

'It isn't prostitution as you normally think of it. It's survival sex': Media representations of adult and child prostitution in New Zealand

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Abstract

With the passing of the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) in 2003, New Zealand became the first country to implement a full decriminalisation of street and in-house¹ prostitution, nationwide. As few New Zealanders have direct regular contact with prostitutes, the media has a strong role in shaping public discourse in relation to the sex industry. Using Foucauldian inspired poststructuralist analysis, from a critical feminist perspective, this paper investigates the representation of prostitution in the New Zealand print media before and after the passing of the PRA. Newspaper articles from 2000 to 2013 were analysed to identify key discursive constructions of the PRA, prostitution, sex workers, and other key players in the New Zealand sex industry. The main representations identified in the data were adult or child *street* prostitution, those who sell sex were always depicted as women (or girls) and those who buy sex, as men. Discussions of men who buy sex were noticeably absent, except in coverage of men who had been violent towards sex workers and men who bought sex from children. In-house prostitution was depicted as a more legitimate profession than street prostitution and the (street) sex worker was portrayed in disparaging ways. We conclude that although New Zealand has decriminalised prostitution, *visible* sex worker activity on the street continues to be deplored, due to its violation of various codes of traditional femininity and female sexuality. The media also work to individualise issues related to the sex industry, which require a more social, structural, and economic analysis.

Key words

prostitution, child prostitution, sex worker, male sexuality, female sexuality, gender, power

Introduction

On 25 June 2003, the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) passed its third reading in Parliament with a one-vote majority, making New Zealand the first country in the world to decriminalise indoor and outdoor prostitution² (Armstrong, 2011; Mossman, 2007; Parliamentary Council Office, 2003). Prior to 2003, New Zealand prostitution policy mirrored the British model (Eldred-Grigg, 1984), where prostitution was not illegal, but all prostitution-related activities were. Before the Act was passed, there was some tolerance for in-house or 'discrete' prostitution (Jordan, 2010), but not street-based work. It was an offence for anyone to offer sex for money in a public place (Section 26 of the Summary Offences Act 1991), but it was not illegal for clients to pay for sex or offer to pay for sex. This presented a double standard in legislation where predominantly women sex workers could be punished with a prostitution-related conviction, remaining on their criminal record for life, while men who were clients were immune from legal repercussions (Abel, Fitzgerald, & Brunton, 2007). Prior to the passing of the PRA, it was an offence to keep or manage a brothel (Section 147 of the Crimes Act 1961), which became recognised in the build-up to the PRA as a barrier to the occupational health, safety

and well-being of sex workers. The threat of police raids discouraged safer sexual practices within brothels, as condoms or sexual safety pamphlets/material could be used as evidence to prosecute sex workers or brothel owners (Abel et al., 2007). Working in an illegal profession, sex workers were vulnerable to the exploitation of businesses owners, managers and pimps as they did not have any of the usual workers' rights (Abel et al., 2007). The ease of this type of exploitation was explained by one sex worker employed in a brothel prior to 2003:

Girls have all the obligations of being employees and none of the benefits. Or look at it this way, the management has all the benefits of being an employer, but none of the obligations – not to any health and safety regulations, employment requirements such as holiday pay, sick pay, a system of warnings before dismissal; but we are charged shift fees, bonds, we have to provide medical certificates if we are sick, and give notice when we leave (Jordan, 2005, p. 60).

The New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC) was a leading campaigner for the implementation of the PRA (Parliamentary Service, 2012) which took 20 years to come to fruition (Abel, Fitzgerald, & Healy, 2010). One of the cornerstones of their approach was to give voice to, and include, sex workers in the policy change initiatives. The PRA was predicated on a human rights and harm minimisation approach (Barnett, Healy, Reed, & Bennochie, 2010), and included a public health perspective (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2010b). The Act was supported by politicians (from different ideological stances), groups of sex workers, lawyers, academics, students, women's networks and some ('progressive') religious groups (Barnett et al., 2010). When first introduced, as well as support, there was quite a lot of opposition to the Act from some parliamentary members, more hard-line feminists, some women's groups, conservative religious groups, ex-sex workers and business owners (Barnett et al., 2010). Supporters believed that the PRA would give sex workers legal rights to fight exploitation from clients or managers, enforce safer sex with reluctant clients (reducing the risks of HIV and STI transmissions), as well as giving them more options and freedom in terms of where and how they worked (Armstrong, 2011). Opponents argued that decriminalisation would normalise prostitution, leading to an increase in those entering the sex industry and increases in violence, coercion, abuse, sex trafficking, and child prostitution (Armstrong, 2011; Barnett et al., 2010). Different legal models were considered by a parliamentary select committee – including the main alternative contender that sought to decriminalise the worker and criminalise the buyer. This approach is based on the Swedish model and focuses on reducing demand for prostitution by criminalising the buyer (Harrington, 2012), ultimately seeking to eradicate prostitution through decreasing demand. The decriminalisation approach ultimately was favoured and implemented. The PRA involved the complete removal of all previous laws governing prostitution, the complete removal of sex work related offences from individuals' criminal records (Abel et al., 2007) and prohibiting the purchase of sex with persons under eighteen years of age (Parliamentary Council Office, 2003). The PRA sought to empower sex workers to become self-governing actors who now escaped legal censure, *without* necessarily challenging or disrupting existing hierarchies of gender, sexuality or respectability that are linked to the sex industry (Harrington, 2012).

Discourses of prostitution

Prostitution is a vastly polarising and emotionally charged topic that is typically seen as morally suspect, dangerous and problematic (Chapkis, 1997; Weitzer, 2009). The industry is a highly gendered one, with most of the workers women and most of the clients heterosexual men (Gurd & O'Brien, 2013; Sullivan, Scrine, & Waldby, 1997). There is frequently a 'pro/anti' prostitution divide in feminism, academia and beyond, even in the most 'critical' fields when it comes to this topic (e.g., Jackson & Scott, 1996; Segal, 1994). Prostitution is seen as

either degrading or exploitative of its (typically women) sex workers (and a male ‘problem’ that needs fixing), or as legitimate work that has and will always exist, with the potential to be empowering and pushing the boundaries of acceptability and respectability when it comes to sex and sexuality (Jeffreys, 1997; Weitzer, 2005, 2009; Whisnant & Stark, 2004).

