

**The Decriminalisation of Prostitution in New
Zealand 1987-2003: A Selective Annotated
Bibliography**

by

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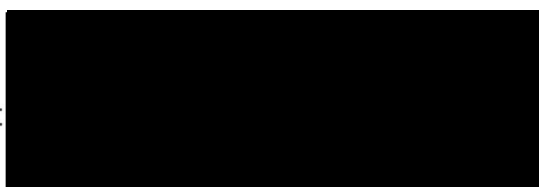
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Abstract

The *Prostitution Reform Act 2003*, which was passed in June 2003, decriminalised prostitution in New Zealand. The decriminalisation of prostitution was a highly controversial step that generated a lot of community debate and was passed with only a single vote majority in Parliament. The purpose of this bibliography is to assist people who are interested in the reasons that prostitution was decriminalised in New Zealand to obtain relevant material.

This bibliography provides citations and annotations to significant print items that deal with prostitution and its legal status in New Zealand for the period from 1987 to the end of June 2003. Items have been annotated to assist users to decide whether to obtain the items themselves. The items have been ordered chronologically and have been subject indexed to assist users who wish to follow some of the themes and arguments about the decriminalisation of prostitution. People and source indexes have also been provided to facilitate access to the items.

Keywords

Bibliography, Prostitution, New Zealand, Decriminalisation

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1. The Decriminalisation of Prostitution

In the 1980s in New Zealand prostitution came to be spoken about more freely in the media. While prostitution itself was not a criminal offence in New Zealand it could not effectively take place without some laws being broken. For example, soliciting by prostitutes was a criminal offence under the *Summary Offences Act 1981*. The *Massage Parlours Act 1978* licensed massage parlours but prohibited prostitution from taking place in them. However it was generally recognised that the main reasons massage parlours existed was to facilitate prostitution.

The *Prostitution Reform Bill* generated considerable controversy in New Zealand from the time of its introduction into Parliament on the 21st of September 2000 until its enactment as the *Prostitution Reform Act 2003* in June 2003. It was passed by Parliament with only a single vote majority and came into force after receiving Royal Assent on the 27th of June 2003. Many of the opponents of the *Bill* predicted grave consequences from its passing including an increase in criminal involvement in brothels and an upsurge in the number of prostitutes in New Zealand. However its supporters believed it would provide a clear, enforceable law that would be able to deal with any excesses.

One of the catalysts for the decriminalisation of prostitution was the establishment of the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective (NZPC) in 1988. The NZPC gave a collective voice to sex workers in New Zealand. In November 1988, the first edition of the NZPC's magazine *Siren* was published. With the publication of *Siren*, sex workers had a publication in which they could call for law change and publish information about the sex industry in New Zealand.

In 1992 Maurice Williamson, the Associate Minister of Health, raised the possibility of decriminalising soliciting.¹ This was seen as a way of removing the double standards surrounding prostitution whereby it was illegal to offer to supply sex for money but not to request it for money. Many of the proposed changes were based on what was happening in different states in Australia. HIV and AIDS were also proposed as reasons for the decriminalisation of prostitution. It was argued that the illegal nature of sex work hampered efforts to provide education on safer sex practices.

However there were also opposing views. Many Christian commentators disagreed with the decriminalisation of prostitution and in fact argued that the clients of prostitutes should be criminalised. Many of them based this argument on the apparent reduction in prostitution when Sweden adopted a law that criminalised the clients of prostitutes. Other opponents of decriminalisation included feminist Sandra Coney and the Maxim Institute, which is a private research and public policy organisation.

The options for prostitution law reform can be summarised into three categories: legalisation, criminalisation, and decriminalisation. The options of legalisation and decriminalisation were taken by the Australian states of Victoria and New South Wales respectively. The most common example of criminalisation is the Swedish model where clients of prostitutes can be prosecuted. The New Zealand *Prostitution Reform Act 2003* is an example of the decriminalisation model with some controls from both central and local government.

¹ "Comment from NZPC," *Siren* (February 1992), 3.

2. Need for Bibliographical Coverage

There will be on-going interest in the consequences of prostitution law reform in New Zealand. Under section 42 of the *Prostitution Reform Act 2003*, a committee is charged with reviewing the operation of the *Act* within three to five years after its commencement. Member of Parliament Tim Barnett, who was the sponsor of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*, has called the legislation “world-leading”² and therefore he believes that it will be a model that other legislatures will be interested in. It will be important to refer to items that were written prior to the passing of the *Prostitution Reform Act 2003* so that people can see what may have changed with the passing of the *Act* and also to see the reasons behind the decisions that were made.

The target group for this bibliography is the general public who wish to make up their mind about the decriminalisation of prostitution and whether it has been good or bad for New Zealand society. The bibliography will therefore assume no prior knowledge of prostitution reform in New Zealand and serve as an introduction. However the bibliography may also be relevant to students and researchers in disciplines such as sociology, history, and media studies. Overseas jurisdictions may also find it useful to gain an understanding of the development of prostitution reform in New Zealand.

This bibliography aims to provide focussed, clear, chronological coverage so that people who are interested in finding items about prostitution reform in New Zealand will be able to find them easily. While many of the items written about prostitution reform will already be indexed or available electronically in full-text databases, this access may not enable people to find these items for a number of reasons.

² Kevin Taylor and NZPA, “Barnett Celebrates ‘Historic Moment’,” *New Zealand Herald*, June 26 2003, A3.

In New Zealand, some of these indexes and databases such as *Index New Zealand* and *Newztext Plus* are by subscription only and therefore not accessible to everybody. In addition not all the items that are indexed will be accessible in a single database and therefore it would be necessary to search multiple databases: this can be time consuming. The sheer volume of material available in library catalogues, general indexes, and databases may also overwhelm some people. Finally book chapters and some material written in sector-group publications may not be covered by indexes, catalogues, and databases at all. This is particularly relevant to debate on the decriminalisation of prostitution in New Zealand because many Christian publications are not indexed. Therefore this stand-alone annotated bibliography on the decriminalisation of prostitution should improve access. A stand-alone bibliography also has the advantage of being able to develop and apply subject headings that are specific to prostitution reform and that will also enhance access.

3. Purpose and Scope of Bibliography

The objective of this bibliography is to provide bibliographic access to items that contain viewpoints and facts that are related to the decriminalisation of prostitution in New Zealand for the period from January 1987 to the end of June 2003. 1987 has been chosen as the starting date because it includes the period of the formation of the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective (NZPC), which was finally created in 1988. The NZPC was a primary driving force in decriminalising prostitution in New Zealand. The 30th of June 2003 has been chosen as a finishing date because the *Prostitution Reform Act 2003* was passed on the 25th of June 2003 and therefore the end of June provides a natural closing date to the discussion on the decriminalisation of prostitution. After that date prostitution was decriminalised in New Zealand. It may well be that another bibliography could be developed that annotates material published while prostitution has been decriminalised in New Zealand.

This bibliography is focussed on enabling the general public to locate material items on the decriminalisation of prostitution in New Zealand and therefore the majority of items have been obtained from popular literature. However the small number of research articles that comment on the decriminalisation of prostitution in New Zealand are included. Items have been included in this bibliography where they have been judged to be significant items that deal with aspects of prostitution law reform. Letters to the editor and very brief items have been excluded, unless they bring previously unreported factual information or correct articles that have already been included. Newspaper articles that have substantially the same content have been selected on the basis of the one providing the most detail. All of the material in this bibliography is available through interlibrary loan in New Zealand.

Only published print materials have been included in this bibliography. This is to ensure that all items will have on-going availability from libraries in New Zealand. The majority of items are from New Zealand main daily and weekly newspapers and magazines. Items from smaller local or provincial newspapers have been included when they have significant unique content. Published conference papers, books, and book chapters have also been included.

Audio and visual material such as New Zealand television documentaries have been excluded, as generally it is difficult and expensive to access this material.

Submissions on the *Prostitution Reform Bill* have also been excluded. There were numerous submissions received and they are held by the Parliamentary Library. The submissions are listed in the report from the Justice and Electoral Committee report on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*.³ This report contains the title of each of these submissions and they can be obtained from the Parliamentary Library.⁴

The *Hansard* has also been excluded from this bibliography because it is already well indexed. The *Hansard* is a very valuable resource for background to the decriminalisation of prostitution in New Zealand because there were a number of debates over the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. The *Hansard* is available in many libraries in New Zealand and for dates after the beginning of 2003 it is freely available at the following site: <http://www.clerk.parliament.govt.nz/hansard/Hansard.aspx>

³ *Prostitution Reform Bill: Member's Bill: As Reported from the Justice and Electoral Committee*, 45-51, (29 November 2002). <http://www.clerk.parliament.govt.nz/content/1327/66bar2.pdf> [Accessed 31 October 2004]

⁴ Ruth Graham, e-mail message to author, July 2, 2004.

The following are particularly relevant debates from the *Hansard* about the *Prostitution Reform Bill*:

Date	Pages	Description
11 October 2000	6089-6094	First Reading
8 November 2000	6423-6436	First Reading
19 February 2003	3607-3630	Second Reading
27 February 2003	3851-3853	Questions for Oral Answer
26 March 2003	4412-4414	Questions for Oral Answer
26 March 2003	4450-4483	Committee of the Whole House
30 April 2003	5205-5239	Committee of the Whole House
14 May 2003	5739-5760	Committee of the Whole House
11 June 2003	6158-6195	Committee of the Whole House
25 June 2003	6585-6608	Third Reading

4. Information Sources

Information for this bibliography has been retrieved in the following ways:

- By searching indexes and full-text databases using keywords.
- By searching the Internet-accessible sites of print newspapers.
- Through manually scanning print newspapers and magazines.
- Through consulting the reference lists and bibliographies of items that have already been retrieved.
- Through searching New Zealand university library catalogues

The main indexes used in sourcing items were: *Index New Zealand*, *Newztext Plus*, *LINX*, and *Factiva. Papers Index*⁵, which indexes the *Press* and the *Christchurch Star*, was searched. The Web sites of the *Otago Daily Times*⁶ and the *New Zealand Herald*⁷ were also searched.

The following publications required manual scanning because they were not comprehensively indexed in one or more of the above indexes: *Cutting Edge*, *DayStar*, *Evidence*, *Express*, *NZ Catholic*, *Out!*, *Siren*, and *Touchstone*.

⁵ *Papers Index*.

http://librarydata.christchurch.org.nz/web2/tramp2.exe/goto/guest?setting_key=InternetBranch&screen=Papers.html [Accessed 1 November 2004]

⁶ *Otago Daily Times*. <http://www.odt.co.nz> [Accessed 1 November 2004]

⁷ *New Zealand Herald*. <http://www.nzherald.co.nz> [Accessed 1 November 2004]

5. How to Use the Bibliography and Indexes

Organisation and Arrangement

The bibliography is in Section 6 and is ordered chronologically by date of publication. Where the full date of publication of an item is unknown the first day of the month is used for filing order. The date of publication of books has been assessed from when their first reviews appeared.

The citation style is the notes and bibliography style described in the *Chicago Manual of Style*.⁸ Annotations are descriptive in nature and do not include any evaluative comment by the author of this bibliography. An attempt has been made to maximise the informative nature of the annotations but nearly always there is more information in the original item than in the annotation.

Vocabulary

Generally the vocabulary is self-explanatory or explained in the annotations. The terms “sex workers” and “prostitutes” are used as synonyms in this bibliography. Similarly the terms “sex work” and “prostitution” are used interchangeably.

Indexes

The bibliography includes three indexes, which are described below. Each reference in an index refers to the appropriate item number in the bibliography.

⁸ *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 594.

People Index – Section 7

This is an index to the persons referred to in an item. It also indexes authors where the authors themselves have drawn conclusions or expressed opinions rather than simply reported facts or other people's comments.

Source Index – Section 8

This is an index by source publication. It provides an overview of where items were selected from for this bibliography. It should not be used as a guide to how much was written in each source about the decriminalisation of prostitution because as described in Section 3 this is a selective bibliography. For example, the most detailed newspaper article has been chosen where a number report on substantially the same material.

Subject Index – Section 9

This is an index to the themes, ideas and facts that have been identified in each item. The vocabulary used should be self-explanatory and it has been designed especially for the purpose of this bibliography because no suitable standard thesaurus was found.

6. Bibliography

1

Robinson, Jan. "The Oldest Profession." In *Public & Private Worlds: Women in Contemporary New Zealand*, edited by Shelagh Cox, 177-191. Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

This chapter compares prostitution in New Zealand in the 1980s with prostitution in New Zealand in Victorian times. The author states that her aim is "to demonstrate the extent to which laws on prostitution reflect particular sexual ideologies and conceptions of womanhood." Notes that at present the police are aiming to regulate rather than repress prostitution. Also describes the current laws relating to prostitution in New Zealand. Provides statistics on criminal convictions. Notes that at present laws relating to prostitution are under enforced but comments that while they are on the statute books their potential for enforcement remains. Also explains that prostitutes face major difficulties because of the social and legal status of their occupation. The author has since published under the name Jan Jordan.

2

Knight, Anne. "Prostitution and the Law." *Race Gender Class*, no. 5 (1987): 57-70.

This article is based on the author's MA thesis and backgrounds the historical and current aspects of the law concerning prostitution in New Zealand. Gives detailed background to the current laws surrounding prostitution in New Zealand. Also discusses the current enforcement of prostitution law in New Zealand by the police and the courts. Notes that in the three years prior to this article that more male than female prostitutes have been arrested. Knight concludes that this could be because they operate less discreetly than female prostitutes. As part of her research, Knight interviewed five women and she includes their comments in her article in the section relating to the police and also whether prostitutes view themselves as criminals. Notes the over-representation of Maori and Pacific Islanders in statistics for offences relating to prostitution. Describes the hierarchy of prostitutes in New Zealand and gives examples of the more lenient treatment by the law of some classes of prostitutes than others. Notes private conversations with the police who say that soliciting should not be an offence. Describes the options for law reform. The author states that decriminalisation would be the preferred short-term option until male structures that support prostitution are removed. Concludes that the law enables men to ensure control over women's sexuality. States that while the law appears to condemn prostitution it actually institutionalises it for the benefit of men.

3

Dunn, Geoffrey. *The Licensing of Auctioneers, Secondhand Dealers, Pawnbrokers, Massage Parlours, Private Investigators and Security Guards*. Wellington: Policy and Research, Department of Justice, 1988.

This is an investigation into the licensing of the six activities mentioned in the title of the work. Reviews the purposes of licensing, its effectiveness and alternative options. Gives background to the passing of the *Massage Parlours Act 1978*. Also describes the present functioning of the *Act*. Notes considerable doubts as to the effectiveness of the legislation. Reports that after nine years the *Act* has not been successful in eliminating prostitution from massage parlours. Provides evidence of this with examples of reports from newspaper and television. Notes also deficiencies in the *Act*. Describes four options for reform. Notes that prostitution is inevitable and questions the real purpose of the *Massage Parlours Act 1978*. Includes statistics about the application and renewal of licences for massage parlour operators.

4

Stevens, Donald. *Occupational Licensing in New Zealand*. Wellington: Economic Development Commission, 1988.

This work is based on the author's doctoral thesis. It examines occupational licensing in New Zealand especially with regards to the cost and efficacy of the licensing. Questions the true motives of some of the occupational licensing in New Zealand. Chapter 7 provides an analysis of the achievements of the *Massage Parlours Act 1978*. Notes that prostitution has continued in massage parlours despite the *Act*. Notes the hypocrisy whereby massage parlours pretend to be something that they are not. Also notes that since massage parlours have been regulated other parlours such as 'rap parlours' have developed that do not need to be licensed. Discusses other deficiencies in the legislation. Notes also the limited resources of the police and the fact that prostitution is not given a high priority for enforcement. Points out that prostitution cannot be eliminated.

5

Cheney, Belinda M. M. "Prostitution - a Feminist Jurisprudential Perspective." *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review* 18, no. 3 (1988): 239-257.

This article is based on the author's LLB (Hons) dissertation. The article includes a section on why women become prostitutes. Also has sections on "liberal" and "conservative" approaches to prostitution. Questions what the current law on prostitution seeks to achieve. Notes the double standards in New Zealand whereby prostitutes are liable for prosecution but the clients are

not. Notes four options for law reform: "suppression", "legalisation", "decriminalisation" and "decriminalisation with controls". The author of the article favours "decriminalisation with controls". Notes however that social reform is also necessary so that women do not feel that they are forced to become prostitutes. Author concludes that prostitution is degrading and exploitative. Sees decriminalisation as a short-term option.

6

Legat, Nicola. "Can't Buy Me Love." *Metro*, November 1988, 70-85.

Gives examples of the sex industry in Auckland. Reports that massage, sauna and rap parlours are fronts for prostitution. Explains that in these parlours there is a pretence that sex does not occur there but that this is in fact an "elaborate facade". Observes that prostitution is now seen as a victimless crime and that it is given a low priority by police. Points out that there are only two members in the Vice Squad in Auckland and that they are often seconded to other areas. Records the practices and procedures of parlours in Auckland.

7

Van Wetering, Victor. "Prostitutes - a New Image." *North and South*, March 1989, 16-17.

Reports that the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective, which was established in 1988, has become involved with the safer sex campaign. Collective spokesperson, Catherine Healy, hopes that once the safe sex message is spread, sex workers will no longer be stigmatised as a source of AIDS. Comments that Catherine Healy and Auckland Public Health nurse Siobhan Matich have attended a sex industry conference in Melbourne and that one solution to not stigmatising prostitutes is the decriminalisation of prostitution. Healy is committed to reaching women who work outside massage parlours. Detective Sergeant Paul Dimery appreciates what the collective does and gives as much assistance as he legally can.

NZPA. "Hands Off Escorts Say Prostitutes." *New Zealand Herald*, August 24 1989, 13.

Reports that the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective told the Justice and Law Reform Select Committee that they are opposed to provisions in the proposed *Crimes Bill* that will strengthen laws relating to prostitution. If escort agencies and brothels were reclassified as brothels, the sex industry would be pushed underground and organised crime would be brought into massage parlours. Catherine Healy said that it would discourage escort agencies and massage parlours from distributing condoms and safe sex literature and that this would lead to an increased risk of HIV transmission. For safe sex to be encouraged it was essential to avoid discrimination against prostitutes. Catherine Healy sees prostitutes as an important source of safe sex information and catalysts for the popularisation of condoms.

De Cleene, Trevor. "The Case for a Legalised Sex Industry." *Evening Post*, September 5 1989, 6.

Labour Party Cabinet Minister Trevor de Cleene comments on Sections 147 to 149 of the *Crimes Act*, which prohibit brothel keeping and the procuring of sexual intercourse. He comments that despite the law there is a "flourishing" sex industry in New Zealand. He notes that the *Crimes Act* is to be amended to extend the definition of brothel. However he feels that no criminal law will succeed in abolishing the sex industry and would prefer it to be decriminalised. This would encourage safer sex and protect prostitutes from intimidation and violence. He says that in a decriminalised industry the prostitute could become a positive force in preventing the spread of disease.

Swain, Pauline. "Prostitutes Demand Their Rights." *Dominion*, February 21 1990, 15.

Backgrounds the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective and how it is working towards safer sex for prostitutes. Observes that the NZPC now has a positive relationship with the police and the Health Department. Notes that the police in Wellington and Auckland no longer have a vice squad, which would keep an eye on prostitution. Explains that the NZPC would like to see soliciting decriminalised however it wants to be careful that a class of pimps is not allowed to develop who would exploit prostitutes. Notes that the NZPC does not want to see legalised prostitution as in Victoria. The NZPC believes it is important that prostitutes maintain their control and independence.

11

Telford, Deborah. "The Oldest Profession in the World." *Sunday Magazine*, May 13 1990, 29-33.

This article is principally based on interviews with two prostitutes "Annie" and "Maria". They describe how they became prostitutes and their reasons for doing so. The article also includes comments from Catherine Healy and Claire Hill from the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective. According to Healy, prostitutes' incomes have shrunk to a third of their pre-1986 levels, which was when the government's publicity drive against AIDS began. The two prostitutes are ordinary women and they describe their ordinary clients. There is also a brief interview with Detective Senior Sergeant Clive Cockle, who describes police attitudes to prostitution. He notes that the police do not go out looking for vice but will investigate problems. He says that few prostitutes report assaults.

12

Thomson, Margie. "Dangerous Liaisons." *New Zealand Herald*, September 29 1990, Section 2, 3.

Points out the dangers prostitutes face from violent clients giving examples that include the death of Deborah Purdy and the disappearance of Leah Stephens. The NZPC maintains an "ugly mugs list", which is a compilation of descriptions of men with whom prostitutes have had bad experiences. The police are not informed of many rapes or assaults because victims are afraid that they will be charged for soliciting. However Senior Sergeant Graham Bell says that the police would not prosecute for soliciting when a prostitute has been assaulted. Detective Sergeant Marcellus Nu'u of the Auckland vice squad says that in normal situations the police are not interested in convictions for soliciting. A prostitute says that one of the biggest obstacles for prostitutes is public attitude - "that somehow prostitutes are asking to be raped".

