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Tackling Street Prostitution: Towards an holistic approach

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Foreword

This report presents the key findings and recommendations from the Crime and Disorder associated with Prostitution Initiative, which was part of the work conducted under the umbrella of the Crime Reduction Programme (CRP). The CRP was an evidence based initiative, which aimed to find out which approaches and practices were effective in tackling crime. The Crime and Disorder associated with Prostitution Initiative provided seed funding to 11 multi-agency pilot projects to address street based prostitution. The projects were grouped and evaluated by their main intervention type into three groups: policing and enforcement, protecting young people and providing support to exit. Some of the projects implemented tactics which aimed to reduce the nuisance and disorder for example police crackdowns and community mediation and liaison. Some tested innovative approaches, like gathering evidence to prosecute those grooming young people; and some provided support, for example, outreach and 'drop in' facilities to access those involved in prostitution and also start the process of enabling them to exit.

However, all of the funded projects were in some way trying to intervene with people who were on the margins of society, who were usually addicted to drugs and lived chaotic lifestyles. The findings presented in this report provide an insight into which approaches are promising to tackle street prostitution, and it also provides valuable recommendations for policy and practice alike. This report is timely as it has informed the forthcoming *Paying the Price: a consultation paper on prostitution*, which outlines the Government's proposals for reviewing the legislative framework around prostitution, and also the Home Office's *Solutions and Strategies: drug problems and street markets. Guidance for partnerships*, which is aimed at partnerships and makes recommendations for service developments.

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Background and methodology

In December 2000 the Home Office awarded £850,000 as part of the £250 million Crime Reduction Programme (CRP) to fund 11 multi-agency pilot projects ('CRP projects') which aimed to reduce the number of young people and women involved in prostitution, reduce crime and disorder associated with street-based prostitution and find out which interventions helped women to exit prostitution. These eleven projects were split into three packages according to their main intervention (protecting young people; policing and enforcement; and support and exiting) and evaluated by evaluation teams based at the Universities of Luton, London South Bank and Sunderland. In this overview we draw on material from all three evaluations to present the key findings from the 11 CRP projects, and present lessons on how to tackle street based prostitution.

Methodology

The projects were evaluated using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods within a 'realistic' and action oriented approach. For most of the projects this included collection of input (cost) and output data from projects, aggregate crime data, community impact surveys, interviews with project workers and staff from other key agencies, interviews with women or young people involved in prostitution, interviews with key members of the community and analysis of project and other documentation pertaining to the local contexts. Case studies of women involved in prostitution were compiled. The evaluators also observed meetings, 'shadowed' the police, attended drop-ins and/or accompanied outreach workers. This allowed process evaluation to take place and thus to ascertain not only 'what worked' but also 'how' and 'why' it worked.

Comparisons between different interventions in the CRP projects were carried out where possible based on the specified aims of each project area and measurement of whether and how far they had achieved these aims. However, accurately measuring 'change' proved difficult for all the evaluation teams. Reasons included: being unable to use experimental or quasi experimental evaluation design; difficulties in obtaining disaggregate 'trackable' data; difficulties disentangling which impacts were due to the project and if so, which interventions; a lack of baseline data; the ethical implications of interviewing young people who were in crisis and; differing project definitions of key terms such as 'engaging with', 'at risk of' and 'exiting'.

Findings and recommendations

The key findings and recommendations are presented thematically under the following headings:

- enforcement and community liaison;
- diversion and prevention;
- providing support to women and young people; and
- a model of needs and support.

Enforcement and community liaison

Enforcement and community liaison – Findings

- Generally the use of ‘traditional’ enforcement involving police crackdowns did not appear to reduce disorder or nuisance for the local community. Some geographical displacement resulted, but this tended to be temporary and unpredictable.
- Police crackdowns on kerb crawlers tended to reduce activity temporarily, if at all, and some temporal as well as functional displacement of the women involved in prostitution was reported to have resulted. However, kerb crawler programmes appeared to have a positive effect on those attending, as did the arrest itself, although further evidence of their operation and longer term outcomes are needed to assess this more fully.
- A more positive outcome was achieved where a community-based non-police community Worker/Officer worked with both the local residents and the women involved in prostitution to agree on and reduce activity in more sensitive areas. This was more likely than police crackdowns to lead to more planned and thus sustainable displacement.
- Better community liaison and mediation with the community was also more likely to lead to residents perceiving a reduction in women involved in prostitution and in kerb crawling and other positive changes. This may be because mediation allows a more community-focused approach to problem solving as opposed to large-scale changes that the community may not necessarily want.
- Drug use appeared especially important in whether or not geographical displacement of the women involved in prostitution occurred and whether temporal and/or functional displacement occurred instead.

- Use of ASBOs appeared to deter some women from involvement in street prostitution, but others reported they would not be deterred. The outcome in the longer term was not clear based on the very small sample sizes.
- CCTV can be useful in providing evidence on both women involved in prostitution and kerb crawlers, although it should be recognised that planning and installation is both time consuming and expensive.

Enforcement and community liaison – Recommendations

- Where police enforcement is being implemented community liaison and support for women also need to be in place.
- Community mediation should be encouraged involving community-based rather than police officers.
- If kerb crawler crackdowns are taking place the CPS need to work more closely with the police to ensure that evidential requirements are met in order for prosecutions to continue.

Diversion and prevention

Diversion and prevention – Findings

- The evaluation of the young people projects in Sheffield, Nottingham and Kirklees indicated the importance of intervention at the earliest stage possible. For example Pearce *et al.* (2003) suggest engagement at stages one and two, that is in relation to sexualised risk taking, and ‘swapping’ sexual favours for some form of gain, if young people were to be prevented from becoming fully involved in prostitution.
- All the projects implementing work with young people showed the central importance of multi-agency working, including shared protocols regarding information sharing and the implementation of multi-agency plans and strategies – often involving an imaginative range of agencies as well as parents.
- Young people in particular were found to be less likely to accept support from services seen as ‘adult’ and needed specific services.

- Dedicated posts for young people at risk of being or already being commercially sexually exploited where one-to-one work could take place were key to helping the young people get their lives 'back on track' and starting to think about their longer term prospects.
- It was important for the young people to have the same worker over time.

Diversion and prevention – Recommendations

- The lack of prosecutions of men abusing young people at risk of or involved in commercial sexual exploitation needs to be assessed. It would help if the CPS and the police attended steering groups/management committees of projects and forums concerning young people and prostitution. The CPS should be included as a key partner for interventions, which aim to gather information that is intended to be used as evidence.
- Young people at risk of commercial sexual exploitation should be identified at the earliest possible opportunity, even if this means working with some young people who would not have moved from being sexually exploited to being commercially sexually exploited. The early identification and referral allows preventative and diversionary work to take place before the young person becomes entrenched in the lifestyle and addicted to drugs.
- There is need for ongoing training for professionals who may come into contact with vulnerable young people in education or elsewhere, and who need to be able to identify such vulnerabilities.
- Some of the young people talked very negatively and angrily about their experiences with generic social services. It is important that all social workers working with young people are trained in recognising the warning signs that a young person may be being sexually exploited and that they are aware of support agencies and their referral processes.
- The new guidelines regarding the referral of young people for support rather than arresting them and prosecuting them should continue to be adhered to, with the police being trained in diversion and made aware of appropriate agencies for referral and liaison.

- Dedicated and trained workers who have a remit to work with those young people who are at risk of being or already being commercially sexually exploited need to be established to enable the young people get their lives 'back on track' and to start thinking about their longer term prospects.

Providing support to women and young people

Providing support to women and young people – Findings

- Outreach was found to be a significant pre-requisite to building a sustainable working relationship between project workers and women or young people involved in prostitution, and before they were able to access other services. Outreach was used to funnel women or young people into support with regard to housing, debt management, and drug addiction. It was the existence of an outreach service combined with the provision of follow-on services that eventually allowed the women and young people to become stabilised and thus move between stages.
- Having one-to-one support was also an important feature of effective support. This applied both to adult women and to the young people, and for the young people it was especially crucial that they also had a key worker.
- Use of fast tracking into drugs programmes was essential. Residential drug programmes may also be effective.
- Entering a drugs programme tended to be crucial to move towards stabilisation, and the drugs schemes showed some success. Although entering a drugs programme was unlikely to be successful on its own, without fast-tracking into a drugs programme other interventions could fail.
- Outreach and drop-in were generally effective in channelling women into drugs programmes. Arrest referral had more limited success, and appeared to depend on the extent to which women accepted arrest as an 'occupational hazard'.
- Some projects were specifically able to fast-track women to emergency accommodation and re-housing options, and this was important for the women to move towards exiting.

- Most projects were providing some advice on accessing benefits, and this appeared crucial in addressing the absolute poverty that many of the women and young people involved in prostitution were in, although young people under 18 were unable to obtain benefits.
- ‘Dodgy Punter’ or ‘Ugly Mugs’ schemes that provided information to the women about men known to be violent to the women on the street were generally successful in increasing reporting of violent incidents to the projects and/or police, and in a couple of instances resulted in convictions of violent male clients.
- Specific support to help some women escape domestic violence from partners/pimps was an important part of stabilising the women's lives. Women's Aid are rarely able to accommodate women with drug addictions, however, some of the CRP projects were in the process of establishing safe houses specifically for women involved in prostitution.
- Some projects attempted to get women into training programmes and college courses before the women's basic needs and concerns (for example regaining care of their children, getting out of debt, getting benefits, stabilising drug use and finding adequate housing) had been met. Providing such opportunities before the women were able to fully take advantage of them did not work.

Providing support to women and young people – Recommendations

- Outreach should be an integral aspect of projects working with women and young people involved in prostitution, as this is essential for making contact, building trust and enabling take up of follow-on services.
- Separate services need to be available for adults and young people, as young people in particular are less likely to accept support from services seen as ‘adult’.
- Young people should be allocated a key worker who can support them in the longer term.
- It is important that all projects have some form of fast track drugs programme, and that support is available for women using crack cocaine as well as heroin.

- Fast-tracking into emergency accommodation and re-housing options also need to be available.
- The specific problems associated with poverty and lack of benefits for young people under the age of 18 need to be addressed.
- ‘Dodgy Punter’ or ‘Ugly Mugs’ schemes that provide information about men known to be violent to the women on the street should be extended.
- Where women are experiencing domestic violence from their partners/pimps they should be treated by agencies as victims of domestic violence. Specific support to help women escape domestic violence from partners/pimps needs to be established, with more safe houses specifically for women involved in prostitution.

Model of needs and support

Model of needs and support – Findings

- Prostitution involves a number of phases: from entry into prostitution, to involvement in prostitution and exiting/moving on. It was possible to construct a model of needs and support involving the stages of vulnerability, chaos, stabilisation, and exiting/‘moving on’.
- Moving towards exiting and actually exiting from prostitution is a long and complex process. It is not a linear process, and it requires the appropriate range of multi-agency support to be available at the right time.
- The move from ‘chaos’ to ‘stabilisation’ is an especially important shift, and often brought about by a particular crisis or ‘turning point’ experienced by the women or young people, such as near-death overdosing, losing children into local authority care, and/or extreme violence.
- It was found to be essential that the services were available at the time the women needed the particular support. This was especially the case where a woman was motivated to seek support due to a crisis. If the necessary support was not readily available (in particular drugs support) then the women were liable to move back into chaos.

It was found that women need support after they have exited in order to maintain the exit and to 'move on'. This can be a difficult time for women who may recognise abuse they have experienced as a young person and during their involvement in prostitution, and ongoing support and specialist counselling may be needed. Projects also needed to develop links with similar projects out of their area to ensure continuing support if the women moved house in order to 'move on'.

Model of needs and support – Recommendations

- It has to be recognised that moving towards exiting and actually exiting from prostitution is a long and complex process and that a range of multi-agency support needs to be available for women to access when this is needed.
- There is a need to develop services that support women after they have exited and are 'moving on', and that include specialist counselling.
- Projects should be developed that are holistic, needs centred and provide interventions for both 'entry into' and 'exit from' prostitution.
- Multi-agency partnerships involving both statutory and non-statutory organisations should continue to be encouraged, with establishment of service level agreements and information sharing protocols.

Further research

- In order to measure the effectiveness of interventions research is needed that tracks data at an individual level and over time in relation to those targeted by interventions.
- More research is needed into the effectiveness of kerb crawler re-education programmes. The findings indicated that arrest of kerb crawlers combined with re-education might reduce the number of (locally based) men involved in kerb crawling in the longer term. However, this aspect would need further research involving larger numbers and a longer period to ascertain.
- Further research is needed into the use of ASBOs in the context of street prostitution.

- More research is needed in terms of how many young people who are identified as being sexually exploited will go on to be commercially sexually exploited and the factors that are involved in this. Until more is known about this transition period it is difficult to identify the interventions that may prevent this transition.
- Research is needed into the links between prostitution, domestic violence and a wider range of violence.
- Further research is needed on the full effect and sustainability of community mediation as an approach in reducing the nuisance to communities resulting from prostitution.

Implications for policy

- The shift from seeing prostitution as a policing problem to approaching it as a welfare issue needs to be taken further where women involved in prostitution are concerned.
- Policing of kerb crawlers, with associated re-education programmes, is an approach that is probably important to develop further.
- Community mediation is more likely to create sustained reduction of nuisance and disorder to communities and should be encouraged as a key approach.
- Holistic support, which includes a range of mechanisms of support and services (outreach to engage those involved in prostitution, one-to-one work and fast track drug services), geared to the individual needs of women and young people involved in prostitution, are more likely to result in exit from prostitution. This should be central to any approach to tackling street prostitution.