Public discussions surrounding prostitution in New Zealand (and abroad) and the debates surrounding the PRA draw on various salient discourses. Those in favour of decriminalisation often evoke a ‘human rights’ discourse to highlight the marginalisation of sex workers and the need to approach prostitution as legitimate work, where sex workers should have the rights and freedoms of those in other professions. Related to this, a ‘public health’ discourse is often mobilised to argue that decriminalisation would decrease the various risks associated with prostitution for sex workers (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2010b). This harm minimisation approach (Harrington, 2012) typically denotes an acceptance of prostitution as something that is inevitable and unavoidable, linked to an unchanging male culture that has and will always ‘need’ access to sex/sexual release (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001). Often touted as the world’s ‘oldest profession’, prostitution is seen as here to stay and as requiring a pragmatic liberalised approach to manage the risks associated with the industry (Harrington, 2012).

Those who oppose decriminalisation often draw on a ‘moral discourse’ (such as religious conservatives) to position prostitution as a deviant social evil that requires eradication via social and legal abolition. A ‘public nuisance’ discourse is also often mobilised to show disdain for visible signs of prostitution or sex workers, often highlighting the voices of wider communities or residents, rather than needs of sex workers (Armstrong, 2011). The radical feminist approach to prostitution (e.g., Jeffreys, 1997) is often depicted as anti-prostitution, seeing the industry as an extension of exploitative patriarchal power relations and (symbolic or actual) violence toward women by men (Farley, 2004). Such a perspective is not always opposed to the decriminalisation of sex workers, who are positioned as ‘victims’, but does advocate for at least the criminalisation of clients. It is theorised that if demand is addressed it will ultimately lead to the abolition of the sex industry (Farley & Barkan, 1998; Svanstrom, 2006).

What is often missing from these approaches is a *critical* perspective that seeks to acknowledge sex workers’ rights and agency, and avoids demonising *individual* men who buy sex, but still interrogates the social *context*, structures and the power relations that produce (and maintain) the sex industry in its current shape. This would include an examination of global sex trade, and male sexual entitlement and other social and economic privileges (Harrington, 2012). Prostitution is not necessarily inevitable in any given society, and even if it was, its *present* (gendered) form is rooted in historic and current gendered understandings of sexuality (i.e., men are more sexual than women and ‘need’ sexual release and women must provide this in one way or another), and economic disparity between men and women. Without making moral judgements about the act of selling sex, both the men who buy sex and the women who sell sex are a product of specific social, political, cultural and economic power relations. This interlocking bigger picture needs more critical attention.

Impact of the Act

Although the number of those who sell sex in New Zealand is difficult to pinpoint exactly (Harrington, 2012), reports suggest little has changed in terms of the number of adult sex workers (Abel, Fitzgerald, & Brunton, 2009) or the number of underage sex workers (Ministry of Justice, 2008) since the passing of the PRA. Research examining the impacts of decriminalisation in New Zealand indicated that there had been some benefits for sex workers five years after the Act was passed (Abel et al., 2007; Ministry of Justice, 2008; Parliamentary Service, 2012). Sex workers reported it was easier to refuse a client, they had an increased

sense of well-being for no longer being in an illegal profession, and that relationships with police officers had improved (Abel et al., 2007). Nonetheless, sex workers still noted they were vulnerable to exploitative employment conditions and still fell victim to the public stigma related to prostitution (Ministry of Justice, 2008). This was particularly the case if women worked on the streets (Abel et al., 2009), a setting where they were more likely to experience verbal abuse and physical violence (Armstrong, 2011). Decriminalisation has not eradicated the stigma associated with being a sex worker, particularly when it comes to street prostitution (Abel et al., 2007), as this is often linked to drug use, criminal activities and gang involvement (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2010a). Even though the law change brought street prostitution ‘out of the shadows’ the presence of sex workers on the street ‘remains cloaked in hostility’ (Armstrong, 2011, p. 43) and still less tolerated than in-house prostitution (Jordan, 2010). Women sex workers do report feeling less vilified since the law change (Armstrong, 2011), but the various forms of stigma still reported by in-house and street sex workers can have negative health implications for their well-being (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2010a). For example, while in-house sex workers report crafting a public and private identity to deal with stigma, those who work on the street reported drugs as the strategy they used to creating this ‘splitting’ (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2010a). Stigmatisation is often linked heavily to stereotyping of various invisible and often marginalised groups that the public have very little first-hand contact with (Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006). Although increasingly slipping into the mainstream, prostitution is still a relatively closed industry that is generally hidden from public view. Media representations comprise a key site for shaping popular discourse about prostitution and the women who are sex workers (Hallgrimsdottir, Phillips, Benoit, & Walby, 2008).

Media representations of prostitution

Representations of prostitution across a number of media formats have been studied in Canada (Gibbs Van Brunschot, Sydie, & Krull, 1999; Hallgrimsdottir, Phillips, & Benoit, 2006; Hallgrimsdottir, Phillips, Benoit, & Walby, 2008; Jeffrey, 2004; Jiwani & Young, 2006), The United States (Dunn, 2012; McLaughlin, 1991), Britain (Mendes et al., 2010) and New Zealand (Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010). The existing literature has examined representations on reality television, television series, docuporns³ and newspapers. Across these media formats the focus has largely been on the woman sex worker, rather than the male ‘client’.

Discourses circulated by newspapers have been found to differ significantly from those circulated by television (Dunn, 2012; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006). Within newspapers, most coverage is concerned with adult and child street prostitution, while television series and ‘docuporns’ (Boyle, 2008) tend to focus on the lives of adult in-house sex workers. Street prostitution is represented as dirty, dangerous, associated with crime/drugs, exploitative and socially disruptive (Armstrong, 2011; Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010), while in-house prostitution is portrayed as a legitimate occupation, ‘freely’ chosen by workers, enjoyable, profitable, glamorous, and a ‘job like any other’ (Dunn, 2012; Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Mendes et al., 2010; Mendes et al., 2009). This hierarchy mirrors distinctions often made between ‘higher-class’ prostitution (off-street) and ‘lower-class’ street prostitution in the Western context (Hubbard, 1997).

The overarching discourses of street prostitution found across previous research include ‘prostitution as dangerous’ (Arthurs, 2004; Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; McLaughlin, 1991) ‘prostitution as exploitation’ (Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008; Jeffrey, 2004) and ‘prostitution as nuisance’ (Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008; Jeffrey, 2004).

'Prostitution as exploitation' tends to refer to child prostitution which is depicted as 'survival sex' and suggests that children turn to the streets due to family dysfunction and child abuse (Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; Jeffry, 2004).

The adult sex worker is typically depicted as 'other' (Armstrong, 2011; Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010), a 'bad girl' who falls outside of decent feminine conduct, has no agency, is a victim of exploitation from pimps and clients (Gibbs Van Brunschot et al, 1999), and is a drug addict (Arthurs, 2004; Jiwani & Young, 2006; McLaughlin, 1991). The assumption that street-based sex workers must engage in illegal drug use works to portray them as 'junkie whores' who are disposable (Armstrong, 2011; Wright, 2008). The discourse of 'other' combined with the discourse of disposability works to construct street-based sex workers as deserving victims who are at least partially (if not fully) responsible for any abuse or violence they may experience (Arthurs, 2004; McLaughlin, 1991), by virtue of engaging in such risky, unsavoury and morally distasteful work.