13

Taylor, Ron. "After Dark in Tease Territory." *New Zealand Herald*, March 2 1991, 2, 3.

An article that describes Auckland's downtown adult entertainment area. It includes comments from Superintendent Norm Stanhope, who says that police are more concerned about violence and robberies than with prostitution. He thinks that because society does not treat prostitution with "any great seriousness" that the police should not either.

14

Ministry of Women's Affairs. *Prostitution: A Background Paper*. Wellington: The Ministry, 1991.

This paper provides the background to prostitution in New Zealand including the current laws. It discusses these laws and concludes that they should be improved, for example, to make it easier for people to leave the sex industry or to facilitate the provision of safe sex information. The paper provides options for law reform and concludes that "Decriminalisation with Controls" would be the preferred option.

15

Jordan, Jan. *Working Girls: Women in the New Zealand Sex Industry Talk to Jan Jordan*. Auckland: Penguin, 1991.

Criminologist Jan Jordan (formerly Robinson) wrote this book, which is based around interviews with 17 female sex workers of diverse ethnic and social origin. It is extensively quoted in other writings about prostitution in New Zealand. Her aim was to make these women's lives visible to society and show that their lives challenge popular stereotypes of prostitutes. The book concludes with an appendix written by the NZPC, which states that it wants any stigma related to being a 'sex worker' removed. Also states NZPC's position that it opposes a legalised state-controlled sex industry and supports decriminalisation.

16

Passmore, Daryl. "Seamy Side to Respectability." *Sunday Star*, November 24 1991, A9.

An article that focuses on the trial of Kerry John Mancer, who was found guilty of assaulting two prostitutes. It also includes information on other assaults on sex workers in Auckland. Notes that most attacks are not reported. Detective Sergeant Paul Carpenter says that there is a trend towards the police treating prostitutes' complaints seriously. Notes that the NZPC passes its "ugly mugs" list on to police.

17

Barber, Jason. "Collective May Give up AIDS Work." *Dominion*, November 26 1991, 1.

The NZPC has threatened to withdraw from an AIDS education contract with the Health Department because of conflicting policies between government departments and the police. It is concerned that in the previous week four Wellington massage parlour and escort workers were arrested by the police. If they are convicted they will be forced to work on the streets because they will be barred from massage parlour work, which is safer. Detective Sergeant Moana Pao says that a police officer has to follow the law. Ultimately the NZPC would like prostitution decriminalised.

18

"Comment from NZPC." *Siren*, February 1992, 3.

Reports on the suggestion by the Associate Minister of Health Maurice Williamson that soliciting should be decriminalised. He has requested briefing papers from government departments in preparation for a discussion within the National Party caucus. Notes that he is not proposing a full review of prostitution law but simply looking at decriminalising soliciting. Graeme Lee, the Minister of Internal Affairs, is opposed to reviewing the law because he believes that decriminalising soliciting would lead to an increase in sexual activity that would lead to an increase in AIDS. This editorial views the decriminalisation of soliciting very positively and as a first step in the decriminalisation of prostitution.

19

"Give Me a Break." *Siren*, February 1992, 10.

An article written by an escort in which she describes how she went to an outcall but found that it was from the police. She was convinced by her lawyer to plead guilty as it would save time. While the fine was only \$100 the consequence of the conviction is that she can only work on the streets or as an escort. She feels that the police have made her life more dangerous.

20

Passmore, Daryl. "Ministry in Campaign to Revamp Prostitution." *Sunday Star*, March 1 1992, A3.

Reveals that the Ministry of Women's Affairs has prepared a briefing paper that advocates the decriminalisation of prostitution. Notes that other government departments will start preparing briefing papers on prostitution law reform as well. Associate Health Minister Maurice Williamson is the minister working most closely with government officials and is expected to raise the topic in a speech next week. The article contains a summary of the briefing paper.

21

MacLennan, Catriona. "Sex for Sale under the Shadow of AIDS." *Dominion*, March 5 1992, 12.

An article that provides a summary of recent discussion and points of view about considerations to decriminalise soliciting. The article notes that supporters such as Associate Minister of Health, Maurice Williamson, believe that decriminalisation would make AIDS prevention and education easier. However opponents such as Internal Affairs Minister, Graeme Lee, believe that decriminalisation would increase the amount of sexual activity and increase the number of AIDS cases. Contains a summary of existing prostitution law in New Zealand and options outlined in the Ministry of Women's Affairs briefing paper.

22

Tipa, Rob. "Working Girls: Sex Industry on Legal Tightrope." *Otago Daily Times*, March 21 1992, 21.

Includes an interview with "Lynne", who is a Dunedin prostitute. Reports comments from the Dunedin co-ordinator of the NZPC, Genelle Gordon, of the consequences of criminal conviction and that the NZPC would like soliciting decriminalised. However also notes that the NZPC does not want sex workers' right to refuse clients removed if brothels start charging "all inclusive" prices at the door. Notes comments from Detective Sergeant Gary Binney of the Dunedin CIB that the four massage parlours in Dunedin will be "largely left alone" if they behave responsibly.

23

Vincent, Rosemary. "Green Light in Red Light District?" *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, May 18 1992, 24-26.

Notes the current double standards on soliciting whereby a prostitute is liable if she solicits but the client is not liable. Notes the Associate Minister of Health, Maurice Williamson's proposal to decriminalise soliciting and attributes this proposal for the need for more work in AIDS prevention. Catherine Healy says that HIV transmission in the sex industry has been minimal but that there are other good reasons to decriminalise sex work. These include the stigmatising of sex industry workers. Includes a summary of current law. Gives two examples of prostitutes one of whom suffered a violent experience with a client and the other who is constantly fearful that the police will arrest her for soliciting. Includes comments from the Ministry of Women's Affairs briefing paper

24

Howarth, Ann. "Changing Rules of the Game." *Dominion*, June 20 1992, 9.

The NZPC and Associate Minister of Health, Maurice Williamson, want soliciting decriminalised so that AIDS prevention information can be openly provided. Maurice Williamson says that he is looking at decriminalisation purely from a health point of view. Also includes an interview with Superintendent Dave Kerr, who is the Police National Headquarters Chief Legal Officer. He opposes liberalisation of prostitution laws but admits that the current soliciting offences are low on the police list of priorities as they are "so-called" victimless crime. Maurice Williamson says that he is surprised with the little amount of negative reaction that he has had from his electorate over his raising the issue of the decriminalisation of prostitution. This article is the first part of a two part series.

25

Howarth, Ann. "Keeping Sex Healthy, Wealthy and Wise." *Dominion*, June 23 1992, 7.

The second part in a two-part series of articles. Includes interviews with two prostitutes and includes their reason for becoming prostitutes - the money - and that they would like soliciting decriminalised. Maurice Williamson has visited parts of Australia to see what has happened there since law reform. Catherine Healy comments that some prostitutes insist on condoms with clients but do not use them in personal relationships. Notes that tougher economic times have increased the number of prostitutes.

26

Hay, Anabright. "Sex Industry Expansion Feared." *Press*, September 30 1992, 2.

Reports that Eileen Brennan, a Christchurch Church worker, attended a 17-nation Asian Partnership for Human Development conference in Thailand earlier in the year. She fears that Christchurch has many of the conditions such as unemployment and a reliance on tourism that could lead Christchurch to become a sex tourism venue. Ms Brennan says that in some parts of New Zealand Asian women are already being flown in to New Zealand to work as prostitutes.

27

Townsend, Sue. "As One Professional to Another..." *GP Weekly*, October 14 1992, 3.

Reports on Catherine Healy's address at the New Zealand Venereological Society's annual conference in Nelson. She said that the near universal use of condoms by sex workers is having a positive effect on New Zealand sexual health. She explained that the current laws against soliciting do not help in the consistent use of safe sex practices by sex workers. She encouraged the society to issue a strong public statement against the current laws on soliciting.

28

Legat, Nicola. "My Thais." *Metro*, December 1992, 98-106.

This article is an in-depth investigation into the increasing numbers of Thai women working in Auckland's sex industry. Includes comments on the illegal status of some of the women who have come to New Zealand on tourist visas and have no right to work in New Zealand. Notes that the police are reluctant to bring brothel-keeping charges against parlour owners.

29

Easton, Brian. "Asymmetrical Sex." *Listener*, January 23 1993, 50.

Brian Easton notes that there is not much written on the economics of prostitution. However he states that he is not aware of any other market where it is legal to offer to buy something but illegal to offer to sell it. Notes the blatant hypocrisy of the double standards and how it is a law that has been designed for men. Concludes that both parties to prostitution should be treated equally.

Parsot, Gita. "A Cry from the Street." *New Zealand Herald*, February 13 1993, Section 2, 3.

Reports on the double standards in soliciting and on the background paper prepared by the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Includes statistics on police prosecutions for soliciting: 125 in 1990 and 61 in 1991. Also notes that in 1991 there were four cases of brothel keeping, one case of living on the earnings of a prostitute (pimping), and one case of letting premises be used for a brothel. Notes that at present Maurice Williamson's only aim is the reform of soliciting laws to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS. Patricia Bartlett from the Society for the Promotion of Community Standards (SPCS) questions the NZPC's motives and states that AIDS "is not the big danger the collective makes believe it is." She also believes that decriminalisation will cause an increase in the number of prostitutes. Jan Jordan says that demand will limit the number of prostitutes. Describes the NZPC's arguments against legalisation of prostitution.

Whitley, Alison. "Police: Prostitutes Can Keep Condoms." *New Zealand Herald*, February 16 1993, 1.

More than 120 people were arrested during Operation Apache conducted by the police last month in an attempt to "clean up downtown Auckland" - a third of those arrested were arrested on soliciting or brothel keeping charges. The NZPC claims that condoms were seized as evidence of soliciting and brothel keeping. If condoms could be used as court evidence, sex workers would be reluctant to have them and this would increase sexually transmitted infections. Auckland Police District Commander, Superintendent Norm Stanhope, said that the police would not use the possession of condoms as evidence against a prostitute for soliciting. However for brothel keeping they may use the possession on condoms if they felt that it would assist in the conviction of an offender. The head of police in Auckland, Assistant Commissioner Brion Duncan, and Superintendent Norm Stanhope said that their job was to enforce the law whether or not they agreed with it.

Edwards, Brent. "Changes Urged to Promote Safe Sex." *Evening Post*, February 16 1993, 5.

Opposition associate justice spokesperson Lianne Dalziel said that government delays in decriminalising soliciting were undermining efforts to promote safe sex practices among prostitutes. She said that the uncertainty of whether the police would use the possession of condoms as evidence of soliciting

undermined efforts to prevent the transmission of AIDS. Maurice Williamson said that the legislative programme for the year was "quite full" and that he would not want to rush through any proposed law changes. The Department of Health is still working on a report on decriminalising soliciting. Catherine Healy from the NZPC said that they share Lianne Dalziel's concerns and would like to see law changes as soon as possible. According to Ms Healy police in Auckland and Christchurch have agreed not to seize condoms as evidence.

33

Keenan, Diane. "Undercover Police Target Prostitution." *Press*, February 20 1993, 10.

Reports that Christchurch police arrested six people for soliciting on Thursday night as part of a crackdown on prostitution in the inner city. Detective Senior Sergeant Kevin Burrowes says the police acted on complaints from the public. Mr Burrowes says the police are not prepared to "turn a blind eye" to prostitution. Mentions a recent police study of the sex industry in Christchurch that involved comparing newspaper advertising over a five-year period and which has recorded a growth in the industry. Anna Reed from the NZPC said that during periods of recession people turned to sex work. She did not believe the police should be spending their efforts on something between consenting adults.

34

Harrod, Veronica. "Playing the Oldest Game of Cat and Mouse." *Dominion*, April 27 1993, 7.

Reports on Maurice Williamson's comments that practical issues should prevail over morality with prostitution. Also notes Graeme Lee's opposition to relaxing the law on soliciting. Explains that the NZPC is happy with parts of the present legislation that make procuring and pimping illegal thus preserving the independence of prostitutes. Identifies that massage parlours, escort and street workers are the three main areas of the sex industry. Catherine Healy notes that restrictive regulations drive people underground. She also comments that certificates of health status create more problems because they can make clients reluctant to use condoms.

Gordon-Boreham, Genelle. "NZ Prostitutes Collective." In *Towards a Non-Violent Society: A Dunedin Women's Suffrage Year Forum*. Dunedin: Organisers of the Dunedin Suffrage Forum, 1993.

A conference paper that backgrounds the development and aims of the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective. While the NZPC's primary focus is on health issues for sex workers they also challenge negative community attitudes towards sex workers and advocate politically. States that current New Zealand laws victimise sex workers and disempower them. Questions whether women who work as prostitutes are essentially different from other women. She recommends that soliciting be decriminalised and that the police act with fairness to all victims of violence.

Jordan, Jan. "Prostitution: The Case for Law Reform." In *Suffrage Centennial Women's Law Conference*, edited by Elisabeth McDonald, 205-210. Wellington: Women's Legal Group, Faculty of Law, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993.

Gives an historical account of prostitution from antiquity showing that it has always existed. Also discusses the reasons for women's involvement in prostitution. Gives an overview of the laws affecting prostitution in New Zealand and their effects on sex workers. Provides options for law reform and concludes that decriminalisation with some regulation would be the best option. Considers however that in the long-term means should be found to reduce the pressure for women to engage in prostitution.

Healy, Catherine. "Prostitution: The Case for Law Reform." In *Suffrage Centennial Women's Law Conference*, edited by Elisabeth McDonald, 211-214. Wellington: Women's Law Group, Faculty of Law, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993.

Catherine Healy argues that changes to prostitution law are long overdue. However while the decriminalisation of soliciting would be positive some of the other proposed changes may have negative effects. Notes that sex workers and their clients are normal people. Points out NZPC's success in encouraging the use of condoms and how this has contributed to a low rate of

38

Clifton, Jane. "Pimps Won't Benefit from Soliciting Law - Williamson." *Dominion*, May 27 1993, 2.

Reports on Maurice Williamson's plan to decriminalise soliciting. He does not wish to legalise pimping. He also wants to restrict soliciting to certain areas. He hopes to effect the amendments in an omnibus law reform bill rather than having to make a separate bill. He is confident that he would have majority support in Cabinet and in the House. He cited decriminalisation and proactive education in New South Wales as successful in reducing the spread of AIDS.

39

Schouten, Hank. "Beat Sleaze with Sex Controls, Says Worker." *Evening Post*, August 6 1993, 2.

Sex worker Heather Wipa believes that decriminalisation would be a mistake and the legalisation of sex work would be a preferable option. She believes that decriminalisation would lead to sex work becoming "sleazy and uncontrolled". She would prefer a law that registered sex workers, established a minimum age, necessitated regular health checks and designated certain areas for sex work. Catherine Healy said that decriminalisation did not mean that there would be no controls and that for example there could be regulations against under age workers.

40

Clifton, Jane. "Prostitution Options on Hold Till after Election." *Dominion*, August 25 1993, 2.

Reports that Maurice Williamson doubts that the decriminalisation of prostitution will be debated by Parliament before the election. He has had to accept that several other health laws had greater priority for the limited parliamentary time this year. He is still concerned about where soliciting would be allowed and is studying the New South Wales option of only allowing soliciting out of sight of churches, hospitals, homes and schools. However he is concerned that this could allow soliciting in main business districts. At the least he considers that soliciting should be allowed within dwellings and massage parlours.

41

O'Leary, Eileen. "Safe Sex 'at Risk' from Law Change Delay." *Evening Post*, August 25 1993, 3.

Wellington escort agency owner, Megan Penny, says that government delays in decriminalising soliciting were "driving the sex industry underground". Ms Penny says that underage prostitutes are working on the streets and operating out of "fly-by-night" escort agencies. She said that even established businesses like hers left it up to sex workers to provide their own condoms, because it was feared that condoms could be used as evidence of brothel keeping.

42

"Decriminalize Sex Work, Says Dalziel." *Press*, March 26 1994, 3.

Opposition spokeswoman on health, Lianne Dalziel, states that sex work must be decriminalised. She questioned how messages about safe sex could be sent into massage parlours when prostitution was not supposed to occur in massage parlours. Ms Dalziel was speaking at the official opening of the Christchurch Branch of the NZPC's drop-in centre. Ms Dalziel said that there was a low incidence of the HIV virus in New Zealand's sex industry and that it was important that preventive work continued.

43

"Prostitutes Group Gets Solid Support." *New Zealand Herald*, November 16 1994, 1, 4.

The New Zealand Federation of Business and Professional Women is lobbying government officials to repeal laws that perpetuate double standards. Prostitutes are liable to prosecution while their clients are not. The organisation has written to Parliament's 21 female MPs calling for decriminalisation. MPs Elizabeth Tennet, Lianne Dalziel and Jill Pettis have written back in support. Phil Goff said that while the Labour Party had no formal position on the issue he thought that the present law was ineffective and unbalanced. The NZPC said that present laws forced the industry to remain underground and meant that the majority of assaults on prostitutes would go unreported. Catherine Healy from the NZPC was thankful for the federation's support because it proved that other women accepted sex workers.

Kinder, Rachel, and Chris Ryan. "The Deviant Tourist and the Crimogenic Place - the Case of the Tourist and the New Zealand Prostitute." In *Tourism Down-Under: A Tourism Research Conference*, edited by Joanne Cheyne and Chris Ryan, 55-69. Palmerston North: Department of Management Systems, Faculty of Business Studies, Massey University, 1994.

This conference paper provides research into the use of prostitutes by tourists in New Zealand. It evaluates the considerable amount of money spent in the sex industry. It estimated that there were 1500 prostitutes in Auckland and 400 in Wellington. The paper concludes therefore that prostitution is not uncommon and that the use of a prostitute is not a deviant act in the usually accepted sense of the term. If tourist authorities are to see prostitution as a legitimate source of income generation then the legislation will need changing. This paper is also available from the following source with minor editorial changes: Kinder, Rachel, and Chris Ryan. "The Deviant Tourist and the Crimogenic Place - the Case of the Tourist and the New Zealand Prostitute." In *Tourism, Crime, and International Security Issues*, edited by Abraham Pizam and Yoel Mansfield, 23-36. Chichester: John Wiley, 1995.

"Editorial." *Siren*, September 1995, 3-4.

The writer of this editorial describes her own experiences of working part time in a massage parlour while also holding "straight" employment. A policeman who posed as a client arrested her for soliciting. Even though the writer was found "not guilty" in court she was put under severe stress, which affected her performance at her "straight job". The writer is a proponent of the decriminalisation of soliciting and other laws related to prostitution.

"Legalise? Decriminalise? What's the Difference Anyway?" *Siren*, September 1995, 7.

This article expresses the NZPC's viewpoint about whether legalisation or decriminalisation of the sex industry would be a better option. Explains that in the legalised sex industry in Amsterdam 80% of sex workers work outside the legal system because they do not fit the criteria to be employed legally. Also notes that the legalised system in Melbourne creates considerable compliance costs. The NZPC therefore recommends decriminalisation because it would free sex workers from prosecution while leaving them power to negotiate the terms and conditions of their work. The removal of laws against brothel keeping would also enable information on safer sex to be displayed.

47

Jordan, Jan. "Prostitution and the Law." *Siren*, September 1995, 13-16.

This article provides an overview of the existing law relating to prostitution in New Zealand. Jan Jordan notes that the law is currently under enforced but its potential for enforcement remains. She presents the two main options for prostitution law reform: decriminalisation and legalisation. She argues against legalisation, as it primarily benefits the clients while reinforcing the vulnerable position of prostitutes. While she advocates decriminalisation, she notes that it is compatible with some regulation such as zoning, limiting advertising, and restricting juvenile prostitution. She dismisses attempts to eliminate prostitution because they would drive prostitution underground. Jordan concludes that in the longer term it may be desirable to look at economic and social measures so that women do not become prostitutes.

48

"Clients and the Law." *Siren*, September 1995, 21-22.

Comments that while clients of prostitutes are not generally liable to be prosecuted under the existing law they should still support the NZPC's campaign to decriminalise soliciting. Notes the double standards in the existing law and the stress that this law causes prostitutes. Notes that while the existing law does not prevent safe sex education it does hinder it because managers take a risk if they display safe sex posters and pamphlets as these materials could be used as evidence of brothel keeping. Notes that the NZPC does not want all laws relating to prostitution repealed as it fears total deregulation could leave sex workers with little freedom because large brothels could take over the sex industry.

49

"A Victimless Crime." *Siren*, September 1995, 28.

The writer of this article views prostitution as a victimless crime and considers that existing prostitution laws are based on Christian morality. With the decline in influence of the Christian churches, it should be easier to reform or revoke prostitution legislation. The author believes that moral issues should not be criminal issues. The author also views prostitution as a sexist issue as women are discriminated against in the double standards of existing prostitution laws. Prostitution is inevitable and will not be stopped by any laws. Safe sex should be promoted so that AIDS and other infections can be prevented

50

Barton, Warren. "Sex in the Suburbs." *Dominion*, September 2 1995, 13.

