

“Women Not for Sale”

A report on advertising women in small ads in local newspapers

Commissioned by:
Harriet Harman

Minister for Women and Equality

NEW THAI GIRLS

Choice of 2 avail, satisfaction always, not in Rdg, nr Jct 11 M4, parking.

Brazilian Girls

Barkingside – Tel
XXX XXXX XXXX
South Woodford – Tel
XXX XXXX XXXX
£60 Full Service

ANGEL'S MASSAGE

Different girls daily. 7 days.
In/Out calls. 10am till early morning. All services available. Queensbury area.

TRULY scrumptious, red hot sizzler, xxx, 25, AIM Junction 15, 10 min from Huntingdon.
Tel: XXXX XXXXXX.



Government Equalities Office

HM Government

Women Not for Sale: a report on advertising women in small ads in local newspapers

Commissioned by:
Harriet Harman
Minister for Women and Equality

January 2008

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Executive Summary

The Central Office of Information (COI) was asked to assess the scale and nature of the advertising of women, and services supplied by women, by:

- reviewing '*Personal Services*' classifieds from a snapshot sample of regional publications across the country;
- analysing the data gathered to identify where these advertisements are most likely to appear (in terms of region, publisher and type of publication); and
- assessing how the tone and content of these advertisements varies by region, publisher and type of publication.

COI Strategic Consultancy carried out an audit of local newspapers in all nine Government Office Regions (including London).

The audit was carried out on 18 October 2007, and examined a sample of the local, daily and weekly newspapers available on 17 October; a total of 79 newspapers were examined. In each region, the sample comprised a mix of free and paid-for publications of daily and weekly titles, and covered a range of circulations and a spread of publishers.

Whilst our audit does not examine the facts behind any of the advertisements (i.e. what services are being provided, by whom and on what basis), we believe that the aims of our study have largely been met in that we are able to state that on the day in question:

- advertising women, either discreetly or overtly, for sex or sexual services in the regional press is commonplace;
- this activity accounts for approximately £44m of advertising revenue (2% of total classified revenue);
- although descriptions from the advertisements may not be reliable, almost half of the publications carrying the ads had some which indicated nationality or race as an apparent 'selling point'; and

- whilst it is not possible, based on their contents, to identify whether any of these ads are advertising trafficked women, information from additional research and other sources would suggest that this is a distinct possibility.

This report, therefore, is based on a snapshot sample of regional press titles on one day. It is not an empirical piece of research, but it does, however, indicate that this type of sexual advertising is commonplace. COI would recommend carrying out further research to assess accurately the scale and nature of the issue.

Findings

Accessing women

- While there are many routes that men will use to access women, research suggests that advertisements placed in local papers are the most commonly used method of making contact with women for sexual purposes.¹
- Research suggests that there is a relationship between classified advertising and the presence of commercial sex premises in an area.²

Volume of advertisements

- The audit confirmed that the practice of advertising women and services supplied by women in regional newspapers is widespread. Almost 75% of the publications audited in this review carried advertisements mentioning services from women, and almost half carried classifieds specifically mentioning non-British women.

¹ *'It's just like going to the supermarket': Men buying sex in East London*; Kelly, L et al: Child & Woman Abuse Studies Unit (2007).

² *ibid.*

Value of advertising

- Total revenue from regional press classified advertising is estimated to be £2bn for 2006. However, advertisements of the type being reviewed make up a relatively small proportion of all classifieds (approx 3% of all papers carrying 'Personal Services' ads) with total revenue estimated to be £44m.³
- Almost all papers carrying this type of classified advertisement charge for advertising space, and the ad sales are largely dealt with 'in-house'.

Content of advertisements

- The content of advertisements in the sample varies based on region. The majority of advertisements posted in London, the South West, the East of England, Yorkshire and the Humber, and the North East are likely to refer to specified services such as massages, whereas classifieds published in the East and West Midlands, the South East and the North West are more likely to advertise unspecified services.
- Based on their contents, it is not possible to identify which of these classifieds are advertising trafficked women.
- The majority of advertisements specifying nationality mention 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Japanese' and 'Thai' women most frequently. The only area where this is not the case is the North East, where only British women are mentioned.⁴

Regional variation

- The issue affects the whole of the UK; however, there is significant regional variation. There is a particularly high concentration of these advertisements in the East and West Midlands, London and the South East, and the East of England.

³ Calculations based on the *Advertising Association* revenue figures for regional press classified advertising.