Research directly examining print media representation on the PRA in New Zealand between 2003–2006 confirmed some of the findings above (Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010). This research indicated that prostitution was depicted as a threat to dominant morality, and as a public nuisance, with the sex worker largely depicted as a victim. Although many of the articles analysed across multiple newspapers were descriptive or neutral, interviews with sex workers indicated that they tended to take on board and recall negative portrayals much more readily. In this context, concerns regarding street prostitution worked to construct and manufacture moral geographies 'where the conspicuous street-based sector received the most negative media coverage' (Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010, p. 210) and created the most panic. *Visibility* of prostitution was thus identified as the biggest media concern. Such media coverage was argued to create structural stigma against street-based prostitution and justify increased regulation of this part of the industry (Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010). Indeed, the preoccupation with regulating, containing or banishing *street* prostitution has been repeatedly examined (Canter, Ioannou, & Youngs, 2009; Hubbard, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2004; Mathieu 2011).

In the current study, we sought to examine how the print media in New Zealand portrayed prostitution and the key players within industry. We were also interested to see if there were any noticeable shifts across media representations since the passing of PRA over a decade ago. The goal was to ascertain how the industry is portrayed to the public and the implications of such depictions for the constructions of prostitution and those involved in the industry.

Method

Data

The data were accessed through the online New Zealand news database Newztext. Newspaper articles were selected by typing 'prostitution' into the search engine. The first twenty articles for each year (from 2000–2013) were selected for analysis. This allowed for an analysis of media articles in the three years leading up to the PRA and the ten years following the passing of the PRA. International newspapers were excluded, as were opinion pieces. A total number of 280 articles were collected and analysed. The illustrative data extracts we use below come from 32 of the total articles from various local newspapers and online news sites. Details of the articles cited in our analysis are provided in Table 1 (Appendix A).

Analytic mode and process

Our analysis drew on Foucauldian inspired poststructuralist analysis (Gavey, 1989; Weedon, 1997) from a critical feminist perspective (Farvid & Braun, 2013a, 2013b). We focused on

identifying how prostitution was represented as an industry, and how sex workers and any other key industry figures were depicted. There was also an interest in subject positions, identities and personhood ascribed to different individuals or groups within the sex industry, as well as the power relations which produce such texts.

The analytic process closely followed Willig's (2001) guidelines for discourse analysis. Initially all aspects of the data that applied to the analytic interests were coded by the second author. As only prostitution between men (as buyer) and women/girls (as sellers) were referred to in the data, this study did not examine other versions of prostitution that can occur between otherwise gendered actors. Brothel owners, 'pimps' and managers were also absent from the data. Discourses relating to the PRA were analysed separately, as these articles did little discursive work in terms of constructing the sex worker or prostitution. After identifying initial codes, the data were analysed in consultation with the first author. The first step of the analysis involved identifying the different ways in which prostitution, the sex worker, the client and the PRA were constructed in the data. All instances where these discursive objects were implicitly or explicitly defined were noted and divided into different groups. After repeated reading, the coded data was split into discourses in support of the PRA and discourses in opposition to the PRA, two main constructions of the adult street worker, two main constructions of child prostitution, and finally men who buy sex from women and children. After identifying the main discursive constructions, these were explored in relation to wider social discourses of gender and heterosexuality. An analysis of the (gendered) subject positions offered within these constructions was conducted, paying close attention to how male and female sexuality were (implicitly) formulated, portrayed and mobilised. There was also analytic interest in the way such subject positions enabled or constrained specific ways of being, as well as the implications of these subject positions for individual practice. Across the analysis, the social, cultural and political contexts within which these depictions occurred were taken into account, as well as the function of such representations within print media and the wider community context.

Results and discussion

The analysis will begin by outlining discourses related to the PRA, followed by an analysis of adult prostitution, child prostitution, and men who buy sex.

The PRA

Discussion of the PRA was limited across the data and predominantly discussed between 2000 and 2004. These articles typically focused on the Act, reporting key political figures and their arguments in support or in opposition to it. Equal coverage was generally given to either side of the debate, although by late 2002 to early 2003, when it seemed likely the PRA would pass its third reading, the news articles presented more dialogue in support of the PRA. There were a large number of discourses drawn on to support the PRA, but only a few repeatedly used to contest it.

Support for the PRA

Discourses supporting the PRA included 'world's oldest profession' discourse, a 'sex workers rights' discourse, a 'safety' discourse and a 'gendered double-standard' discourse in relation to New Zealand's previous prostitution legislation.

The world's oldest profession

Labour MP Tim Barnett, who initially presented the PRA to parliament as a Private Member's

Bill (Abel et al., 2010), described the legislation as a ‘harm minimisation approach.’ Within this discourse, prostitution is assumed to be an undesirable but inevitable social reality. The PRA is constructed as an Act serving to reduce the social dangers of the profession, rather than seeking to eliminate it entirely. Senior National MP Maurice Williamson adopted the world’s oldest profession discourse to voice his support for the PRA:

The sex industry is something that is here to stay and has been for several thousand years ... I think you are absolutely burying your head in the sand if you take the approach that we should try and stop the sex industry (*Sunday Star-Times*, 2000).

Despite the popular adage that prostitution is the world’s ‘oldest profession’, historians have demonstrated that what we consider prostitution in *contemporary* society has not existed very long (Bernstein, 2007). The current large-scale, commercialised version of prostitution emerged within the West during modern industrial capitalism (and its associated trends) and ‘the economic transformations of recent decades have restructured the social geography of sex work and the subjective meanings that guide the experience from within’ (Bernstein, 2007, p. 86). In the current (digital) cultural milieu, which is often touted as ‘sexualised’ (Attwood, 2006, 2009; Gill, 2009) and ‘pornified’ (McNair, 1996, 2002), an increase in the purchase of sex for money is evident (Sanders, 2008), in ways that were not historically. This aspect of the sex industry is something that often escapes discussion in popular media and political discourse.

Sex worker’s rights

Drawing on human rights perspectives, some arguments focused on the right of sex workers to have employment rights like any other profession. NZPC branch co-ordinator Anna Reid said the Collective advocated for the PRA, as it offered sex workers the basic human rights that all other professions were already granted (*Press*, 2001a):

Sex workers deserve the same rights as everyone else has. They should feel like they contribute to society. They should feel safe to make a police complaint against somebody and not be seen as criminals themselves (*Dominion Post*, 2000a).