The CRP 'Tackling Street Prostitution' initiative

In December 2000 the Home Office awarded £850,000 as part of the £250 million Crime Reduction Programme (CRP) to fund 11 multi-agency pilot projects ('CRP projects') which aimed to reduce the number of young people and women involved in street prostitution¹, to reduce crime and disorder associated with street-based prostitution and to find out which interventions helped women to exit prostitution. For the purposes of evaluation the projects were split into three groups: protecting young people; policing and enforcement; and support and exiting. These groups were based on the main interventions being implemented, although there was some overlap. The three project groups were independently evaluated by teams of researchers appointed under the CRP from the Universities of Luton, London South Bank and Sunderland. This overview draws on material from the evaluations of the 11 CRP projects and presents the key findings as well as the approaches and practices to tackle street based prostitution found to be most promising².

The Crime Reduction Programme followed in the wake of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998). The Act emphasised the tackling of crime and disorder at a local level and involving local multi-agency partnerships, and drew on the earlier recommendations of the Morgan Report (1990) where it was suggested that crime control and community safety should be devolved to local authorities (Matthews and Pitts, 2001).

The issue of disorder has since the 1980s been an increasingly voiced concern of local communities, with toleration of certain behaviours such as prostitution, noise, and litter apparently decreasing over time (Matthews and Pitts, 2001; Hancock and Matthews, 2001). Where prostitution is concerned, Matthews and Pitts argue that while 'previous generations had put up with the noise and disturbance associated with street prostitution for years' a shift in public perceptions and tolerance developed linked to 'changing conceptions of defensible space and changing expectations about privacy, security and risk' (2001:3). The idea that crime is related to disorder was articulated by Wilson and Kelling, (1982) who suggested that the police had become so concentrated on solving major offences like homicides and robberies that they were overlooking smaller concerns such as begging, prostitution, and

1 Prostitution is defined here as the selling or swapping of sexual intercourse or other sexual acts in exchange for money, drugs or other benefits.

2 In order to credit the individual evaluation teams and the projects themselves with work carried out, we make obvious wherever possible our sources by referring to the project sites or specific evaluations.

public drunkenness (see also Kelling and Coles, 1997). Such offences, in their view, created a climate of disorder in which more serious crimes could flourish and where neighbourhood decline might result. As a consequence, the Chief Police Commissioner of New York, William Bratton, gave his precinct commanders complete freedom to use long-neglected laws to go after public drinking, excessive noise, prostitution or anything that undermined public order. This approach appeared to have a dramatic effect in reducing more serious crime (Bratton and Knobler, 1999; Bratton and Andrews, 1999). However, critics pointed out that rather than the initial problem being disorder, it was urban decline that created the conditions where crime and disorder might flourish (Matthews and Pitts, 2001). Moreover, by lumping together quite different forms of disorder without differentiating between significance and impact, Wilson and Kelling's 'broken windows' thesis also failed to distinguish between policing problems and welfare problems (Matthews and Pitts, 2001). With regard to prostitution, the need for both aspects to be considered was evident where arresting the women for soliciting without at the same time providing support merely created a 'revolving door' with the women going back on the streets to pay their fines (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). Moreover, kerb crawlers and men living off the earnings of those involved in prostitution were also ignored (Matthews, 1993; May *et al.*, 2000).

Involvement in prostitution by either adults or young people can be understood within the context of gendered economic inequalities (O'Connell-Davidson 1998, Phoenix 2001) and male violence and male power (O'Neill 1994, 1997). Routes into prostitution may involve choice but more likely elements of coercion and/or desperation. Economic necessity is the main imperative for women becoming involved in prostitution, whether for drugs or basics or 'nice things'. However, it is an involvement that is predicated on feelings of low self-esteem, created and fed by abusive or other critical life experiences (and see Cockrell and Hoffman, 1989; O'Neill *et al.*, 1995; Green *et al.*, 1997; Melrose *et al.*, 1999). This is the case in relation to both adults and children or young people. Prostitution is in this sense not simply a free economic transaction nor choice of 'employment'.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between adults and children or young people. Children and young people are vulnerable in particular ways that adults are not. This has been acknowledged in Government guidance on the treatment of and response to young people involved in prostitution (DoH/HO/DfEE, 2000). With regard to children and young people there has been an even more pronounced shift from a 'punishment' to a 'welfare' model than is the case in relation to adults (Ayre and Barrett, 2000; and see above) and practitioners are now encouraged to respond to the young people concerned as victims of abuse and thus to perceive them as young people abused through prostitution or involved in commercial sexual exploitation (Barnardos, 1998; Pearce *et al.*, 2000a, 2000b).

In the attempt to tackle street based prostitution, and taking into account previous work in the area and concerns raised, the 11 CRP pilot projects incorporated a varied mix of prevention/diversion, enforcement and welfare/support approaches aimed at both adults and young people.

The CRP projects and evaluations

All of the CRP projects were aimed primarily at young and/or adult women involved in (or at risk of becoming involved in) street prostitution. Two projects (Nottingham and Bristol) also worked with young men. Throughout this overview the generic terms 'woman' and 'women' are used unless referring to the specific experiences and needs of men involved in prostitution. Unless otherwise specified references are to women involved in street prostitution. As the findings apply specifically to street prostitution they may not be applicable to off street prostitution and/or those who are trafficked.

Protecting young people

Three projects made up the young people and prostitution package that aimed to protect young people at risk or actively involved in prostitution: Bristol, Sheffield and Rotherham. Margaret Melrose at the University of Luton led this evaluation, carried out between April 2001 and July 2003. The Bristol and Sheffield projects were funded from January 2001 until March 2003 and the Rotherham project from January 2001 until July 2002³. The University of Luton's final evaluation report did not include the Rotherham project and it has therefore not been possible to include analysis of the Rotherham interventions here.

Bristol and Sheffield both have distinct 'red light' areas in their city centres where adult women and young people are involved in prostitution, and young people from Rotherham are known to travel to the Sheffield 'red light' area.

Table 1.1 (below) shows the projects' aims and interventions and lists the data collected for each of the young people projects. The interventions in Bristol refer to young men and women up to the age of 21 and the interventions in Sheffield refer to young women up to the age of 18.

³ Rotherham was not CRP funded for the second year due to implementation problems. The project was attempting a new approach and took a long time to fully establish.

Table 1.1: Protecting young people – University of Luton evaluation

Project name	Project aims	Project interventions	Data collected for evaluations
Bristol Pandora	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establish a team to improve multi-agency referrals. ● Work with young men and women as victims of crime. ● Improve the young people's self-confidence and self-esteem. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Outreach support. ● General support. ● Sexual health services. ● Dedicated drug worker. ● Development of inter-agency data systems and information-sharing protocols. ● Action to tackle kerb crawlers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Local socio-demographic data and crime statistics. ● 10 interviews with young people at risk or involved in prostitution. ● 70 interviews with project staff and associated agencies (including police). ● 10 completed questionnaires from practitioners. ● 6 completed questionnaires from young people.
Rotherham Risky Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Collection of information and evidence about men allegedly involved in coercing young women into prostitution with which it might be possible for the police to pursue investigations and/or prosecutions. ● Provide safe placements for young women considered to be at risk or involved in commercial sexual exploitation. ● Raise awareness amongst practitioners. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A 'research and development' officer to undertake investigation of 10 case studies. ● Purchase and development of Information Communication Technology equipment (ICT database) on which to collate information. ● Recruitment and training of specialist foster carers. ● Purchase and provision of 'keepsafe' equipment (alarms, additional locks on doors). ● Provision of training sessions for practitioners from other agencies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10 completed questionnaires from practitioners. ● 6 completed questionnaires from young people.

Sheffield Sexual Exploitation Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Make full use of the inter-agency procedures. ● Encourage young women to exit prostitution or, where this was not possible, adopt a harm minimisation stance. ● Pilot a missing persons scheme through a police database. ● Raise awareness amongst professionals working with young people. ● Ensure that data relating to young missing persons was recorded and disseminated accurately. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sexual health services. ● Production and implementation of data tracking system for young people referred to the project. ● Multi-agency training events. ● Multi-agency planning sessions for professionals. ● Development of interagency data systems and information sharing protocols. ● Group work in residential unit/schools and one-to-one work with young people through youth service. ● General advice and support. ● Support to parents whose children are involved, or considered to be at risk of involvement in commercial sexual exploitation.
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Policing and enforcement

Three projects made up the policing and enforcement package: Bournemouth, Merseyside and Nottingham. These were all funded from January 2001 until July 2002. These projects were evaluated between May 2001 and April 2002 by the London South Bank University team, consisting of Gillian Hunter and Clarissa Penfold (now at the Institute for Criminal Policy Research, King's College London) and Leela Barham (National Economic Research Associates).

In Bournemouth the street prostitution area spans approximately 14 streets in a mainly residential area characterised by low rent accommodation. In Merseyside there are two distinct areas where separate populations of women are involved in street prostitution: North Liverpool (dispersed across four square miles) and the Wirral (adjacent to the docks). The Nottingham area affected by street prostitution has traditionally been the Radford area; however, in recent years this area has expanded to incorporate the nearby (and more affluent) Mapperley Park area.

Table 1.2 (below) shows the projects' aims and interventions and lists the data collected for the policing and enforcement projects.

Table 1.2: Policing and enforcement – London South Bank University evaluation

Project name	Project aims	Project interventions	Data collected for evaluations
Bournemouth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduce street crime associated with prostitution and reduce the impact of street prostitution on the community and their fear of crime. ● Reduce drug related crime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● CCTV enhancement. ● Maintain programme of warning letters sent to kerb crawlers. ● Increase high visibility policing in the area ('crackdowns'). ● Increase responsiveness of street cleansing services (needles, condoms etc). ● Dedicated officer time to work with residents and local media. ● Use of third caution⁴. ● Outreach, liaison and assessment to identify women wanting drug treatment. ● Spot purchase of drug detox and rehabilitation treatment (fast tracking). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Local socio-demographic data and crime statistics. ● 35 interviews with women involved in prostitution. ● 69 interviews with project staff and associated agencies (including police). ● 17 interviews with members of the community. ● 30 profiles of women involved in prostitution. ● 872 members of the community surveyed.

⁴ Normally arrest follows a second caution for soliciting. The project was giving women involved in prostitution a third chance to avoid arrest if they attended an appointment with the arrest referral team.

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| Merseyside | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduce violence against women involved in prostitution and increase detection and arrest of perpetrators. ● Reduce prostitution-related nuisance and disorder in local communities. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Production and distribution of information about violent kerb crawlers ('Ugly Mugs') and safety to women involved in prostitution. ● Central collation of information about violent kerb crawlers in a regional database. ● Early warning system to warn about potentially violent kerb crawlers. ● Detection and arrest of perpetrators of violence against women involved in prostitution. ● Police action against women involved in prostitution and kerb crawlers. ● Appointment of a Community Liaison and Mediation Officer. |
| Nottingham | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Deter and reduce prostitution and kerb crawling in the affected communities. ● Prevent boys from becoming involved in prostitution. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Road closure scheme. ● Media campaign. ● Increased policing and special operations in the target area. ● Purchase of Cougar radios. ● Purchase of video equipment. ● Use of anti-social behaviour orders. ● Recruitment of a youth worker. |

Support and exiting

Five projects formed the 'support/exiting' package: Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent. These projects were all funded from January 2001 until March 2003 with the exception of Hackney whose funding ended in July 2002⁵. The evaluations were conducted between October 2001 and July 2003 by the University of Sunderland team, consisting of Marianne Hester, Nicole Westmarland (now both at the University of Bristol), Lynne Harne and Val Balding (Cat Euler was also involved in the early stages of the evaluation).

In Manchester the project focused its work in the city centre (primarily the Minshull street area) and Cheetham Hill (to the north of the city centre) although other areas of Manchester also have street prostitution (e.g. Whalley Range). The areas of Hanley and Burslem were the areas targeted by the Stoke-on-Trent project, which have high levels of street prostitution and also at least 27 off street prostitution locations. In Hull the project was concerned mainly with women involved in prostitution in and around the Thornton Estate. Traditionally women were involved in prostitution on the non-residential outskirts of the area but in recent years had expanded into the residential part of the estate that is characterised by its high number (1,567) of high-rise council flats. The Kirklees project focused on the 'red light' areas in the residential areas of Fartown and Hillhouse within the Birkby ward to the west of Huddersfield town centre. In Hackney the project's target areas were the Shaklewell and Somerford Grove Housing estates; however, street prostitution is visible within a number of areas in Hackney and is frequently located around 'crack houses'.

Table 1.3 (below) shows the projects' aims and interventions and lists the data collected for the support/exiting projects.

5 Hackney were not able to provide the level of data required for ongoing evaluation.

Table 1.3 Support/exiting – University of Sunderland evaluation

Project name	Project aims	Project interventions	Data collected for evaluations
Manchester Real Choices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Have fewer women involved in prostitution on the streets and/or a reduction in their hours by offering them alternative 'choices'. ● Reduce demand for drugs. ● Reduce 'public nuisance' and the number of used needles and syringes left in public places. ● Reduce the number of residents and businesses complaints. ● Increase the take up of services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Low threshold supervised methadone programme (fast-track). ● Outreach service to provide a range of information, advice and referrals to women involved in prostitution. ● One to one support for women who want to exit prostitution. ● Production and distribution of newsletters. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Local socio-demographic data and crime statistics. ● 23 interviews with women involved in prostitution. ● 23 case studies of women involved in prostitution⁶. ● 133 interviews with project staff and associated agencies (including police). ● 25 interviews with members of the community. ● 333 profiles of women involved in prostitution⁷.
Stoke-on-Trent Peer Support and Community Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduce the number of women involved in prostitution. ● Heighten public awareness and increase community confidence. ● Increase in reporting/arresting kerb crawlers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Outreach service. ● One to one services (including drop-in, peer support and fast track referral to drug support). ● Community Development (including workshops and mediation). ● Police 'crackdown'. ● Media and publicity work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 127 profiles of men who solicit women involved in prostitution. ● 217 members of the community surveyed.