An article that reports on four women prostitutes. These women do not work in massage parlours but from suburban houses. Catherine Healy, national co-ordinator of the NZPC, estimates that 10 per cent of prostitutes who once worked for massage parlours or escort agencies have "gone private". Talks about the reasons these women became prostitutes and the lives they lead. These women lead ordinary lives and have become prostitutes for financial reasons mostly to help their children have better lives.

51

"Calls for Legal Prostitution." *Dominion*, May 3 1996, 2.

The Alliance Party's Wellington Central candidate, Danna Glendining, told the Wellington Women Lawyers Association that prostitution should be decriminalised. At her prompting the Alliance had accepted the decriminalisation of prostitution as part of its policy on women. The existing law punished women prostitutes but not the male clients. Women were forced into prostitution because of underlying social problems. The NZPC national co-ordinator Catherine Healy said that the law was an impediment to education about the prevention of AIDS and sexually transmitted infections.

52

Kominik, Anna. "Brothel Law Change Urged." *Dominion*, June 20 1996, 7.

Catherine Healy confirms that three brothels have replaced the escort agency that was managed by Karen Anne Glasgow and Edward Anthony Truby, who were recently found guilty of brothel keeping and living off the earnings of prostitution. Ms Healy said that it was time for laws relating to prostitution to be reviewed. She said that the NZPC wanted soliciting decriminalised with controls that would prevent exploitation and coercion. Maurice Williamson notes the "bizarre law" on prostitution in New Zealand in which women prostitutes are liable to conviction but their male clients are not. Notes that Mr Williamson tried to raise support for a proposed bill to decriminalise prostitution in 1994 and that he believes that a future parliament will have to decide whether it wants to keep a law that is "totally discriminatory against women". However he also notes that any legislation needs to guard against big business or gang involvement.

Laugesen, Ruth. "Mood Favours Change in Prostitution Laws." *Dominion*, June 28 1996, 2.

Reports Judge William Unwin's comments in a Wellington case where two convicted brothel keepers were given periodic detention rather than a custodial sentence. He said that community attitudes to prostitution had changed because of the need to regulate the industry to control the spread of AIDS. Justice Minister Doug Graham said that it was time to consider making soliciting legal. Labour justice spokesman Phil Goff said the matter would be a conscience issue for MPs but he also believed that soliciting should be legal. Alliance co-deputy leader Sandra Lee disagreed and said that too many women were being forced into prostitution because of the widening gap between rich and poor. NZ First deputy leader Tau Henare said that his party would want to find out the views of the wider community before the law was changed.

Plunket, Pat. "The Fall of the House That Sex Built." *Dominion*, June 29 1996, 17.

Contains a summary of the law relating to prostitution. Comments on the recent court case in which the operators of the escort business "Corporate Affairs" were found guilty of brothel keeping. Reports that in Wellington escort services must supply the police with certain details before they are allowed to advertise. Notes that because of this the operators of "Corporate Affairs" believed that they were "informally licensed" by the police to conduct this business. However the police may have found the operation "too big to ignore" and the case has now ignited calls for prostitution to be legalised.

Haden, Frank. "Money Talks in Case of Double Standards." *Sunday Star Times*, June 30 1996, C3.

Comments on the recent case in which the owners of "Corporate Affairs" were convicted of brothel keeping but sentenced to periodic detention rather than prison. Frank Haden applauds Judge William Unwin's lenient sentence and says that prostitution should be accepted as part of a "normal community".

56

"What to Tell New Workers." *Siren*, July 1996, 19-21.

This article was written for *Siren* by a massage parlour receptionist. Describes what new workers can be told legally and what new workers should be told but because of existing laws cannot be. The article notes the hypocrisy and double standards of the present law. States that the current law prevents parlour managers telling the truth to new massage parlour workers and that this causes confusion. It also means that useful and important information about for example, safe sex, is not passed on to workers.

57

Roxy. "Better the Devil You Know." *Siren*, July 1996, 22.

This article was written by a sex worker who has recently been convicted for growing two cannabis plants for her own use. This has prevented her from gaining employment in a massage parlour because anyone with a drug conviction is prevented from working in a massage parlour for ten years from the date of the conviction. She advocates law change to allow people with cannabis convictions to work in massage parlours. The article includes a comment from the NZPC at the end that includes the statement: "We need to get these laws and others changed."

58

Harman, Claire. "Should It Be Decriminalised?" *Press*, August 10 1996, Weekend, 2.

This article includes an interview with transgender Christchurch prostitute, Sasha, who believes that soliciting should be decriminalised so that prostitutes are "on the same level" as clients. Deputy Chairperson of the Young Nationals, Paula Tesoriero, believes that education within the industry can only occur when it is out in the open. NZPC co-ordinator Anna Reed says that the illegality of prostitution is damaging to the self-esteem of workers. Labour spokesperson for Health, Lianne Dalziel would like to see the sex industry decriminalised. Associate Minister of Health, Katherine O'Regan, says prostitution should be seen as part of the free market where the state has no right to interfere. Detective Richard Neale of the Christchurch police says that he would never use condoms as evidence against sex workers and states that prostitution is a "victimless crime". However he would have to investigate if he received a complaint. Christian Heritage Leader, Graham Capill, recognises anomalies in the current law but believes prostitution is damaging.

59

Quaintance, Lauren. "Danger Stalks Sex on the Streets." *New Zealand Herald*, October 23 1996, A13.

Describes the life of prostitutes who work on the streets. Some are too young to work in massage parlours while others have criminal convictions that prevent them from working in massage parlours. Michelle McGill argues that decriminalisation would make prostitution safer as prostitutes would feel more able to approach the police.

60

Wall, Tony. "Huge Risks Face Street Workers." *New Zealand Herald*, October 23 1996, A13.

Senior Sergeant Dale Candy said that street workers are vulnerable to attack. The police would treat prostitutes as normal members of society if they complained to them. The police have an obligation to protect them as they would any other member of society. Detective Senior Sergeant Kevin Baker said that Auckland police no longer had a vice squad specifically targeting prostitutes.

61

Keenan, Diane. "Rapes Heighten Sex-Worker Concerns." *Press*, October 30 1996, Section 1, 3.

Vice Squad head Richard Neale says that three Christchurch prostitutes have been raped in the past three weeks but none has made an official complaint to the police. He is concerned about the safety of Christchurch sex workers after the recent murders of three Auckland sex workers. Detective Neale described prostitution as a "victimless crime" and supported sex workers having individual licences. Associate Health Minister Maurice Williamson said that if he lost his Cabinet role in the new Parliament that he would bring a private member's bill to decriminalise soliciting by prostitutes. He was not able to bring a private member's bill while he was a cabinet minister. He disagreed with the call by Auckland Mayor, Les Mills, to shut down the sex industry saying the killings had nothing to do with the sex industry as a whole.

Masters, Catherine. "Churchman Backs Legal Prostitution." *New Zealand Herald*, October 30 1996, A1.

Anglican minister and Auckland City Missioner, Rev Richard Buttle, would like to see prostitution decriminalised and he believes that there are worse sins than prostitution. He feels that prostitutes could be helped more easily if prostitution was decriminalised as the prostitutes would be more visible. However Mr David Ross, the acting director of Catholic Communications, said that prostitution would always be a crime but that the government could do more to help prostitutes. Maurice Williamson said that in some places overseas decriminalisation had helped to reduce levels of AIDS and hepatitis.

Keenan, Diane. "Sex Workers Seek No Legal Penalty: YWCA Backs Prostitutes' Collective." *Press*, October 31 1996, 4.

After recent attacks on prostitutes in Auckland and Christchurch, there are renewed calls for the decriminalisation of soliciting. According to the NZPC prostitutes would feel safer talking to the police if soliciting was decriminalised. The Christian women's organisation YWCA also agreed that soliciting should be decriminalised. Executive Director of the YWCA, Marion Wood, said that the stand did not signify approval of prostitution but that the YWCA was willing to challenge sexism and double standards, which led to the prosecution of prostitutes but not of their clients.

Coventry, Nigel. "Sex Trade Can Earn Big Cash in Tourism." *Sunday Star Times*, November 3 1996, A5.

According to Dr Jody Hanson of the University of Waikato's Education Department, prostitution should be used in promoting New Zealand as a travel destination. She was addressing the Pacific Rim Tourism 2000 conference. She said that an industry that employs 9000 people and generates millions of dollars should not be ignored. Catherine Healy of the NZPC says that the sex industry could be used as a successful marketing tool. Dr Martin Oppermann from the Centre for Tourism Studies at Waiariki Polytechnic told delegates that AIDS had not reduced the amount of money spent on prostitution at tourist resorts. New Zealand Tourism Board Chief Executive, Ian Kean, declined to comment.

Coney, Sandra. "Sex and Violence Old Bedfellows." *Sunday Star Times*, November 3 1996, C5.

Sandra Coney does not believe that decriminalisation would have prevented the three recent deaths of Auckland sex workers. She believes that violence is simply a part of prostitution. Sandra Coney believes that sex workers often have severe drink and/or drug problems. As well they have frequently been victims of childhood sexual abuse. She does not believe that these sex workers had real choices in their decision to become prostitutes.

"Decriminalisation would put society's seal of approval on the squalid side of male sexual behaviour." She concludes that consorting with a prostitute should be made an offence and that this would remove double standards.

Wong, Gilbert. "The Tourist Potential of the Oldest Profession." *New Zealand Herald*, November 9 1996, A17.

Jody Hanson comments on the outcry that the reporting of her paper at the Pacific Rim Tourism 2000 conference has caused. She says that sex tourism in New Zealand already exists. Her opinion is that prostitution is simply another job and that it should be recognised for the personal service that it is. She notes the good income that prostitutes can earn and that other options are limited for women with family commitments. From the majority of women prostitutes that she has spoken to she believes that they have made a free and informed choice to work in the sex industry.

Gregg, Stacy. "The Business of Pleasure." *Sunday Star Times*, November 10 1996, C1-C2.

Notes that since the death of Rainton Hastie a replacement spokesperson for the New Zealand sex industry has not emerged. Auckland District Police Commander, Norman Stanhope, says that Fort St and K'Rd probably account for only 30% of Auckland's sex trade. Senior Sergeant Ian McCormick says that living off the earnings of prostitution and brothel keeping are hard to prove and questions whether the public want to see money spent policing these areas. Michelle McGill estimates that the sex industry has tripled in size and cites the suburbs as growth areas. Also notes her comment that in Melbourne half the industry continues to work outside the strictly-controlled legal sector. Michelle McGill also comments that there are an "awful lot" of women who are happy, balanced individuals working in the sex industry. She observes that the sex industry business is slow at the moment because of the recent violence and because of competition from the casino.

Roger, Warwick. "No Place for Prostitution in Decent Society." *Evening Post*, November 11 1996, 4.

Warwick Roger questions why poor women in New Zealand continue to degrade themselves by becoming prostitutes. He believes that prostitution degrades and dehumanises women and is on a par with slavery. Questions why society is not trying to eliminate prostitution. Counters arguments about the inevitability of prostitution and does not believe that prostitution is a "victimless crime" - the victims are prostitutes. Says that the police should be setting up vice squads and policing the law that already exists that relates to prostitution.

"Stuck with Sex Scene." *New Zealand Herald*, November 11 1996, A14.

This editorial notes the inevitability of prostitution and that no legislation will make it go away. It suggests that setting licensing conditions and zoning requirements would counter many of the problems associated with the sex industry. The fact that so much of the sex industry is illegal now makes it harder to police and enables criminals to take advantage of those who under the present laws have no recourse to legal defence. The police would also be better able to enforce a properly regulated industry.

Cardy, Tom. "Catholic Groups Differ on Sex Trade." *Evening Post*, November 13 1996, 17.

Two Catholic women's groups have opposing views on the decriminalisation of prostitution. The Catholic Women's League said that the present soliciting law should be extended to clients as well. They believe that prostitution is a social scourge. However the Wellington Catholic women's group, Sophia, says that prostitutes would be better protected if prostitution was decriminalised. The criminal status diverted attention away from issues such as women becoming prostitutes because of poverty and abuse. Robin Corner, who was a Christian Coalition candidate, said that decriminalising prostitution was against Christian beliefs.

Henry, Barbara. "Law Unfair to Prostitutes." *New Zealand Herald*, November 13 1996, A15.

The Auckland YWCA believes that prostitution should be decriminalised so that sex workers are no longer committing a crime if they offer sex to clients. The present law clearly reflects a double standard and labels sex workers as criminals and their customers as victims. As a Christian organisation the YWCA acknowledges that the Bible condemns prostitution however it believes that there should be a distinction between law and morality. It is not prepared to criminalise the client as well as the sex worker. The present law discourages the possession of condoms, when it should be encouraging their use. While the YWCA stand does not signify approval of prostitution it does mean that the YWCA is willing to challenge sexism and double standards.

"Tourism's Image." *Press*, November 14 1996, 11.

This editorial considers that prostitution should not be used as a tourist attraction for New Zealand as had been suggested by Waikato University lecturer, Dr Jody Hanson. The Deputy Chief Executive of the Tourism Board, Chris Ryan, has stated that the Tourism Board has no intention of using prostitution in any effort to promote New Zealand overseas. This editorial considers that promoting sex tourism to New Zealand would bring in they type of tourists who may not be welcome. Also it may encourage juvenile prostitution. New Zealand should rely on its "clean green image". Notes that while Maurice Williamson wants to reform existing prostitution laws the reforms ought not to encourage proposals such as those made by Dr Hanson.

Sarney, Estelle, and Melissa Lee. "A Dangerous Game." *Listener*, November 16 1996, 16-18.

Backgrounds three recent killings in Auckland's sex industry. Reports that the NZPC, YWCA, National Council of Women, Business and Professional Women's Federation, and Maurice Williamson all support the decriminalisation of soliciting. Reports that murdered street prostitute, Natacha Hogan, was not able to work in the relative safety of a massage parlour because she had a previous conviction for soliciting. Notes that Maurice Williamson has draft legislation prepared to decriminalise prostitution. He does not advocate legalisation as in Nevada, where there are "huge sex palaces with bars and shopping arcades". Superintendent Norman Stanhope does not believe that decriminalising soliciting would have prevented the three recent deaths. He also does not believe that the public would want open soliciting. However Williamson believes that restrictions

such as zoning could be imposed that would make decriminalisation acceptable to the public.

74

Haden, Frank. "Hypocrisy of the Tourist Sex Debate." *Sunday Star Times*, November 17 1996, C3.

Frank Haden comments that at least the discussion on whether New Zealand should attract tourists by promoting commercial sex has made people take sides. He uses the presumption that Jacqueline Onassis would not have married Aristotle Onassis unless he had been a rich man as an analogy of offering sex for money as prostitutes do. Notes the resistance the Maurice Williamson encounters each time he tries to remove the double standards on soliciting. Frank Haden believes New Zealand is being hypocritical over its sex industry.

75

Stringer, John. "Don't Legalise Prostitution." *New Zealand Herald*, December 4 1996, A15.

John Stringer does not believe that because there is a demand for commercial sex that there necessarily has to be a legitimate supply. He believes that the double standard on soliciting could be eliminated by criminalising the client as well as the prostitute. Mr Stringer believes that Maurice Williamson's proposed reforms would be a "moral, financial and social disaster for New Zealand". He believes that the legalisation of prostitution would legitimise men's exploitation of women. In addition he does believe that reforming prostitution laws in New Zealand would limit the spread of AIDS as claimed by Maurice Williamson in fact he believes that the opposite may be true.

76

McLeod, Rosemary. "Modern Whores Scrub up Well, but It's the Same Job." *Dominion*, December 5 1996, 10.

Rosemary McLeod disagrees with recent reports that make prostitution sound like a glamorous, fun and "normal" profession. She does not believe that "normal" people sell their bodies to strangers. She says society never questions whether AIDS was spread in the first place through promiscuity. The recent killing of two people in an Auckland massage parlour challenges the theory that prostitutes are safer off the streets. Rosemary McLeod does not believe that prostitutes are "social workers" or that present laws surrounding prostitution cause prostitutes to be killed. She also asks why men have "ungovernable lusts" that take more than one woman to fulfil.

Heal, Andrew. "Michelle McGill." *Metro*, January 1997, 82-85.

This article is an interview with the Auckland co-ordinator of the NZPC, Michelle McGill. She answers questions about prostitution and also expresses views about the decriminalisation of prostitution. She believes that if the sex industry was decriminalised organised crime would not associate with prostitution. Reports on NZPC's position on legalisation versus decriminalisation. She believes that there is no need for special provisions to maintain industry standards as sex industry workers maintain standards themselves. For example, she claims prostitutes have been successful in preventing HIV in the industry. Notes that there has been no formal research into the number of prostitutes in Auckland. She comments that Thai sex workers - she prefers the term "international sex workers" - seem to prefer working in New Zealand earning reasonable money in comparative safety. She gives her vision of a "best-case" sex industry for the year 2000.

Jordan, Jan. "User Pays: Why Men Buy Sex." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 30, no. 1 (1997): 55-71.

This article reports on qualitative interviews conducted with 13 male clients of prostitutes in an attempt to find out their motivations and experiences. Prostitutes' observations of their clients are also included. Gives an understanding of the different reasons why these men visited prostitutes, which seem to be more involved than simply "buying sex". Provides an opportunity to hear why a diverse range of apparently "ordinary" men visit prostitutes. Notes that women prostitutes feel that the money that they earn does not come without some personal cost. The clients do not comment on prostitution law reform.

Taylor, Kevin. "Police Say City Sex Work a Growth Industry." *Press*, March 17 1997, 3.

Contains statistics on Christchurch's sex industry showing growth in the number of sex workers. Detective Neale said that the *Massage Parlours Act 1978* needed a "complete overhaul" as it governed only parlours but not escort agencies or what happened on the street. Reports on Detective Richard Neale's opinion that prostitutes should be licensed and that there should be laws that permit sex work in designated areas. Detective Senior Sergeant John Lyall said the *Act* only covered massage parlours, but they were in reality fronts for brothels. Detective Neale said that gangs were also heavily involved in prostitution with about five of the city's gangs involved.

Jackson, Greg. "Sex Work Needs Few Laws - MP." *Press*, May 6 1997, 5.

Christchurch Central MP Tim Barnett believes that "minimal legal controls" are probably the best way to deal with the sex industry. Mr Barnett, National MP Katherine O'Regan and NZPC Co-ordinator Catherine Healy visited New South Wales to talk to those responsible for decriminalising the New South Wales sex industry in 1995. Mr Barnett says the NSW policy appeared to be working and that there were few Sydney street workers as the law changes had aimed to put street workers into safer working environments. Mr Barnett has returned from Sydney convinced of the need for reform of the law governing the New Zealand sex industry.

Ross, Frances. "O'Regan Seeks Law Change on Prostitution." *Dominion*, November 25 1997, 2.

National MP Katherine O'Regan hopes to have a private member's bill that will decriminalise prostitution debated in Parliament early in 1998. This article contains a brief summary of the bill and notes that the bill is now in draft form. National has been looking at the sex industry laws for several years with Maurice Williamson working on change that did not get past Cabinet in National's first term. Mrs O'Regan hopes that a private member's bill will allow for wider, cross-party consideration. Notes that the bill was prepared with help from the YWCA and the NZPC.

Revington, Mark. "Sin City." *Listener*, November 29 1997, 18-21.

Reports on Jody Hanson's presentation on prostitution in New Zealand at a conference in 1996. Jody Hanson was recently invited to speak to tourism operators in Taupo and launch a sex web site however the invitation was cancelled after negative publicity. Jody Hanson comments that most prostitutes are "ordinary" women. The article contains remarks about the sex industry in Taupo. Notes comments from a Taupo brothel proprietor that 80% of the brothel's customers are tourists. Reports on the opinions of a Taupo massage parlour owner about prostitution law reform and his views on promoting sex tourism.

83

"Even Split on Oldest Game in Town." *New Zealand Herald*, January 7 1998, A1.

Reports on results from a Herald-DigiPoll survey of 650 New Zealanders. 43.9% of those surveyed think that prostitution and soliciting should be legalised, while 46.35 do not want prostitution and soliciting legalised. 48% of men against 39% of women were in favour of legalisation. In the 51 and over age group more people are in favour of a law change than against.

84

Healy, Catherine. "Editorial." *Siren*, April 1998, 3.

This editorial observes that it is now ten years since the first publication of *Siren* and that this is a reminder of how long the NZPC has been campaigning to decriminalise prostitution. Comments that there is a general feeling among sex workers that prostitution should be decriminalised. Comments that those sex workers who do not want a law change because they would then have to pay income tax are misguided. They are already obliged to pay tax - the fact that the income was gained illegally is irrelevant. Notes that this issue of *Siren* contains information about proposed changes to the law.

85

Wood, Marion, Catherine Healy, Jan Jordan, and Belinda Rynhart. "Sex Workers, Family Life and the State: The Case for Prostitution Law Reform." *Siren*, April 1998, 12-16.