Within this discourse, there was a call for sex workers to be treated the same as any other worker and to decrease the social stigma and marginalisation sex workers experience. A number of sex workers stated the legislation would make them feel less like a criminal and enable them to be more open about the work they did.

Safety discourse

Tying into the harm minimisation perspective, a ‘safety’ discourse was regularly drawn on to elicit support for the PRA. Sex workers’ vulnerability to crime, exploitation, violence and danger were depicted as some of the reasons decriminalisation would be beneficial. As a criminalised profession prior to the passing of the PRA, brothels and parlours were exempt from any legal obligation to promote sexual safety and could pressure workers into unsafe situations (*Dominion Post*, 2000a; *Evening Standard*, 2000). Labour MP Georgina Beyer cited a sex worker’s account of exploitation in parlours as a consequence of having no occupational rights:

Sex worker Emma Marshall was fired from a job at an escort agency after she refused to visit a client at a gang house. Speaking at yesterday’s introduction of the Prostitutes Reform Bill she said if the profession was legalised she would not be forced into such dangerous situations (*Dominion Post*, 2000b).

In addition, reports noted that criminalisation meant sex workers lived in fear of the police and felt unable to report abuses or violence that occurred while working. The stories of two sex

workers – Madison, 32 and Alana, 24 – were reported in the *Dominion Post* to illustrate this:

Both have been raped on the job, ripped off by bad employers and coerced into having sex. But they couldn't turn to police. Like many working girls, they were too scared (*Dominion Post*, 2002).

The media reported numerous stories of in-house sex workers who were exploited by parlour owners and managers, and the PRA was touted as legislation that would change this whilst also encouraging sex workers to move off the streets into the 'safety' of in-house prostitution:

Street workers are so vulnerable...By removing that barrier some workers on the streets might return to the more supportive environment of a brothel (*Press* 2001b).

Prostitution, particularly on the street, was thus portrayed as dangerous work 'by nature' and the PRA was depicted as providing more options and protection for sex workers in this context (Gibbs Van Brunschot et al, 2008).

Gendered double standard

Criticism of the old prostitution law (Summary Offences Act 1991) on the basis that it contained an outdated, gendered double standard was commonly employed by advocates of the PRA. It was claimed that this legislation portrayed gendered standards of sexual acceptability where women sex workers were punished for selling sex, while the men who bought sex had for decades been able to do so free of legal consequence (Jordan, 2010). Such legislation was described as 'antiquated' and 'discriminatory' by Mr Barnett, 'unjust' by Georgina Beyer, 'an arcane male view' by National MP Anne Tolley and 'archaic' by Alliance's Liz Gordon (*Stuff*, 2000; *Dominion Post*, 2001a; *New Zealand Herald*, 2000). This gendered double standard is also evident historically. Men were positioned as having an uncontrollable (animalistic) sexual urge that required an outlet (White, 1993), but sex workers who might meet such a need were seen as lower-class 'fallen' woman who were morally reprehensible (Gordon, 2002). Hence men could 'relieve their primitive desires' by having sex (before and during marriage) with sex workers (Reiss, 1960: White, 1993, p. 7) and still retain a respectable moral character; whereas women's sexuality was either 'virtuous' or 'depraved', depending on their perceived sexual conduct.

Opposition to the PRA

Opposition to the PRA was present only in reports during 2000 to 2003. These voices were depicted as seeking to eradicate prostitution. Arguments against the passing of the Act adopted either a moralistic discourse, or constructed prostitution as degrading and exploitative of women.

Moralistic discourse

Prostitution was typically positioned as an immoral activity, which corrupted the state of the nation. Members of the Christian Heritage Party condemned the PRA, claiming prostitution was:

Contrary to God's law as expressed in the Bible and activities associated with prostitution therefore should not be legal (*Dominion Post*, 2001c).

Other political parties and interest groups further criticised the PRA for advocating 'immoral' sexual activity. Members of the New Zealand First political party described the PRA as 'a blasphemy on this nation,' while the Society for the Promotion of Community Standards mobilised a discourse of contagion by labelling prostitution as 'a cancer on society' (*Dominion Post*, 2001b). Opponents of the PRA claimed that the passing of the bill would increase prostitution, normalise it, and catapult it 'out of control.' Some MPs warned this would lead to

an increase in sexually transmitted diseases, pimping, trafficking, crime, drugs use and child prostitution (Stuff, 2002b; *New Zealand Herald*, 2000; *Press*, 2001a).

The Christian Heritage Party noted that the PRA would increase street harassment of men by ‘predatory’ sex workers, producing a context where ‘women will harass men who have no interest in their lewd trade’ (*Dominion Post*, 2000b). This predation was linked to a discourse of contagion:

Mr Lane branded prostitution a ‘cancer on society’ and said the bill would usher in a season of open slather. “Prostitutes are predators and their trade is morally repugnant.” (*Dominion Post*, 2001b).

Those who opposed the passing of the PRA hence (re)produced a ‘moral panic’ over the possibility that prostitution might be decriminalised.

Prostitution as exploitation

Prostitution was described by the Maxim Institute as ‘harmful to women,’ and by Right to Life as ‘exploitative,’ ‘degrading’ and as ‘an attack on [women’s] dignity as human beings’ (*Dominion Post*, 2000a). Advocating decriminalisation was seen as condoning sex in its most abusive form, which some MPs claimed cheapened sex to ‘nothing more than paid rape’ (Stuff, 2002a). Within this construct, the protection of women and children from the harms of prostitution was considered of greater importance than the legal rights of individual sex workers in the industry (Stienstra, 1996). This discursive construct adopts a paternalistic and abolitionist perspective where all prostitution is viewed as female sexual slavery, that exists as a part of a wider system of violence and exploitation against women (Barry, 1995).

Constructions of the ‘sex worker’

The sex worker was depicted in various ways within the data, with distinctions being made between adult street prostitution, adult in-house prostitution and child prostitution. Consistent with previous research (Arthurs, 2004; Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008; Jeffry, 2004; Jiwani & Young, 2006), adult prostitution was predominantly represented as street prostitution, despite the evidence that street work makes up a minority of the sex industry (Abel et al., 2007).

Adult street prostitution

Drawing on the ‘public nuisance’ discourse, the bulk of the data reported on residential concerns surrounding street prostitution as a disruption to suburban neighbourhoods (*New Zealand Herald*, 2001b, 2006, 2011a; *Press*, 2004c; *Waikato Times*, 2004). Within these articles, sex workers were rarely quoted, while concerned residents and city councillors were frequently cited. Such accounts portrayed the ‘demand for invisibility’ as the major social concern surrounding prostitution in New Zealand, with expansive reporting from 2004 to 2012.