⁶ These case studies refer to a different sample of 23 women than the 23 in the interview sample.

⁷ The profiles included the 46 women interviewed and in case studies.

Table 1.3: Support/exiting – University of Sunderland evaluation (continued)

Project name	Project aims	Project interventions	Data collected for evaluation
Hull Way Out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Improved quality of life for women involved in prostitution ● Diversion of women away from prostitution. ● Diversion of kerb crawlers away from abusive and anti-social behaviour. ● Improve safety of residents. ● Improve residents' quality of life. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Training of police officers and magistrates. ● Kerb crawler crackdowns and re-education programmes. ● Mobile CCTV camera and lap top computer to gather evidence. ● Publicity campaign. ● Drop-in and consultation to improve drop-in service. ● Drugs arrest referral scheme ● Courses for women involved in prostitution. 	
SWEET Kirklees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduce the number of women involved in prostitution and kerb-crawlers in the residential areas. ● Stabilise women involved in prostitution from the streets or from saunas. ● Increase referral options for police and other agencies working with this socially excluded group. ● Increase police information gathering, particularly on violent crime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Outreach service. ● Drop-in services (including counselling, health services, alternative therapies, advice on housing and benefits, training/employment/education and recreational activities). ● Referral to drugs services. ● Pro-active policing (including arrest referral scheme, supporting victims of crime and liaison with preventative agencies). 	

SWEET Kirklees (continued)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● See a reduction in crime and disorder in the red light district. ● Increase the numbers of women exiting prostitution. ● Reduce the number of young people becoming involved in prostitution. 	
Hackney Maze Marigold – YWCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduction in incidence of sexually transmitted disease. ● Reduce the number of women involved in prostitution by providing workable exit strategies. ● Reduce the number of girls under 17 being abused through prostitution. ● Reduce amount of nuisance caused in residential areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Outreach service. ● Drop-in service and advocacy for individual women. ● Basic skills classes. ● Advice. ● Distribution of leaflets and condom `nappy sacks` to women. ● Liaison with neighbourhood groups.

Evaluation methodologies

The key aim of the evaluations of the 11 CRP pilot projects was to identify ‘what worked’ via an assessment of project design, implementation, delivery, impact and cost. The projects were evaluated using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods. For most of the projects this included collection of output data from projects, aggregate crime data, community impact surveys, interviews with project workers and staff from other key agencies, interviews with women or young people involved in prostitution, interviews with key members of the community and analysis of project and other documentation pertaining to the local contexts (see tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). Where quantitative data is used within this report, sample sizes vary in order to take into account missing data. The evaluators also

observed how the projects actually worked, by observing meetings, 'shadowing' the police, attending drop-ins and/or accompanying outreach workers. This allowed process evaluation to take place in order to ascertain not only 'what worked' but also 'how' and 'why' it worked'. However, because of the problems described in the next section in relation to measuring change and attributing it to specific interventions, many of the 'what works' lessons described within subsequent chapters are given with some caution, and presented more as suggestions for good practice and consideration.

In the evaluations it was not appropriate for experimental approaches involving control groups to be used for practical and ethical reasons. This was because it was difficult to gain access to the women who were involved with the project, and gaining access to a separate sample of women without project workers as gatekeepers would have been particularly difficult and may possibly have been dangerous for the evaluators. 'Realistic' and action oriented evaluation approaches (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Clarke, 1999) were instead used with much of the data obtained via collaborative working with the projects rather than a distinct evaluator/project approach. Comparisons between different interventions in the CRP projects were carried out where possible based on the specified aims of each project area and measurement of whether and how far they had achieved these aims, and some comparison was also made with findings in the existing literature.

In addition to evaluating 'what works', the material from the evaluations allows a presentation of a detailed picture of women involved in street prostitution, and the issues faced by local communities⁸. It allows us to examination of the different aspects of entry into, being involved in, and exiting from prostitution, as well as the requirements for prevention, support and enabling women to move on.

Measuring 'change'

Accurately measuring 'change' proved difficult for all three of the evaluation teams. The evaluation periods started and ended shortly after the projects' funding period, and many of the projects took a while (up to six months) to begin to implement their interventions. This is not unusual and has been reported in other CRP funded projects (Kodz and Pease, 2003). This meant it was not possible to set up specific baseline measures or to collect data following the intervention period in order to measure change. Attributing change to specific interventions within projects was also more difficult due to the lack of an experimental or

8 Data were also available on men who solicit women involved in prostitution ('kerb crawlers') and this is outlined in the appendix.

quasi-experimental evaluation design. In addition, many of the interventions were entwined to jointly elicit the same outcomes. In most of the areas there were non-CRP funded projects or interventions running alongside the CRP funded projects, and while the evaluators took into consideration non-CRP projects it was not always possible to separate a given outcome into specific areas of funding. This is not unusual in community based multi-agency working projects (Tilley, 2001), and to some extent the more effective a project was at multi-agency working the more difficult it was to evaluate and directly attribute change to specific interventions. If projects were not experienced in multi-agency working, and especially in information sharing, they tended to be slower in implementing their interventions.

Due to the length of the evaluation periods (between one and two years) it is likely that those interventions designed to have short-term outcomes (e.g. kerb crawler 'crackdowns') may show greater impacts and cost-effectiveness than those interventions with longer-term outcomes (e.g. supporting women to exit prostitution). Also, the length of the intervention period means that it may not have been possible to measure the full impact of interventions designed to have longer term impacts. As discussed later, exiting is not a linear process and may take a considerable length of time (see Chapters 4 and 5). Similarly, the interventions with high start-up costs (e.g. expensive equipment such as CCTV cameras or lap-top computers, see Chapter 2) may appear to have a lower ratio of benefits to costs over a short-term period than those with lower start-up costs.

A key aim of all 11 projects was to reduce crime and disorder associated with prostitution; however, this was difficult to measure. For the projects in the 'enforcement' and 'support/exiting' packages standard information on the number of crimes and incidents recorded by the police was collated where possible⁹. To achieve an accurate assessment of 'change' the data needed to be tracked at an individual level in relation to those targeted by the interventions. For example, did interventions around tackling drug misuse mean individuals involved in prostitution to fund a drug habit reduced their involvement in prostitution and reduced any associated offending behaviour? If police operations which aimed to reduce street prostitution and associated crime and disorder managed to reduce street based prostitution during the time of the operation, did those individuals engage in other criminal activity? Did interventions aimed at increasing safety of women involved in prostitution lead to an increased reporting of crimes by the women concerned? None of the evaluation teams was able to collect this level of 'trackable' data, which would involve linking police crime data and project data on individuals.

⁹ We use crime data on soliciting offences relating in this report, however, we do not refer to generic crime data for other offences that may be related to prostitution (e.g. rape of a female, murder etc) because it was not possible to attribute any changes in generic crime data to the projects interventions due to the large number of confounding variables.

It should also be recognised that police crime data does not provide a reliable baseline regarding soliciting and prostitution in particular, as the level of these crimes recorded is to a large extent influenced by police priorities and enforcement practices, which are often guided by the level of public complaints (see Maguire, 1997). To provide a more in-depth picture, the interviews with the project staff and women involved in prostitution, and (in the case of the 'support/exiting' package) the case studies of the women involved in prostitution, as well as (in the case of the 'support/exiting' and 'policing and enforcement' packages) community surveys, were used to examine perceptions and experiences of whether and how levels of crime and disorder associated with prostitution were being reduced.

Another, and related, overall aim for many of the projects was to reduce the number of women and young people involved in prostitution. Baseline figures were again difficult to obtain, in this instance because there were no accurate figures regarding the actual numbers of women or young people engaged in prostitution prior to the start of most of the CRP projects (in some cases there were no accurate figures regarding the number of women or young people involved in prostitution at the end of the evaluations). Where previous surveys or estimates of numbers had been carried out locally these are referred to in the discussion of impact. Success by projects in supporting women or young people to exit prostitution does not invariably mean there will be a reduction in the overall number of women or young people involved. This is because 'new' women or young people may be entering at the same time. In order to assess change regarding reduction in numbers of individuals involved in prostitution, and to understand what it is about a specific intervention that may achieve this outcome (Tilley, 2000), data on project outputs and exiting was used in combination with the interview and case study data in the supporting women towards exiting package. The interview and case study data were especially important in enabling assessment of what it is about a specific intervention that may have led to changes in a woman's or young person's behaviour.

In some cases the aims and/or interventions had to be changed, which made the evaluations more complex. For example, Manchester had originally intended to have a time controlled road closure system to reduce the number of men who solicit in the city centre. This intervention failed in the early months of the project when it became clear that it was not viable to close one of the major city centre roads while road works were being carried out in other areas of the centre. Similarly, in Nottingham a road closure scheme was abandoned when it became clear that local residents were opposed to the intervention (see Chapter 2). In Stoke-on-Trent a large part of the project involved training women who had already exited prostitution to peer support women who were still involved and thinking about exiting. In practice, only one woman put herself forward to peer support women and

further discussion of the intervention revealed the potential dangers of putting women who had already exited back in the environment they had left. This led the project to change its emphasis from peer support to one-to-one support from a project worker with the aim of stabilising the women involved in prostitution and so encourage and assist them to exit (see Chapter 4). The bid document for Nottingham included the aim of identifying pimps and carrying out surveillance operations in order to increase intelligence and the chances of prosecution, however when the related interventions were not implemented due to problems relating to equipment and training the aim was not evaluated.

Significant changes to the projects' aims and interventions such as those described above occurred for different reasons. Although in some cases this was due to inadequate planning, in many cases it was because the projects were responding to the specific needs of the young people and women involved in prostitution as well as the community. Much of the project staff time was taken up by crisis-driven work, in some cases leaving little time for them to implement the interventions or record the data needed by the evaluators. This was particularly the case where women had experienced sexual or physical violence, taken drug overdoses, self-harmed, attempted suicide, or if someone involved in prostitution had been murdered. In times of crisis, not surprisingly, collecting the data took second priority for project staff. By responding to crisis and individual needs, the projects' aims and interventions evolved over the period they were evaluated for. While this was key to the success of some projects, this made evaluation difficult in terms of attributing change to specific interventions and collecting consistent data for analysis. Evaluators had to be flexible with projects that were working with vulnerable groups in chaotic (and sometimes life threatening) situations. This also highlights the reason why 'realistic' and action oriented evaluation approaches (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Clarke, 1999) were used rather than experimental evaluation methods.

Accessing data

The University of Luton team had particular difficulties in accessing data concerning the young people's projects. There were two apparent reasons: the collection of robust data and access to young people. Regarding the collection of data by the projects, there was a reluctance at times to undertake this exercise at the behest of evaluators, as the practitioners did not necessarily see the value of collecting data (despite this being a condition to receive CRP funding). The other evaluation teams found it easier to obtain data from the projects. The University of Sunderland team developed a centralised mechanism, with standardised sets of data being collected from each of the five projects and police in each area co-

ordinated directly by the evaluation team. While this was time consuming, it also provided a high level of comparable data across the projects, including detailed profiles of women using the projects. The London South Bank University team also managed to obtain some comparable community and police data.

Gaining access to the women and young people involved in prostitution proved difficult. As a result of this, the evaluations relied heavily upon interviews with project staff and partner agencies. With regard to access to the young people involved in prostitution, the University of Luton team experienced difficulties because of the crisis situations of the young people. Researching with young people who are involved in commercial sexual exploitation requires particular ethical considerations on the part of an evaluation team (Melrose, 2002). It also meant that the evaluation team had to rely on practitioners as gatekeepers, and the use of gatekeepers can itself be 'hazardous' in research terms (Lee, 1993). The original intention had been to interview young people at the start of their involvement with projects and then to interview them again towards the end of their involvement. However, it was not possible to carry out many interviews. Moreover, the young people who did agree to be interviewed were those who were most positive about the projects and the support they received from them. Young people were also asked to complete questionnaires but the response rate was too low for the data to be included in the evaluation.

The University of Sunderland and London South Bank University teams interviewed women involved in prostitution¹⁰. Again, the evaluators relied upon the projects to act as gatekeepers to the women, and this may have skewed the sample towards women who had had positive experiences with the projects. It became clear that it would be necessary to 'fit into' the women's lives in order to interview them. Appointments to meet women were often missed due to their chaotic lifestyles and because there was no benefit for the women to turn up to the meeting. This meant that the women were generally interviewed at drop-ins or on the streets during outreach. As a result, it was not always possible to go into the amount of depth with the number of women that would have been the ideal. Because of the multi-agency style of the projects it was difficult to keep the interviews focused on the CRP interventions. Not surprisingly, the women generally viewed the support they received as a whole rather than as distinctly funded interventions. This was particularly the case where the CRP funding was used to extend service provision from a previously established project (which was the case for the majority of projects). Again, the more 'seamless' the multi-agency working was in an area, the more difficult it was to attribute outcomes to specific interventions.

¹⁰ These women were all 18 years of age or over. Interviews were not carried out with kerb crawlers or pimps because it was not possible to access these groups.

Definitions and data

With regard to collection and analysis of the evaluation data the issue of definition is important: for instance, how projects are defining concepts such as 'contact with', 'engagement' or 'exiting'. These definitions were rarely standardised by the end of the evaluation period, with different projects and different agencies within projects working to different definitions.

The University of Luton team found that in different projects, the concept of 'engagement' with the young person was employed in different ways. In some instances, 'engagement' referred to an initial contact with the young person. In others it referred to the fact that the young person had been willing to receive support and had been consistently meeting with their appointed worker. Such definitional problems led to problems with data gathering and complicated the task of comparison across projects (see also Tilley, 2001).