Explains that the condemnation of prostitution in New Zealand has its roots within New Zealand's Christian heritage. Describes the principal laws affecting prostitution in New Zealand and the consequences of conviction for sex workers. Also notes that the current laws work against the interests of safe sex. Explains the principal options for law reform and supports the decriminalisation of prostitution. Concludes by stating that prostitution is a victimless crime but that the current laws make a victim out of the sex worker.

"Root of All Evil: Public Attitude." *Siren*, April 1998, 31-35.

The author of this article had worked in the sex industry for nine months and has read recent articles in women's magazines about the sex industry. One article had annoyed her because it glamorised the sex industry. In consequence she interviewed five women at a Hamilton escort agency and reports on her findings in this article. Comments that the workers were not ashamed of what they did but that because of social attitudes they cannot always tell the truth about what they do. Notes that all had become sex workers for financial reasons. The article also includes comments from Catherine Healy, Jody Hanson and Jan Jordan. Concludes with the comments from two sex workers that the main difficulty with prostitution is not the nature of the work but society's judgements on it.

"Reform for Archaic Prostitution Laws." *New Zealand Herald*, April 4 1998, G2.

Notes that Katherine O'Regan has sponsored a private member's bill that would put an end to prosecution for soliciting. She hopes that the bill will be presented in the "next few months". The aim of the bill is to "safeguard the welfare and occupational safety of sex workers and to create an environment conducive to public health." O'Regan says that the *Massage Parlours Act 1978* does not make it clear that it is talking about brothels and that this should be cleared up in future legislation.

White, Margo. "Sexual Politics." *Listener*, May 9 1998, 28-29.

Reports on comments from Melbourne academic Sheila Jeffreys about prostitution. She believes that all prostitution is sexual violence and a form of abuse against women. She advocates social measures so that women can exit prostitution and that the male clients should be criminalised so that prostitution can be eliminated. Jan Jordan and Catherine Healy however believe that most male patrons of prostitutes are not the evil, powerful men portrayed by Jeffreys. Notes that with the private member's bill being drafted by Katherine O'Regan, New Zealand society will have to ask questions about the real aims of prostitution law. Catherine Healy and Jan Jordan give their views on prostitution law reform and give Australian examples of prostitution law reform.

Bain, Helen. "Kiwi Push at UN to Legalise Prostitution." *Dominion*, July 4 1998, 1.

Associate Women's Affairs Minister Deborah Morris has said that women should not be barred from prostitution or combat. In a week's time Deborah Morris will lead a government delegation to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which has asked the government 96 questions about its report on the status of women in New Zealand. The report said that current legislation on prostitution inhibits provision of community education programmes and health services for prostitutes. The delegation reports that despite extensive lobbying to decriminalise prostitution, the Government has taken no action. Ms Morris said that she supported the decriminalisation of prostitution but that her view was not Government policy.

"Prostitutes Fail Paid Leave Test." *New Zealand Herald*, September 15 1998, A5.

Catherine Healy from the NZPC points out that because sex workers' employment is not legal they will not be eligible for paid parental leave under the *Paid Parental Leave Bill* promoted by Alliance MP Laila Harre. Laila Harre says that the *Bill* will only cover people working in jobs that are legal. Laila Harre states that she has not decided whether she supports the decriminalisation of prostitution.

Michael. "Law Reform: A Client's View: 'Legalisation Isn't Even Good for Clients'." *Siren*, December 1998, 28-29.

In the April 1998 issue of *Siren*, an article entitled "Sex Workers, Family Life and the State: The Case for Prostitution Law Reform" suggested that the legalisation of prostitution would benefit clients of sex workers but not the sex workers themselves. However the author of this article argues that legalisation would not be good for clients. It would create top-end legal prostitution and illegal bottom-end prostitution. Legalisation would therefore not benefit poorer clients, who could not afford the more expensive legal prostitutes. The article also states that the legal prostitutes would be under greater psychological pressure and therefore would be stressed and would not be able to provide clients with good service. The article concludes that it is debatable whether any clients benefit from legalisation. However the author of this article believes that clients, workers and society in general will all benefit from decriminalisation.

Turvey, Jean. *The Wages of Sin: A New Zealand Prostitute's Story*. Auckland: Random House, 1999.

The author of this novel is a former prostitute who has written a fictionalised account of her experiences in the sex industry. The protagonist is a hairdresser who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons. The book includes an Epilogue that notes the tax liabilities of sex workers. Comments on the 1996 effort by some Auckland city councillors to eliminate Auckland's sex industry. Notes that if the sex industry were driven underground that this would hamper the ability of the NZPC to instruct sex workers on safer sex. Also comments that it would take more than a mayor and a city council to eliminate prostitution.

Espinier, Colin. "Sex-Slave Trade Active in NZ - Parlour Owner." *Press*, May 27 1999, 9.

Reports on comments from Auckland massage parlour owner Bill Smith that trade in Thai women is active in New Zealand. He says that very few of the women are entitled to work in New Zealand and that there were now hundreds of Thai women in the sex industry in New Zealand. Comments that senior sexual health workers have said that they have treated Thai women who thought they were coming to New Zealand to work in restaurants but when they arrived found that their employers had taken their passports and that they were put to work in brothels.

Austen, Dean. "Council Backtracks on Sex-Trade Crackdown." *New Zealand Herald*, June 10 1999, A3.

The Auckland City Council had intended to impose strict planning controls on commercial sex premises. However the committee that heard submissions will recommend that the council does not proceed with making sex premises "non-complying activities". Reports comments from one of the submitters Kevin Hague of the New Zealand AIDS Foundation that sex workers operating on the streets or from their homes were not able to be reached by health agencies. The NZPC said that forcing the industry underground would lead to more women working on the streets with associated violence risks. The committee did recommend measures to reduce problems.

Wall, Tony, and Theresa Garner. "Sex Trade Hits Suburbs." *New Zealand Herald*, June 12-13 1999, A1.

Records the spread of the sex industry from central Auckland to the suburbs. The Asian Crime Unit is aware of more than 10 Chinese therapeutic massage businesses in Auckland reportedly selling sex services. Reports that the police have powers under the *Massage Parlours Act 1978* to control activities in licensed parlours. Superintendent Howard Broad said the spread of the sex industry from "traditional" sites was a concern. Reports that the Auckland City Council has decided not to impose strict controls on sex premises. Massage parlour owner Mike Hall says that only 30% of the industry is "legal". He estimates that there are 40 legal parlours and 120 illegal parlours in Auckland.

Perry, Nick. "Sex Workers 'Losing the Right to Say No'." *New Zealand Herald*, June 19 1999, A17.

Two sex workers say that massage parlour owners impose difficult conditions on sex workers. Records comments from sex workers that competition, immigrant Asian workers and tough economic conditions have forced prices in the sex industry down. An IRD inquiry found that the average annual income for a sex worker was between \$15000 and \$25000. Catherine Healy estimates that there are 2000 prostitutes in Auckland including 300 to 400 from Thailand, and 8500 nationwide. Catherine Healy and the two sex workers interviewed in this article say that decriminalisation of the sex industry is the only way for women to be protected.

Philp, Matt. "Of Human Bondage." *Listener*, July 17 1999, 28-29.

Reports claims that in Auckland Thai sex workers are coming to New Zealand under the apprehension that they will be doing restaurant or other work and find that they have to work as prostitutes. However Michelle McGill, Auckland co-ordinator for the NZPC, says that the NZPC deals with Thai sex workers and she has only had one case where she has been concerned. She says that if slavery is happening it is happening in small numbers and in places that the NZPC is not reaching, for example private houses in the suburbs. Catherine Healy and Superintendent Howard Broad also feel that what is happening in New Zealand falls short of being "sex slavery". However Asian Crime Unit Detective John McCarthy says that the police and the NZPC may not be aware of it because these women are in a difficult position of not

having visas, and are scared of authorities. Article also contains information about trafficking of women and children and that New Zealand is making a submission to the UN committee on organised crime.

98

Espiner, Guyon. "Work Harder to Pay Tax, IRD Staff Tell Sex Workers." *Evening Post*, July 22 1999, 3.

Parliament's Finance and Expenditure Select Committee is holding an inquiry into the powers of the IRD and has come across documents that deal with the IRD's relationship with the sex industry. This includes one memo suggesting that sex workers see more clients to pay their tax bills and another document revealing that in 1994 an IRD employee threatened to audit sex workers unless he was given free sex. ACT MP Rodney Hide questioned whether the government should be taxing the sex industry at all because he believes it is "a breeding ground for the corruption of civil servants". He says that if the government wants to tax the sex industry then it should legalise it. However Revenue Minister Sir William Birch said that Mr Hide had spent the last two years saying that the black economy should be taxed harder.

99

Kara, Scott. "Manukau Council's Hands Tied on Corner Prostitutes." *New Zealand Herald*, October 14 1999, A6.

Manukau City Councillor Noel Burnside has asked an environmental management committee meeting what the council could do to stop prostitutes gathering at Hunters Corner. He is concerned about it because Hunters Corner is close to a residential area. A report into the issue concluded that soliciting and prostitution were best dealt with by the police under the *Summary Offences Act* as there is no bylaw dealing with soliciting. The council could use the loitering bylaw but it would have to be in conjunction with the police.

100

Bain, Helen. "Harre Backs Right to Fight and Sell Sex." *Dominion*, January 20 2000, 1.

Women's Affairs Minister Laila Harre has stated that it is Alliance policy to legalise prostitution. Her personal view is that the criminal regulation of sexual behaviour is not a good idea but this does not mean that she finds prostitution a desirable choice for women.

101

"Prostitution Plan a Disaster - Nats' Group." *Evening Post*, January 21 2000, 2.

Reports that the Christian branch of the National Party, Christian Voice, has stated that legalising prostitution would bring moral and financial disaster to New Zealand. John Stringer from Christian Voice has stated that Christian Voice would "vigorously oppose" any moves to legalise prostitution. Mr Stringer said that legalisation would not remove "underground activity" but merely make it more visible.

102

"Goff Backs Harre - Legalise Prostitution." *Evening Post*, January 21 2000, 17.

Justice Minister Phil Goff has stated that he favours legalising prostitution. However there are no immediate plans to do so and it would be a conscience vote for MPs. He was responding to comments from Laila Harre. He found it inconsistent that it was illegal for a woman to offer sex for sale but legal for a man to request to buy sex. He said that if a member's bill was introduced to Parliament that an appropriate balance would have to be reached so that prostitution was not overtly promoted. Mr Goff had other concerns over prostitution including whether the illegality of prostitution was contributing to the spread of infectious diseases.

103

Brett, Cate. "Sex in the City." *Press*, February 12 2000, Weekend, 1-2.

Includes an interview with Terry Rex Brown, who has what the article describes as a "controlling interest" in six Christchurch massage parlours. At the moment he describes himself as a consultant but if prostitution becomes decriminalised he says he could move from "consultant to investor". He says that investment in the sex industry can bring returns of 100% in one year. Brown is sick of the hypocrisy with massage parlours being in fact brothels. He comments that police officers and council workers use massage parlours. Notes the increasing competition to massage parlours from private escorts - in the last three years that the number of private escorts in Christchurch has risen from 297 to 440. Reports comments from the police that while nearly every massage parlour in Christchurch could be closed down for brothel keeping they choose to simply check parlours for women under 18 and women who have not been vetted for criminal convictions. The article also contains a summary of "prostitution reform at a glance" that includes "The status quo", "Why change?" and "What's proposed?"

104

Brett, Cate. "Parlour Games." *Press*, February 12 2000, Weekend, 2.

Interviews Kate and Janet, who are the owners of a massage parlour called L'Apartmente, which specialises in bondage and discipline. Comments on their case against the Inland Revenue Department, which argued that their workers were employees and that the parlour was therefore liable for \$300 000 tax on their earnings. The parlour successfully argued that their workers were independent contractors who were liable for their own tax. Both women support decriminalisation of prostitution and want to see an end to private unlicensed escorts. They also wish to see a continuing police involvement in the industry, who they say have always been "decent, respectful, and very accommodating." They say that the police "play a role in maintaining basic quality control."

105

Wall, Tony. "Sex Trade Casts Dark Shadow over Suburbia." *New Zealand Herald*, February 12-13 2000, A6.

Reports on young sex workers who solicit near Hunters Plaza in Papatoetoe. This has caused some annoyance to local residents. Describes a police operation to arrest both client and prostitute for offensive behaviour. At the end of the evening however the police had made no arrests. Senior Sergeant David Simpson says that they need to look at the environmental and social causes of this prostitution. He does not believe that prostitution will ever disappear though.

106

Bain, Helen. "Young Nats 'Get Radical'." *Press*, March 27 2000, 9.

At their conference, the Young Nationals passed a remit calling for soliciting by prostitutes to be decriminalised. Young Nationals President Daniel Gordon said that this was now official Young Nationals policy and would be put to the National Party. The Young Nationals think that the present law on soliciting is hypocritical in that it is legal for clients to ask for sex for money but not legal for prostitutes to offer sex for money. Notes that Women's Affairs Minister Laila Harre also supports the decriminalisation of soliciting.

107

"Why Me? Asks Brothel Accused." *Dominion*, March 30 2000, 7.

Notes that the owner of an escort agency questioned why her agency was targeted by police when there were many other similar businesses. In court, Constable Darryl Sweeney said that the police had confidential information about her business. Constable Sweeney said that the policy that the police operate with the Wellington sex industry is that they will not allow sex businesses to be associated with organised crime or drugs, and that the businesses must not employ underage girls.

108

Ansley, Bruce. "Sex & the City." *Listener*, April 1 2000, 18-23.

Refers to the murder of prostitute Lisa Blakie and reports on a draft Christchurch School of Medicine study of sex workers in New Zealand that was headed by Libby Plumridge. Finds that there are fundamentally two types of prostitution in New Zealand: parlour and escort work, which is more comfortable, and street work. Notes that the financial motivation was the same for both types of workers but that parlour and escort workers were not forced into sex work by poverty. Gives examples of the experiences of sex workers and comments on the stigmatisation of prostitutes. Notes that sex work is difficult but that it is made more difficult by the law. Notes that Tim Barnett and Laila Harre are working on a draft bill decriminalising prostitution.

109

"Child Prostitute Law Prompted by World Treaty." *Dominion*, May 17 2000, 7.

Labour Minister Margaret Wilson said that the *Crimes Act 1961* will be amended so that there will be a new offence of engaging in sexual activity with a prostitute under the age of 18 years. This legislation would be introduced in late July. This is so the New Zealand will be able to ratify the *International Labour Organisation Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention*. The convention provides a framework so that a child's work experience is "safe, healthy and non-exploitative".

110

Espiner, Guyon. "Revamp for Sex Industry." *Sunday Star Times*, August 20 2000, A5.

Reports that Christchurch Central MP Tim Barnett is about to lodge a private member's bill that would repeal laws relating to prostitution and make the sex industry subject to the same laws that regulate other businesses. The article reports the objectives of the bill and notes the support of National MP Maurice Williamson. Mr Williamson noted that most National MPs would support decriminalising soliciting as long as it was confined to appropriate areas. The Alliance and the Green Party support decriminalising prostitution. Justice Spokesperson for ACT Stephen Franks said that ACT's starting position would be that "what adults do is their own business". New Zealand First Leader Winston Peters said that his caucus had not discussed decriminalisation but he did not expect them to support it.

111

Plumridge, Libby, and Gillian Abel. "Services and Information Utilised by Female Sex Workers for Sexual and Physical Safety." *New Zealand Medical Journal* 113, no. 1117 (2000): 370-372.

An article that reports on research that examined the services utilised by female sex workers in Christchurch for sexual and physical safety. GPs were the most commonly used provider of sexual health services. Found that of the 250 women who reported adverse events, 230 did not report them to the police. This was mostly because the matter was "not serious enough" but 20% of the women did not believe that the police would help.

112

Wellwood, Elinore. "MP Seeks to Decriminalise Prostitution." *Press*, September 21 2000, 2.

Tim Barnett's bill to decriminalise prostitution was introduced into Parliament yesterday. Justice Minister Phil Goff will introduce new legislation in two weeks that will make it illegal to have sex with a prostitute who is under 18 years of age. Christchurch vice squad Detective Doug Parker said that he supported decriminalisation as better for all concerned. He said that all massage parlours could be shut down and hundreds of street walkers and escorts could be arrested but that this would not achieve anything. However he noted that decriminalisation in Australia had led to a 400% increase in prostitution. Tim Barnett said that a range of parties had said that they were likely to support his bill.

113

Laws, Michael. "Awe-Inspiring Sex Workers Want It Both Ways." *Sunday Star Times*, September 24 2000, A9.

Michael Laws gives his view on the proposal to decriminalise prostitution. He is in "awe" of those who ply the sex trade and let unattractive strangers have intimate access to their bodies. He notes that there is no shortage of sex workers with there being at estimated 1200 sex workers in Wellington alone. Points out that according to the NZPC they are there almost always to make money. Michael Laws believes that the current bill is too loose and he believes that it would be better to legalise and regulate both brothels and prostitutes. With decriminalisation prostitutes will be able to ply their trade without minimal restrictions such as mandatory health checks, licensing of establishments, and monitoring of tax liabilities. He believes the bill can be modified at a select committee to protect both clients and the public. He believes that if something is legalised it eventually becomes acceptable, however he still thinks that the state has no "role in the bedrooms of its citizens".

114

Healy, Catherine. "Sex Laws." *Sunday Star Times*, October 1 2000, A10.

This is a response from Catherine Healy to Michael Laws' column in the previous week's *Sunday Star Times*, which is item number 113 in this bibliography. She considers that in making the sex industry conform to the regulations that govern every other industry that it in fact constitutes major reform. Currently sex workers are denied employment protection or legal redress but must pay tax. She says that the bill disallows coercive practices, allows prostitutes to say "no" to clients, and will enable police to protect sex workers. She comments that mandatory testing of sex workers for sexually transmitted infections is discouraged by the United Nations global programme on AIDS and by the World Health Organisation. The bill addresses public health by requiring sex business operators to actively support safer sex practices.

115

Ngatoko, Lavinia. "Sex Bill Unsafe and Immoral." *Challenge Weekly*, October 3 2000, 7.

This article reports on the negative reaction from a number of Christian organisations to the launch of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Graham Capill, the Leader of the Christian Heritage Party, says that the *Bill* is "unsafe and immoral" and will increase the number of prostitutes. Andrew Blake,

Chairman of Drug Arm Auckland, says that the Bill will lead to more women soliciting. The Rev Sue Jacobi of the St Philips Co-op Parish in Pt Chevalier says that sex is part of a relationship between a husband and wife. The National Director of Promise Keepers, Paul Subritzky, says legalising prostitution will further blur the distinction between right and wrong.

116

Rush, Christine. "Rapid Progress on Sex Industry Bill a 'Fluke'." *Press*, October 9 2000, 4.

Tim Barnett said that it was a "complete fluke" that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* was drawn at random from an old biscuit tin the day after it was introduced into Parliament. Some other bills had been waiting in the tin for two years. The *Prostitution Reform Bill* will have its first reading in Parliament on Wednesday and if it passes it will be referred to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee for public consultation. Tim Barnett said the *Bill's* strength was its brevity and that it was a logical way to ensure health provision, improve employment and legal status, and protect under-age women.

117

"Prostitution Law Change Favoured, Poll Finds." *Press*, October 17 2000, 9.

According to a One News-Colmar Brunton poll of 1000 people, 57% favoured decriminalising prostitution with 34% against. The article notes that a bill to decriminalise prostitution is being debated in Parliament and that there will be a conscience vote on its first reading in about four weeks.

118

Osborne, Candice. "Prostitution Bill Is a Moral and Health Disaster." *Challenge Weekly*, October 24 2000, 3.

Former MP, Graeme Lee, has stated that the decriminalising of prostitution would be "a moral and health disaster". He believes that decriminalisation would lead to a large increase in the number of workers in the sex industry. He feels that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* does not have enough provisions to limit the growth of prostitution. John Stringer, Chairman of Christian Voice, a special interest group within the National Party, believes that decriminalisation will not slow the spread of AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections. He believes also that decriminalisation will normalise prostitution and have a detrimental effect on young male attitudes to sex and women. Mr Stringer believes that sex is not simply another business transaction.

Robinson, Helen. "Prostitution Reform Gets Support from Both Sides." *Express*, October 26 2000, 3.

This article comments on the beginning of the debate in Parliament on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Tim Barnett introduced the *Bill* with support from the National Party's Maurice Williamson and the Alliance's Liz Gordon. The article explains that the *Bill* will decriminalise soliciting, brothel keeping, and living off the earnings of prostitution. Barnett sees the *Bill* as common sense and cited 410 convictions under the current law. He also cited the "countless hours of police time engaged in an essentially moral and unproductive crusade". Barnett states that his three reasons for interest in law reform were that his Christchurch Central electorate contains the country's second largest concentration of the sex industry, that he sees prostitution reform as a human rights issue, and that as a gay man he works daily with issues related to sex and sexuality. Maurice Williamson stated that MPs in conservative seats should not fear supporting the *Bill* because Fran Wilde increased her majority after sponsoring homosexual law reform. Liz Gordon stated that: "The sheer irrationality of the current law demands change."

