaviours from their workers. This may include sex workers seeing more clients or working longer hours than they wish.
This system of bonds and fines was facilitated by the fact that more recently money no longer passes between the client and worker but instead is managed centrally by the house because of the increasing use of payment by Eftpos and Visa.

Other

Stigmatisation was considered to be another form of exploitation of sex workers. In particular, employment in the sex industry could be used as a form of blackmail against someone who does not want to be identified.

3.3.4 Role of New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective

The website for the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective indicates that the NZPC is an organisation of current and past sex industry workers which seeks an environment that supports the rights of sex industry workers by providing:

Information

The NZPC provides mutual support and information for and by sex workers. It educates the public and media about issues affecting sex workers. In particular it provides:

- New worker kits for people who are considering working in the industry.
- Information on the existing laws pertaining to the sex industry.
- Information on tax status with regards to the sex industry.

Advocacy Services

The NZPC advocates at all levels for the rights of sex industry workers. Key informants for the NZPC indicated that they often act as a buffer between agencies with an interest in the sex industry and those working in the industry.

Other services

The NZPC provides drop-in centres around the country. They are open for all current and past sex industry workers to come in, exchange ideas and pick up safer sex products. The NZPC also provides free sexual health clinics at some of their drop-in centres.

The NZPC also runs projects that target specific groups within the sex industry such as PUMP, which targets male sex workers, and ONTOP, which is a project targeting transgendered sex workers.

---

6  http://www.nzpc.org.nz/
3.4 Summary

- There were 151 advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and 469 in Auckland on 4 July 2003. In both Auckland and Wellington private advertisements represented three-quarters of all advertisements.

- In Auckland, female advertisements comprised the majority of private advertisements (83%). Private advertisements for male sex workers comprised 13% of the total and advertisements for transgender workers 3%. In Wellington, 61% of private advertisements were advertising the services of female sex workers, 29% were for male sex workers and 10% for transgender workers.

- The NZPC estimated that between 50% to 70% of sex workers worked in massage parlours, 20% in escort agencies and 10% work on the street or privately.

- The NZPC estimated that the transgender sex worker population is about 5% in total, but that transgender workers represent about 50% of those working on the street.

- The NZPC did not consider there were significant numbers of under age sex workers working in the industry. Importantly, not all young people on the streets are sex workers but in many instances they have been identified as such and so inflating the numbers of under age workers.

- NZPC key informants indicated that sex workers were often exploited in their employment conditions.
4 Conclusion

This report presents two complementary perspectives on the nature and extent of the sex industry in New Zealand. The first of these is a report presenting the findings of a telephone survey of selected members of the New Zealand Police. This survey involved canvassing specific police staff in a position to offer information and insight on the sex industry in their areas and districts. Part B of this report is based on information provided by the NZPC both in an interview and through an audit of the numbers of advertisements for commercial sexual services in Auckland and Wellington.

Together these two reports attempt to provide a picture of the extent and nature of the sex industry in New Zealand. However, this picture is necessarily a limited one and caution must be used when interpreting the findings in this report. Before the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act in June 2003 sex workers were liable for arrest if apprehended for soliciting, brothel keeping or living off the earnings of prostitution. Therefore many businesses and individuals operated in an environment without official oversight and knowledge. In addition, the industry is a fluid and transitory one, with many businesses starting up only to fail and many workers remaining in the industry for short periods only.

The level and quality of police information on the sex industry also varied greatly around the country. Some respondents were able to provide reasonably accurate figures, others indicated that the information they were providing was simply an intelligent guess. In some areas police had a register of people working in the sex industry which formed the basis of their responses. This register tended to be cumulative in nature including all persons who have registered for work in the past, not just those known to be currently active.

Caution also needs to be used when interpreting the findings of the analysis of advertisements for commercial sexual services. The advertisements count both private workers and businesses and in the case of businesses there will be more than one worker working from each business. In addition, an increase in the numbers of advertisements cannot be taken to be a corresponding increase in the number of those working in the sex industry. Instead it may be simply indicative of an increase in advertisement following a decriminalisation of the sex industry.