The University of Sunderland team found that individual agencies differed in their views as to what they were aiming for in respect of exiting. Some saw their primary goal as harm minimisation, rather than exiting *per se*, although it was recognised that this could be a stage towards exiting. Others also viewed their objective as enabling women to exit from street prostitution rather than all forms of prostitution, or to reduce the number of hours in which women were involved in street prostitution. It was therefore important to clarify with projects what their output data regarding exiting actually involved. Although the evaluators encouraged projects to agree definitions of exiting that involved specific time periods, such as one year (as we will describe later, women may exit temporarily and then return to prostitution) this measurement relied upon the project workers maintaining contact with the women after they have exited. If women simply 'disappeared' from the streets after engaging with project workers it was not possible to know whether these women had exited, continued to be involved in prostitution in an off-street location, moved areas or in the worst case scenario had been injured or murdered.

Cost-effectiveness

The three evaluation teams were required to collect the following input costs:

- Personnel related costs – type and number of staff involved in the project, staff hours (standard, overtimes and voluntary), details on the facilities and equipment that staff used (e.g. office space, IT equipment);
- Training costs – for staff involved in the project;
- Equipment – purchased or appropriated for project;
- Premises – office and other space used for the project (excluding space used by staff included within the personnel related costs section);
- Transport – vehicles and public transport used for the project;
- Advertising and publicity – type and cost of any advertising associated with the project;
- Other overheads – other resources not covered within the previous sections.

The intention was to record all costs (CRP funded and non-CRP funded; purchased or donated; paid or voluntary) and attribute them percentage wise to the projects' interventions in order to produce an estimate of how much it would cost to replicate the project or any individual intervention elsewhere. The evaluators were also asked to record whether the costs were ongoing or one-off costs related to the setting up of the project. However, the projects found this time consuming, and did not always comply fully. The costs were then to be analysed in two ways as specified in the Home Office guidance documents (Dhiri and Brand, 1999; Legg and Powell, 2000):

- Cost effectiveness analysis: by comparing the costs of interventions that produce similar outputs or outcomes (analysis carried out by evaluation teams).
- Cost benefit analysis: by placing a monetary value on the outcomes and comparing this with the input costs to produce a cost/benefit ratio (analysis carried out by the Home Office).

The evaluation teams managed to different degrees to obtain and evaluate this information. The University of Luton team was not able to obtain a complete set of costs for the young people projects and were not able to link the costs they did obtain to individual interventions. Both the London South Bank University and University of Sunderland teams obtained full cost information from the CRP funded interventions and were able to link this to individual interventions. However, some non-CRP funded interventions that were key to the project could not be costed. For example, in the support/exiting projects access to drug

support was provided by external agencies, and in cases where these external agencies were not receiving any CRP funding they were unwilling or unable to give the evaluators cost data in the detail they required. As a result, many non-CRP costs had to be estimated by the evaluators.

Just as linking costs to interventions was difficult, continuing this link onto outcomes and benefits was also problematic for the reasons described earlier. This means that the link between costs and benefits is in many cases a tenuous one. It was often not possible to attribute monetary values to outcomes: for example, it is difficult to value the benefit to a community of a reduction in fear of crime. Similarly, it was not possible to calculate the value of benefits such as a woman's sense of well being after exiting prostitution or of the diversion of a young person away from prostitution. These issues will be taken into consideration later in this overview. Costs and benefits are discussed in relation to different sets of interventions across the chapters that follow (Chapters 2, 4 and 5).

As far as the authors are aware this is the first attempt to provide costs and benefits in relation to prostitution, and the information presented in this report should be seen as a starting point for future research rather than as a full and conclusive analysis.

About this overview

This chapter has outlined the 11 pilot projects funded under the CRP 'tackling street prostitution' initiative, and the data used to evaluate the projects has been described. The chapters that follow report on the findings from the three sets of evaluations, drawing comparisons where possible. The chapters examine particular groups of interventions in order to make the comparisons and so that different interventions and combination of interventions can be discussed. Chapter 2 examines the 'classic' enforcement approach, and community related interventions. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 examine the interventions providing more welfare oriented support to the young people and women involved in prostitution (at entry into, during and in order to exit prostitution). Chapter 6 combines some of the findings from the earlier chapters in order to outline a model of needs and support that moves towards tackling street prostitution. Chapter 7 provides conclusions and recommendations.

2.

Enforcement and community liaison

This chapter discusses the findings from the CRP projects that incorporated enforcement and community liaison as part of their interventions, specifically Bournemouth, Nottingham, Hull, Stoke-on-Trent and Merseyside. The focus is on adults rather than young people. All of these projects were also to varying degrees providing interventions aimed at preventing entry into prostitution or supporting women and young people involved in prostitution. The following chapters discuss in more detail the findings related to prevention and support.

Prostitution is in itself not a crime, although activities relating to it such as soliciting (Street Offences Act 1959), kerb crawling (Sexual Offences Act 1985¹¹, Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001¹²) and pimping (Sexual Offences Act 1956) are defined as crimes. In addition, other offences may be associated with prostitution such as murder, common assault, rape, indecent assault, possession of controlled drugs, and burglary, theft or robbery.

Background and previous studies¹³

Enforcement of the law in relation to prostitution has tended to be driven by community complaints (Benson and Matthews, 1995; Hubbard, 1998). Areas with street prostitution have been found to contribute to the public's fear of crime (Aggleton, 1999; Oppler, 1997; McVoy, 1994; Hubbard, 1998). Moreover, very real problems tend to be faced by residents. Inevitably, the presence of street prostitution in residential areas results in the soliciting of male residents by women, the propositioning of local women and girls by kerb crawlers, the witnessing by children of offensive behaviour, the noise and problems associated with increased traffic, the discarding of used condoms and injecting equipment, a feeling of intimidation and actual or perceived increase in associated criminal activity such as drug dealing, pimping and robbery (Campbell *et al.*, 1996; Matthews, 1993).

In the UK, there is a history of residents taking their own action in order to rid their streets of prostitution (Benson and Matthews, 1995; Hubbard, 1997 and 1998; Vella *et al.*, n.d.) and calls for the police to become involved and take tougher action. Enforcement by the police has involved crackdowns on soliciting and kerb-crawling, and has included kerb

11 The newer 2003 Sexual Offences Act had not been enacted when the evaluations took place.

12 The Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001, with power of arrest for kerb crawling came into effect towards the beginning of the evaluations, in October 2001.

13 This section draws on the University of Sunderland and London South Bank University evaluations.

crawler re-education programmes, traffic management schemes and use of CCTV (Matthews, 1992 and 1993; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Hubbard, 1998; Research Centre on Violence Abuse and Gender Relations, 2000; O’Kane, 2002). The rationale has been that arrests and increased visibility of the police will deter those involved in prostitution and kerb crawling¹⁴ from entering the area concerned; CCTV will aid the collection of evidence for prosecution and in relation to safety of those involved in prostitution (see also Chapter 2); traffic management will make it more difficult for kerb crawlers and others wanting to access prostitutes to travel around the area; and kerb crawler re-education programmes will further deter those arrested from continuing their behaviour.

Increasingly, enforcement of the law has taken place as part of partnerships and multi-agency work among the police, local authorities, voluntary sector and other agencies, and less frequently the local community (Matthews, 1993). As indicated in the previous chapter this approach has now been acknowledged in law, with the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 placing a statutory obligation on police, local authorities and others to form Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) to tackle crime and disorder. The development of partnership and multi-agency working in relation to prostitution built on work in the late 1980s in areas such as Luton, Southampton, Finsbury Park and Streatham where policing combined with community liaison and input by the local authority appeared to reduce the problem of prostitution without merely displacing it (Matthews, 1993; Golding, 1991). Matthews (1993) reports on the approach in Streatham where increased arrests of prostitutes and kerb crawlers and a traffic management scheme resulted in reduction in the levels of soliciting and kerb crawling as well as reduction in other crime, especially burglary, and general improvement in residents’ quality of life. As has tended to be the case elsewhere, the main offensive was directed at arresting and prosecuting the women involved in prostitution. Between 1985 and 1988 the arrest of the women increased from 94 to 1,158, although with 30 to 40 women continuously re-arrested. An overall reduction was achieved by new women being deterred from entering the area. As Matthews points out, although the number of women involved in prostitution already in the area remained constant, the intensive crackdown approach 'seemed to deter new women from coming into the area to work' (Matthews, 1993:17). Increasing emphasis on kerb crawlers, via crackdowns as well as 'road closures' and 'no entries' (*ibid*: 21) also helped reduce the overall number of prostitutes on the streets and led to fewer kerb crawlers.

One apparently successful and more recent partnership has involved Islington and Camden councils, the police, and several community groups, who co-operated in trying to reduce the crime and disorder associated with prostitution in the King’s Cross area. As a result of the

14 The term kerb crawling is generally used in this overview for men who solicit prostitutes from cars and on foot.

project, it is argued that 'King's Cross has become a safer and cleaner place for those who live and work there. The police have regained control of the streets, and residents believe crime can be overcome' (Oppler, 1997).

Usually, however, increased policing has been found to reduce the visibility of prostitution for a limited period during and after the operation, with displacement being the main result if women are not supported to exit (Hubbard, 1998). Women may choose either not to work during the period of increased police activity returning after the operations are completed, or to work elsewhere (*geographical displacement*), or simply change the times they work (*temporal displacement*) (Hubbard, 1998; O' Kane, 2002). Women involved in prostitution may also turn to other forms of crime during that time (*functional displacement*), the most likely being shoplifting (May *et al.*, 1999).

Even though the overall level of visible prostitution is not reduced by increased policing, the resultant displacement may not necessarily be negative. For instance, the Streatham approach outlined above (Matthews, 1993) had a positive effect by displacing prostitution from locations where it caused most nuisance and disorder. However, geographical displacement has usually caused problems for communities and the police. For instance, in Liverpool, police operations in the city centre during the early 1990s had the effect of moving prostitutes out of traditionally 'worked areas' and caused a dispersal across a four-mile square area of the city, affecting communities that had no experience of prostitution in their neighbourhoods (Campbell *et al.*, 1996). While this offered some respite to the residents in the original area, it increased the overall visibility of prostitution, other police sections had to deal with the problem, and residents in the new areas faced the nuisance associated with street prostitution (Campbell *et al.*, 1996). Similar effects have been found elsewhere, including other countries. Lowman (1992), writing about anti-kerb crawling initiatives in Vancouver, Canada, states that systematic head-counts of women involved in street prostitution indicated that police operations had no noticeable impact on levels of street prostitution, although they did have the effect of moving prostitutes around.

Geographic displacement can also have a directly negative effect on women involved in prostitution, by increasing their isolation and vulnerability. They find themselves working in unfamiliar areas, away from their regular client base which serves to further compromise their safety (Campbell *et al.*, 1996; O'Kane, 2002). Geographical displacement may also be one outcome of the increasing use of Anti Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) for women involved in prostitution (Jones and Sagar, 2001).

Temporal displacement not only involves working at different (and potentially more dangerous) times but may also involve women having to work longer hours in order to make the same amount of money. Police operations can have the effect of reducing the number of men seeking prostitutes in an area. Women, sometimes desperate to earn money to fund drug use¹⁵, will still go out on the streets, often at a later hour, remaining there for longer, thus increasing their vulnerability (O’Kane, 2002; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). Also, in order to avoid the police, women have been found to spend less time negotiating business with clients, increasing the likelihood of being unable to spot a ‘dodgy punter’. It has been argued by police, the women and outreach workers that operations can have the effect of deterring the ‘decent punter’ whilst doing nothing to deter dangerous and violent individuals who commit crime against women involved in street prostitution (O’ Kane, 2002).

The CRP projects

Below are discussed the findings from Bournemouth, Nottingham, Hull, Merseyside and Stoke-on-Trent. As indicated earlier, the emphasis in this chapter is on enforcement and community liaison. Focusing on the interventions associated specifically with these aspects, and thus separating them from other interventions the projects may have, is somewhat false. However, it allows comparison to be carried out more easily. In any case, where projects have a range of other interventions (usually concerned with prevention and support) these will be mentioned, with more detailed discussion and comparison of the interventions related to prevention in Chapter 3 and support in Chapters 4 and 5.

The evaluation findings echoed much of the previous literature regarding enforcement outlined above. Increased policing in the areas concerned tended to reduce street prostitution, but only so long as the crackdowns were going on. Thus on its own, this approach brought only temporary respite, and would be very resource intensive if sustained over longer periods of time. Kerb crawler programmes also appeared to have some success. However, establishing direct links between the police and community groups and agencies as well as the women involved in prostitution was very important. The way in which local residents and businesses were consulted about tackling the problems associated with street prostitution appeared to affect their perception of the impact of the CRP interventions. The level of co-operation between the police and local agencies working directly with those involved in prostitution affected outcomes. An approach adopted by two of the projects (Stoke-on-Trent and Merseyside) involved the development of closer links between residents and women involved in prostitution (‘community mediation’). Where this

15 See Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion about drug use by women involved in prostitution.

occurred, and resulted in residents and women involved in prostitution being made aware of and responding to one another's concerns, the level of nuisance experienced by the community was most likely to be reduced.

In order to explore these issues more fully, in what follows the projects are placed in one of three groups depending on their interventions and main approach: traditional enforcement and community liaison, policing and community mediation, and diversion and re-education of kerb crawlers.

Traditional enforcement and community liaison

Bournemouth – police crackdowns and community liaison

Table 2.1: Bournemouth – enforcement interventions and outcomes

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased policing. ● CCTV enhancement. ● Letters to kerb crawlers. 	<p>147¹ warning letters were sent out to individuals suspected of kerb crawling.</p> <p>78 arrests of women involved in prostitution.</p> <p>33 arrests of individual women involved in prostitution.</p> <p>14 women involved in prostitution charged.</p> <p>19 women involved in prostitution cautioned.</p> <p>7 arrests of kerb crawlers.</p> <p>9 third cautions issued.</p>	<p>Temporary respite: interviews with agencies indicated that women moved away from target areas during the enforcement period and then returned. There was a reduction in the number of complaints made to the police by residents in the two months following the arrests of women involved in prostitution; however, these quickly rose again.</p>

¹ 345 letters were sent out altogether, 147 as part of the CRP work.