Demand for invisibility

Once the PRA was in place, much of the discussions within printed news centred on the visibility of *street* prostitution:

Yes it’s legal, but it still doesn’t make it right or acceptable near the homes of decent people. If you have one skank, others will come. It just escalates. Where do we draw the line? (*New Zealand Herald*, 2011b).

Street prostitution was depicted as indecent and unacceptable near residential or suburban communities. This was particularly in relation to Manukau City Council discussion of the Regulation of Prostitution in Specified Places Bill, with the implication that if street prostitution was not regulated or contained it would spread like wildfire. Drawing on a ‘public nuisance’

discourse, street workers were depicted as disrupting normal residential life in a number of ways:

Listed among the nuisances sex workers were accused of bringing... were increased rubbish – including condoms, needles and bottles – noise, loitering clients and minders, vandalism and sexual acts in public view (*Press*, 2004c).

A dichotomy was often made between the ‘bad’ sex worker and the clients, pimps and lawless people she attracted, and the ‘good’ women, children and families who were disrupted by her presence in their neighbourhood:

It is a national disgrace that we are exposing our children and families to this type of activity and level of risk (*New Zealand Herald*, 2011b).

The blame for any disturbances were mostly placed on the sex worker, not the managers, minders, pimps, or men who buy sex. Street sex workers were ‘othered’, subjected to a discourse of ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Hodgetts, Hodgetts, & Radley, 2006), and portrayed as creating an unsavoury or dangerous environment wherever they went. This distaste was also evident when it came to brothels in residential areas. Some commentators were supportive of prostitution, but opposed to being confronted by it during their daily lives:

‘I support prostitution, I just don’t want it on my doorstep.’ Sharon Clark...has no moral or religious obligation to prostitution. But the Chartwell grandmother is fighting hard to shut down a brothel in her neighbourhood (*Waikato Times*, 2004).

Such accounts portray a social and cultural climate where decriminalisation is accepted (or tolerated) as long as there are clear geographical boundaries around where such activities take place; not on the street and not in a brothel near residential or suburban communities (Hubbard, 1997). These portrayals also make clear distinctions between good and bad forms of citizenship, and those who can legitimately occupy public space and those who cannot (Hubbard, 2001). Within the data there was a call for prostitution to be/remain hidden (Armstrong, 2011; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2006). The sex worker was positioned as the social problem, and other structural aspects of the industry were not discussed. The main concern was to keep prostitution hidden from public *view*, indicating that prostitution is deemed most undesirable when it can be seen.

Sex worker as (deserving) victim

Another common depiction of sex workers were cases where they had been physically abused, murdered or had gone missing. Sex workers were often portrayed as victims of violence perpetrated by aggressive or ‘evil’ men. Street prostitution was synonymous with risk and danger:

Violence against street prostitutes and sexual violence is becoming common in this city, as recent events sadly confirm ... If male clients of street prostitutes always behave appropriately in their dealings with prostitutes, there would be no problem for them (*Press*, 2005a).

Prior to the passing of the PRA, sex workers attributed their vulnerability to their lack of protection when on the streets (Jordan, 2005). Sex workers reported feeling unable to report abuses to the police for fear of getting a criminal record, or for being treated as unworthy of justice for their choice of profession:

Everyone in society can go to the police if bad stuff happens to them but I couldn’t because there was something wrong with me. I was a bad person. I couldn’t go to the people who were meant to take care of us but I needed taking care of (*Dominion Post*, 2002).

The spectre of danger was depicted as always on the horizon for women who worked on the street and this risk was depicted as ‘part of the job’. Since street prostitution was linked to danger, the women in this industry were held responsible for choosing to engage in this risky work:

Sex workers placed themselves in a dangerous situation when they went onto the streets, but every effort should be made to make women as safe as possible (*Press*, 2005b).

Accounts such as the one above are imbued with contradictions, which do complex ideological work (Billig, 1991). Although the police officer quoted above calls for providing sex worker safety, his talk belies this claim by subtly suggesting that the women are accountable for any violence or abuse they suffer as they have placed themselves in a risky situation by ‘choosing’ such a dangerous profession (Arthurs, 2004; Jiwani & Young, 2006; McLaughlin, 1991). The women were seen as safer if they worked indoors, even before the Act had passed:

People who ply this trade in public places would be safer off the streets (*New Zealand Herald*, 2002).

Reports of violence against sex workers were critiqued in a couple of articles for treating women sex workers as less worthy of sympathy than other members of society who experience violence. Following the murder of their friend in Christchurch, a group of women were reported in the *Press* stating that their friend was not ‘just a murdered prostitute’, but a caring mother with dreams of becoming a social worker (*Press*, 2006b). The disregard for the numerous acts of violence against sex workers by legislators was similarly critiqued as social discrimination:

The state has blood on its hands. If three female accountants were killed there would be an absolute uproar, the Government would do everything it could to make their work safer. But there will be nothing done about three prostitutes (*New Zealand Herald*, 2010).

Women who sell sex on the streets defy two main codes of traditional femininity in relation to space and sexuality. In terms of space, traditional femininity is associated with domesticity and the ‘private sphere’ (Potts, 2002), while traditional female sexuality is constructed as either absent in terms of desire, or as passive and responsive to male sexuality (Gavey, 2005; Gavey, McPhillips, & Doherty, 2001). These constructions, along with the unacceptability of public displays of sex/uality (particularly for women), mean that sex workers defy many social and gender norms of respectable femininity. As Hubbard (2001) notes:

The female prostitute, in particular, represents a paradigmatic figure whose legal and social regulation symbolises the contradictions inherent in notions of equal citizenship [and prostitution]; in many cities prostitutes are forced to work out of sight, off-street in brothels, massage parlours or private flats where their sexuality can be commodified with apparent impunity. The ability of these prostitutes to leave these spaces of confinement and enter the public realm as sex workers remains highly restricted, with the sight of the sexed body of the prostitute ... disturbing assumptions that ‘feminine’ sexuality should be domesticized ... monogamous [and] procreative (Hubbard, 2001 p. 58).

This is where the traditional Madonna/whore dichotomy (Ussher, 1989) appears to surface and sex workers are subtly condemned for disobeying the rules of ‘good’ womanhood by selling sex in a public domain (Asencio, 1999). Akin to processes of dehumanisation, women who transgress these notions of acceptability and respectability become ‘disposable’ (Armstrong, 2011; Wright, 2008) and *deserving* victims of bad treatment or violence, in a way that other ‘good’ citizens do not.