⁴ However, it is important to note that the nationalities of women are not always reliably stated; therefore, while this is a guide, it cannot confirm definitively the nationalities of the women involved.

Publishers

- Newspapers published by five publishers carry the majority of advertisements reviewed. These publishers all enjoy a considerable share of the market in a number of regions and between them account for around 63% of the total weekly UK regional press circulation.

1

Background

In July 2007, Minister for Women and Equality the Rt. Hon. Harriet Harman QC set out her key priorities. These were as follows:

1. Supporting families, particularly as they bring up children and care for older and disabled relatives.
2. Tackling violence against women and improving the way society deals with women who commit crimes.
3. Empowering black and minority ethnic women to build cohesion within, and as a bridge between, communities.

In support of the second of these priorities, the Minister spoke about the need to tackle the problem of human trafficking. She stressed that it is vital to undertake a multi-agency approach working with the police, prosecutors and the courts to address the problem of trafficking and the demand for women brought to the UK in this way for the purposes of sexual exploitation.

The Minister quoted a number of classified advertisements ('ads'):

'New Polish girls'

'New Japanese & Korean girls'

'Romanian ladies'

'New oriental beauty'

'All girls 18-25'

'New tropical models'

'Beautiful girls daily. All nationalities'

Advertisements of this type are not an isolated occurrence and it is possible that notices advertising women in the classified sections of local newspapers are in some instances advertising women who have been

trafficked into the UK. From our review, there is an indication that this may be so, given that such a large proportion of advertisements referred to women's nationalities. But it would be wrong to infer anything more definitive from a snapshot study of this kind, or to suggest that the papers themselves have colluded in advertising trafficked women.

These advertisements typically appear in the personal services section of the classifieds. The tone and content vary: some advertise services – massage, for example – whereas others do not specify any service and rely on descriptions of women as their selling point. A number will mention the woman's nationality; according to recent research, there is considerable emphasis on 'fresh' or 'new' girls and descriptions often rely on racial or ethnic stereotypes.⁵ For example, South American women tend to be described as 'hot-blooded', while women from South Asia are described as 'submissive and exotic'.

While the description of nationalities gives some indication of women's origins, research suggests that, for various reasons, these descriptions may not always be accurate.⁶ Indeed, postings on a website for men using prostitutes⁷ make many references to women, or those advertising their services, giving false information regarding nationality and not admitting when women are from Eastern European countries or from Thailand – two areas well known for trafficking women. Albanian women receiving aid from the Poppy Project⁸ had been advertised as Italian, Greek and Latin American by their traffickers.⁹

⁵ *Sex in the City: Mapping Commercial Sex Across London*; Dickson, S: The Poppy Project (2004).

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ www.PunterNet.com

⁸ www.poppypoppyproject.org

⁹ *Sex in the City: Mapping Commercial Sex Across London*; Dickson, S: The Poppy Project (2004).

At first glance, these advertisements appear to be merely advertising personal services or to be a front for simple prostitution. There are a number of factors that suggest that this is not always the case. These will be examined in detail below.

1.1 Women trafficked into the UK

The UK is a major destination for trafficked women. The majority of these are from Eastern European countries including Lithuania, Russia, Albania and the Ukraine; others are from the Far East, South America and Africa. These women are often lured by adverts in their home countries for jobs such as restaurant staff, maids and nannies. Some believe that they will be working as escorts or prostitutes, but are not aware of the conditions under which they will be forced to work.

The ages of women when they are first trafficked vary between 12 and 41 years, although the majority are in their late teens or early twenties.¹⁰ Women are brought to the UK in a variety of ways: overland; by boat; by train; by bus; by air; or even on foot. Once they arrive, these women are put to work in sex premises. Often their first experience is being sold at an auction at their point of entry into the country. They are then controlled by violence or the threat of violence and are often moved around the country and may be sold or exchanged between a number of different gangs.

Agencies – such as CARE or CHASTE – who work with prostitutes, state that a significant number of women involved in prostitution in the UK have been trafficked from other countries specifically in order to meet growing demand in the UK. Figures given vary between agencies; however, anecdotal evidence suggests that between 80 and 85% of the women working as off-street prostitutes in London – in saunas, massage parlours, peep shows and brothels – are not UK nationals.

¹⁰*When Women are Trafficked: Quantifying the Gendered Experience of Trafficking in the UK*; The Poppy Project (2004).