The survey of police identified a total of 383 sex businesses across the country: 189 massage parlours, 101 escort agencies and 93 rap/escort parlours. Not surprisingly, the highest number of sex businesses were concentrated in the Auckland City District, accounting for nearly two-thirds (243) of the total of sex businesses in NZ. A total of 5,932 sex workers were identified, nearly half of whom (2,629) were working in massage parlours. Private workers followed in numbers accounting for 24% of sex workers (1,428) and street workers represented 11% (637) of those working in the sex industry.
The audit of advertisements undertaken by the NZPC showed that there were 151 advertisements for commercial sexual services in Wellington and 469 in Auckland on 4 July 2003. In Wellington, 36 of these advertisements were for escort agencies or massage parlours and in Auckland this number was 123. There were 112 advertisements for private workers in Wellington and 346 in Auckland.

As the audit of newspaper advertisements was only undertaken for Auckland City and Wellington Police Districts and not nationwide it is useful to examine the findings of the police survey for Auckland City and Wellington Police Districts. However, as mentioned in the introduction care must be taken when comparing these results and in drawing conclusions. The two reports gather data from two different sources and using different methods and are designed to be complementary.

The results of the police survey showed a total of 243 sex businesses in Auckland City Police District and 15 in the Wellington Police Districts. This includes massage parlours, escort agencies and rap/escort parlours. If only massage parlours and escort agencies were included in this count the number of businesses in Wellington would be 14 and 178 in Auckland City. As can be seen these numbers are fairly similar to the number of advertisements on 4 July 2003. With respect to private workers police respondents estimated there to be 350 in Auckland City and 224 in Wellington Police Districts.

NZ Police and NZPC were asked to give an indication of the gender breakdown of those working in different sectors of the sex industry. In addition, a gender analysis of advertisements was undertaken. Both the police and the NZPC reported that there were a high proportion of transgender/transsexual workers working on the streets. Police respondents estimated that on average 30% of street workers were transgender or transsexual. NZPC put this figure at 50% and stated that about 5% of all sex workers were transgender.

NZ Police estimated that 15% of street workers were male, and that men represented 7% of those working in escort agencies and 7% of those working privately. The NZPC indicated that male workers account for 1%-2% of the sex industry and the majority of whom were working privately. A gender analysis of advertisements in Auckland and Wellington newspapers showed that private advertisements for male workers comprised 13% of the total proportion of adverts in Auckland and 29% of those in Wellington.

The NZ Police estimated that there were around 200 under age sex workers. Under age workers were defined as those under 18. Over half of these sex workers were, according to the police, located in the street sector. However, the NZPC did not consider that there were significant numbers of under age sex workers working in the industry. In particular they noted that not all young people living on the street are working as sex workers, although they are sometimes identified as such.

The police and NZPC were asked to comment on the issue of exploitation of sex workers. Sex workers were considered to be most commonly exploited in their employment conditions, particularly through a system of fines and bonds to coerce certain behaviours from their workers.
The police and NZPC both have a role with respect to the sex industry. The police identified their role predominantly as a liaison role. This liaison was with the NZPC, massage parlours, sex workers or local government. The NZPC supports the rights of sex industry workers through provision of information and advocacy services.

Establishing the nature and extent of the sex industry will always be an exercise with significant limitations. There will naturally be discrepancies in the quality and nature of that information and care must be taken when drawing comparisons between such estimates. However this report is useful in providing an indication of the approximate numbers of those working in the sex industry in New Zealand and differing perspectives on that industry.
References


Appendix 1: Police survey

Prostitution Reform Act 2003 – Establishment of Baseline Information

The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 came into force at the end of June. This legislation decriminalises prostitution and will have an impact on policing in respect of the sex industry. Included in the Act is the establishment of the Prostitution Review Committee. The Committee is charged with reviewing the legislation within 3 to 5 years. The Committee is also charged with assessing the current state of the sex industry in New Zealand. This includes establishing baseline numbers of the persons working in the sex industry.