Adult in-house prostitution

In-house prostitution was rarely mentioned in the data and the in-house sex worker herself was only referred to in a few articles. Unlike street workers, in-house workers were far more likely to be given space to talk about their lives, profession and future ambitions. Selling sex indoors

was depicted as not only more desirable than street work, but as offering a particular ‘lifestyle’ choice:

She could work whatever hours suited her lifestyle, choose her own clients and fix her own rates. No one notices the men who knock discreetly on her front door, and that’s just the way she likes it (*Waikato Times*, 2004).

Unlike street prostitution, in-house prostitution was represented as a legitimate profession and as offering the women independence and access to income that would not otherwise be available to them:

The girls, they’re their own boss. We provide a safe haven for them. The girls get paid at the end of each shift regardless of whether it’s credit cards, or whatever...where else can a girl earn \$100 an hour? (*Bay of Plenty Times*, 2011).

Although the economic advantages of in-house prostitution were regularly stated by in-house sex workers and brothel owners, the women’s desire to work in the industry was constructed as a financial one (Jordan, 2005), rather than a love of the work:

It is the money that attracts most prostitutes, not a love for sex ... ‘Most ladies do it to provide, that is the main motivation. There’s more that have to do it, than choose to’ (*Bay of Plenty Times*, 2011).

In-house prostitution was conveyed as the lesser of two evils in the sex industry. Although portrayed in a more positive way, detrimental impacts of in-house sex work were also discussed, particularly in relation to psychological well-being:

I’m negative, cold, sometimes heartless towards my partner, treat him like a client, just detached. After 18 months of working and we got what we wanted [money], I got very depressed. I just got very cold (*Bay of Plenty Times*, 2011).

Although street prostitution was depicted as physically dangerous for sex workers, in-house work (when discussed) was depicted as psychologically risky and detrimental to sex workers’ emotionality and relationships outside of work. In this way, and within a neoliberal context of self-governing citizens, prostitution was largely depicted as an undesirable and risky profession that individuals should avoid, and would only enter if/when (financially) desperate. This was also the case with child prostitution, which we now turn to discuss.

Child prostitution

Numerous stories about child prostitution were written across the ten years studied. These articles were usually written in a stylistic manner intended to incite shock and moral outrage. The articles included stories of 11 to 16 year old girls working the streets as prostitutes, subject to the exploitation of the clients or pimps, who were always men. Child prostitution was constructed as a growing social issue in New Zealand that was ‘out of control’ and located within a victim discourse, and child prostitution as ‘survival sex.’

The victimised child

I am personally outraged that some men think it is acceptable behaviour to buy sex from young people, who are in my opinion not sufficiently mature to give consent (*Stuff*, 2004).

Child prostitution was depicted as unacceptable on many levels: due to the inability of the young person to provide ‘consent’, due to its illegality, and the social tragedy it invoked. In one article, interviews were conducted with young people who sold sex:

They tell tales of children already cheated out of childhood who get pregnant by their clients, beaten by their boyfriends, and end up hooked on booze or drugs or prostitution or all three (*Press*, 2004a).

Drawing on a discourse of childhood innocence (Robinson, 2008), young people who sold sex were portrayed as vulnerable and victimised by clients, pimps and intimate partners.

Underage sexual relations with an adult man were considered to be the ultimate expression of a 'lost' childhood. According to Robinson (2008), contemporary society constructs the child's sexuality as being non-existent or highly immature, justifying the child's need for protection *by* adults, *from* adults. Devoid of adequate adult protection, the media depicted the child prostitute as exploited by immoral men:

[Underage prostitutes] are not only subjected to violence, but they're subjecting themselves to social diseases ... I mean, 14, 15 and 16-year-old kids are out there to make money, and they are kids, they look young. You've got to question the morals of the men picking them up (*Press*, 2006).

Men's use of adult prostitution was never questioned or problematised, unless they were violent towards sex workers.

Survival sex

Child prostitution was also constructed as survival sex, and as distinct from adult prostitution:

It isn't prostitution as you normally think of it. It's survival sex ... The young ones are just earning enough money to pay for their night's accommodation or a meal. They are on the street because of family problems (*Press*, 2004b).

To suggest they had a choice is like saying they choose to be born into dysfunctional families. In many cases they have fled horrendous situations to suffer more horribly (*Nelson Mail*, 2008).

While adult sex workers were typically depicted as freely going into prostitution (even if due to financial difficulties), child prostitutes lacked agency and were portrayed as forced into selling sex because of some sort of familial breakdown. In such cases, parental neglect, abuse and disregard were often cited, as well as parents pushing their children into selling sex to earn money for the family:

One 12 year old sex worker said that when her mother found out what she was doing, her only advice was to "use a condom" (*Nelson Mail*, 2008).

Worst of all, some parents reportedly push their children into prostitution. What could be more sickening than this ultimate betrayal when parents play pimp for their own children (*Press*, 2001c).

Ms Candy says she is also "very concerned at the people who are running young people as money earners for the family. Often they are earning money to fund drug habits for others in their families" (*Stuff*, 2009).

Reflecting modern day forms of neoliberal state governance (Harrington, 2012), structural inequalities (e.g., poverty) were not discussed along with child prostitution, and the locus of the 'problem' was situated as within the family unit. Young people who sold sex were depicted as emotionally and physically damaged both by their familial upbringing, and by working in the sex industry. Child prostitution was also routinely linked to gang involvement and drug use:

Some of the teenage girls caught in a South Auckland underage prostitution operation this week were being pimped out by gang members who offered them accommodation and drugs in return for sex (*New Zealand Herald*, 2008).

Child prostitution was a significant topic of discussion over the period studied, with hundreds of articles across different national newspapers dealing with this topic. The child prostitute was represented lacking agency and in desperate need of *saving*. Despite the moral panic such accounts ostensibly sought to generate, child prostitution appeared to be constructed as a familial or private issue rather than a social, political or structural one. There was little suggestion that legislative or political approaches should be taken to address child prostitution following the passing of the PRA. The causes of child prostitution were firmly located in

familial breakdown or on parents who had failed to adequately look after children. Social or political responsibility to address child prostitution were thus side-lined. Next we discuss how men who buy sex from women and children were portrayed in the data.

Men who buy sex

The articles analysed tended to focus on the supply-side of prostitution rather than the demand, meaning those who buy sex were generally absent from media discussions. It has been well demonstrated that most of the public discourse, media attention and research on the sex industry have typically focused on the women who are 'sex workers', while the men who buy sex have remained largely invisible (Sanders, 2008; Weitzer, 2005). Such absences are powerful for shaping social realities related to the sex industry (Ward & Winstanley, 2003) and are linked to broader heterosexual power relations. When discussed, the buyer was always depicted as a man and only talked about in relation to sex workers and engaging in street or child prostitution. Men who buy sex were only mentioned when there was a case of misconduct, either in terms of violence towards the adult sex worker, or as a 'dirty man' involved in the exploitation of the child prostitute. Such men were always depicted as a 'dangerous' or 'deviant' character, and firmly contrasted to 'ordinary men' who tend to be the regular buyers of sex from women (Barrington, 2008).