In 2003, the Home Office estimated that there were 4,000 women in the UK who had been trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Agencies working in the field believe that their number today is considerably higher than this; one quotes a figure of 10,000 women.¹¹ Indeed, prostitution and the trafficking of women is believed to have become the third highest black market income earner after drugs and the arms trade.¹² This not just an urban phenomenon; victims of trafficking can be found in every part of the UK.

1.2 The demand for foreign women

Internet sites in the UK – such as PunterNet – suggest that there is high demand for foreign prostitutes among UK men who use prostitutes. The site also frequently refers to men buying sex with women who are clearly unhappy, frightened, unwilling or in pain; it is possible that many of these women are working under duress and will have been trafficked into the UK. A recently published report based on a small-scale study among men in East London¹³ revealed that for a number of men arrested for kerb crawling, knowledge that a woman was being forced into prostitution would not stop them paying for sex with that woman. Indeed, often men show a clear awareness of a woman's reluctance to engage in sexual activity.

However, this does not apply to all men who use prostitutes; there are many who do not, or refuse to, believe that the women they pay to have sex with have been forced or coerced in any way.¹⁴

¹¹ www.endviolenceagainstwomen.org.uk

¹² *Sex with trafficked women is rape says Minister*; Townsend, M: The Guardian, 2005 – www.guardian.co.uk/crime/article/0,,1593410,00.html

¹³ *'It's just like going to the supermarket': Men buying sex in East London*; Kelly, L et al: Child & Woman Abuse Studies Unit (2007).

¹⁴ *ibid.*

1.3 Accessing women

While there are many routes that men will use to access women, research suggests that advertisements placed in local papers are the most commonly used method of making contact with women for sexual purposes.¹⁵ According to responses to interview questions, the most commonly used routes to access women in order of popularity are:

1. Ad in local paper
2. Ad in phone boxes
3. Approach on street
4. Ad in shop windows
5. Taken by friends
6. Walk up
7. No response
8. Word of mouth

Evidence presented in the same research suggests that there is a relationship between classified advertising and the presence of commercial sex premises in an area. It argues that the policy in Southwark to not accept advertising for sexual services has contributed to the low number of commercial sex premises in the borough. The research concludes that the regulation of the market of sexual services has the power to limit, and possibly shrink, local sex markets.

1.4 Readership of British regional press

According to information gathered by The Newspaper Society, 83.9% of British adults read a regional newspaper (approximately 41 million people);¹⁶ the percentage of adults who read a

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=897 Source: GB TGI 2006 Q3 (April 2006–March 2007)

regional newspaper mirrors the national picture.¹⁷ There are 1,310 regional newspaper titles,¹⁸ published by 85 publishing houses.¹⁹

Table 1: British regional press

Daily and Sunday titles	Paid Mornings	22
	Free Mornings	13
	Paid Evenings	72
	Free Evenings	6
	Paid Sundays	11
	Free Sundays	8
	Paid weekly titles	
Free weekly titles		651
	Total	1,310

Readership is not confined to any particular age group, although there is a slight bias towards an older (35+) readership and those in the C2 socio-economic group.

¹⁷ N.B. the way in which The Newspaper Society maps the regions differs from the government office regions, but is close enough to allow comparison

¹⁸ Source: NS database as at 01 August 07.

¹⁹ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/PDF/RP-Survey-2006.pdf *Analysis of the Annual Regional Press Survey finding for 2006.*

Table 2: Coverage by age and SEG

Coverage by age	Percentage reading any regional newspaper
15–24	78.6%
25–34	78.3%
35–44	84.5%
45–54	86.2%
55–64	87.2%
65+	87.8%
Coverage by social class	Percentage reading any regional newspaper
AB	82.7%
C1	84.3%
C2	86.7%
DE	82.2%

2

Methodology

The COI was asked to assess the scale and nature of the advertising of women, and services supplied by women, by:

- reviewing '*Personal Services*' classifieds from a snapshot sample of regional publications across the country;
- analysing the data gathered to identify where these advertisements are most likely to appear (in terms of region, publisher and type of publication); and
- assessing how the tone and content of these advertisements varies by region, publisher and type of publication.

COI Strategic Consultancy audited a selection of local newspapers from all nine Government Office Regions (including London) in order to confirm whether classified advertisements advertising women, or services supplied by women, were a common occurrence.

The audit was carried out on 18 October 2007, and examined a sample of the local daily and weekly newspapers available on 17 October. The sample was selected as a cross-section of titles available on the day (though available titles were somewhat restricted by industrial action at the Royal Mail). A total of 79 newspapers were examined. In each region, the sample comprised a mix of free and paid-for publications of daily and weekly titles, and covered a range of circulations and a spread of publishers including seven of the top 10, who between them account for 85% of the weekly circulation of all UK regional press titles.