In **Bournemouth** the project area was mainly residential with numerous guest houses and hotels. The local residents and business owners were concerned about protecting their families and guests from exposure to street prostitutes soliciting for clients. They were organised in active residents' associations, and had regularly complained to the police and local counsellors. This local activity was influential in increasing policing of prostitution in the area. The main enforcement activities were increased policing, CCTV enhancement, and warning letters to

kerb crawlers (see Table 2.1). In addition there was police liaison with the community (see below) and support to the women involved in prostitution (see Chapter 4). The CCTV was not operational within the evaluation period, and will be discussed separately below.

A strategy involving increased and targeted high level policing (called Operation Planet) was adopted and implemented between September and November 2001. A total of 345 warning letters (147 as part of the CRP project) were issued to kerb crawlers in the preceding months, although these were eventually abandoned as they were thought to contravene the Human Rights Act 1998¹⁶. The police perception was that the warning letters had reduced the number of kerb crawlers in the area. However, the downside of this was that it also appeared (according to the Dorset Working Women's Project, an existing agency providing support to women involved in prostitution) to have increased the vulnerability of some of the women, as regular clients were more careful about picking the women up and were doing so in other locations which were perceived to be more dangerous.

During Operation Planet 78 arrests for offences of soliciting and breach of bail in relation to soliciting offences were made during the intervention period. This compares with 72 arrests involving 36 women during an earlier crackdown, Operation Thunder, in 2000 over a comparable time period. The arrests which resulted from Operation Planet involved 33 different women and resulted in 14 women being charged with prostitution-related offences, and 19 women being cautioned (see Table 2.1). Charges included multiple offences of soliciting, as well as breach of bail (either failing to appear or being back in specified streets at certain times, contrary to bail conditions). Some of these women were cautioned more than once. Offending profiles were compiled for individual women involved in prostitution, supported by statements from residents, which helped provide evidence of nuisance. Only seven arrests were made of kerb crawlers.

The project was also using a 'Third Caution' to provide an incentive for women to access drug treatment, essentially giving them a third chance to avoid arrest if they attended an appointment with the arrest referral team. Nine Third Cautions were issued during the intervention period but the majority did not result in a kept appointment. The police, the Dorset Working Women's Project (DWWP) and the Arrest Referral scheme all reported that the Third Caution had not been a sufficient motivator for change, and with women accepting arrest as an occupational hazard there was no real incentive for them to attend referral appointments¹⁷.

¹⁶ The impact of the Human Rights Act 1998 had also been felt at the beginning of the CRP project in Manchester where they ceased their already established police-led 'name and shame' kerb crawler initiative because of compatibility concerns. In the Streatham initiative warning letters had also been abandoned, but in this instance because their effect 'were felt to be uncertain' (Matthews, 1993 p 18).

¹⁷ It may also be the case that the way in which the caution was administered or the timing of appointments had an impact on non-attendance. No evidence was available to assess these points.

Displacement of the women resulted from the crackdown, but with temporary effect. According to anecdotal evidence from the Dorset police two forms of displacement resulted, both bringing with them additional policing issues, and crime and disorder for the community as a whole. There was some geographical displacement with women moving from the target area to two arterial roads due to the high police presence from September 2001 onwards. This was felt to be counterproductive:

...when you actually look at the overall good of the community and the image of Bournemouth, that might be even worse than it actually taking place where it was. It becomes far more visible to people then... The enforcement will actually satisfy those that are suffering from it now, but it then has a knock on effect of having a detrimental effect to the town in general, you know it's balancing that as well.

(Interview with Police Operations Manager)

Moreover, by March 2002 the women were back working in the targeted streets.

During the crackdown there was also functional displacement, with women remaining in the area and committing other types of crime in order to fund their drug use. However, the women returned to prostitution once the crackdown had ceased and appeared to prefer this means of making money as it produces 'instant' cash and is not an imprisonable offence (unlike shoplifting or fraud). As some of the police officers commented:

I can say that when we started [the crackdown] in September...handbag thefts went up through the roof...for example there was a girl...a prostitute...a heroin and crack addict, and we charged her with...four handbag thefts, and somewhere in the region of 27 TICS [Taken into Consideration], all for handbag thefts. Most days she was going out and pinching two or three handbags a day, because she couldn't do the prostitution because we were on her case all the time.

(Interview with Police Operational Officer)

There was without a doubt some displacement into other types of crime because I kept seeing prostitutes' names coming up for things like shoplifting and cheque fraud and that sort of thing. But then you see they go to court for that and they get sent to prison, so that doesn't sound such a good idea so they go back to prostitution where they can't get sent to prison.

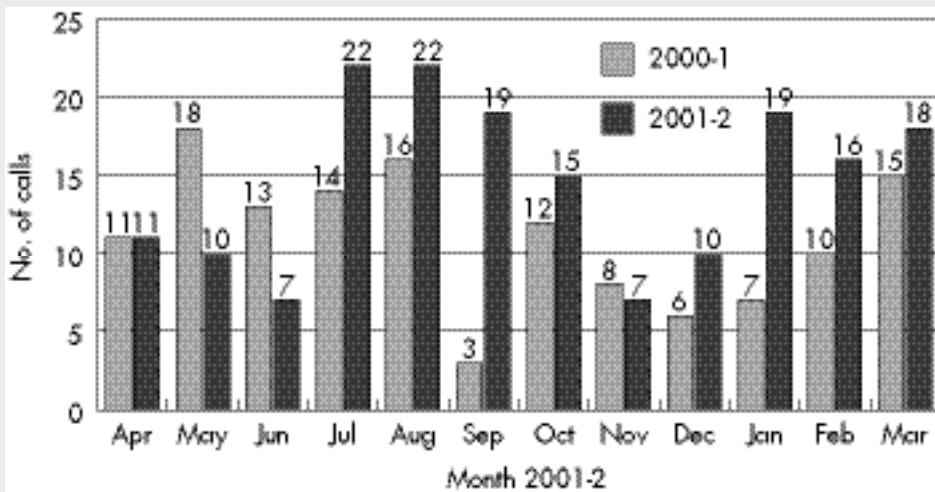
(Interview with Police Operations Manager)

A small number (n=10) of interviews conducted in March 2002, of women accessed via the Bournemouth project, similarly indicated how the enforcement operation affected the working patterns of the women. Eight of the women surveyed had been arrested in the last 12 months, and eight also said that the police operations had changed the way they worked:

- Seven women were working either longer hours (n=4) to make the money they needed, or shorter hours (n=3) to avoid being arrested.
- Five had been working in different streets some or all of the time.
- One woman admitted to dealing drugs to make money during the police operations.
- Six women stated that the police operations had reduced the number of women out working, and had also reduced the number of clients.
- Three women stated that the operations had not affected either the number of women or the number of clients.

In terms of reducing the impact of street prostitution on the community the interventions appear to have offered only temporary respite. The project indicates the limitations to using traditional enforcement methods for managing street prostitution in residential areas. Any effect is not only short lived, but may also have negative consequences.

Figure 2.1: Residents' calls to Dorset Police reporting street prostitution offences 2000-2002



The temporary respite provided by the proactive operations is also demonstrated through an analysis of reports from residents of street prostitution offences logged on the Dorset Police Command and Control database. There was a fall in calls during November and December 2001¹⁸, after the bulk of arrests had been made under Operation Planet¹⁹. However, there was a rise in calls towards the end of the intervention period as the proactive enforcement operations were scaled down. Thus, whilst police operations focusing largely on women involved in prostitution may have a temporary impact in terms of reducing the presence of women involved in prostitution in the intervention area, it does not appear to offer a sustainable long-term solution for reducing nuisance for communities.

Table 2.2: Bournemouth – Community liaison

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
Community liaison.	<p>2,000 newsletters were distributed.</p> <p>2 newspaper articles were published.</p> <p>454 police hours were spent liaising with residents.</p>	<p>Marginal level of awareness: Many residents (64%) remained unaware of the CRP interventions.</p> <p>The majority of residents surveyed reported no improvements at the end of the evaluation period.</p>

Community liaison was another strand of the Bournemouth project, with the aim of reducing the impact of street prostitution on the local community. A police officer was nominated to act as liaison point. Staffing changes meant that this role was eventually placed with the Community Officer for the Section, that is, still within the police. Officers called at people's homes, held a meeting in September 2001 for residents and hoteliers to explain the law, two newsletters were produced (one distributed door-to-door) and a couple of articles were published in local newspapers (see Table 2.2). During 2001 there had been many complaints from local residents and hoteliers regarding the nuisance caused by street prostitution. In addition, the local MP reported that he had received about 100 complaints via the telephone, surgeries and resident association meetings.

A community survey was carried out at the end of the intervention period, in March 2002. One thousand questionnaires focusing on the work of the CRP initiative were distributed to

18 This effect was less likely to be due to poor weather because January had a high number of complaints and outreach workers in other areas told evaluators that the weather did not tend to 'put the women off' coming out because of their continued need for drugs (see Chapter 4). If anything, the women tended to come out earlier during cold periods making them more visible.

19 A similar effect was noted in the previous year when there was another crackdown, Operation Thunder, during which 72 arrests of 36 different women were made, resulting in 13 charges.

all households in the streets affected by prostitution. The response rate, as with most postal surveys, was low, 24 per cent (242/1000) and it must be noted that respondents may have been the ones who were the most concerned about prostitution. The majority of respondents were female (57%) and home owners (60%), many with children (23%). This constitutes a slightly lower proportion of home owners than the 69.5 per cent recorded in Bournemouth’s 2001 Census profile. Results from the community survey (see Table 2.3) show that the majority of respondents perceived no change or a change for the worse in the numbers of women working as street prostitutes (71%) as a result of the CRP interventions. Seventy four per cent of respondents also stated that there was no change or a worsening in the visibility of women working as street prostitutes. Only 12 per cent of respondents had seen an improvement in either the numbers or visibility of women involved in prostitution.

Table 2.3: Perceptions of change after CRP interventions in Bournemouth (%)

Perception of change	Nos. of women working as street prostitutes	Visibility of women working as street prostitutes	Police presence	Levels of kerb crawling
Improved	12	12	22	13
No Change	35	33	36	43
Got Worse	36	41	15	16
Unaware/Missing	17	14	27	28
Total	100	100	100	100

N=242 (Response rate 24%).

More positively, 22 per cent of respondents thought that the police presence had improved, although 15 per cent stated that this had got worse. The survey results reflect findings from a small number of qualitative interviews with residents (n=7) which showed that whilst residents may have received some respite from the nuisance caused by street prostitution this was short-lived and may ultimately result in renewed frustrations.

It appears to be of significance that it was a police officer who was liaising with the residents. The local residents, and in particular local hoteliers who talked of losing guests because of prostitution, talked about how they had been ‘talked out’ of taking direct action themselves by the police who guaranteed that where action was needed they could rely upon the police to take it. However, in reality little appeared to have happened from the residents' point of view, with anger appearing to have far from diminished at the end of the project:

I'm getting more and more frustrated and more sort of, angry at everyone...
(Interview with local hotelier)

... something's going to happen one day, you sort of feel as though you're living on a time bomb because people are getting so angry...
(Interview with local hotelier)

Nottingham – police crackdown

Table 2.4: Nottingham – enforcement interventions and outcomes

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Increased policing. ●Use of ASBOs (non CRP funded). ●CCTV. ●Media campaign. 	<p>4 police operations were run ('crackdowns').</p> <p>350 arrests of 60 women involved in prostitution (operation Gower).</p> <p>52 kerb crawlers were stopped (with 32 arrested, 31 convicted) in operation Ghana.</p> <p>220 cruisers were stopped in operation Gammon.</p> <p>6 women were issued with ASBOs.</p> <p>206 radio bulletins were broadcasted.</p> <p>5 articles appeared in local press.</p>	<p>Little impact: Overall the enforcement operations appeared to have had little impact, and according to residents' survey may even have worsened the situation in the local community.</p> <p>Some impact: 4 out of the 6 women complied with their ASBO.</p>

In **Nottingham** the project area was mainly residential. A main road split the area, with one side comprising privately owned houses, a number of schools and pre-school nurseries, and the other consisting of council and privately-let student accommodation, and small businesses. The project was aimed at women, young men and boys involved in prostitution. Boys and young men had recently become visible as prostitutes in the area. The main component of the CRP initiative was (as in the case of Bournemouth) increased policing in the intervention area (mostly covert operations), with use of CCTV, media campaign and traffic management scheme. A youth worker was employed to deal with the involvement of boys in prostitution, and this aspect will be discussed in Chapter 3. There was also the intention to purchase Cougar radios for surveillance and video surveillance equipment to collect evidence of vice activity. Neither of these interventions was in place by the end of the

evaluation period due to a lengthy and unanticipated delay between the purchasing of the radios and their delivery and delays in training officers in the use of the video surveillance equipment²⁰. The traffic management scheme was not implemented either, but in this instance it was opposition from the local community that stopped the intervention. The community representatives were concerned that it might shift prostitution to other streets, increase accidents, make it more difficult to take children to school, restrict access to the main road, and increase pollution (27 letters, concerns at residents' meeting). This emphasises the need to consult with the local community rather than assuming any intervention would be welcomed.

A media campaign comprising radio information bulletins and local media publicity to deter kerb crawlers and raise awareness was also enacted. This involved a number of vignettes warning of some of the consequences of kerb crawling (such as risk of sexually transmitted infection and the potential shame and damage to family relations if caught by the police) being broadcast a total of 206 times at peak listening times on Radio Trent in May 2001. However, it was not possible to assess the impact of this initiative as there was no agreed process in place to monitor it. Anecdotal reports by Anti Vice officers indicated that men who were picked up for kerb crawling mentioned the campaign. No respondents from the community survey (630/2,600) mentioned the media vignettes when asked which (if any) initiatives they were aware of to reduce the crime and disorder associated with prostitution.