"Women MPs Get Behind Prostitution Bill." *Dominion*, November 9 2000, 1.

Reports that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* passed its first reading yesterday with MPs voting 87-21 to send it to a select committee for public submissions. Labour MP Georgina Beyer talked about her personal experiences of working as a prostitute. Reports that the bill was strongly supported by women MPs - Alliance MP Liz Gordon called the current law "archaic" and National MP Anne Tolley said the current law stigmatised female workers and protected male clients. However NZ First MP Peter Brown said that only 49 people were convicted for soliciting in 1999 and that he did not think that presented a big problem. National MP Brian Neeson feared open soliciting, which could be embarrassing.

"Prostitution Bill Defended." *Otago Daily Times* 2000, A7.

Tim Barnett says that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* may encourage street workers into brothels because currently prostitutes with prostitution or drug convictions are not allowed to work in massage parlours. However he does not believe that the decriminalisation of prostitution will cause an increase in the number of prostitutes because he believes that prostitution is essentially "demand driven" and that the law does not increase sexual libido. Mr Barnett says that police were concerned about the coercion of sex workers and a coercion clause might be "tightened up" during the select committee stage.

122

Paltridge, Antony. "State to Keep Tabs on Sex Industry." *Evening Post*, November 21 2000, 2.

Reports that the Justice and Electoral Select Committee advertised for public submissions on the *Prostitution Reform Bill* on Saturday. Submissions close on February 26 2001. Tim Barnett welcomes the involvement of the State's agencies in treating the sex industry like any other business. He said that the sex industry would have to deal with agencies such as public health bodies, Occupational Safety and Health, and Labour Department inspectors. OSH spokesman Justin Brownlie said that the sex industry appears to be already taking good health and safety measures. Labour Department chief labour inspector Mike Feely said defining employment relationships may be difficult in the sex industry.

123

Osborne, Candice. "Prostitution Bill Anti Family." *Challenge Weekly*, November 21 2000, 4.

Ken Orr from Right to Life New Zealand says that the passing of the *Prostitution Reform Bill* by Parliament to a select committee is a cause of shame. He believes that prostitution is sexual violence against women. National MP, Eric Roy, believes that the *Bill* is anti family and lacks equity. He does not believe that the *Bill*, which encourages promiscuity, will improve sexual health. John Stringer of Christian Voice says that the *Bill* will reduce choices for women as it could force them to make immoral choices. The *Bill* commodifies women as sex objects and quantifies sex as another economic transaction. Leader of the Christian Heritage Party, Graham Capill, believes that the government should investigate why women enter prostitution. He does not believe that women do it as a career choice. The article concludes by stating that the select committee will soon call for submissions.

124

Parker, Wendy. "Prostitution Reform Bill." *Feminist Law Bulletin New Zealand Aotearoa*, no. 6 (2000): 1-3.

Summarises the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and gives its background. Gives some perceived weaknesses of the *Bill* such as its reliance on correct implementation and its dependence on how the police and OSH interpret their roles. For example, a rigorous enforcement of health and safety regulations could send many operators out of business, which may decrease work options for sex workers. Analyses many of the provisions of the *Bill* in some detail such as the clauses dealing with under-age sex workers, safer sex practices and coercion.

125

Wilson, Tim. "The Whore Next Door." *Metro*, December 2000, 50-58.

A substantial article that investigates the sex industry in Auckland and provides background to the proposed decriminalisation of prostitution. Explains the existing law and the growth of the sex industry in the suburbs of Auckland. This article interviews sex workers who work from home and a massage parlour owner. Notes that all the sex workers spoken to in the preparation of this article had been sexually abused. Includes interviews with Tim Barnett; Richard Northey, an Auckland City Councillor; Robin Poole, Auckland district licensing officer for massage parlours; Catherine Robinson from the NZPC; and two police officers, Detective Inspector Kevin Baker and Senior Sergeant Dave Simpson. Reports on the mid-1999 audit known as Operation Rubdown by police of Auckland's sex industry. The article includes arguments both for and against the decriminalisation of prostitution. Also includes a number of statistics about prostitution in New Zealand.

126

Hann, Sheryl, and John Wren. "Decriminalisation: The Key to Health and Safety in the Sex Industry." *Employment Law Bulletin*, January 2001, 9-10.

An article that argues that occupational health and safety within the sex industry in New Zealand is a major issue for sex workers and one that can only be dealt with properly once prostitution is decriminalised. Justin Brownley from OSH head office in Wellington states that OSH recognises biological hazards and violence at work as two of the main safety issues within the sex industry. The article notes that sex workers are also liable to suffer repetitive stress injuries, respiratory infections, emotional stress and alcohol and drug dependence. As many activities around prostitution are illegal, prostitutes at present are unlikely to obtain health and safety information from their place of work. States that the NZPC believes that occupational health and safety can only be dealt with properly once prostitution is decriminalised.

127

Romans, Sarah E., Kathleen Potter, Judy Martin, and Peter Herbison. "The Mental and Physical Health of Female Sex Workers: A Comparative Study." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 35 (2001): 75-80.

This article reports on research that rates the mental and physical health of female sex workers with standard tests. It found no evidence that sex work and increased adult psychiatric morbidity are inevitably associated although there may be subgroups with particular problems. However the article noted

that the stigmatisation and the illegal nature of sex work are likely to make public health strategies more difficult to apply. Noted that one third of the prostitutes did not reveal their occupation to their general practitioner.

128

Bain, Helen. "Changing the Rules of the Game." *Dominion*, January 25 2001, 9.

Reports comments from MPs Tim Barnett, Maurice Williamson, and Georgina Beyer all of whom support the decriminalisation of prostitution. Interviews a sex worker who works from home and who had not heard about the proposed law changes. Noted that the parlour owners spoken to in the course of writing this article were largely in support of the proposed law changes. Reports that some MPs have serious reservations against the *Bill* including Peter Brown, Eric Roy and Brian Neeson. The police do not yet have an official viewpoint and will make a submission to the select committee. Catherine Healy says the 410 convictions for soliciting over the last five years are "surprisingly high". Contains a list of the MPs and whether they voted for or against the bill going to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee.

129

Plumridge, Libby, and Gillian Abel. "A 'Segmented' Sex Industry in New Zealand: Sexual and Personal Safety of Female Sex Workers." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 25, no. 1 (2001): 78-83.

This article reports on research into the sexual and personal safety of female sex workers using a survey of 303 Christchurch sex workers. It notes that sex workers in New Zealand can be divided into street and indoor workers. These two types of workers have different characteristics and needs. Points out the difficulty of establishing facts about the sex industry in New Zealand because legislation obliges all participants to be "covert". Concludes that "some measures of decriminalisation may be needed to bring the sex industry into the open and eradicate coercion, violence and exploitation."

130

"Prostitution Bill 'Harmful'." *Otago Daily Times*, February 23 2001, 16.

A brief article that reports on a written submission to the Justice and Electoral Reform Select Committee by American prostitution researcher, Melissa Farley. She said that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* would be harmful to women because it attempted to "normalise prostitution." She said no one would want a relative to become a prostitute and that laws could be introduced that provided alternatives for those in prostitution.

131

"Prostitute Age Law Change." *Evening Post*, March 30 2001, 2.

Reports that the *Crimes Act 1961* was amended yesterday so that sex with a prostitute under 18 years of age will now be illegal. Attorney-General Margaret Wilson says that this means that New Zealand will now be able to sign the *International Labour Organisation Convention on Child Protection*. The *Act* has also been amended to remove gender distinction - up until now the *Act* only referred to female prostitutes.

132

Andrew, Kelly, and NZPA. "Law to Help Vulnerable Prostitutes." *Press*, April 6 2001, 6.

Tim Barnett refers to the following study reported in item 129 in this bibliography. He says that the young street workers identified in the study will be less vulnerable if the *Prostitution Reform Bill* is passed. Mr Barnett said that the *Bill's* ban on coercion would give prostitutes greater control. Under the *Bill* clients would be liable if they had sex with a prostitute who was under 18 years of age. Also under the *Bill*, prostitutes with drug or soliciting convictions would be able to work in brothel. Mr Barnett also believes that prostitutes would feel more comfortable going to the police if they had been threatened with violence or assaulted. Notes that the Justice and Electoral Select Committee will hold public hearings in Wellington the week after Easter and in Christchurch in May.

133

Stevens, Mark. "Sex Trade Penetrates Inner-City Pads." *Evening Post*, April 23 2001, 3.

Notes a trend in Wellington whereby prostitutes and parlour operators are using apartments for their work. This is a trend away from the traditional Vivian St red-light district. Police vice detective Darryl Sweeney said that his made it harder for police to know what was happening. The article reports that in Wellington police and parlour wonders have an "open relationship".

134

Small, Vernon. "Sex Workers Say Bill Long Overdue." *New Zealand Herald*, April 27 2001, A6.

Reports on the submission to the parliamentary select committee by the national co-ordinator of the NZPC Catherine Healy. Among other points she made was that prostitutes opposed legalisation because licensing massage parlours had not worked. David Lane from the Society for the Protection of Community Standards however believed that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* was "de facto legalisation of prostitution". Christian Heritage Party Leader Graham Capill believes that the promiscuity inherent in prostitution is the major source of health risk and that clients should be charged along with the prostitutes. The article reports that the majority of MPs are likely to support the *Bill* when it comes before the House as a conscience vote.

135

Langdon, Christine. "Sex, Guys and Law Reform." *Dominion*, May 5 2001, Weekend Magazine, 2.

An article that reports on the lives of two sex workers: "Madison" and "Alanna". Both have been raped and coerced into having sex but did not feel that they could easily go to the police. Alanna believes that the stigmatisation of prostitutes forces them to remain in sex work. Madison has not reported the rapes that she has suffered because she wants to maintain her "clean record". Madison says that she would feel a lot safer if the *Prostitution Reform Bill* is passed because she will know that she cannot be prosecuted.

136

Logan, Bruce. "Prostitution Law No Cure for the Suffering." *Otago Daily Times*, May 7 2001, 13.

Bruce Logan does not believe that the reforms proposed by the *Prostitution Reform Bill* will help prostitutes. He believes that all prostitution causes suffering to women and that violence is intrinsic to prostitution. He thinks that to argue for a reform from a human rights perspective is ironic because prostitution is exploitative. Decriminalisation or legalisation would also normalise prostitution. He does not believe that the clause in the *Bill* prohibiting those under 18 from engaging in prostitution will be enforceable. He is also concerned about the children of prostitutes. He refers to a work written by Melissa Farley containing the experiences of sex workers. Bruce Logan believes that the only reform needed is to make pimps, customers and prostitutes all liable.

137

Osborne, Candice. "Prostitution: A Cancer on Society." *Challenge Weekly*, May 8 2001, 3.

This article reports that David Lane from the Society for the Promotion of Community Standards (SPCS) has made a submission to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee about the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He believes that prostitution can never become "destigmatised" and "normalised" as it is inherently detrimental and damaging. He states that for all parties prostitution is a morally repugnant "trade". SPCS believes that both parties in prostitution should be punished equally. He states that the Australian experience of legalisation has shown that it is detrimental. Graham Capill from the Christian Heritage Party also presented a submission to the Select committee. He concentrated on international law rather than morality. He stated that New Zealand has signed several conventions that require governments to suppress prostitution.

138

McKinlay, Tom. "Council May Get a Role in Brothels." *Southland Times*, May 9 2001, 3.

The Environmental and Planning Services Committee of the Invercargill City Council backed a submission on the *Prostitution Reform Bill* by Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ). LGNZ compared regulating prostitution with the role already played by councils in regulating the liquor industry. The Council loses money on its liquor-licensing role because the fees set by central government do not cover costs. LGNZ also said that the *Resource Management Act* might give councils little ability to control the siting of brothels. Councillor Neil Boniface said that the Council's district plans did not give it any ability to control prostitutes working from home however he believed that because communities had a say in their district plans that it was better that communities decided rather than central government. Heather Thomson said that LGNZ's submission was more relevant to bigger centres, where prostitutes worked in brothels.

139

Dearnaley, Mathew. "Auckland Shame: Children for Sale." *New Zealand Herald*, May 10 2001, A13.

Reports concern from various agencies that young people are prostituting themselves on the streets of Auckland. Notes comments from Commissioner for Children Roger McClay that there would be no child prostitutes without adults who are depraved enough to seek out their services. While a recent

amendment to the *Crimes Act* has raised minimum age for paid sex to 18, Tim Barnett says it still allows a client the defence of reasonable belief that a prostitute is old enough. However his *Prostitution Reform Bill* aims to put the onus on the client with a penalty of up to seven years in prison for paid sex with anyone aged under 18.

140

Gregory, Angela. "Unlicensed Sex Firms 'to Treble'." *New Zealand Herald*, May 17 2001, A6.

In a written submission, the Auckland Massage Operators Association said that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* should ban advertising of commercial sex unless operators were licensed. Auckland had 45 established massage parlours that operated with a council health protection licence but other premises did not conform to standards. Auckland Massage Parlour operator Ray Miller said that hundreds of unlicensed operators were advertising commercial sex and he predicted that decriminalisation would treble those choosing to operate that way because they would no longer fear prosecution. Notes a joint submission by the Auckland and Manukau City Councils, which recommends that the *Bill* be amended to give local authorities power over the location of brothels, and control over their signs. The councils also want to limit where prostitutes are allowed to solicit.

141

Rush, Christine. "Bold Prostitutes Anger Residents." *Press*, May 23 2001, 3.

Some Christchurch residents are unhappy with the behaviour of prostitutes in their neighbourhood. The residents did not want to be identified for fear of reprisals from pimps, many of whom had gang connections. Police had prepared a submission to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee but had decided not to present it. Deputy Commissioner Steve Long said that the police did not believe that it was their role to get involved in the political process of formulating legislation. Police Association President Greg O'Connor said that Mr Barnett was incorrect if he believed that making prostitution legal would remove its criminality. He said that gangs were heavily involved in prostitution in Christchurch and it funded other activities such as drugs. Mr Barnett said that sex workers needed to "accept the sensitivities that can be involved" when working in or near a residential area.

142

Milne, Jonathan. "Christians Support Prostitutes over Bill." *Press*, June 7 2001, 7.

The YWCA supports the decriminalisation of prostitution. YWCA National Spokeswoman Marion Wood has made a submission to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee. The YWCA would prefer that prostitution did not exist but felt the powerlessness of sex workers should be addressed. The YWCA has been working with the NZPC. It believes that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* provides protection against coercion and exploitation.

143

Entwistle, Peter. "Ingrained Stigma Core of Objection." *Otago Daily Times*, June 14 2001, 13.

Dunedin writer Peter Entwistle argues against Bruce Logan's opinions expressed in item 136 in this bibliography. He says that while Bruce Logan argues against women prostitutes he forgets male prostitutes. He questions whether prostitutes who willingly provide sexual services are doing themselves any harm. The real problem is "whore stigma", which Peter Entwistle argues is simply prejudice. Judaism, Christianity and Islam forbid the selling of sex but religion cannot be the basis of law in a secular society.

144

Logan, Bruce. "The Suffering of Women." *Challenge Weekly*, July 3 2001, 3-4.

Bruce Logan writes that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* does not address the pivotal issue: "the suffering of women". He says that all prostitution causes harm to women whether it is decriminalised, legal or illegal. Violence and suffering are intrinsic to prostitution. He also does not believe that the law will prevent under 18-year-olds becoming prostitutes. Studies are quoted that support his views. He believes that the only reform needed is to make a law that ensures that pimps, customers and prostitutes are all charged. It would also be essential to have rehabilitation programmes that enable women to escape prostitution.

145

Robinson, Helen. "Pumping in Parliament." *Express*, July 5 2001, 3.

Calum Bennachie from Pride and Unity for Male Prostitutes (PUMP) has told the Justice and Electoral Reform Select Committee that while PUMP supported the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and its aims that it thought that changes needed to be made. PUMP's recommendations included making sure that sex workers who work from home do not have their homes classified as brothels; making owners as well as managers responsible for how brothels are run; making discrimination illegal if someone was or had been a sex worker; and making it illegal to compile a list of sex workers. Bennachie says that the commission was receptive but said that they could have had some of the information if they had read PUMP's written submission properly.

146

George, Garth. "Blind Spot in the Feminist Fervour." *New Zealand Herald*, July 19 2001, A11.

Garth George comments that he believes that the aims of the *Prostitution Reform Bill* were framed by people who do not know the "grubby world of brothels, procurers, pimps and prostitutes" He thinks that because the *Bill* passed its first reading 87-21 that it will become law. He believes that the provisions of the *Bill* are in contravention of three United Nations conventions of which New Zealand is a member. The conventions that he believes the *Bill* contravenes are: *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; *The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*; and *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. Garth George believes that the *Bill* will make prostitution a legitimate career and lead to an increase in prostitution.

147

Bradford, Sue. "Sex Workers Deserve Protection of the Law." *New Zealand Herald*, July 30 2001, A11.

Green MP Sue Bradford responds to Garth George's article, which is item 146 in this bibliography. She finds the article offensive and says that many MPs including her know the reality of prostitution. She believes that the present law is outdated and based on Biblical morality. She does not think that sex workers should be made criminals simply because the *Bible* says that prostitution is wrong. She says that the *Bible* takes a stronger stand against adultery than it does against whoredom yet she believes few people would want to see adultery criminalised. She thinks that some Christians will support prostitution reform even though they do not approve of prostitution because they will not condemn the actions of others and will show love and compassion.

Lane, David. "The Prostitution Reform Bill." *Cutting Edge*, August/September 2001, 33-39.

David Lane, who is Secretary and Spokesperson for the Society for the Promotion of Community Standards (SPCS), provides background on the current law regulating prostitution in New Zealand and the changes proposed by the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. In this substantial article he argues against the decriminalisation of prostitution. He believes that prostitution is fundamentally different from other occupations and should not be treated in the same way as other employment. Decriminalisation will increase the government's tax revenue and will benefit those in control of the 'industry' while doing nothing for the prostitutes themselves. New Zealand should be suppressing the "exploitation of prostitution" as it is bound to by international treaties rather than encouraging more women to become prostitutes. The *Bill* will exacerbate child prostitution and increase sexually transmitted infections. He believes that both the client and the prostitute should be criminally liable.

George, Garth. "Of Power Cuts, Prostitutes and the First Scarlet Woman." *New Zealand Herald*, August 2 2001, A17.

Garth George responds to Sue Bradford's article, which is item 147 in this bibliography. He says that he was not arguing from any "spiritual base" but simply from the "perspective of human rights and the protection of women". He says that just as lowering the drinking age has increased the amount of teenage drinking so the decriminalisation of prostitution will bring sexual and social problems.

Coney, Sandra. "No Equality between Sexes While Prostitution Exists." *Sunday Star Times*, August 12 2001, C8.

Sandra Coney believes that prostitution is inherently degrading to women. She considers that the current trend to regard prostitutes as powerful is incorrect. She does not believe that women "choose" prostitution but are forced into it by a lack of better employment prospects. She considers prostitution to be a feminist issue and that it reinforces the urge of men to dominate women. Prostitution reform will make prostitution an acceptable part of society. Sex equality will not exist while prostitution exists.

151

Langdon, Christine. "Massage - There's the Rub." *Dominion*, August 16 2001, 2.

Massage therapists want a law change that would end the link between themselves and sex workers, industry spokesman Grant Jones told the Justice and Electoral Reform Select Committee. Grant Jones says that once the *Bill* passes that they will work with the NPZC to have massage parlour signs removed.

152

Young, Audrey. "MPs Off to Visit Red Light Areas." *New Zealand Herald*, August 16 2001, A3.

Reports that five MPs will go to Australia tomorrow to find out the consequences of prostitution reform in Melbourne and Sydney. The MPs, who are all members of the Justice and Electoral Select Committee, are Wayne Mapp, Tim Barnett, Georgina te Heuheu, Phillida Bunkle, and Nanaia Mahuta. Prostitution in Victoria is legalised while it has been decriminalised in New South Wales.

153

Langdon, Christine. "MPs Walk on Sydney's Wild Side - in the Interest of Law." *Press*, August 20 2001, 2.

Reports that the five MPs who have gone to Australia to look at the experience of prostitution reform there have visited Melbourne and are at present in Sydney. Mr Barnett says that Melbourne and Sydney are examples of the two major reform models that the Justice and Electoral Select Committee are looking at. In Sydney they will meet with Sydney sex workers, sexual health workers, and local authority representatives.

154

Lamb, Tim. "Council in Control of Brothels?" *Press*, August 23 2001, 1.

The Christchurch City Council has made a submission to the Justice and Law Reform Select Committee and said that if brothels become legal they should be "tightly regulated by local authorities" and should be in the same category as casinos and the sale of liquor. The Council also said that brothels are fundamentally different from other types of business and that there should be explicit legislation so that local authorities can regulate them. The article also briefly reports on submissions from other organisations and includes a summary of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*.