The aggressive man

When talked about, men who buy sex were discussed in terms of the threat they posed to the sex worker. Such aggressive men were portrayed as one of the main threats within prostitution, as unpredictable, violent and to be feared. These sorts of depictions were common in reports of court cases where men had abducted and/or sexually assaulted sex workers:

Violence against street prostitutes and sexual violence is becoming common in this city, as recent events sadly confirm... You forced the victim to perform oral sex in an unprotected situation and you were able to do that because you kept her in your car against her will and you used violence against her (*Press*, 2005a).

The subject position created for the men who buy sex was one where sexual gratification, power and control were part of their masculinity. Traditional discourses of heterosexuality and heteronormativity included elements of such 'hostile masculinity' (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002), where gendered subject positions are created for men and women and lead to gender-based (sexual and physical) violence (Gavey, 2005). In particular, the male sex drive discourse (Hollway, 1984, 1989) positions men as biologically sex-driven, and once aroused, always needing sexual release via coitus. If this cannot be obtained within the context of relationships or unpaid casual sex, then commercial sex is positioned as a viable option. Men buying sex is only discussed within media when it has gone wrong, indicating that media accounts do not problematise men who *buy* sex (although they problematise women who *sell* sex), but those that are abusive towards a sex worker. Numerous murders and assaults of sex workers were reported, constructing the violent man (who buys sex) as a ubiquitous source of danger to the (street) sex worker, a finding that is consistent with previous research into news media reporting (Arthurs, 2004; Gibbs Van Brunschot et al., 1999; Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008; Jiwani & Young, 2006).

The deviant man

Alongside the violent man there was a construction of the deviant man who bought sex from children. Buying sex from children was depicted as absolutely unacceptable:

What sort of men think it is okay to buy sex from children? (Stuff, 2006).

Men who bought sex from children were constructed as abnormal or ‘deviant’, unlike ‘normal’ men who would ostensibly never have/buy sex with young girls. Such men were discussed with absolute distaste. For example, one girl who began working when she was 12 years old stated:

They were just dirty...f***** c***ts...I can't have looked 16, no way could I have looked 16, but they didn't ask. They didn't want to know (*Evening Standard*, 2002).

Child prostitution was considered on the rise and linked to an increased demand from deviant men who were placing pressure on the industry to provide younger workers:

There has been a big increase in the number of child [sex] trafficked and in prostitution around the world because of the demand from men. “I know the men who look for young girls are sick. Sick”(*Dominion*, 2003).

Men who seek paid sex with children were represented in a similar way to media constructions of ‘the paedophile’ (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001; Redfern, 1997). Like men who buy sex from children, the paedophile is constructed as a stranger posing serious danger to the innocent child. He is from *outside* the home or family, and othered from ‘normal’ men for his inherently abnormal and perverse behaviour (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001; Redfern, 1997). The media’s construction of the paedophile, and child-sex-buyer, as such a ‘folk devil’ is problematic (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001), as it takes attention away from social and structural factors that produce such gendered and difficult outcomes. For example, constructions of hegemonic or dominant masculinities (Connell, 2005; Edley & Wetherell, 1995) have long been linked to gender-based violence and abuse against women and children (Adams, 2012) and most of the sexual abuse experienced by young people is perpetrated by someone known to and/or within the family setting (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001). Hence the problem of child prostitution is explained away as the deviant behaviour of a ‘few’ pathological men, rather than as related to dominant expressions of entitled masculine sexuality. In this way, dominant gender relations escape discussion and critique.

To summarise our analysis, we have demonstrated that in national newspapers between 2003 and 2013, in New Zealand, prostitution was constructed as a trade where men buy sex from women (and children). Street prostitution was discussed much more than indoor prostitution and problematised as a social nuisance that should be made invisible or taken indoors. The street worker was depicted as a problematic figure who transgressed many norms of decency. Child prostitution was depicted as an epidemic problem that was caused by familial issues rather than structural inequalities. Men who bought sex were rarely discussed and when this was the case, it was almost exclusively in relation to aggressive men who had been violent towards street workers or deviant men who bought sex from children. The average ‘client’ of sex workers was rarely mentioned – signalling the privileged status they held as *unproblematised* consumers of the sex industry. Ironically, but not surprisingly, those who provided these service were the ones scrutinised; particularly if they were adults and worked on the street.

Conclusions

Our analysis clearly indicates the main concerns in New Zealand’s print media when it came to prostitution. Representations focused on aspects of the sex industry that transgressed firm social norms. This was mainly women sex workers, child prostitution, street prostitution, and also deviant or violent men. These individuals and sites signal the most problematic aspects of the sex industry because they raise questions of regulation and containment (Fitzgerald & Abel, 2010). The analysis indicated that there are ‘boundaries of respectability’ (Warner, 1999) attached to the decriminalised New Zealand sex industry, and that not all prostitution or sex workers are ‘created equal’. Since the passing of the PRA, indoor prostitution seems largely

unproblematic (if kept out of residential areas) and is even depicted as desirable or chic as a profession (Jordan, 2010). Street prostitution, on the other hand, and *visible* sex workers, were depicted as highly undesirable and as (still) inciting moral panic. The New Zealand sex industry was rarely portrayed as male-focused, even though sex workers are ostensibly servicing a long-standing and culturally entrenched heterosexual male 'need' for uncomplicated sexual release (Jordan, 1997). The focus on women who provide this sex, rather than men who buy it, signals a continued gender double standard within the sex industry. Sex workers may no longer be legally censured for selling sex, but they are socially and morally condemned, particularly if they work on the streets, in ways that men who buy their services are not. We are not suggesting that anyone should be condemned, rather we are pointing out the gendered way the media continues to deal with sex workers and the sex industry. Such double standards have not vanished with the passing of the PRA and are heavily linked to dominant constructions of male and female heterosexuality as well as broader power relations that maintain masculine privilege within society.