The findings presented below are, therefore, based on a snapshot sample of regional press titles on one day. It is not an empirical piece of research. While it does not examine the facts behind any of the advertisements (i.e. what services are being provided, by whom and on what basis), it does, however, indicate that this type of advertising is commonplace.

COI would recommend carrying out further research to assess accurately the scale and nature of the issue.

Table 3: Regional summary of review sample

Region	Total	Weekly	Daily	Paid for	Free
London	11	7	4	3	8
South East	6	5	1	6	0
South West	9	2	7	9	0
East of England	10	5	5	9	1
West Midlands	6	0	6	6	0
East Midlands	9	5	4	8	1
Yorkshire & the Humber	7	5	2	6	1
North East	10	3	7	9	1
North West	11	5	6	11	0
Total	79	37	42	67	12

The classified advertisements audited covered:

- advertisements for all women: foreign, British and non-specified women; and
- all advertisements appearing to offer services of a sexual nature from women, whether overtly or discreetly.

The data capture was designed to provide information on the following:

- the number of pages of classifieds in each publication, and the proportion of these which were accounted for by ads for '*Personal Services*';
- the proportion of ads offering specified services (e.g. massages) versus ads simply advertising women;
- the range of nationalities of women advertised – although it was difficult to be certain whether these were reliably quoted;

- the proportion of ads for women of foreign origin, versus British and non-specified;
- whether ads were paid for, or placed free of charge; and
- nil returns were also included, in order to provide a picture of which publications, if any, do not carry these types of ads.

3

Findings and Analysis

3.1 Value of advertising

For regional newspapers, advertising accounted for over £2.8bn of revenue in 2006 (approximately 80% of the total revenue). The majority of this revenue, £2bn, is derived from classified advertising.²⁰ Figures show that between 2004 and 2006, the revenue derived from classified advertising has decreased by approximately 4% each year.

The information gained from the newspaper audit carried out by COI on 18 October indicates that approximately 75% of the sample carried advertisements for 'Personal Services', and that these advertisements comprised approximately 3% of their classified advertising. This equates to a value of approximately £44m for this type of advertisement to the regional newspaper industry in 2006.²¹

3.2 Volume of advertisements

Advertisements offering services from women seem to be widespread among regional publications.²²

Of 79 newspapers reviewed, 58 contained 'Personal Services' classifieds advertising services from women. Of these, 30 were daily paid-for titles, 19 were weekly paid-for titles, and nine were weekly free publications.

In total, there were 1,089 ads of this type, which equates to around 19 advertisements for each of the 58 publications mentioned, and accounts for 3% of all classifieds in these publications.²³

²⁰ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=1473

²¹ Calculations based on the *Advertising Association* revenue figures for regional press classified advertising.

²² The figures quoted are based on assumption of 125 classifieds per tabloid page.

²³ This figure excludes online press.

Of the 58 publications carrying ads offering services from women, 45 have sister titles.

The 10 publications with the highest volume indicate a particular issue in the East Midlands, the West Midlands, London, the South East and the East of England. Seven of the top 10 publications (by volume) have sister titles.

Table 4: Top 10 papers by volume of ‘Personal Services’ ads

Region	Circulation	No. of ads for women	No. of ads for men	% of total classifieds
London	14,050	88	4	17.6
South East	206,027	70	1	5.1
West Midlands	96,000	62	0	6.9
West Midlands	82,000	58	0	7.3
East Midlands	78,697	54	0	6.2
East of England	80,331	52	5	8.3
London	83,930	46	1 trans-sexual	4.1
East of England	35,984	42	0	67.7
West Midlands	73,000	42	3	6.0
London	13,229	36	1	9.6

3.3 Content of advertisements

Overall, there are slightly more ads offering specified services than offering non-specified services, but the split is fairly even. Fifty-three of the papers reviewed contain ads for specified services, compared to 47 containing ads for non-specified services. In total there are 601 ads offering specified services and 488 simply advertising women. There are, however, variations at a regional level.

The majority of classifieds do not specify the women's nationality. Thirty-nine of the publications reviewed contain advertisements indicating the nationality of women, and in total, only 174 specify nationality.