With regard to enforcement activities, this remained largely the domain of the police's Anti Vice Unit. Other partners in the project were concerned that increased policing was not a long-term solution and might merely serve to displace the problem, and that it was important to offer support for the women to exit prostitution at the same time:

I just think that [the women] will find alternatives. I suspect they will go and find somewhere else to work or perhaps just move to another area of the city. ...I think that as long as there are good strategies to get people to exit if they want to and not just being punished...

(Interview with manager, homeless agency)

A number of agencies taking part in the project (outreach, Anti Vice Unit, Social Services, drugs agencies) were, as part of the project, developing protocols with regard with women exiting, but these were not in place by the end of the evaluation period.

²⁰ It was important that officers were trained on when and where they could use the video surveillance equipment in order to comply with the Human Rights Act 1998.

Between April 2001 and March 2002, 25 two to four day operations were carried out. This compared with 11 operations (again mainly covert policing) in that time period for the previous year (see Table 2.5 for details of police actions during the intervention period and in the year prior).

Table 2.5: Police arrests and stops in 2000/1 compared with 2001/2

Arrests/Stops (intervention period)	Cruising	Kerb crawling	Soliciting (female)	Total
April 2000 – March 2001	99	46	214	359
April 2001 – March 2002	220	52	350	622

The covert work during the intervention period involved the use of decoy officers to target kerb-crawlers (Operation Ghana), women involved in prostitution (Operation Gower) and cruisers²¹ (Operation Gammon) as well as a high profile CCTV van (Operation Galaxy). The outputs of the operations (Tables 2.4 and 2.5) included 350 arrests for soliciting involving 60 different women, and 52 actions against kerb crawlers, of which 32 were arrests (after the new legislation came into force in October 2001). Of those arrests, 31 resulted in conviction and fines. Police activity on 'cruising' involved that person being stopped and spoken to by police or a letter being sent to the registered owner of the car. During the intervention period, over 200 cars were stopped and the drivers told by police that they were driving round a known red light area and that being seen in the area on a regular basis could result in a letter being sent to their home address. Letters were sent to six persistent cruisers. No arrests were made on Operation Galaxy as it was intended to provide a visible police presence in the intervention areas to deter prostitution-related behaviour. It is not known if any of the men who were arrested for kerb crawling re-offended and a longer follow-up period would be needed to draw any valid conclusions.

The Anti Vice Unit and Nottingham City Council also wanted to use Anti Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) as one possible method of reducing the number of women working in the vice area and thus reducing nuisance for the community. In brief, ASBOs are prohibitive orders with the specific aim of protecting the community, and may seek to prevent an individual from entering a specified area with the threat of imprisonment if the condition is breached. In applying ASBOs the police targeted women who were most regularly on the street:

21 i.e. where the person does not actually approach a woman involved in prostitution.

..obviously if you have a woman working every day, she is going to get arrested every day. Sometimes you get a woman that we know is working but when we stop she's gone so maybe with some, we make more effort to get the person. When we apply for ASBOs, obviously the courts are expecting hard evidence that the woman is working, and it is then that we have to make the effort to say we know that she is working. We will go and arrest her, perhaps ignore X down the road because she is only out every so often. In effect we are targeting them but we're only doing that because we know they're out a lot.

(Interview with Anti Vice Unit officer)

Over the intervention period, six women were issued with ASBOs, of those two women breached the order, one being found in the excluded area on four different occasions. On her second breach this woman was bailed to a hostel outside Nottingham. On the third breach she was told not to come into Nottingham at all. The Anti Vice officer was unaware of what action had been taken after the fourth breach. The Anti Vice Unit reported that the other women (n=4) had not been seen by them in the area since the orders were issued, suggesting some success. There was no evidence of a reduction in nuisance for the community (see also community survey below).

Interviews conducted in Nottingham in March 2002 with a small number of women involved in prostitution (n=10) suggested that for these women ASBOs were seen as just another form of punishment, and one that appeared to increase the penalties for prostitution.

That's a sly way of sending girls to prison because you can't go to prison for prostitution.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

It should be noted, however, that none of the women interviewed had been issued with an order, although seven were aware of their use and four reported having friends who had received one. Only three women felt that an ASBO would stop them working or make them work elsewhere. Others thought that the threat of an ASBO would not act as a deterrent from working in the area, particularly when prostitution was necessary to fund problem drug use. For example:

I don't think it's appropriate. I wouldn't worry about getting one. I mean, I would understand the implications but I wouldn't care.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

It is also worth noting the problems experienced by one woman who had been issued with an ASBO. She had been trying to leave the area and exit prostitution. However, because of the ASBO she was experiencing difficulties getting re-housed.

Generally, the evidence regarding impact of the targeted policing on the reduction in prostitution was limited. The evaluation team concluded that, although resulting in greater number of arrests, the crackdowns in Nottingham appeared to have had little or no impact, and may even have worsened the situation in the local community. No geographical displacement of the women resulted. These findings were largely based on the evidence from interviews with a small sample of women involved in prostitution and a community survey, discussed below.

Interviews with the small number of women involved in street prostitution in Nottingham conducted for the evaluation in February and March 2002 suggested that although aware of the increased police presence, this had not deterred them from working (reported by 8/10). For these women the main reason for continued working was to fund drug use (reported by 9/10). The most commonly noted impact of the policing was a reduction in the numbers of clients, which was mentioned by eight of the women and suggests that the police arrests had had some impact. However, because of this decrease in 'business', six women reported that they then had to work much longer hours to earn sufficient money to fund their drug use. With regard to geographical displacement interviews with the women involved in prostitution suggested some small adaptations. For example, three women reported that they 'walked about a bit more' rather than standing still and two stated that they occasionally moved to the next street. However, none of the women had travelled very far from their original spot as they felt that clients knew where to find them and they were afraid they might lose business if they moved.

A community survey was conducted in Nottingham in March 2002 at the end of the intervention period, with 2,600 questionnaires distributed to the households in the area affected by street prostitution. As in Bournemouth the survey focused on the CRP initiative, and yielded a similarly low response rate of 24 per cent (630/2,600) and those who responded may have been those who were particularly affected by prostitution. In the survey a majority of respondents noted either no change or a worsening situation over the intervention period with regard to the levels of prostitution and kerb crawling. For example, 72 per cent of respondents felt the number of women had remained constant or got worse over the 12 month period of the CRP interventions and 59 per cent reported similar views about the level of kerb crawling (see Table 2.6). Respondents were more likely to comment about those involved in prostitution than about kerb crawlers. A small proportion of

respondents (14%) did notice an improvement in the level of policing in the area, although the biggest group (39%) were not aware of any change. Operation Planet may actually have contained the level of prostitution, even if it did not reduce it further.

Table 2.6: Perceptions of change after CRP interventions in Nottingham (%)

Perception of change	Nos. of women working as street prostitutes	Visibility of women working as street prostitutes	Police presence	Levels of kerb crawling
Improved	10	10	14	9
No change	41	41	39	44
Got worse	31	34	11	15
Unaware/Missing	18	14	36	32
Total	100	99 ¹	100	100

N=630 (Response rate 24%).

¹ This column does not add to 100 per cent due to rounding of percentages.

Summary of findings:

- Whilst police crackdowns may have a temporary impact in terms of reducing the presence of women involved in prostitution in the intervention area, it does not appear to offer a sustainable long-term solution for reducing nuisance for communities (Bournemouth).
- Geographical displacement of the women resulted from the crackdown, but with temporary effect. Displacement appeared to be largely temporal and functional (Bournemouth).
- Overall, the enforcement operations in Nottingham appeared to have had little impact by the end of the evaluation period, and may even have worsened the situation in the local community despite the short period of respite while the operations were being undertaken (Nottingham).
- Generally there was no geographical displacement, although findings suggested that temporal displacement occurred to compensate for the reduction in kerb crawlers. Funding of drug use was especially important (Nottingham).

Policing and community mediation

Stoke-on-Trent – police crackdown, community mediation and support

Table 2.7: Stoke-on-Trent – enforcement interventions and outcomes

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
● 4 week crackdown (non CRP funded).	20 kerb crawlers were arrested in 4 weeks.	Some success: Nearly two thirds (61%) of residents said they had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in prostitution, although fewer had noticed reduction in kerb crawling.
● Poster campaign (non CRP funded).	50 posters were distributed warning people they were in a vice crackdown area.	
● Community mediation (year 1 only).		

The **Stoke-on-Trent** project area was residential, comprising low cost housing. The main component of the CRP initiative was provision of support for the women involved in prostitution to exit (see Chapter 4), and community mediation. The project also included enforcement in relation to kerb crawlers, although this was not a CRP-funded intervention.

The enforcement intervention involved a four-week crackdown on kerb crawlers and a poster campaign during November 2001. The aim was to create a 'window of opportunity' to allow project workers to work more intensively with the women involved in prostitution, supporting them towards exiting (see Chapter 4). Hence the emphasis here in contrast to the other projects that included enforcement was that enforcement was not seen as being an end in itself. Twenty kerb crawlers were arrested during the crackdown (Table 2.7).

One issue that arose was the perceived reluctance of the Crown Prosecution Service to pursue kerb crawlers through the court system, and hence a difficulty in prosecuting kerb crawlers:

We were very much dependent on new legislation coming in relating to the prosecution of kerb crawlers. To our dismay we found that despite the fact that we had attempted to prosecute, the Crown Prosecution Service was very reluctant to take cases forward, which has led to some disenchantment with police officers and members of the project.

(Interview with Community Safety Partnership Inspector)

A further issue faced by the project and the police was that a woman involved in prostitution was murdered in the first month of the project’s funding and before any crackdowns had taken place. This murder received publicity both locally and nationally and included an appeal for information and a reconstruction on *Crimewatch*. Violence against the women involved in prostitution is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. However, what is important here is the effect that it may have had on the police crackdown and the working relationship between the police and the Women’s Project that provided the support interventions for the women (also discussed in Chapter 4). The crackdown was postponed until later in the year than originally planned to avoid conflicting messages, with the ‘vice enforcement zone posters’ and arrests of kerb crawlers on the one hand and the appeals for kerb crawlers to make themselves known to the police for elimination purposes on the other. The murder enquiry was ongoing for the entire evaluation and, three years on, is still unsolved²². This meant that the police had to work very closely with the Women’s Project in order to gain access to the women and moving towards the commonly shared goal of identifying and prosecuting the individual(s) responsible for the murder. Despite this close working relationship there were some periods where communications were less than adequate: for example, the Women’s Project were unsure about the revised dates of the crackdown meaning they were not able to properly plan and utilise the ‘window of opportunity’.

As was the case in Bournemouth (and elsewhere, see Hubbard, 1998) there was a temporary reduction in women involved in prostitution as a result of the crackdown in Stoke-on-Trent. It was also recognised that women were very much aware that this was a one-off crackdown that would come to an end when police priorities changed. The residents were particularly concerned about this:

Since police presence has dropped off more girls are about and drug dealers.
 (Interview with Stoke-on-Trent resident)

Table 2.8: Perceptions of change after CRP interventions in Stoke-on-Trent (%)

Perception of change	No. women involved in prostitution	No. kerb crawlers
Reduction	61	31
No reduction	29	45
Not sure	9	24
Total	99	100

N=75 (Response rate 75%)

²² At time of writing, January 2004.

A small-scale community impact survey was carried out in the project area in March 2002²³ with 100 questionnaires distributed randomly by project staff. The focus of the questionnaire was the impact of the CRP interventions with regard to prostitution in the area. Seventy-five questionnaires were returned, a response rate of 75 per cent. Although involving small numbers, by comparison with the surveys in Bournemouth or Nottingham, in Stoke-on-Trent the majority of the respondents to the community impact survey (61%, 46/75) had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in street prostitution (see Table 2.8). About a quarter had not noticed any reduction (29%, 22/75) and a few were unsure (9%, 7/75). However, most (45%, 34/75) had not noticed any reduction in kerb crawling, with less than a third (31%, 23/75) seeing a reduction. As might be expected with a once-off crackdown, a sizeable proportion of local residents (39%, 29/75) thought that the police had been more visible in relation to prostitution during the intervention, although a similar number of respondents (35%, 26/75) reported that the police had been less visible.

Table 2.9: Stoke-on-Trent community mediation

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
Community mediation.	<p>34 media articles were published.</p> <p>7 media articles were published about the community work.</p> <p>9 community workshops were held.</p> <p>85 complaints were dealt with by the community worker.</p>	<p>Positive feedback from residents: felt their concerns were listened to and dealt with.</p>

By contrast to the Bournemouth Community Liaison Officer who was linked to the police (see above), the Stoke-on-Trent Community Development worker was employed from the women's support project, and based in the community. She was able to utilise the outreach work by the Women's Project and her position to mediate between the women involved in prostitution and the local residents. She produced a newsletter named '*Keep the Beat Neat*', which was distributed to women via outreach informing them of residents' immediate concerns, including when particular residents were unhappy about women standing in certain streets (see Table 2.9). The newsletter was also used to convey when residents had noticed an improvement in their environment. This enabled a dialogue between residents and women involved in street prostitution in the project area, with the advantage of reducing tension between the two groups.

²³ The respondents were mainly residents (n=73, 97%) and businesses (n=2, 3%). There was a wide and fairly even distribution of ages represented from those under the age of 25 (n=8, 11%) to those over 65 (n=20, 27%). Just over half of the respondents were female (n=43, 57%). Most households (n=56, 82%) did not have children or young people under the age of 18 years old residing there.