Attempts to establish baseline numbers of persons working in the sex industry have been conducted in the past. In particular, the National Bureau of Criminal Intelligence of the New Zealand Police undertook an exercise in 2001 one of the aims of which was to establish the nature and extent of the sex industry in New Zealand. This resulted in a report on a Strategic Assessment of the Vice Scene in New Zealand June 2001. However, only a sample of Police areas were canvassed and so the numbers of persons identified as working in the sex industry cannot be taken to represent New Zealand as a whole.

The Ministry of Justice wishes to repeat the exercise conducted by the National Bureau of Criminal Intelligence for all of New Zealand to establish as comprehensively as possible the numbers of persons working in the sex industry. We also need to establish update numbers of persons working in the sex industry as close as possible to the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003.

We would like you to provide an estimate of the number of sex workers and businesses in each of the sectors identified in the following questionnaire as of June 2003. We recognise that assessing the number of persons working in the sex industry is problematic due to the non-regulated and fluid nature of the industry and that any estimate will simply be an indication of the actual numbers.

You do not need to send this questionnaire in. A Ministry of Justice researcher will be in contact with you in 2 to 3 weeks time to ask you to supply this information over the phone. If you have any questions about this survey please contact:

Wendy Searle
Senior Research Adviser
Ministry of Justice
Ph (04) 4949-865
Email wendy.searle@justice.govt.nz
Nature and Extent of the Sex Industry in New Zealand

The sex industry in New Zealand is primarily split between street and non-street or indoor sectors. The indoor sector can be further categorised into regulated and non-regulated sectors. Table 1 provides categorisation and definitions of the sex industry based upon the Vice in New Zealand June 2001 report.

### Table 1 The New Zealand Sex Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STREET SECTOR</th>
<th>INDOOR SECTOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street Workers - These workers offer themselves as prostitutes by advertising themselves physically on street corners and other places known for such activity.</td>
<td>Regulated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours - these businesses along with their owners and managers are licensed pursuant to the Massage Parlours Act (1978) and are subject to its various provisions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-regulated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels) - These are unlicensed premises that are not legally permitted to even offer massages and are basically brothels offering in-house services on the premises in question.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies - These businesses do not operate from any usual fixed place of business. Services are provided on an “out-call” basis in short-term motel accommodation or the customer’s own address.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers - These operate on a self-employed basis through telephone contact with potential customers and regularly advertise in various newspapers and magazines. This includes people working together in small collectives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers - These workers provide services to visiting seamen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Could you please give an indication of the number of businesses in each of the categories identified in Table 2? For example, how many licensed massage parlours are there in your district/area?

Table 2  Number of sex businesses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Could you please give an approximate indication of the total number of sex workers in each of the categories identified in Table 3? For example, we are interested in the number of total workers in massage parlours rather than the number of workers per business.

Table 3  Number of sex workers in each of the sectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Could you please give an approximate indication of the proportions of female, male and transgender/transsexual sex workers in the categories identified in Table 4. Please state this as a proportion of the whole. For example, 10% of street workers are male.

Table 4  Gender of sex workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Transgender/transsexual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Could you please give an indication of the total number of **under age sex workers** in each of the categories identified in Table 5? **By under age workers we mean under the age of 18.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5a Is the issue of non-New Zealand resident people working in the sex industry a significant one in your area/district?

5b Approximately what proportion of sex workers in your area/district are non-New Zealand residents?

5c What countries do these workers **mainly** come from? Please list the countries.

6 Could you please give an approximate indication of the proportion of sex workers and businesses in each of the categories identified in Table 6 who have **connections with organised crime** (either covert or overt connections)? Please state this as a proportion of the whole. For example, 10% of street workers have connections with organised crime.