The majority of these ads are for 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Thai' or 'Japanese' women. These account for 102 of the 174 ads mentioned above. A further 22 classifieds mention 'Indian', 'Pakistani', 'Asian' or 'Far Eastern' women; 16 refer to West European women (in particular Scandinavian, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian); seven mention East European women; five advertise African women; five advertise Caribbean women; five advertise South American women; three mention Australian women; one mentions Mauritian women; one mentions American women; one mentions 'black' women; and six mention 'international' women. British nationality is not usually specified.

It is possible that a higher proportion of these ads refer to non-British women, but it is not possible to establish this based on their content. It is also possible that the nationalities mentioned are inaccurate, but again it is not possible to judge this based on the data used.

Seventeen publications advertise services from men, and a further three offer services from transsexuals. There are 35 ads of this type in total, or an average of two in each of the 17 papers. All of these 17 papers carry ads offering services from women, and are more likely to appear in papers carrying high volumes of these ads. Six of the top 10 (in terms of volumes of ads for women) also carry ads for men.

3.4 Advertising sales

Of the 58 titles containing ads offering services from women, 54 (of a possible 70) use in-house teams to place classifieds, two (of a possible five) allow advertisers to place classifieds online, and two (of a possible four) place ads via sales houses.

Only three of the 58 papers place ads free of charge.

3.5 Regions

On average, the volume of ads of this type appears to be highest in the East Midlands, the West Midlands, London, the South East and the East of England.²⁴ Volumes are still reasonably high in the North West, but are significantly lower in the South West, Yorkshire and the Humber, and particularly the North East.

Publications in the East Midlands, the West Midlands, the South East and the North West tend to have more ads offering unspecified services than specified services.

The proportion of ads for non-British women is highest in Yorkshire and the Humber, London, the South West and the East of England.

²⁴ Circulation figures are taken from The Newspaper Society. This maps the regions differently from the Government Office Regions, but is close enough to allow comparison.

Table 5: Summary by region

Region	Papers carrying ads for women	Average number of ads per paper	Ads for specified services	Ads for unspecified services	Ads for non-British women	Papers carrying ads for men
London	7/11	36	199	51	60	5 (+ 1 trans-sexual)
South East	4/6	31	44	80	17	1
South West	7/9	9	41	25	14	1
East of England	7/10	22	86	67	28	4 (+ 1 trans-sexual)
West Midlands	5/6	35	101	76	15	1
East Midlands	8/9	18	50	97	15	2
Yorkshire and the Humber	7/7	6	23	16	10	1
North East	3/10	2	5	2	0	0
North West	10/11	13	52	74	15	2 (+ 1 trans-sexual)

3.5.1 London

There are 193 regional newspaper titles in the London area. These have a total weekly circulation of 6.5 million.²⁵

Of 11 papers reviewed for this report, only seven carry ads offering services from women. However, those containing these ads hold a high volume. There are 250 ads in total, or an average of 36 for each of the seven papers. Of these 250, 199 are for specified services, and 51 for unspecified services.

There were 60 ads for non British women, from a wider range of different nationalities than that seen in other regions.

3.5.2 South East

There are 114 regional newspaper titles in the area. These have a total weekly circulation of 3.7 million.²⁶

Of six papers reviewed, four carry ads offering services from women. There are 124 ads in total, or an average of 31 for each of the four papers. Forty-four ads are for specified services, and 80 for unspecified services.

There were 17 ads for non British women, 10 of which mention Thai women.

3.5.3 South West

The South West has 43 regional titles; these have a total weekly circulation of 1.6 million.²⁷

Of nine papers reviewed, seven carry ads offering services from women. There are 66 ads in total, or an average of nine for each of the seven papers. Forty-one are for specified services, and 25 for non-specified services. Two of the publications reviewed are weekly – neither contain ads of this type.

There were 14 ads for non British women, 11 of which are for 'Oriental', 'Japanese' or 'Chinese' women.

²⁵ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2154

²⁶ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2158

²⁷ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2159

3.5.4 East of England

There are 95 regional titles in the East of England area, with a total weekly circulation of 4.1 million.²⁸

Of 10 papers reviewed, seven carry ads offering services from women. There are 153 ads in total, or an average of 22 for each of the seven papers. There are 86 ads for specified services, and 67 for non-specified services.

There were 28 ads for non-British women, 18 of which refer to 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Thai' and 'Japanese' women.

3.5.5 Midlands (total market)

In the Midlands there are 203 regional titles, with a total weekly circulation of 9.8 million.²⁹ For the purposes of our review we have split the region into East and West.

3.5.6 West Midlands

Of six papers reviewed, five carry ads offering services from women. There are 177 ads in total, or an average of 35 for each of the five publications. There are 101 for specified services, and 76 for non-specified services.