The Community Development worker dealt with 85 complaints from members of the community over a twelve month period (April 2001-March 2002). Fifty six per cent of complaints were reported by women and 44 per cent by men. Most of the complaints concerned prostitution in general (50%, 42/85) and antisocial behaviour (21%, 18/85), but also a small number of complaints regarding threats to kill, sex in a public place, indecent exposure, and street robbery (7%, 6/85).

There were initial concerns from women involved in prostitution that the work of the Community Development worker would result in services being redirected away from attending to their needs. The community and residents felt similarly that their needs were not prioritised. However, the small number of interviews, which were conducted with both the project workers and partner agencies towards the end of the intervention (n=6) considered the community mediation as successful. The small number of local residents interviewed (n=5) echoed this view, and felt that the use of the 'keep the beat neat' newsletter as part of that success:

The Community Development Officer was a good link, she told girls what upsets us residents and vice versa. Everybody's more understanding now.

(Interview with key member of community)

The news sheet has been very good. We tell [Community Development Officer] what's bothering us and she puts it in the beat sheet. She takes it to the women and they've listened.

(Interview with key member of community)

Often residents were too afraid to confront women on the streets for fear of retribution. Having a named person who would pass on their concerns on their behalf was seen as very important.

It's been great. She's the only one who seems to have listened to us. She's got the right attitude and you can talk freely to her. She's approached women and explained the knock on effects. One of the pimps has moved on.

(Interview with key member of community)

Every complaint I've made has been followed up – she's never let us down or walked away from it. I don't know what she does, because she doesn't tell us, but whatever it is, it works. She's got a very good understanding with the police.

(Interview with key member of the community)

However, there was also some concern that the community mediation concentrated too narrowly on the needs of a small minority of residents, rather than on the broader requirements of the community as a whole.

I'm not sure that we actually targeted the right areas of the community, but I think for those that we have engaged with, it's been positive.

(Interview with project worker)

Merseyside – policing, community mediation

Table 2.10: Merseyside community mediation

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
Community mediation and liaison.	11 community group meetings were attended by the community officer. Monthly Newsletter.	Limited evidence: No community survey was conducted in Merseyside. Agency interviews suggested fewer complaints from community had resulted.

The CRP initiative on **Merseyside** was divided between two areas, North Liverpool and the Wirral, separated by a river. In North Liverpool the project was centred in a mainly low-income residential area, where street prostitution is dispersed. The Wirral was similar although with a greater concentration of street prostitution in a small area. Following a series of crackdowns which resulted in only temporary respite for residents and fuelled the possibility of the communities taking direct action, the project was moving away from use of traditional enforcement. Instead a strategy was being adopted for encouraging women involved in prostitution to work in specific non-residential areas as a means of reducing nuisance and disorder to the local community. There was also an 'Ugly Mugs' intervention to deal with violence against the women (see Chapter 4). The strategy relied on partnership between the police, support projects, women themselves and the local communities and involved the employment of a Community Mediation Officer ('Community Officer').

As in Stoke-on-Trent, the Community Officer on Merseyside was a voluntary sector worker rather than a police officer, and linked directly with the women's project providing outreach and other support for women involved in prostitution (in this instance Merseyside Linx Project). The remit of the officer was to liaise with community groups, support projects and other voluntary and

statutory agencies to identify longer-term viable strategies to improve the situation for the communities and businesses. Also, to raise the awareness of residents, police and other agencies regarding street prostitution and the problems faced by the women involved. Liaison with the women involved in street prostitution was achieved via the existing outreach and drop-in activities of the Merseyside Linx Project, as well as targeted outreach. A monthly newsletter was distributed to the women and key agencies. Liaison with the communities was achieved largely via attendance at residents' association meetings and community forums (Table 2.10).

No community survey was carried out for Merseyside. Evidence of impact can be gleaned from the interviews with agencies (n=13), a small number of residents (n=4) and women involved in prostitution (n=15). The use of targeted outreach to communicate community concerns to the women involved in prostitution appeared an especially positive approach, resulting in temporary displacement:

We've actually done some walk around outreach and handed leaflets out and explained what it means to people ...and I think...that did clear the area [of prostitutes] for a period of time...Around the school where the first outreach was done... the complaints dropped completely, which I thought was really successful and it was...a really calm way of doing it, there was no kind of flashing sirens and big swoops, it was all very low key.

(Interview with Community worker, Linx)

A wider use of the community liaison and mediation approach was applied in order to contain street prostitution within specific areas. This approach was found to be more possible in the Wirral, because of the smaller numbers of women involved in prostitution and the relatively small area of the red light district. In Liverpool however, due to the dispersed nature of the red light district and the larger number of women involved in street prostitution it was not possible to encourage women to work in one particular area. In the Wirral, the prostitution projects Linx and Response, the two Neighbourhood Inspectors along with women involved locally in street prostitution, agreed jointly on an acceptable area and an acceptable way of policing the situation. Following implementation, police received three complaints – one from the licensee of a pub in the specified area, and two from residents, which were to do with individual women working close to their houses. The Neighbourhood Inspector was able to respond to these complaints by telephoning Response, who were able to ask women to move perhaps 100 yards down the road or moderate their behaviour. Unfortunately there was no routine monitoring of complaints regarding prostitution, but local police believed that residents were happier with the new situation and this was reflected in feedback at residents' meetings.

Summary of findings:

- There was a temporary reduction in women involved in prostitution, which appeared to be as a result of crackdown on kerb crawlers. (Stoke-on-Trent).
- The Crown Prosecution Service appeared reluctant to pursue kerb crawlers through the court system. (Stoke-on-Trent).
- A community-based Community Development worker (Stoke-on-Trent) mediating between local residents and women involved in prostitution through outreach and newsletters was successful in dealing with residents' complaints.
- A community-based Community and Mediation Officer or Community Development worker (Merseyside, Stoke-on-Trent) was able to get women involved in prostitution to move to areas where they caused less nuisance to the local community.
- A community liaison and mediation approach helped contain street prostitution within specific areas. (Merseyside).

Diversion and re-education programmes for kerb-crawlers

While some of the projects were carrying out enforcement operations against kerb crawlers, **Hull** was the only CRP project to combine this with attempts to address the behaviour of kerb crawlers through the provision of kerb crawler re-education programmes, and also training for magistrates and clerks of the court, the use of estate wardens and CCTV (see below for discussion of CCTV). Alongside these interventions ran support for the community through the police prostitution liaison officer and support for the women through a drop-in service. There have been a few previous kerb crawler re-education programmes in the UK, for instance in West Yorkshire, and the idea originated in the US (Research Centre on Violence Abuse and Gender Relations, 2000; Monto, 1998). The West Yorkshire programme was based on the San Francisco scheme (although without services to women) and the Hull programme was similar in outline.

The West Yorkshire kerb crawler re-education programme had 81 men attend during a one-year period. Evaluation by the men following the course indicated that many of them had been influenced in some way by the experience, whether in terms of attitude or knowledge about their offence (Research Centre on Violence Abuse and Gender Relations, 2000). It also appeared that the programme, and in particular the enforcement operation accompanying it led to a reduction in kerb crawling, reduction in the number of women involved in street prostitution, and that crime declined more rapidly in the area where the scheme was most active (*ibid.*).

Hull – enforcement and re-education for kerb crawlers

Table 2.11: Hull – enforcement interventions and outcomes

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Kerb crawler crackdowns and re-education programme. 	<p>3 kerb crawler re-education programmes were attended by 13 kerb crawlers.</p> <p>30 Magistrates/Clerks of the Court trained.</p>	<p>No re-offending: None of the men who attended the kerb crawler re-education programme was known to have re-offended; however, the follow up period was limited.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Training of criminal justice staff. 	<p>60 Police officers trained.</p> <p>16 kerb crawlers were arrested.</p> <p>43 men were given informal warnings.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● CCTV. 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Media campaign. 	<p>150 men were given leaflets warning them about kerb crawler crackdowns.</p> <p>204 radio bulletins were broadcast.</p>	

In the **Hull** CRP project offenders arrested and charged for kerb crawling were given the opportunity to attend the re-education programme rather than go to court, unless they had previous sex offences. This was a police-led initiative, although the programme had input from a number of agencies. Overall, the numbers involved were very small. Six kerb crawler re-education programmes were planned during the first year but only two were run. This was due to a lower level of enforcement than had been planned. Only 16 men were arrested across the period of the evaluation, between 2001 and 2003, and 13 of these attended the programme. It should be noted that the police figures for kerb-crawling for 2002-2003 show that although 43 men found with women involved in prostitution in secluded areas were warned and an additional nine men were observed kerb-crawling, the police reported that lack of person-power meant that these men could only be given an informal verbal roadside caution. It may also be the case that this was seen as an area of low priority.

The programme lasted half a day (compared with one day in West Yorkshire). It included information about the impact of kerb crawling on the community; the impact that prostitution had on the women involved; the sexual health risks associated with having sex with those involved in prostitution; and the implications of the new kerb crawler legislation and sex offences legislation for the men if they re-offend. A major part of the programme was to

spell out the consequences for their partners and families of being named and shamed if they re-offended. The health risks involved, e.g. contracting syphilis, HIV and Hepatitis B, and the implications for families if they contracted such diseases, were also spelt out. At the end of the programme the men were formally cautioned.

The seven men on the first two programmes were aged between 22 and 39 years old. They all lived within Hull or East Riding. All but one was in employment. The men who attended were asked to complete brief surveys on the day of the course. The men who attended the third programme were aged between 31 and 60 and all were in employment. All stated that partners were not aware of their kerb crawling behaviour. Feedback from the men on completion of the programme indicated areas where they might change their behaviour. It was apparent that the potential 'naming and shaming' elements and fear that their families would find out were especially important, and that arrest also appeared to have an effect:

I don't want to be named and shamed or other consequence.

(22-year-old, unemployed)

Not worth it for family to find out.

(51-year-old factory worker)

It was a stupid mistake – after listening to the speakers I would like to give something back to the community.

(45-year-old sales person)

The risks of family breakup, diseases and further offences.

(39-year-old computer technician)

Being arrested has made me change my ways. This seminar even more so.

(60-year-old builder)

It is difficult to assess the general impact of the programmes given the small numbers attending. However, none of the men who attended the first two programmes was known by the police to have re-offended either in the Hull area or in other areas a year after the programmes were run²⁴.

²⁴ However, this does not necessarily mean that the men did not re-offend. Recidivism is notoriously difficult to measure for sexual offences when relying upon recorded police statistics because so many offences go unreported and/or unrecorded.

The enforcement measures (which included the re-education programme) also reduced the number of women on the streets by half, although once the enforcement campaign ended the numbers once again began to rise. Evidence from a CCTV camera sited in the area indicated that in April 2002, following the crackdown, there appeared to be only half the number of women, with only 25 sightings of 14 women – compared with 102 sightings of 28 women involved in prostitution in the month prior to the crackdown (see also section on CCTV below).

Thus, the enforcement measures, as in the cases of Bournemouth, Nottingham and Stoke-on-Trent, merely displaced the problem of prostitution temporarily. However, the arrest of kerb crawlers combined with re-education would probably have reduced the number of (locally based) men involved in kerb crawling in the longer term. This aspect would need further research involving larger numbers and a longer period to ascertain.

At the end of the first year a small-scale community survey was conducted (March 2002), with 100 questionnaires randomly distributed by community wardens in the target area. Only about a third responded (36%, 36/100). Although the sample base was small, nearly half of the respondents (44%, 16/36) said they had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in prostitution and four in ten (14/36, 39%) said they had noticed a reduction in the number of kerb crawlers in the area. Nearly four in ten also said they had noticed a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution (39%, 14/36).

Summary of findings

- Due to a lower level of enforcement than had been planned the number of kerb crawlers participating in the programmes was very small (Hull).
- With regard to possible change in the men's behaviour the 'naming and shaming' elements and fear that their families would find out what they had done were especially important, and arrest also appeared to have an effect (Hull).
- None of the men who attended the first two programmes was found to have re-offended a year after the programmes were run.

Use of CCTV

CCTV has increasingly been used as a crime detection tool, as well as a deterrent, within strategies to reduce crime and disorder and to enable regeneration of cities (see Coleman and Sim, 2000). CCTV thus seems to be favoured by residential communities as a way of

riding an area of individuals deemed to be undesirable and as such is a 'social ordering strategy' (Williams and Johnstone, 2000; Ditton, 2000; Coleman and Sim, 2000). With regard to prostitution, CCTV can be used to gather evidence for offender profiles concerning offences of soliciting and kerb crawling. It may also play a role in deterring violent clients of street prostitutes (and is used for this purpose in Glasgow, O'Kane, 2002). In terms of measuring the impact of CCTV, Short and Ditton, (1998) stress the need to examine whether displacement has taken place, arguing that the only conclusive evidence on this is offenders' accounts of their decision-making process and any resulting changes in behaviour. This was not carried out in the CRP evaluations.

Bournemouth – CCTV

The CRP project in **Bournemouth** had enhancement of an existing CCTV system as a main intervention within its enforcement strategy. The idea was to provide more effective monitoring and swifter response to prostitution-related incidents. The decision to enhance the existing CCTV system was based on a successful scheme based in one local area (Boscombe) where six cameras had been installed in the shopping precinct linked to a portacabin monitoring station and enabling one operator to monitor just six cameras on-site. The police found that having cameras, which could be monitored, in the locality rather than at the town hall, where all Bournemouth's CCTV is monitored was helpful, enabling faster response times for incidents. It was therefore proposed by the police that the bid for CRP funding to tackle prostitution should include a re-routing of five cameras in the red-light area to be monitored at the Boscombe station alongside the precinct cameras. This would eliminate the need to communicate with the town hall to use the cameras, and improve the police response to prostitution incidents as well as enhance the ability of the police to gather intelligence. It was also hoped that the re-routing of the cameras would improve public confidence, and possibly displace some women from the area, as well as impacting on street crime levels.