**Please refer to the following definition of organised crime in your response to the following question.**

The New Zealand Police primarily view organised crime as a "continuing association of persons having as its object or one of its objects, the acquisition of income or assets by means of a continuing course of criminal conduct."

---

Table 6  Proportion of sex workers and business with connections with organised crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Proportion of businesses</th>
<th>Proportion of sex workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/ escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7  Are you aware of exploitation of sex workers in your area/district? What form does this exploitation take?

8a  Does your area/district have an officer with a portfolio dedicated to prostitution?

8b  Approximately, what proportion of their time is dedicated to this portfolio?

8c  Could you briefly outline the roles this person has with regard to prostitution?

9  Are there any other significant aspects of the Prostitution Scene in your area?
Appendix 2: Police Areas Canvassed

Auckland City
Christchurch
Dunedin
Hamilton
Henderson
Invercargill
Masterton
New Plymouth
Napier
Nelson
Otahuhu
Palmerston North
Queenstown
Rotorua
Takapuna
Tauranga
Timaru
Wanganui
Wellington
Whangarei
Appendix 3: New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective – interview schedule

Extent and nature of the sex industry in New Zealand

Numbers of businesses and sex workers

The sex industry in New Zealand has been described as being primarily split between street and non-street or indoor sectors. The indoor sector can be further categorised into regulated and non-regulated sectors. Table 1 provides categorisations and definitions of the sex industry (as at the time of the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003) based upon the Vice in New Zealand June 2001 report (New Zealand Police report).

Table 1 The New Zealand Sex Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STREET SECTOR</th>
<th>INDOOR SECTOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulated</strong></td>
<td><strong>Non-regulated</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Workers - These workers offer themselves as prostitutes by advertising themselves physically on street corners and other places known for such activity.</td>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours - these businesses along with their owners and managers are licensed pursuant to the Massage Parlours Act (1978) and are subject to its various provisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels) - These are unlicensed premises that are not legally permitted to even offer massages and are basically brothels offering in-house services on the premises in question.</td>
<td>Escort agencies - These businesses do not operate from any usual fixed place of business. Services are provided on an “out-call” basis in short-term motel accommodation or the customer’s own address.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies - These businesses do not operate from any usual fixed place of business. Services are provided on an “out-call” basis in short-term motel accommodation or the customer’s own address.</td>
<td>Private workers – These operate on a self-employed basis through telephone contact with potential customers and regularly advertise in various newspapers and magazines. This includes people working together in small collectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers – These operate on a self-employed basis through telephone contact with potential customers and regularly advertise in various newspapers and magazines. This includes people working together in small collectives.</td>
<td>Ship workers – These workers provide services to visiting seamen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Could you please give an approximate indication of what proportion of sex workers work in each of these sectors (at the time the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 was passed)?

Table 2  Proportions of sex workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Do workers in each of these sectors have different characteristics?

Gender of workers

3. Could you please give an approximate indication of the proportions of female, male and transgender/transsexual sex workers in the categories identified in Table 3? Please state this as a proportion of the whole. For example, 10% of street workers are male.

Table 3  Gender of sex workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Transgender/transsexual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Massage Parlours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/escort parlours (brothels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort agencies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Under age workers

4. Is the issue of under age sex workers a significant one in New Zealand?

5. Are under age workers more likely to be concentrated in one particular sector (see Table 1 for a breakdown of sectors)?

6. Are there particular areas of the country where this is more of an issue than in others?

Non-New Zealand resident workers

7. Is the issue of non-New Zealand resident people working in New Zealand a significant one in New Zealand?

8. In what particular areas is it a significant issue?

9. What countries do these workers mainly come from?

Organised crime

10. What are the connections between organised crime and the sex industry in New Zealand?

Roles - New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective

11. Could you outline the role of the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective?

Any other comments?