155

"New Zealand Urged to Reject Australia's Brothel Policy." *Challenge Weekly*, August 28 2001, 5.

This article quotes the Rev. Fred Nile, who is the leader of the Australian Christian Democratic Party, and a member of the New South Wales Parliament. He had recently visited Auckland as a guest speaker at the Christian Heritage Party Triennial Conference. He describes the situation in New South Wales after the decriminalisation of prostitution there. He says that decriminalisation has led to a large increase in the number of brothels. In addition he also claims that thousands of 'young girls' are being exploited. Fred Nile believes that organised prostitution and brothels should be outlawed.

156

Langdon, Christine. "Make 16 Legal Age for Prostitution, Says AIDS Foundation." *Dominion*, August 30 2001, 2.

In a submission to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee Kevin Hague from the New Zealand AIDS Foundation said that the legal age for prostitution should be 16 rather than 18 as proposed in the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He believes that there is no justification for the age to be different from the age of consent for sexual behaviour. If the legal age is set at 18, 16 and 17 year old prostitutes would be forced underground and be at more risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections. The New Zealand AIDS Foundation strongly supported most of the *Bill*.

157

Osborne, Candice. "Outrage over Lowering Legal Prostitution Age." *Challenge Weekly*, September 11 2001, 7.

SPCS is outraged by the call from the New Zealand AIDS Foundation to lower the legal age for prostitution in the *Prostitution Reform Bill* from 18 to 16. This reduction in age is also supported by the Family Planning Association. According to David Lane from SPCS this would breach the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which New Zealand ratified in 1993. In this convention a child is defined as being under 18 years of age. David Lane believes that the New Zealand AIDS Foundation has revealed its ethical bankruptcy.

Robinson, Helen. "Legal Age for Prostitution Should Be 16 -AIDS Foundation, MPs." *Express*, September 13 2001, 3.

The New Zealand AIDS Foundation has called for the legal age for prostitution to be 16 years rather than 18 as proposed in the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Green Party MP, Sue Bradford, and ACT MP, Stephen Franks, also support this measure. Kevin Hague from the New Zealand AIDS Foundation states that as the age of consent in New Zealand is 16 years it is logical to have the prostitution age consistent with this. He also states that under existing law it is legal for 16 and 17 year olds to be prostitutes so the proposed new law would make the situation worse for them. Bradford says that 16 and 17 year olds are vulnerable so that they need protection from the *Bill*. Stephen Franks says that 16 years makes sense because he questions why it should be legal to do something for free but illegal to do it for money. However he is ambivalent about the *Bill* and states that there is a lack of evidence in some of the submissions. He also believes that from an economic point of view that when supply barriers are removed the price will drop, supply will increase and people move into niche activities.

Robinson, Helen. "Further Calls for Lower Legal Age for Prostitution." *Express*, September 27 2001, 3.

Tim Barnett says that he now believes that the legal age for prostitution should be 16. He has changed his mind because of the submissions that he has heard. Catherine Healy of the NZPC says that 16 and 17 year old workers need the protection that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* offers: making their work illegal would put them in danger. Kevin Hague from the New Zealand AIDS Foundation says that the *Bill* will make it worse for under 18-year-old sex workers; for example, they would be reluctant to seek medical attention. The article notes that Green Party MP, Sue Bradford, and ACT MP, Stephen Franks, have also supported making 16 the legal age for prostitution.

Bennachie, Calum. "Hey! It's My Body. Okay?" *Out!*, October/November 2001, 24-25.

This article is written by Calum Bennachie, who is PUMP (Pride and Unity for Male Prostitutes) Co-ordinator, for the NZPC. He introduces the reasons for the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and the problems with the existing law. These include the necessity for massage parlour workers to have their names appear on a register. Fundamentally sex workers have very limited rights and because of this they are exploited. The advantages of the *Bill* are described including the requirement to provide safer sex education literature and to "take all reasonable steps" to ensure that clients use condoms. It will also allow sex workers to say "no" to certain clients or practices.

Andy. "A Toy-Boy's Story." *Out!*, October/November 2001, 25.

A brief article written by a male sex worker in which he describes his reasons for supporting decriminalisation. He is a university graduate who has been able to have a good lifestyle while at university because of the money that he has made through sex work. However he could be arrested and charged with soliciting under present law. This would affect his future career because he would no longer be able to go to Japan to teach English. He thinks that he is harming no one and that prostitution is a victimless crime.

Paltridge, Antony. "NZ Advised against Regulating Sex Industry." *Evening Post*, October 5 2001, 3.

Basil Donovan, who is the director of Sydney's Sexual Health Service, said that New Zealand should not regulate prostitution because it creates two classes of prostitutes: those who are registered and those who are not. Overseas experience had shown that overall rates of sexually transmitted infections are higher among unregistered prostitutes. Registration also encouraged police corruption whereas with decriminalisation police corruption linked to the sex industry disappeared. Dr Donovan said that having the legal age for prostitution at 18 would marginalise 16 and 17 year old sex workers. He also said that decriminalisation would not necessarily increase the size of the sex industry because in Sydney the sex industry was probably half the size that it was 20 years ago.

163

"Outrage at Calls to Lower Prostitution Age." *Challenge Weekly*, November 27 2001, 6.

The Society for the Promotion of Community Standards (SPCS) believes that the New Zealand AIDS Foundation's call to lower the legal age for prostitution is irresponsible and injurious to the public good. The spokesperson for SPCS, David Lane, has produced a seven page critique of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*, which has been sent to every Member of Parliament. He includes statistics from ECPAT (an international body that combats child prostitution and trafficking) that state that 3,733 children are currently engaged in commercial sexual services in Australia. David Lane states that extensive research has shown that prostitution is detrimental and injurious to the vast majority of women involved in it.

164

Osborne, Candice. "Airing the Truth About Prostitution." *Challenge Weekly*, December 11 2001, 4.

The Society for the Promotion of Community Standards (SPCS) has produced a video showing the arguments for and against the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. The video has been shown on Wellington Television and also on Elijah Television. David Lane of SPCS says that he has spoken with National MP, Anne Tolley, about prostitution reform. The article reports that the Select Committee has delayed its report and is now expected to report on March 8 2002. SPCS sees prostitution as exploitation and abuse. Prostitution should never be treated as a legitimate occupation by the law. SPCS says that the *Bill* will achieve nothing and will not make it easier for prostitutes to leave the industry. Nor will it deal with the growing problem of child prostitution. SPCS recommends criminalisation of the client.

165

"Controversial Billboard." *Challenge Weekly*, January 21 2002, 3.

Describes the controversy generated by a Wellington billboard that states: "Jesus loves hookers. Support the Prostitutes Reform Bill. God knows we need it. The Blue Note." The Blue Note is a bar in Cuba Street, which is an area in Wellington known for prostitution. Some Christians have made the comment that while Jesus loves prostitutes he does not want them to continue to engage in prostitution. Rev Graham Capill does not believe that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* shows love to prostitutes and in fact removes protections that prostitutes already have and will enslave them. Pastor Graham Sutherland, who is the pastor at Church on Cuba, says that Jesus can bring freedom from prostitution.

Robinson, Rex. "Fancy a Bad Time, Mate?" *Evidence*, Autumn 2002, 37-39.

This article counters the argument from the NZPC that prostitution will be "cleaned up" if the *Prostitution Reform Bill* is passed. He gives seven reasons why prostitution will still cause problems. Rex Robinson argues that problems such as violence, drug abuse and disease are inherent to prostitution and cannot be changed by legislation. Overseas experience has shown that legalised or decriminalised prostitution increases problems rather than reduces them.

"10 Reasons Why Prostitution Law Reform Won't Work." *Evidence*, Autumn 2002, 40.

This article says that a similar law to the *Prostitution Reform Bill* was passed in New South Wales in 1995. The article says that this law has failed and provides 10 reasons against decriminalising prostitution using Australian examples. The reasons include that the number of legal and illegal brothels will increase; the number of street prostitutes will not decrease; juvenile prostitutes will still work the streets; violence against prostitutes will increase; sexually transmitted infections will increase; there will be an increase in trafficking in women; gangs and organised crime will gain more control; and advertising and recruiting will become more blatant.

Barnett, Tim. "I'm a Social Worker Who Goes All the Way'." *Express*, March 13 2002, 22.

This is an article written by Tim Barnett, who is the sponsor of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He comments how he is the inheritor of a 12-year-old project to reform prostitution law in New Zealand. He comments on the simplicity and the good practice of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He also comments that the *Bill* will allow people to exit the sex industry more easily. One of the reasons why it will be easier for people to exit the sex industry is that they will no longer be stigmatised because of criminal convictions. He also discusses the wide-ranging experiences that the Justice Select Committee has gone through while working on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He expects that debate and decisions on the *Bill* should be completed by August.

"The Prostitution Reform Bill." *Challenge Weekly*, April 8 2002, 7.

Documents a number of reasons why the *Prostitution Reform Bill* would not be good for New Zealand society. One of the reasons is that it would institutionalise prostitution, which would be equivalent to institutionalising abuse. The article disputes a number of the aims of the *Bill* and describes the "horrendous" results from Australian states that have legalised or decriminalised prostitution. The article states that prostitution is inherently different from other types of work and that running a brothel will never be "just like any other business". The *Prostitution Reform Bill* would cause further hardship to vulnerable women and society and is not worthy of a "decent country".

Van Wetering, Victor. "Lobbying Continues for Prostitution Law Change." *Express*, April 10 2002, 7.

This article reports that the New Zealand AIDS Foundation is lobbying MPs to support the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. A select committee has been studying reform for the last fifteen months and will report back to parliament within the next month. Kevin Hague from the New Zealand AIDS Foundation has written a letter to MPs, which states that the criminalisation of prostitution drives it underground and impedes HIV/AIDS prevention efforts. Kevin Hague also states that the Ministry of Health supports law change because of public health concerns. The article also includes comments from Catherine Healy, who notes that the *Bill* gives greater rights to sex workers by allowing them to refuse to provide sexual services. Tim Barnett says that the *Bill* draws on common sense and international best practice. He states that the present law convicts 75-80 people each year and stigmatises those who have been convicted.

Loh Ho-Sang, Mathew. "Sex in the City." *Evening Post*, April 20 2002, 13 and 19.

This article backgrounds the Wellington sex industry. According to Detective Sergeant Shane Cotter there are 14 registered massage parlours in the central city, three in the Hutt Valley, and one in Paraparaumu. Detective Sergeant Cotter notes that there are hundreds of other prostitutes working outside the registered parlours. Catherine Healy of the NZPC says that it is realistic to value the Wellington sex industry at \$30 million and the national total at \$400 million. Healy says that prices for sex are the same as they were 15 to 20 years ago. Economist Tony Alexander attributed the lack of income growth to more supply.

172

New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective. "Editorial." *Siren*, May 2002, 3.

A brief editorial that comments on some of the submissions at the hearings on the *Prostitution Reform Bill* before the Parliamentary Select Committee. The NZPC has attended most of the hearings and has heard submissions for and against the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. The editorial reinforces the fact the sex workers must pay tax on their income whether it is gained legally or not.

173

Ann. "Decriminalisation." *Siren*, May 2002, 4-6.

The author talks about her experiences as a sex worker that began twenty years ago on the Gold Coast. Comments how she lost all her assets through the assessment of taxation on her earnings when she became an owner of a parlour. Comments on the unfairness of paying ACC levies and income tax without receiving any benefits. The author now has a private daytime business, which she has had for six and a half years with no problems. Notes that at present brothel-keeping laws apply to even one-person businesses. The author is keen for decriminalisation so that sex workers are treated like other business people.

174

Espiner, Colin. "Govt Puts Prostitution Bill on Hold." *Press*, May 10 2002, 4.

Reports that the Justice and Electoral Select Committee needs more time to consider the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and that Parliament will not now consider the *Bill* until after the election. National and ACT claim that the *Bill* has been stalled because the Prime Minister does not want prostitution reform to be an election issue. Tim Barnett has said that the committee needed more time to work through such issues as resource management, the legal responsibilities for practising safe sex, police record keeping, the definition of sexual service, and harassment on the pavement. However MP Wayne Mapp believes that too much time has been spent on the *Bill*.

175

McNeil, John. "Prostitution Bill Inadequate." *Otago Daily Times*, May 14 2002, 9.

John McNeil, who is a researcher with the Maxim Institute, a research and policy organisation, thinks that prostitution law reform needs more

consideration.. After the decriminalisation of prostitution in New South Wales the number of brothels more than tripled in four years. Also there was a large increase in the number of illegal immigrants in those brothels. Quotes researcher Melissa Farley who said that prostitution and violence are "inevitably linked". Evidence is quoted that condoms do not provide the protection that is sometimes claimed for them. The author also believes that police will have fewer powers under decriminalisation compared with the present de facto licensing system. Concludes that criminalisation of the client would be a worthwhile option to consider.

176

Osborne, Candice. "Caution over Prostitution Bill Delay." *Challenge Weekly*, May 20 2002, 4.

Reports on suspicion for the cause of the delay by the Justice and Electoral Select Committee to report back. The date for reporting has been extended until 29 November. United Future MP, Peter Dunne, believes that the reason for the delay is that supporters of the *Bill* do not wish to draw attention to it during election year. Greg Fleming from the Maxim Institute says that the length of time taken by the Select Committee reflects difficulties with the *Bill*. He also claims that contrary to comments by proponents of the *Bill*, Australian experience has shown that prostitution increases when prostitution is decriminalised. Leader of the Christian Heritage Party, Graham Capill, also believes that the Government does not wish to have the *Bill* discussed before the 2002 General Election. He also states that experience in New South Wales has not been positive after decriminalisation of prostitution there.

177

Van Wetering, Victor. "Prostitution Law Reform on Hold." *Express*, May 22 2002, 4.

Reports that the Justice and Electoral Select Committee has asked for more time before reporting back on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Includes a note that during the last five years police have arrested approximately 400 sex workers with nearly half of these being male sex workers. The Committee wants more time to consider the *Bill*. Includes comments from New Zealand First and the NZPC.

178

Bunce, Melanie. "When All the Gang Helped Annabelle Break World Record." *Otago Daily Times*, May 24 2002, 17.

Dunedin student Melanie Bunce comments that while she was appalled by viewing a documentary about Annabelle Chong, who had sex with 251 men in ten hours, she fully supports the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. She thinks that the present law on prostitution is inconsistent. Melanie Bunce does not believe that legalisation will lead to more prostitution because there are already plenty of prostitutes who do not obey the present laws. She thinks that the legalisation of prostitution will give prostitutes the same rights as other workers and protect them from violence and intimidation. While prostitution objectifies women there are already many legal ways that women are objectified.

179

Foreman, Michael. "The Wages of Sin." *Independent*, August 7 2002, 16-17.

This is the first of a three part series on the "economic, tax and legal ramifications of Auckland's sex industry". Notes the concentration of Auckland's sex industry around Fort Street and one end of Karangahape Road. Describes the types of sexual services available and the procedures and costs. Interviews a regular user of sex services, who says that Auckland's red light districts have been in slow decline for the past two decades because the industry has moved to the suburbs.

180

Foreman, Michael. "The Wages of Sin." *Independent*, August 14 2002, 16-17.

This is the second of a three part series on Auckland's sex industry. In this article Michael Foreman talks to two strip club owners. Describes the background of Brian Le Gros, who is the owner of the Auckland strip club, The White House, and massage parlour, Monica's. He says attracting and keeping suitable staff is a problem. The other strip club owner, who the article calls "Mr Grey", also said that staff turnover was a problem. Describes the procedures that massage parlours owners take to stay within the law. Both owners think that the law should be changed. They cannot see any victims. Mr Grey says that the sex industry is heavily regulated because it is licensed and has police clearances. Mr Grey says that banks are now prepared to lend money for "red-light" businesses. He also believes that in excess of 90% of the custom is local rather than tourists.

Foreman, Michael. "The Wages of Sin." *Independent*, August 21 2002, 10.

This is the third of a three-part series on Auckland's sex industry. Reports comments from Jo Doolan, a tax partner at Ernst and Young, that many massage parlour workers should be classed as employees and have PAYE deducted from their earnings. Sex workers earnings are likely to come under more scrutiny by the IRD if the *Prostitution Reform Bill* becomes law. Notes submission from "Mr Grey" who runs a downtown strip club and massage parlour who believes that the *Bill* in its present form will create more problems than it solves. An unnamed police officer says that most police would prefer prostitution to be legalised with taxation paid and medical protection provided. Senior Sergeant Robert Lindsay says that strip clubs and massage parlours do not cause special policing problems and says that laws prohibiting brothel keeping are not enforced unless there is a complaint or another associated crime happening. Notes that many sex businesses are leaving Fort Street as property prices increase in that area.

Young, Audrey. "Legal Prostitution Seen as Bad for Sex Workers." *New Zealand Herald*, September 26 2002, A6.

Reports on submissions on the *Prostitution Reform Bill* from a number of different organisations. Jenny Horst from the Maxim Institute cited the experience of Sarah, an Australian prostitute, who found that prostitution was "much worse" in New South Wales, where it was decriminalised, than in Perth, where it was illegal. In New South Wales, there was a lot more competition and there was more pressure to "go further and do more". Catherine Healy from NZPC said that the *Bill* recognised the human rights of sex workers and said that she did not agree with the research of Dr Melissa Farley, who suggested that most prostitutes suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder as a consequence of their work. David Lane from the Society for the Protection of Community Standards said that while some prostitutes were victims others were "predators and their trade is morally repugnant".

Coddington, Deborah. "Why Prostitution Bill Won't Be Good for Women." *National Business Review*, October 4 2002, 21.

ACT MP Deborah Coddington gives her views on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. She has not yet made up her mind because while she values people's liberty she believes that removing the fear of prosecution will encourage vulnerable people to take it up. She does not believe that trading sex is the

same as any other commercial activity. She also questions whether many prostitutes become prostitutes voluntarily or rather because they have few choices. She does not believe that the *Bill* will be good for women and children.

184

McCarthy, Angela. "Sex Trade Ready for a Tidy-Up." *New Zealand Herald*, November 4 2002, E1.

This article includes comments from three sex workers: "Jenny", "Emma", and "Caroline". Jenny says that she chooses to be a sex worker and has a "strong sense of self-esteem". Catherine Healy from NZPC says that through the *Prostitution Reform Bill* there will be legal redress for sex workers who suffer exploitation. Notes that some sex workers do pay tax and ACC levies but receive limited benefits, as they may not want to explain their work situation to doctors or ACC. Estimates that street workers make up about five per cent of sex workers. The Massage Parlour Association wants prostitution decriminalised so that it can have legal contracts for sex workers. Notes that Emma has "gone private" and now works from a house that she owns and shares with other sex workers.

185

NZPA. "NZ 'out of Step' on Prostitution Reform." *Press*, November 6 2002, 7.

United Future MP Larry Baldock has returned from a trip to Sweden and is now certain that he is right in opposing the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He believes that the decriminalisation of street soliciting and pimping would be a violation of New Zealand's responsibilities under international treaties. As a signatory to a number of United Nations' resolutions, New Zealand is obliged to prevent illegal trafficking in women and children.

186

Crampton, Dave. "Sex Workers Need Curbs on Abuse." *New Zealand Herald*, November 11 2002, A17.

Wellington writer Dave Crampton states that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* does not adequately address some of the problems that it seeks to solve. For example no mention is made in the *Bill* about how sex workers will be helped to move out of the industry. Likewise no mention is made of how child prostitutes will be prevented from entering it. He believes that child street prostitutes should be protected while ensuring that they do not work in

massage parlours. Soliciting should also be restricted away from certain areas. Also notes that at present the legislation places no restrictions on advertising. Dave Crampton believes that if the *Bill* is not altered so that there is regulation or monitoring of the sex industry there is a large possibility that abuse will be normalised in the sex industry rather than minimised.

187

Knight, Kim, and Deidre Mussen. "Vicar Backs Prostitutes' Fight." *Sunday Star Times*, November 24 2002, A2.

Ian Lawton, who is an Anglican vicar, said that prostitution should be decriminalised. He thinks the moral question is quite secondary to the primary question of human rights. John Paterson, who is the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Auckland, said that Ian Lawton did not speak for all Anglicans and that there is no official Anglican position on prostitution reform. Catherine Healy from the NZPC said that while only 21 sex workers had faced court action in the last 12 months, there was always the threat of enforcement. Pastor Dafydd Hughes said that legalising prostitution would not help prostitutes. Lyndsay Freer, Communications Director of the Catholic Church, said that the Church supported any moves to promote human rights and protect individuals against violence, exploitation and the transmission of disease. However it did not condone prostitution and decriminalisation must not lead to normalisation. Tim Barnett believed that there was a theological argument in support of his proposals to decriminalise prostitution.

188

Stevens, Mark, and NZPA. "MPs to Vote on Prostitution Law." *Dominion Post*, November 30 2002, A3.