There were 15 ads for non British women, nine of which refer to 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Thai' and 'Japanese' women.

3.5.7 East Midlands

Of nine papers reviewed, eight carry ads offering services from women. There are 147 ads in total, or an average of 18 for each of the eight papers. There are 50 for specified services and 97 for unspecified services.

There were 15 ads for non British women, 11 of which mention 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Thai' and 'Korean' women.

²⁸ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2152

²⁹ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2155

3.5.8 Yorkshire and the Humber

In the Yorkshire area, there are 124 regional titles in circulation; these have a total weekly circulation of 5 million.³⁰

All seven papers reviewed contain ads offering services from women. There are 39 ads in total, or six per paper. Twenty-three are for specified services, and 16 for unspecified services.

There were 10 ads for non British women, eight of which advertise 'Oriental', 'Thai' and 'Japanese' women.

3.5.9 North East

There are 52 regional titles in circulation in the North East area of Britain with a total weekly circulation of 3.5 million.³¹

The North East is the region with the lowest volume of advertisements of this type. Only three papers of 10 reviewed have ads offering services from women. The total number of ads is seven, or an average of two ads for each of the three papers; five are for specified services, and two are for unspecified services.

Three ads were for British women, whilst all others are unspecified.

3.5.10 North West

The North West has 135 regional titles; these have a weekly total circulation of 7 million.³²

Of 11 papers reviewed, 10 have ads offering services from women. There are 126 ads in total, or an average of 13 for each of the 10 papers. Fifty-two are for specified services and 74 for non-specified services.

There were 15 ads for non British women, nine of which refer to 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Thai' and 'Japanese' women.

³⁰ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2161

³¹ www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2156

³² www.newspapersoc.org.uk/default.aspx?page=2153

3.6 Publishers

Of the 58 papers carrying ads for women, 41 are published by just five publishers with coverage right across the UK.³³

3.7 Other publishers

A number of titles owned by other publishers also contained ads for women. However, as only one title from each publisher was reviewed, it is difficult to judge how widespread the issue is. But the study did identify within this group individual examples with particularly high volumes of ads (30 and 18 ads).

The study also identified six publishers which, on the day of the audit, had no titles carrying these kinds of ads.

³³ Market share figures used in this section are taken from The Newspaper Society

4

Conclusions

- Almost 75% of publications reviewed in our sample carried advertisements mentioning services from women, and almost half carried classifieds specifically mentioning non-British women.
- It is not possible to identify which of these classifieds, if any, are advertising trafficked women based on their contents.
- Whilst this is an issue affecting the whole of the UK, there are significant regional variations. There is a particularly high concentration of these advertisements in the East and West Midlands, London, the South East, and the East of England.
- The content of advertisements also varies based on region. The majority of ads posted in London, the South West, the East of England, Yorkshire and the Humber, and the North East are most likely to refer to specified services such as massages, whereas classifieds published in the East and West Midlands, the South East and the North West are more likely to advertise unspecified services.
- The majority of ads specifying nationality mention 'Oriental', 'Chinese', 'Japanese' and 'Thai' women most frequently. The only area where this is not the case is the North East, where only British women are mentioned.
- Almost all papers carrying classifieds of this type charge for advertising space, and the ad sales are largely dealt with 'in-house'.
- However, advertisements of this type make up a relatively small portion of classifieds for the publishers mentioned above and, therefore, are unlikely to be a major source of revenue.

5

Appendix

5.1 Examples of online content³⁴

'Stunning Aussie girl seeks men or couples. No fees or limits' (last week)

'AMAZING YOUNG Pakistani escort. Beautiful, slim. First visit free' (this week)

'ELEGANT LADY. STUNNING 1/2 INDIAN 1/2 PERSIAN NATIONALITY. W2. SHIREEN. In/Out' (this week)

'MISTRESS DEBBIE Fully equipped chambers, TV's welcome' (this week)

'MAN-TO-MAN MASSAGE. Sensuous, unhurried, discreet. First-timers welcome. 24/7' (this week)

'THAI DEDEEA good massage, very relaxing by beautiful Thai. New Sauna & Spa bath. £20-£30 p/hour. Visits avail.' (this week and last week)

'LEXI & KYLIE Twice the fun or one on one' (this week)

'GENTLEMEN look no further for a slow sensual massage: early 20's phone for details' (this week)

³⁴'This week' refers to the week during which the sample of papers for this report was drawn; 'last week' to the preceding week

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