Absent from the media were discourses around the gendered nature of prostitution (Gurd & O'Brien, 2013; Sullivan et al., 1997), the continued feminisation of poverty (McLanahan & Kelly, 2006; Pearce, 1978), recent trends around the 'sexualisation' of western culture (Attwood, 2009; Gill, 2009) the commodification of sex in Western capitalist systems (Bernstein, 2007; Reichert & Lambiase, 2012), globalised sex markets (Bretns & Sanders, 2010; Wonders & Michalowski, 2001), and the implications these trends might have on prostitution in a decriminalised context (Harrington, 2012). The media sensationalised prostitution and the 'unwholesome' (street) sex workers *or* the problematic clients; locating the perceived problems of prostitution within the industry *itself* rather than part of a wider system of heterosexual power relations that produce gender and economic inequalities. Although the PRA has had some positive implications for the lives of sex workers, we need to continue to challenge and critique the various structures which produce the inequalities that position prostitution as the only option for some women, whilst also painting sex workers as the 'problem' and men who buy sex as legitimate sexual actors.

Further analysis of prostitution needs to remove itself from condemning the selling of sex based on moralistic, abolitionist or paternalistic standards, but examine further the current gendered aspects of the industry. For example, how and why is it that largely women and girls come to be the sellers of sex, and heterosexual men come to be the buyers? Why is it that women/girls who sell sex are socially censured (at best approached with suspicion, and at worst, dehumanised), while men who buy sex continue to remain invisible (and unproblematised) members of the industry. The gender asymmetry in the desire for, and access to, sexual services and the negative exposure and social condemnation for women who sell sex requires further critical examination. The continued social, political and economic gender inequalities that produce the current shape of the sex industry need addressing.

Finally, at a theoretical level, we must turn our critical attention to the current cultural imperatives regarding sexual acquisition and sexual performance for men and women. The current 'liberal' stance towards sexuality itself signals a sex-focused and sex-consumed cultural milieu that requires specific forms of (gendered) sexual practice from both men and women. The deeply entrenched regimes of truth shaping contemporary heterosexuality require further critical deconstruction.

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Notes

- 1 The terms indoor/outdoor and street/in-house will be used interchangeably in this paper to denote the site where sex workers do their work.
- 2 The use of different terminology to refer to the sex industry, such as prostitution/ prostitute and sex work/ sex worker, have specific political and social meanings which we seek to briefly address. The use of the term prostitute/prostitution tends to indicate either traditional use of terminology or a more unaccepting stance towards the buying and selling of sex. It is used by a variety of groups who are either morally (religious conservatives) or politically (radical feminists) opposed to the industry. Radical feminist groups see prostitution as predicated on unequal gender(ed) power relations or as symbolic violence towards, or exploitation of, women. This term is typically used by those who seek to abolish prostitution or take a demand reduction perspective (such as the Swedish model). The more contemporary use of the terms sex work/sex workers indicates a desire to acknowledge sex work as a legitimate profession like any other work, and that sex workers should be treated like any other working member of society (with respect and without stigma). This terminology is typically used by those who campaign for sex worker rights, such as the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective and other groups that believe sex work should be decriminalised. We as authors do not hold a moralistic or radical feminist position with regards to the sex industry/sex work/prostitution. However, to indicate our critical feminist stance – we believe that the sex industry is predicated on gendered understanding of male and female sexuality with very specific localised and historicised notions of male sexual privilege – even when we approach it from a human rights or sex worker rights perspective. Hence, when referring to the industry, we use the term prostitution. When referring to women who work in the industry, we use the term sex worker to denote our support for sex worker rights and to avoid further stigmatising an already marginalised social group. We seek to maintain a critical eye on commercialisation of sex, in a decriminalised context and beyond, but also acknowledge the agency and rights of sex workers to be able to work free from stigma and legal censure. In doing this, we also hope to disrupt some of the well-defined divisions within debates related to the sex industry.
- 3 Docuporns are a genre of television series which first appeared in the early twenty-first century, forming a hybrid between documentaries and pornography (Boyle, 2008).

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Appendix A

Table 1. Data sources and details.

In-text citation	Title	Source	Year
Bay of Plenty 2011	Breadwinners in the oldest profession	Bay of Plenty Times	2011
Dominion Post 2000a	Sex workers support Prostitutes Bill.	Dominion Post	2000
Dominion Post 2000b	Women MPs get behind Prostitution Bill	Dominion Post	2000
Dominion Post 2001a	Changing the rules of the game	Dominion Post	2001
Dominion Post 2001b	Prostitution 'a cancer on society'	Dominion Post	2001
Dominion Post 2001c	Sex, guys and law reform	Dominion Post	2001
Dominion Post 2002	Child prostitution growing	Dominion Post	2002
Dominion Post 2003	'Bloody unfair'	Dominion Post	2003
Evening Standard 2000	Bill addresses prostitution anomalies	Evening Standard	2000
Evening Standard 2002	Life on the streets	Evening Standard	2008
Nelson Mail 2008	Teenage hookers slip into shadows	Nelson Mail	2008
New Zealand Herald 2000	Sex bill gets an expert adviser	New Zealand Herald	2000
New Zealand Herald 2002	Brutal end for 'street mother'	New Zealand Herald	2002
New Zealand Herald 2006	Prostitution Bill stirs passions	New Zealand Herald	2006
New Zealand Herald 2008	Teen prostitutes pimped out by gang members	New Zealand Herald	2008
New Zealand Herald 2010	Addiction leads women to mean streets	New Zealand Herald	2010
New Zealand Herald 2011a	Keep brothels away from our houses, says poll	New Zealand Herald	2011
New Zealand Herald 2011b	Sex workers location shift upsets residents	New Zealand Herald	2011
Press 2001a	Council in control of brothels	Press	2001
Press 2001b	Law to help vulnerable prostitutes	Press	2001
Press 2001c	Streets of shame	Press	2001
Press 2004a	Childhood lost: Learning the hard way	Press	2004
Press 2004b	Police 'could purge teen sex workers'	Press	2004
Press 2004c	Residents concerned	Press	2004
Press 2005a	Jail for assault on sex worker	Press	2005
Press 2005b	Mayor worried by killings	Press	2005
Press 2006a	Action pledged on teen prostitutes	Press	2006
Press 2006b	Police remove hooker aged 12	Press	2006
Stuff 2000	Prostitution Bill passes first hurdle	Stuff.co.nz	2000
Stuff 2002a	Make it illegal to buy sex, committee told	Stuff.co.nz	2002
Stuff 2002b	MPs to search their conscience over prostitution reform	Stuff.co.nz	2002
Stuff 2004	Reports ignite prostitution reform debate	Stuff.co.nz	2004
Stuff 2006	Eyes wide open to the tawdry trade on our doorstep	Stuff.co.nz	2006
Stuff 2009	Manukau battles street prostitution	Stuff.co.nz	2009
Sunday Star Times 2000	Revamp for sex industry	Sunday Star-Times	2000
Waikato Times 2004	Sex and the suburbs	Waikato Times	2004