Reports that the select committee has reported back on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Tim Barnett said that there would be voting on the *Bill* early next year. Massage parlour owner Mark Bullock said that industry reform was needed but that he did not agree with the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He said that he supported decriminalisation with the licensing of parlours and a continuing degree of police control. A police source said that their biggest concern was organised drug and crime networks. It was reported that Wellington Central MP Marian Hobbs will support the *Bill*. Catherine Healy from the NZPC said that she "mostly supported" the *Bill*. The New Zealand AIDS Foundation supports the *Bill* but has some concerns because the responsibility for safe sex is placed on prostitutes. National Party Leader Bill English plans to vote against the *Bill* as it made people who were exploited for commercial gain more vulnerable.

Warren, Amanda. "Hot Debate Likely on Prostitution." *Press*, November 30 2002, A7.

Reports that the Justice and Electoral Select Committee has released its report on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Notes that after two years of consideration that the major elements of the original *Bill* are intact. There is new emphasis on strengthening the laws against coercion, raising penalties and reducing defences available to clients of prostitutes who are under 18. Even though the vote on the *Bill* will be a conscience vote, select committee member and United Future MP Larry Baldock said that the entire United Future party will be voting against it. The select committee said that it had taken a pragmatic approach neither condoning nor condemning prostitution. The New Zealand First member of the select committee does not support the *Bill*. The article reports that ACT supports the *Bill* while National opposes it. Tim Barnett says that the decision on prostitution law will have consequences long after the present generation of politicians has gone. He said the *Bill* was designed to improve the safety of prostitutes and remove unfairness in current law.

Laws, Michael. "Qantas, Like Lusty Men, Will Get Its End Away." *Sunday Star Times*, December 1 2002, A9.

Columnist Michael Laws comments that prostitution is "flourishing" in New Zealand and has become respectable enough to be considered for decriminalisation. He notes that there is an unexpected alliance between "radical feminists and Christian zealots". He says that both these groups are "illiberal control freaks". Michael Laws supports decriminalisation because he believes in the right of individuals to determine their own sexual morality. He does not think that the *Bill* should be supported for public health reasons because sex workers are already very careful. He says that most sex workers are sex workers by free choice because they want to earn money. He does not believe in leaving the law as it is - illegal but unpoliced - or in the criminalisation of the client.

Laugesen, Ruth. "Prostitutes Ready to Come out of Shadows." *Sunday Star Times*, December 1 2002, C6.

Megan Jebson, who has owned massage parlours for 20 years, says that she is registered with the IRD and has proper accounts prepared. Her workers must all have an IRD number because otherwise they would have to hide the cash rather than put it in the bank. Jebson says that decriminalisation will stop her

workers "living in fear". The article notes that the enforcement of prostitution-related offences is becoming more limited: a couple of years ago police recorded 53 prostitution-related offences, but by 2001/02 that had fallen to 29. Catherine Healy of NZPC says that decriminalisation will give sex workers the right to say "no" and to have enforceable employment contracts. Sandra Coney predicts that a law change will bring more brothels, more prostitution, and more competition. She thinks that the clients should be criminalised. Tim Barnett says that intellectually Coney has an argument but it does not work in practice. Labour MP Di Yates also opposes the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and cannot condone an industry that exploits and abuses women.

192

"Sex Industry Deserves Reform." *Waikato Times*, December 5 2002, 6.

This editorial supports the decriminalisation of prostitution. It believes that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* has a "sensible and mature approach". Notes that the *Bill* will remove the euphemism "massage parlour" and give sex workers the legitimacy to be the same as other workers. Comments on the present double standard in prostitution law. Notes arguments against decriminalisation from various groups and provides counter arguments. The article recognised that prostitution is a "dubious career - and a dangerous one" but states that prostitution will never be eliminated. Therefore the sex industry should be recognised as a legitimate business so that sex workers are not exploited and driven underground. States that it is still not clear whether the *Prostitution Reform Bill* has enough support to be passed as law.

193

"Prosecuting Buyers of Sex." *Challenge Weekly*, December 9 2002, 3.

Reports on a Colmar Brunton Research survey carried out on behalf of the Maxim Institute. According to the survey, 51% of the people interviewed were either in favour or undecided about whether the purchaser of sex should be prosecuted. According to the article, this is surprising because there has been little publicity given to this option. The survey showed differences in opinion between the cities and between men and women. Nearly half of all those under 30 were in favour of prosecuting buyers of sex.

Pepperell, Penny. "Prostitution Reform; Bill Reported Back from Committee." *Capital Letter* 25, no. 47 (2002).

Comments on the report of the Justice and Electoral Committee on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Remarks that there was a six-five division between the Committee and that there is a majority (Labour and Green members) report supporting the *Bill*. The separate National, NZ First and United Future minority reports prefer the Swedish approach of criminalising the client. The ACT member considers that the real aim of the *Bill's* promoters is to "normalise prostitution". Article backgrounds New Zealand prostitution law and refers to the different approaches in Victoria and New South Wales. Summarises recommended amendments to the *Bill* including recommendations on the promotion of safer sex practices, OSH guidelines, signage, coercion, welfare benefits, juvenile prostitution, and the establishment a Prostitution Law Review Committee.

"Reform Will Break Disabled Sex Taboo." *Dominion Post*, January 9 2003, 7.

Phillip Patston says that many disabled people who are unable to find partners visit prostitutes and that decriminalisation would help remove the stigma toward prostitution and the sexual needs of the disabled. An Auckland prostitute Jenny, who has disabled clients, said that caregivers often accompanied severely disabled clients to her premises and paid for them. While she knew of no caregivers who had been prosecuted for procuring, sex workers were concerned that conservative MPs may toughen the law against prostitution. Doug Hay, who is disabled and who visits prostitutes, said that if the *Prostitution Reform Bill* was passed it would make visiting sex workers safer. Sue Bradford said that: "Sex workers can provide a service which is badly needed by some disabled people."

Fleming, Greg. "If We Encourage Prostitution We Will Get More of It." *New Zealand Herald*, February 18 2003, A13.

Greg Fleming, who is managing director of the Maxim Institute, argues that the law plays a major part in determining behaviour. He gives the example of the lowering of the age to buy alcohol and now notes that more teenagers drink alcohol than before. He says that all MPs should now be asking themselves whether they want more prostitution in New Zealand. Even with zoning and licensing, prostitution in Australia has expanded and now 166 out of 170 local councils in New South Wales oppose the law. Greg Fleming

states that the Catholic Church, feminists, massage parlour owners, city councils, evangelical Christians, the Police Association and MPs all oppose the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He recommends the Swedish approach of criminalisation of the client.

197

Jordan, Jan. "Illegal Status Puts Sex Workers at Risk." *New Zealand Herald*, February 18 2003, A13.

Jan Jordan reports on a billboard that proclaims: "decriminalisation increases exploitation". She states that the only evidence of this is the suggestion that the number of brothels in New South Wales has trebled since decriminalisation there. However she argues that this does not mean that exploitation has increased because for example there could be a greater number of smaller brothels. She argues against the criminalisation of clients. Also states the consequences of a criminal conviction for sex workers. She believes that at present the law endorses discrimination and exploitation and does not fulfil New Zealand's responsibilities under the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. States that decriminalisation may not be as desirable an object as elimination but it is the realistic option in a world that economically marginalises women. The sex industry will not be eliminated because men keep voting with their wallets to keep it in existence.

198

NZPA. "Prostitution Bill Faces Conscience Vote." *Press*, February 19 2003, A6.

Reports that today Parliament will vote on the second reading of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Tim Barnett is "cautiously optimistic" that there is enough support for the *Bill*. Explains that if the *Bill* passes the second reading it will then have to complete its committee stages and then be passed on to law if it passes during its third reading. Notes that while voting on the *Bill* is a conscience vote all nine Green MPs will vote in favour of it while all eight United Future MPs and all 13 New Zealand First MPs will vote against it.

"Most Chch MPs Vote against Bill." *Press*, February 20 2003, A5.

Reports that four Christchurch MPs voted for the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and that six voted against it in its second reading. Notes comments from five of the MPs. Jim Anderton said that he voted against the *Bill* because he opposes prostitution and Clayton Cosgrove said that he voted against it because he believed that was the wish of the majority of his electorate. Gerry Brownlee voted against it because the *Bill* "legitimises exploitation" and David Carter voted against it because he is against any legislation that "facilitates prostitution". Rod Donald said that he voted for decriminalisation because he did not think that prostitution was a "good thing" but thought that prostitutes should not be penalised for their occupation and should be put on the same level as their clients.

Young, Audrey. "Prostitution Bill Step Nearer." *New Zealand Herald*, February 20 2003, A7.

Reports that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* passed its second reading by 62 votes to 56. Two MPs gave notice that they will move amendments when the *Bill* returns to the House. Dianne Yates wants to criminalise the clients of prostitutes while Phil Goff wants brothel keepers to be licensed and criminals barred from holding a licence. He also wants councils to be able to pass bylaws to prevent brothels operating in certain areas. The article summarises the main points of the *Bill*. Includes a list of which MPs voted for and against the *Bill*. Also includes comments and arguments from MPs Nanaia Mahuta, Sue Bradford, Tim Barnett, Georgina Beyer, Judith Collins, Katherine Rich, Larry Baldock, and Peter Brown.

Watkins, Tracy, and NZPA. "Licence Brothels - Goff." *Press*, February 21 2003, A1.

Justice Minister Phil Goff states that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* will remove virtually all controls on the sex industry. He says that gangs are already involved in running brothels, and that he will introduce an amendment to the *Bill* that will prohibit anyone with a serious criminal conviction from running a brothel. Reports that critics of licensing say that it is a form of state-run prostitution. However NZPC National Co-ordinator Catherine Healy said that Mr Goff's proposal was "light-handed" and would not require individual sex workers to be licensed. Reports that in Parliament Larry Baldock questioned Mr Goff about United Nations conventions to which New Zealand is a signatory and whether the passing the *Bill* may violate them. Mr Goff said that the *Bill* was "entirely consistent" with UN conventions.

Courtney, David. "Barnett Opposes Licensing of Brothels." *Press*, February 22 2003, A3.

Tim Barnett does not agree with Justice Minister Phil Goff that the licensing of brothels would be a good idea. He believes that licensing would be unfair to small brothel owners who would face the same costs as large brothel owners for licence applications. He states that such a change would alter the intention of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He maintains that the *Resource Management Act* would be able to control the "introduction of brothels and their owners" and that claims that brothels would be located next to schools "ignored local planning". New Zealand First MP Peter Brown said that Phil Goff should vote against the *Bill*.

McLeod, Rosemary. "Legalising Prostitution Is Moral Cowardice." *Sunday Star Times*, February 23 2003, C8.

Rosemary McLeod states that Tim Barnett and Catherine Healy have managed to make the decriminalisation of prostitution appear to be about practicalities rather than morality or the wider social good. She believes that they are both driven to subvert the perceived normality of heterosexuality and marriage. The supporters of the *Prostitution Reform Bill* believe that they are being tolerant as it is not fashionable to adopt a moral standpoint. Rosemary McLeod believes that homosexuality should have been decriminalised because it is something that people cannot control but that prostitution is something that can be controlled. The push for prostitution is the first step to normalise it. She believes that prostitution is degrading and that the work of pimps should not be legalised.

Avery, Cass. "Unbearable Laws on Prostitution Must Be Changed." *New Zealand Herald*, February 24 2003, A17.

Cass Avery comments that she is aware that there are eight brothels near where she lives and she states that there are more prostitutes in New Zealand than hairdressers. Points out that the aim of the law at the moment appears to be more about appearing to condemn prostitution than eliminating it. She believes that the present situation of prostitution law is intolerable and that it should be changed. She comments that simply making prostitution no longer illegal will not encourage more women to become prostitutes because the clients will not be any more appealing.

205

"Customer Service or Sex Crime?" *Express*, February 26 2003, 7.

Reports on the perspectives of two male sex workers who describe their work and the problems that they face. Also includes comments from Calum Bennachie, who is a PUMP (Pride and Unity for Male Prostitutes) Co-ordinator for the NZPC. He talks about why men become prostitutes and the legal risks that they face. Includes quotations from six MPs: Larry Baldock, Richard Prebble, Stephen Franks, Pansy Wong, Sue Bradford, and Tim Barnett.

206

Bright, John D. A. "Benefits of Legal Sex Industry." *New Zealand Herald*, March 1-2 2003, A20.

A letter to the editor that responds to item 196 in this bibliography. The writer is a New Zealander who is a New South Wales cabinet office appointee to the NSW sex services premises planning advisory panel. He disagrees with some of the facts and statistics in Fleming's article. He says the assertion that the number of brothels in NSW has tripled is a "blatant exaggeration". States that incidents of child prostitution have been rare since 1995. He says that the poorest outcomes have occurred when councils have tried to over-regulate the sex industry.

207

Wichtel, Diana. "Time to Change an Unjust Law." *New Zealand Herald*, March 1-2 2003, A21.

Diana Wichtel does not believe that prostitution is a "good thing" but she does believe that the present laws are "stupid and unjust". Notes Rosemary McLeod's position that liberals are trying to effect social change. Diana Wichtel does not believe that prostitution will be normalised simply because it is not illegal. Also comments on Sandra Coney's view that clients should be criminalised. Wichtel concludes that the decriminalisation of prostitution may lead men to viewing women as real people rather than a criminal subclass.

208

Young, Audrey. "Prostitution Bill Delayed to Allow Backroom Deals." *New Zealand Herald*, March 3 2003, A6.

Reports that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* could be delayed in Parliament for three weeks. Opponents of the *Bill* suggest that this is so that its promoters can acquire more supporters. However Tim Barnett says that more time is needed to ensure that amendments proposed by Justice Minister Phil Goff achieve what is intended. Notes that Labour MP Dianne Yates is proposing an amendment that will criminalise clients of prostitutes. MP Matt Robson says that he has been criticised since he voted against the *Bill*. He says that there are a group of people who suggest that if the *Bill* fails it will be the "triumph of the moral right".

209

Gower, Patrick. "Prostitutes Arrested in Police Raids." *New Zealand Herald*, March 6 2003, A8.

Reports that Auckland police used undercover officers to arrest eight prostitutes for soliciting on Saturday night. Green MP Sue Bradford said that this highlighted that the present law does not protect sex workers from being prosecuted. Senior Sergeant Lance Burdett said that the raid was a routine operation.

210

Venter, Nick. "Loophole Permits Foreign Prostitutes." *Dominion Post*, March 20 2003, A3.

Reports that Immigration Minister Lianne Dalziel is concerned that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* would allow foreign students to support themselves by prostitution. She said that this would harm the reputation of New Zealand's education industry. She also did not want immigrants being granted business visas for the purpose of running brothels. She hoped officials would come up with suitable amendments before the *Bill* was due to return to Parliament. Justice Minister Phil Goff wants the *Bill* amended to stop serious criminals running brothels and he would like brothels to be licensed by the state.

211

Brookes, Barbara. "Sex Work Not Consistent with Other Work." *Otago Daily Times*, March 25 2003, 15.

Barbara Brookes, who is an Associate Professor at the University of Otago, questions whether sex work is like other forms of work. Her intuitive feeling is that sex work is different from other forms of work and that while decriminalisation would solve the problem of inequality of sex workers and their clients, it would raise new problems. She compares sex work to slavery and believes that sex work violates human dignity. She concludes that sex work is not like other work and therefore should not be regularised. She believes that options for sex work should be limited to prevent its growth.

212

Booker, Jarrod. "Prostitution Law - the View from the Trade." *Press*, March 26 2003, B7.

This article is an interview with a Christchurch sex worker called "Kathy". She has worked in massage parlours for four years and says that while exploitation, drug use and violence are part of the industry they do not necessarily have to be part of a sex worker's "job description". The article relates that Kathy earns about \$200 per day and she describes the kind of clients she deals with. She thinks that decriminalisation would stop prostitutes being exploited because they could then make legitimate complaints. She does not believe that decriminalisation would cause a big increase in the numbers of brothels and street workers.

213

"Prostitution Reform Bill Toughened." *Press*, March 27 2003, 2.

Reports that Parliament began to debate the *Prostitution Reform Bill* last night. Notes that MPs will first vote on the title of the *Bill* and then will vote on the rest of the *Bill*. Phil Goff will introduce amendments that will prevent criminals from running brothels and that will enable councils to control the location of brothels. The article includes excerpts from the debate by Marc Alexander, Peter Brown, Sue Bradford, Maurice Williamson, Stephen Franks, Paul Adams, John Tamihere, Georgina Beyer, and Larry Baldock.

Bomber. "Selling Out?" *Rip It Up*, April/May 2003, 44-46.

Interviews Tim Barnett, who says that his interest in decriminalising prostitution has two motivations: a belief that consenting adults should be able to do as they wish and the inherent sexism in the current legislation. He does not accept that legislation should enforce morality. He states that numbers in the sex industry are determined by demand and social conditions and not by legal status. The article reports on the Maxim Institute's views on prostitution and its belief that decriminalisation will increase the number of prostitutes. Massage parlour owner Ray Miller argues that massage parlour owners have to treat sex workers well but says that brothels should be certified to maintain standards. Article includes comments from four sex workers. Also describes the current law and explains four problems caused by the current law, which are: it promotes double standards, it supports exploitation of sex workers, it limits sexual health education and it prevents sex workers' access to legal support.

Slade, Julian. "Prostitution Clampdown Top Priority." *Auckland City Harbour News*, April 16 2003, 1.

Auckland Co-ordinator of the NZPC Kate Dickie says a police crackdown on sex workers has seen more people arrested this year than in the past four years. Green Party MP Sue Bradford says police arrested about 30 people for soliciting during March. Inspector Brett England says that there has been no more of a crackdown than there has been in the past. There will be a meeting between health representatives and sex workers and senior police officers. Kate Dickie outlines the advantages of decriminalisation and notes the consequences of convictions for sex workers.

Young, Audrey. "Brothel Register Plan in Sex Bill." *New Zealand Herald*, April 30 2003, A6.

Reports that Parliament will begin a debate on at least seven groups of amendments to the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. The amendments include the criminalisation of clients of prostitutes and prohibition on advertising of sexual services. They also include being able to discriminate against sex workers on the grounds of their occupation and to allow the defence of reasonable belief against the crime of using a prostitute under 18 years of age. Wayne Mapp proposes an amendment whereby soliciting would only be an offence if it constituted a "nuisance or harassment". Tim Barnett believes that Phil Goff's proposal to have brothel operators certificated through the District

Court may be passed along with Lianne Dalziel's proposal banning people on temporary visas from sex work.

217

McLoughlin, David. "Prostitution Bill Passes Vote, Changes Proposed." *Press*, May 1 2003, 3.

The article reports that during the previous night Parliament voted 61 to 55 to proceed with the committee stages of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. There will now be voting on the amendments put forward by MPs. New Zealand First MP Peter Brown said that the large number of amendments would create a "mixed-up *Bill* that was full of holes". United Future Justice Spokesman Murray Smith said that homebake drug making was also a victimless crime with users being consenting adults and questioned why it was not decriminalised as well. National MP Wayne Mapp said that only a few changes were needed to decriminalise prostitution and that Parliament should not be legalising brothel keeping and pimping.

218

Tooley, Ross. "Last Gasp for the Prostitution Reform Bill." *DayStar*, May 2003, 7.

Ross Tooley exhorts Christians to pray against the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and to write letters to MPs to show them the reasons that they should vote against the *Bill*. He presents his interpretation of what may come to pass if the *Bill* is passed in its present form. The consequences include sex workers soliciting by knocking on windows of cars parked at red lights. In a meeting the previous week, Donna Huata said that she opposes the *Bill* because 80% of present prostitutes are Maori. At the same meeting an Australian doctor said that since decriminalisation in New South Wales, Australian men prefer younger and more beautiful prostitutes from overseas. Mr Tooley believes that open soliciting may encourage men to acts of unfaithfulness to their wives. They could also pass on sexually transmitted diseases to their wives. Even when disease is not passed on, these acts of betrayal could leave to more divorce as has happened in Finland since Finnish law was relaxed. The article concludes with information about writing to or emailing MPs.

219

Burstyn, Barbara Sumner. "PC Bill Sanitises Reality of Prostitution and Its Effects." *New Zealand Herald*, May 12 2003, A13.

Barbara Sumner Burstyn believes that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* sanitises the reality of prostitution and its wider effects. Gives the example of Sweden, where clients of prostitutes have been criminalised after research found that prostitution was damaging to prostitutes. In Sweden prostitution has declined by up to 50%. Reports on the work of New Zealand psychologist Miriam Saphira, who after two decades of researching prostitution has not yet met one "happy robust prostitute". Quotes work of American researcher Melissa Farley, who found that 89% of prostitutes wanted to leave prostitution but did not have other options. Also notes that 85% of prostitutes use hard drugs and that 80% of female prostitutes have been victims of rape. Barbara Sumner Burstyn therefore believes prostitution is not an act between equally free individuals. Predicts that prostitution will increase under decriminalisation. Concludes that prostitution is not a victimless crime and that prostitution damages not only the participants but also the country as a whole.

220

Mold, Francesca. "Poll Steels Anti-Prostitution Resolve." *New Zealand Herald*, May 14 2003, A6.

United Future MPs Gordon Copeland and Larry Baldock have revealed the results of a UMR Research poll on the proposed law changes on prostitution. It found that 43% of the 500 New Zealanders polled supported a law change to legalise brothel keeping and pimping. 42% were against a law change and 12% were unsure. 64% of women aged under 30 were against legalisation. The two MPs said that it was clear that these women shared their concern that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* would lead to the exploitation of women. The poll also noted that 75% of interviewees would support a ban on the explicit advertising of commercial sexual services. Notes that Mr Copeland has introduced an amendment on this issue.

221

Hanson, Jody. "Take Their Word for It: Lots of Hookers Happy in Their Work." *New Zealand Herald*, May 16 2003, A17.

Sex industry researcher Jody Hanson replies to the article by Barbara Sumner Burstyn, which is item 219 in this bibliography. She believes that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* is the "only reasonable option". Jody Hanson says that she has researched the sex industry in eight countries over nine years and is amazed to see Miriam Saphira quoted as saying that she has "not yet met

one happy, robust prostitute". Jody Hanson says that of the more than 500 sex workers that she has met she can think of quite a number who are well-adjusted people. Also questions statistics used in Barbara Sumner Burstyn's article over drug use, rape, incest and sexual abuse among sex workers. Also queries source for figures showing the increase in prostitution in Victoria after legalisation and the decline in Sweden after criminalisation of the client. Concludes with the example of sex worker Angelique, who found that prostitution gave her a positive attitude and that she wished that she had taken it up when she was younger.

222

Cull, Bridget. "Bill Will See Criminals Take over Sex Industry Says MP." *Nelson Mail*, May 17 2003, 5.

Reports that National MP Judith Collins visited Nelson yesterday as part of her campaign against the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. She claims that the *Bill* will "normalise" prostitution and that gangs will become involved with brothels. Nelson National MP Nick Smith said that he shared Judith Collins' views. He believed that the *Bill* would have a big impact in Nelson because Nelson had more prostitutes than other provincial centres because of the number of fishing boats using Nelson as their main port.

223

McCurdy, Diana. "Sex for Sale." *Dominion Post*, May 24 2003, F1-F2.

This article backgrounds the proposed changes to prostitution law. Includes brief quotations against the *Bill* from MPs Dover Samuels and Doug Woolerton. Also includes analysis from criminologist Jan Jordan and prostitution researcher Melissa Farley. Greg O'Connor from the Police Association says that prostitution is accompanied by crime and drugs. He criticises the *Prostitution Reform Bill* for removing the ability of the police to use their discretion when necessary. Catherine Healy and Jan Jordan support the *Bill* as a practical option. Jan Jordan says that the biggest check on the growth of the sex industry is whether men are willing to pay for it or not. Tim Barnett is confident that in three to five years the merits of decriminalisation will be revealed.

"I Was Victimised." *Dominion Post*, May 24 2003, F2.

Reports comments from "Miriam", who is a former prostitute. She thinks that prostitution should be decriminalised and says that of all her experiences in prostitution the worst was when she was charged with soliciting. She realised that a criminal conviction would have a negative effect for her and was glad to be found not guilty. Mama Tere Strickland, who was a sex worker for 26 years, is in favour of criminalising clients and eliminating prostitution altogether. She thinks that decriminalisation will encourage more young people to enter the sex industry.

Slade, Julian. "Street Walkers Consigned to Bottom of Heap." *Auckland City Harbour News*, May 28 2003, 4.

Reports on research in New Zealand by Dr Melissa Farley. She says that New Zealand is similar to other countries that she has studied, where "women of colour" are consigned to the most degrading and dangerous forms of prostitution. Dr Farley reports that Maori women reported far greater levels of homelessness and entered prostitution at a younger age than Pakeha women. Pakeha women usually work in massage parlours while Maori women are more likely to work on the streets. Dr Farley says that most prostitutes exhibit symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder and most want to leave the industry. She believes that prostitution is "an extreme point on the continuum of violence against women, where racism and sexism are closely entwined". Preliminary results of her New Zealand interviews (a 46 person sample from Auckland and Wellington) reveal 37% worked in brothels while 63% were on the street. 63% reported childhood sex abuse and 72% wanted to exit prostitution.

Titus, Paul. "Love for Sale." *Touchstone*, June 2003, 1, 3.

This article introduces the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and gives an introduction to the opinions of those who support it and those who do not. Anna Reed, who is the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective Coordinator for Christchurch, says that current laws hinder safe sex practice because the possession of condoms can be used as evidence of brothel keeping. She also says that street workers are the most vulnerable workers in the industry and that decriminalisation will give them more confidence to report violent clients. The Rev Patricia Allan says that having talked with sex workers she is resolved to support the *Bill*. Rev Peter Williamson, who is on the executive of

the Evangelical Network of the Methodist Church, says that there is a range of opinion within the network on the decriminalisation of prostitution. He says that most members would support the statement from the Churches Agency on Social Issues (CASI) that sexual acts should be part of an on-going loving relationship. He personally believes that prostitution is coercive and exploitative and that he would prefer to decriminalise prostitutes and criminalise the clients. Since 1999, Sweden has had laws that criminalise clients, but Anna Reed says that this has not eradicated prostitution but has driven it underground and made sex workers more vulnerable.

227

Tunnah, Helen. "Prostitution Reform a Step Closer to Becoming Law." *New Zealand Herald*, June 12 2003, A3.

Reports on the progress of amendments that were voted on in the previous night to the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Immigration permits will not be issued to any one intending to work as a prostitute and no one can come to New Zealand to invest in or run a brothel. The changes are designed so that New Zealand meets its international obligations to stop the trafficking of women and children. Other amendments passed included one giving local authorities the power to prevent a building being used as a brothel if it was "out of keeping with the character of an area". Signs could also be barred for the same reason. Under a change promoted by Justice Minister Phil Goff brothel keepers will be issued with certificates and must not have been convicted of serious offences. Green MP Sue Kedgley's amendments were passed banning radio, television and cinema advertising and only limited newspaper classified advertising will be permitted. Dianne Yates' amendment to criminalise the clients of prostitutes failed.

228

Watkins, Tracy, and Seth Robson. "Frantic Bid to Halt Brothel Bill." *New Zealand Herald*, June 21 2003, A4.

Reports that more than 30 church leaders have sent an open letter to Parliament requesting that prostitution not be decriminalised. National MP Katherine Rich said that she received between four and five emails every 30 minutes requesting her to vote against the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Labour MP Dianne Yates said that she would lobby against the *Bill* until the final vote and that she is promoting a visit to New Zealand by Australian academic Sheila Jeffreys. Maxim Institute spokesperson Scott McMurray said that there was a near quadrupling of brothels in Victoria after decriminalisation. Tim Barnett believes that if the *Bill* is passed there will be more brothels but that they will be smaller worker-run brothels.

Stuart, Alexis. "Question of Values." *Press*, June 21 2003, D7.

Reports comments from two prostitutes "Leah" and "Sky". Leah thinks that prostitution should be decriminalised to remove the stigma. She believes that parlour work is already safe and that the police will protect them from unruly men. Both prostitutes admit that they would leave prostitution if they could earn similar money elsewhere. The author of the article comments that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* has become a combination of decriminalisation and legalisation. She also believes that decriminalisation will lead to more prostitution in New Zealand and questions whether this is what New Zealanders want.

"House in Committee - Prostitution Reform." *Capital Letter* 26, no. 23 (2003).

Reports that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* was amended in the Committee of the Whole House by three Supplementary Order Papers. Number 69 was to support New Zealand's obligations under the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime. It stops immigration permits being granted to persons intending to provide commercial sexual services. Number 90 made it an offence to advertise commercial sexual services on radio, on television, in public cinemas, or in newspapers (except in the classified advertisement section). Number 91 requires every operator to hold a certificate; requires territorial authorities to consider two extra matters when considering resource consent applications for land use; and amends the commencement date to the day after the date of Royal assent.

Espiner, Colin. "Prostitution Bill Faces Defeat." *Press*, June 24 2003, 1.

Reports that it is expected that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* may be defeated tomorrow by a slim margin. However Tim Barnett says that he expects it to pass by the "slimmest of margins". The article notes MPs who may be key to whether the legislation is passed or not. Mr Barnett blamed the Maxim Institute for the last-minute efforts to stop the *Bill* and claimed that funding was coming from fundamentalist Christian groups in the United States. He also criticised church leaders who oppose the *Bill* and accused them of "ill-informed comment and arrogance". Maxim spokesman Scott McMurray said that it had increased its lobbying but denied that it had received money from US church groups. Dianne Yates has been lobbying against the *Bill* and yesterday took Australian academic Sheila Jeffreys, who is an opponent of decriminalising prostitution, around the press gallery. Notes that an open

letter from church groups to MPs said that the *Bill* would normalise prostitution, allow greater commercialisation of brothels, and lead to an increase in prostitution activity. Notes comment from Pansy Wong, that she supports changes to the sex laws but believes that the *Bill* goes "too far".

232

Tunnah, Helen. "Policing Fears Likely to Sink Sex-Worker Bill." *New Zealand Herald*, June 25 2003, A1.

Reports that it is expected that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* will be defeated today because of fears that the proposed law changes cannot be policed and that organised crime will start to run brothels. The *Bill's* fate rests on two or three National MPs and New Zealand's first Muslim MP Labour's Ashraf Choudhary. Ashraf Choudhary has not yet made up his mind. National MPs Pansy Wong and John Key will now vote against the *Bill* and Murray McCully and Lockwood Smith are wavering after previously having supported it. Police Association President Greg O'Connor said that his association was not opposed to decriminalisation but that MPs needed to draft a law that could be enforced. United Future MP Larry Baldock said that if the *Bill* was defeated his party would promote a select committee inquiry into the prostitution industry and its working conditions.

233

Trevett, Claire, and Rebecca Walsh. "Sex Workers Wait for End to Shame." *New Zealand Herald*, June 25 2003, A2.

Street worker "Katrina" thinks that prostitutes would be safer if prostitution were decriminalised because they would be able to go to the police if they were assaulted by clients. It would also mean that the police would not be constantly monitoring red-light districts. She thinks that the minimum age for prostitution should be 21 because at "18 your judgement is still wrong". "Jenny", who works from an Auckland apartment that she shares with three or four other women, believes that if the *Prostitution Reform Bill* is not passed the industry will be driven further underground. Transgender street worker "Sally" says that she did not have much choice about occupation and hopes that the *Bill* will pass. She would like to see compulsory checks and a ban on prostitutes who are HIV positive. The article also includes comments from two clients who frequent massage parlours and from an Auckland representative of the NZPC. The article contains a summary of the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and a list of people and organisations that are for and against it.

234

Farley, Melissa. "Cruel Lies Hide the Bitter Truth." *New Zealand Herald*, June 25 2003, A15.

Psychologist and prostitution researcher Melissa Farley argues that MPs should vote against any law that normalises prostitution as a job for women. Independent researchers should conduct a national survey of the needs of those involved in prostitution so that laws address the concerns of prostitutes and not the interests of those who buy and sell them. She says that there is a world-wide trend to see prostitution as a violation of human rights. She also says that there is no evidence that decriminalisation will protect the health of prostitutes.

235

Barnett, Tim. "Outmoded Ethics Let Evil Thrive." *New Zealand Herald*, June 25 2003, A15.

Tim Barnett argues that in fifteen years' time, the thought that anyone could have opposed the *Prostitution Reform Bill* will seem "odd". He provides a background to prostitution law since the 19th century. He argues that the current law is impossible to police and that if the *Bill* is passed the law will be much clearer and easier to police. He says that it follows the law in New South Wales, which was implemented eight years ago and benefits from lessons learned there. He provides a summary of the five major impacts of the *Bill* and notes that in three to five years a review committee will report to the Government to see how well the law is working and how best to improve it.

236

Taylor, Kevin, and NZPA. "Barnett Celebrates 'Historic Moment'." *New Zealand Herald*, June 26 2003, A3.

Reports that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* was passed by Parliament and that Tim Barnett believes that "right has won". He said that the new law is "world-leading". He acknowledged recent lobbying by Helen Clark, who had been a strong supporter of the legislation. Key MPs who may have voted against but finally voted for the *Bill* were Labour's Winnie Laban, Act's Heather Roy and National's Lockwood Smith. Tim Barnett asked MPs in his speech to remove: "the last significant vestige of Victorian moral law from the New Zealand statute book." He also said it was the most significant moral debate in Parliament since homosexual law reform in 1986. Georgina Beyer said that her impassioned speech might have influenced the final outcome. Catherine Healy said that the NZPC had new work to do including occupational health

and safety. National MP Nick Smith said that there would now be more prostitutes and more harm. United Future MP Larry Baldock said that the costs and responsibility for regulation would now be passed on to local councils. New Zealand First MP Brent Catchpole predicted more organised crime and more women in the sex industry. New Zealand First MP Pita Paraone said that he had seen enough young Maori women ruined by prostitution. The article also contains a summary of the effects of the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and a list of how MPs voted on the *Bill*.

237

McLeod, Rosemary. "Pipe Dreams: Sleaze-Stigma Removal and Rehabilitation." *Press*, June 26 2003, A9.

Rosemary McLeod believes that a sanitising process has been going on with the presentation of the sex industry to Parliament. She states that it has been presented as a kind of "alternative social work" that suffers unjustly from a stigma. She uses the example of convicted rapist Michael Carroll, who has been reported as frequenting a Wellington massage parlour up to five times a week. Rosemary McLeod believes that massage parlour workers have leaked this information to the press because the workers themselves believe that it is "sleazy". She does not believe that decriminalisation will remove the stigma from prostitution because stigmas will exist while society wants them to.

238

Tunnah, Helen. "MP: Why I Didn't Vote on Sex Bill." *New Zealand Herald*, June 27 2003, A1.

Ashraf Choudhary explains that he decided not to vote against the *Prostitution Reform Bill* after many hours of "soul-searching". His decision to abstain "stunned" Parliament because he had previously opposed the *Bill*. He said that he could not vote for the *Bill* because of his faith, his background and because his community would not expect him to do so. However he believed that voting against the *Bill* "would have negated the potential benefits for those unfortunate women who are in that situation." Labour MP Winnie Laban did not expect a backlash from Pacific Islanders or her church after her decision to vote for the *Bill*. Ashraf Choudhary and Winnie Laban said Helen Clark did not lobby them to support the *Bill*. A spokesman for the Federation of Islamic Associations said Muslims were "disappointed" because Dr Choudhary's vote would have made a difference. The Federation opposes anything that would liberalise prostitution because prostitution is prohibited by Islam.

239

Trevett, Claire, and NZPA. "Councils Will Foot Bigger Bill." *New Zealand Herald*, June 27 2003, A2.

Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ) Chief Executive Peter Winder said that local bodies would have a difficult task determining where brothels could be located. Councils would also have to deal with discreet suburban brothels that they had not known about before. LGNZ was working on a dossier of advice for local authorities. Mayor of Auckland, John Banks, said that the administration costs for councils would be expensive. Police Association President Greg O'Connor criticised the law saying that the police were left out of it and many aspects of it were unenforceable. Kathryn Beck, an employment lawyer, said that brothel owners need to ensure the safety of their workers as required by the *Health and Safety in Employment Act*.

240

Dye, Stuart. "Sex Bosses Warn of New Law's Dangers." *New Zealand Herald*, June 27 2003, A2.

Brothel owners claim that foreign sex workers will come to New Zealand and many "back-street" brothels will open as a result of the passing of the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. They say that the police will have fewer powers and allowing women to work on the street will make it impossible to protect prostitutes. The article includes comments from massage parlour owners Brian Le Gros and Dave Beaumont. Auckland prostitute "Jenny" said that parlour owners will no longer be able to take advantage of their position of power and that it is a "wonderful and big day".

241

Welch, Denis. "Not a Love Story." *Listener*, June 28 2003, 16-23.

Details arguments for and against the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. Reports on the current "bizarre" law whereby it is legal to offer to buy sex but not to offer to sell it. Notes support and rationale for the *Bill* from Tim Barnett, Sue Bradford, and Catherine Healy. Also notes arguments against the *Bill* from Sandra Coney, Dianne Yates, Scott McMurray and Larry Baldock. Includes sections profiling home-based sex worker "Gina" and massage parlour operator Gary Paulson. Also includes comments from current and former sex workers.

242

Tunnah, Helen. "Males Make up Majority of Prostitutes Arrested." *New Zealand Herald*, June 28 2003, A1.

Tim Barnett states that more than half of the 354 people who have been arrested for soliciting in the past five years were men. He also notes that half of those arrested were Maori or Pacific Island people. He says that these figures do not represent the proportions of workers on the streets and therefore decriminalisation was not simply a women's issue but also a gay issue and an issue of human rights.

243

Robson, Seth. "New Law on Prostitution Takes Effect." *Press*, June 28 2003, A5.

Reports that the Governor-General, Dame Silvia Cartwright, signed the *Prostitution Reform Bill* early yesterday and the new law on prostitution took effect at midnight last night. Tim Barnett says that: "New Zealanders have nothing to fear but everything to gain from this world-leading new law." ACC law expert John Miller said that anyone who paid tax was entitled to cover by ACC even if their earnings were from illegal work. An Inland Revenue Department spokeswoman said that the new law did not change the taxation status of brothel owners or sex workers.

244

Dearnaley, Mathew. "Price of Sex Likely to Rise." *New Zealand Herald*, June 28-29 2003, A7.

Kate Dickie from the NZPC says that price rises may be a consequence of decriminalisation because brothel owners may need to improve working conditions for staff and may face more competition for staff. She says that she has had calls from massage parlour operators who fear that their staff may pool resources and set up their own businesses. However another massage parlour operator believed that there would be few changes to working conditions because prostitutes would continue to be independent contractors. Occupational Safety and Health Service head office manager, Keith Stewart, said that his service intended working with the NZPC on a code of practice for employing sex workers. Notes that the Accident Compensation Corporation already charges employers of sex workers a levy of 56 cents in every dollar. The article also includes a summary of how the new law will work.

NZ Catholic Staff. "Church Leaders Send Letter to Every MP." *NZ Catholic*, June 29-July 12 2003, 3.

Five days before the final vote on the *Prostitution Reform Bill*, more than 30 New Zealand church leaders have sent an open letter to every MP. The leaders believe that the *Bill* will not help prostitutes or New Zealand society. The letter was based on five considerations, which are outlined in this article. They include that the normalisation of prostitution will lead to its increase, that brothel owners will start up businesses with no other concerns than making money, and that the *Bill* will not protect vulnerable prostitutes. According to the letter, the Swedish prostitution model where purchasers of sex are prosecuted should be given consideration. Prostitution is exploitative of men and women. According to the church leaders, prostitution has been reduced in Sweden and the Government has assisted people out of prostitution and drug addiction. The letter was signed by the 10 Catholic Bishops of New Zealand and 22 other mainline church leaders.

Laws, Michael. "Happy Hookers on a Par with Trophy Wives." *Sunday Star Times*, June 29 2003, C8.

Michael Laws comments on the voting for the *Prostitution Reform Bill* and states that he believes that the conscience vote has no place in a modern democracy. He disagrees with the NZPC and the Family Planning Association because decriminalisation will not stop juvenile prostitutes, gang involvement or protect women from exploitative pimps. He believes that the *Bill* remains deficient especially in setting health or administrative standards. Michael Laws comments that "if you decriminalise you respectalise". He believes that it may take some time but ultimately the effect is "if it's legal, it must be ok."

Osborne, Candice. "Close Call in Prostitution Debate." *Challenge Weekly*, June 30 2003, 3.

Reports that the *Prostitution Reform Bill* has passed with a majority of one vote. New Zealand's first Muslim MP, Ashraf Choudhary, abstained from voting. The article contains a summary of the contents of the *Bill*. Reports that critics of the *Bill* argued that the new law could not be enforced, made brothels vulnerable to gang or criminal involvement, and would make prostitution more acceptable. Anglican Bishop Richard Randerson states that the benefits of the *Bill* are limited and fail to protect sex workers who are under 18. The Maxim Institute thanks those who contacted their MPs. A

review committee will be established to report back on decriminalisation in five years' time.

248

"Prostitution Destroys Spirit, Soul and Body." *Challenge Weekly*, June 30 2003, 9.

Richard Lewis, who is party leader of Destiny New Zealand, voices his opposition to the *Prostitution Reform Bill*. He accuses Tim Barnett of compromising New Zealand's future in sponsoring the *Bill*. He refers to a TVNZ Assignment programme, where Mr Barnett explained the type of brothels that he would like to see in New Zealand in ten years' time. Mr Lewis portrays a bleak future for New Zealand with a greater number of brothels, prostitutes and pimps. Gang activity, drug abuse and sexual violence will also increase. He states that the government has lost its moral bearings and that while times change certain principles remain.

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