However, long delays in obtaining the necessary fibre optic cable and installation meant that the enhanced CCTV system was not operational within the evaluation period. The lesson that can be learnt is that the planning process for CCTV implementation was insufficient. There was no clear picture of when the CCTV should have been operational by, and the delays in drawing up tenders, alongside contractual difficulties which emerged during the process, led to the failure of the intervention to become operational. Better planning and communication may have helped avoid some of the difficulties. This has also been recognised from other Home Office initiatives (Gill *et al.*, 2003). Half the CRP money was spent on this initiative but it only became operational after the evaluation period.

Further operational difficulties also arose due to the sensitivity of the new equipment, causing interference on the monitors, requiring the cameras to be re-wired with shielded cable. There were no reserve funds to pay for this work, and in addition the on-going costs incurred for line rental and maintenance would have taken the scheme over-budget. At the end of the intervention period it was felt within the multi-agency group that more money could have been spent on drug treatment with more beneficial and lasting results for the community and the women themselves.

Hull – CCTV

In **Hull** a CCTV scheme was already in operation before the project started, but the project funded an additional monitored CCTV camera to be placed in the main project area. The CCTV scheme was supplemented by a warden's patrol scheme for patrolling the area and picking up used needles and condoms. The CCTV monitoring was used to pass information and evidence to the prosecuting officer and thus to improve the enforcement aspects of the project. A laptop computer was also funded through the project for the police to show evidence in court in the form of CCTV pictures. In actuality, the need to show pictures in court did not come up, but the laptop was used in interviews to show offenders (both women and men) the evidence that had been collected on them and to show that they were being watched. The monitoring station felt that the police did not always use the evidence that they collected to its full potential, and this was related to the problems regarding police re-organisation and the fact that there was only one officer with specific responsibility for this work. The monitoring staff may also have been unaware of some of the evidentiary requirements for prosecution.

The CCTV cameras were found to be useful to the police during the periods of police crackdowns by providing both evidence and intelligence on the kerb crawlers and women involved in prostitution in the project area. The CCTV scheme helped to divert kerb crawlers and women involved in prostitution away from the area at these times. As an evaluative tool, the CCTV records were also useful. For example the records show that in March 2002 before the police crackdown there were 102 sightings of 28 women involved in prostitution in a project area. In April 2002, following the crackdown there were significantly fewer sightings and fewer women, with only 25 sightings of only 14 women.

Summary of findings:

- The planning process for CCTV implementation was found to take considerable time (Bournemouth).
- The CCTV cameras were found to be useful to the police during the periods of police crackdowns by providing both evidence and intelligence on the kerb crawlers and women involved in prostitution (Hull).
- CCTV records were useful as an evaluative tool (Hull).

Costs and benefits**Costs**

The total costs and unit costs (where known) for the interventions discussed above relating to enforcement and community are shown below in Table 2.12. It is important to bear in mind that the interventions with the lowest unit costs are not necessarily those that are the most cost-effective, and that the evaluations discussed earlier in this chapter must be taken into consideration when making best value decisions. The intention here is not to provide detailed cost breakdowns for the individual projects and interventions, but rather to provide basic information that may be of use to other areas when planning similar projects and interventions²⁵.

The interventions with the lowest costs were generally related to the 'warning' phase of enforcement which consisted of warning kerb crawlers not to enter the enforcement area. These costs ranged from 89p per leaflet in Hull (although this did not account for the cost of distribution time) and the police 'vice enforcement zone' warning posters in Stoke-on-Trent (no cost given as non CRP funded but equal to the cost of A3 photocopy onto fluorescent paper). Radio campaigns had a slightly higher cost than written warning materials (£49 per broadcast in Hull and £36 per broadcast in Nottingham). Most of the projects had some level of media coverage which was also thought to act as a deterrent to kerb crawlers. This publicity cost projects only the time of the representative who was interviewed by the media. It is not known which of these methods were most effective at deterring kerb crawlers from entering the project area nor whether kerb crawlers were geographically displaced during these 'warning' phases.

25 As outlined in Chapter 1 the cost data used in this overview were derived from the three separate evaluations.

Table 2.12: Cost per intervention

Project	Intervention	Total cost	Unit cost (if known)
Bournemouth	Increased policing.	£34,153	-
	CCTV.	£52,983	-
	Community liaison.	£7,464	-
Merseyside	Community mediation and liaison.	£31,441	-
Nottingham	Radio campaign.	£7,394	£36 per broadcast
	Video surveillance equipment.	£2,876	-
	Cougar radios.	£37,221	£3,722 per radio
	Special operations.	£69,746	£98 per arrest/stop of woman involved in prostitution £142 per arrest/stop of kerb crawler £64 per arrest/stop of cruiser
Stoke-on-Trent	Community mediation and liaison.	£21,480	-
	Police crackdown.	Non CRP	-
	Police warning posters.	£37.50 (non CRP, approx.)	£0.75 per poster (approx.)
Hull	Police crackdowns.	£15,000 (approx.)	£5,000 per crackdown (approx.)
	Laptop computer.	£1,000	-
	Training of criminal justice staff.	£884	£10 per individual trained
	Radio campaigns.	£9,998	£49 per broadcast
	Kerb crawler programme.	£1,609	£536 per programme £124 per kerb crawler
	Warning leaflets to kerb crawlers.	£134	£0.89 per leaflet

For the kerb crawlers who were not deterred from the project area and for the women who continued to be involved in prostitution during the crackdown periods the interventions had a higher cost. The costs relating to the Nottingham operations could be broken down most easily (£98 per arrest/stop²⁶ of woman involved in prostitution, £142 per arrest/stop of kerb crawler and £64 per arrest/stop of cruiser). Operations such as these tended to be very time intensive, with most of the costs relating to police staff time. If equipment was bought to support the operation this further increased the

26 Costs could not be disaggregated in relation to 'arrests' and 'stops'.

costs of enforcement. In Hull a lap-top computer was purchased for £1,000 in order to show defendants that their behaviour had been captured on CCTV; however, it is not known whether this increased guilty pleas because of the small numbers charged and a lack of comparison group. The CCTV in Bournemouth cost £52,983. As indicated earlier, it was not implemented during the project's lifespan due to unanticipated delays in the delivery of the required cabling. Likewise, the ten Cougar radios purchased by Nottingham at a cost of £37,221 were not delivered until near the end of the project and had not been used by the end of the evaluation period. Concerns over compatibility with the Human Rights Act 1998 stopped the use of letters being sent to kerb crawlers in Bournemouth and also limited the use of the video surveillance equipment in Nottingham which cost £2,876.

Hull was the only project with an intervention that followed the crackdown phase via their kerb crawler re-education programme. Taking into account the cost per arrest (including police time at station) and use of court /re-education programme, costs were £1,588 for men who were prosecuted through the courts (including fine and costs paid by court order) compared with £1,062 for men who attended the re-education programme. This makes the kerb crawler re-education programme the lower cost method of dealing with kerb crawlers. Some limited information was available on the recidivism patterns of men who were stopped for kerb crawling which makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of the interventions (i.e. only recorded offences could be taken into account). Hull reported that none of the men who were charged through the courts was known to have re-offended during the evaluation period and nor did any of the men who attended the kerb crawler re-education programme. However, this is too small a sample to conclude that they are equally effective and further research is needed in this area.

In terms of the costs relating to the community interventions, the total costs were available for Bournemouth (£7,464), Merseyside (£31,441) and Stoke-on-Trent (£21,480). It is difficult to compare these in terms of effectiveness because no community survey was conducted in Merseyside. When Merseyside is taken out of the equation it would appear that those projects which had both enforcement and non-police based community interventions (Stoke-on-Trent and Hull²⁷) had a higher percentage of residents reporting reductions in the number of kerb crawlers and women involved in prostitution than those with only enforcement or enforcement and police-led community interventions (Bournemouth, Nottingham).

²⁷ Although Hull had a CRP funded police prostitution liaison officer her time within the community was limited as the post also entailed running the enforcement and kerb crawler programmes and working with the women involved in prostitution. However, non CRP funded community wardens were also working in the community.

Table 2.13: Comparison of projects in relation to community and enforcement interventions

Project	Community	Enforcement	% of residents reporting reduction in no. kerb crawlers	% of residents reporting reduction in no. women involved in prostitution
Stoke-on-Trent	Yes	Yes	31% (23/75)	46% (46/75)
Hull	Yes	Yes	36% (13/36)	44% (16/36)
Bournemouth	Yes	Yes	13% (31/242)	12% (29/242)
Nottingham	No	Yes	9% (57/630)	10% (63/630)

Benefits

Table 2.14 (below) shows the benefits that may result if crime and disorder relating to prostitution is reduced in an area. Where reductions are only temporary, as appears the case where crackdowns are used, the corresponding benefits will also be short-lived. The benefits listed below refer only to the benefits to the taxpayer and the community in line with the interventions discussed above. The benefits to those at risk or already involved in prostitution are discussed in the chapters that follow.

Table 2.14: Benefits resulting from a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution

For taxpayer	For community
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduction in cost of criminal justice system (police, courts, prisons, and probation). ● Reduction in cost of victim services. ● Reduction in cost of health services as a consequence of crime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduction in emotional and physical impact of crime. ● Reduction in the value of property stolen and damaged. ● Reduction in expenditure in anticipation of crime. ● Reduction in fear of crime inside and outside of home (which may lead to increase in area's social desirability and corresponding increase in property prices and business revenue). ● Increased quality of life. ● Improvement in environment (inc. noise levels). ● Improved safety for children playing in the area.

It was not possible to calculate a benefit-cost ratio here by comparing the cost of an intervention with the monetary value of the benefits listed above. The reasons were discussed in Chapter 1. Similarly, the social impacts on the community are difficult to attribute a monetary value to, although this has been calculated for a number of crimes (Brand and Price, 2000). Benefits for taxpayers have attracted more research, and a range of costs for different stages of the criminal justice system is now available. The information in the table below is taken from Harries (1999)²⁸ and may suggest some of the criminal justice system related costs that may be saved with any reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution.

Table 2.15: Average cost of criminal justice proceedings and sentences (from Harries, 1999)

Magistrates' court proceeding	£550
Magistrates' court sentence	£250
Prison sentence imposed at a magistrates' court	£4,950
Crown Court proceeding	£8,600
Crown Court sentence	£23,900
Prison sentence imposed at the Crown Court	£30,500
Overall average cost per person proceeded against in the courts (inc. sentence)	£2,700

Conclusion

Generally the use of 'traditional' enforcement involving crackdowns without support for women involved in prostitution or community liaison did not work in the sense of reducing disorder or nuisance for the local community. Some geographical displacement tended to result, but this tended to be temporary. Limited use of ASBOs appeared to deter some women from involvement in street prostitution, but others reported they would not be deterred and the outcome for the community in the longer term was not clear based on the very small sample sizes. In addition, drug use appeared especially important in whether or not geographical displacement of the women involved in prostitution occurred and whether temporal and/or functional displacement occurred instead. A more positive outcome was achieved where a community-based non-police community worker/officer worked with both the local residents and the women involved in prostitution to agree on and reduce activity in more sensitive areas.

28 This was based on data collected during the calendar year 1997 and financial year 1997/1998, and therefore may be slightly out of date. The average cost for all crimes has been used rather than sexual offences, which is one of the categories used by Harries (1999) because this is likely to be skewed towards high cost rape and sexual assault cases.

Crackdowns on kerb crawlers similarly tended to reduce activity temporarily, if at all, and some temporal as well as functional displacement of the women involved in prostitution was reported to have resulted. At the same time, it should be noted that kerb crawler programmes appeared to have a positive effect on those attending, as did the arrest itself, although further evidence of their operation and longer term outcomes are needed to assess this more fully. Crackdowns on kerb crawlers if combined with re-education programmes and support for the women to exit prostitution may prove to be a useful combination of interventions (see also Chapter 4). However, residents were less likely to notice a reduction in kerb crawlers than reduction in the number of women involved in street prostitution, perhaps because kerb crawlers could travel to other areas more easily than the women could. As with women involved in prostitution, better community liaison and especially 'mediation' with the community were more likely to lead to residents perceiving a reduction in kerb crawling and other positive changes. This may be because mediation allows a more individual approach to problem solving as opposed to large scale changes that the community may not necessarily want (e.g. the proposed road closure scheme in Nottingham).

CCTV can be useful in providing evidence on both women involved in prostitution and kerb crawlers, although it should be recognised that planning and installation are both time consuming and expensive.

In this chapter we discuss the findings from the CRP projects that focused on young people, in particular those incorporating prevention as a main aim. The emphasis here is on how young people enter prostitution and how this might be prevented. The literature suggests that most of the women and men involved in prostitution probably entered prostitution as young people, under the age of 18 or 21²⁹ (Pearce and Roach, 1997; Melrose *et al.*, 1999), and this chapter is therefore especially concerned with the experiences of and those projects which work with this age group. The relevant projects are Sheffield, Nottingham and Kirklees³⁰. Both Bristol and Sheffield had support for young people as part of their projects, and these interventions will be discussed further in Chapter 5. The wider use of enforcement and community liaison by the Nottingham project has already been discussed in Chapter 2. The cost effectiveness of the interventions cannot be separated from the wider range of support interventions implemented by the projects, and cost effectiveness will therefore not be discussed here, but in Chapter 5.

Children and young people – background

In recent years the involvement of children and young people in prostitution has shifted from being situated within the legal framework and approaches being applied to prostitution involving adults, to being seen as a form of child abuse. Young people are deemed to be in need of welfare services and, in many cases, protection under the Children Act (1989). This general approach is echoed by the Sexual Offences Act 2003³¹ (and see DoH/HO/DfEE, 2000), where new criminal offences related to the abuse of children under the age of 18 through prostitution and pornography. The Act provides a stronger legal framework for addressing child prostitution and for the first time makes it a specific criminal offence to buy sexual services from a child³². With respect to this new offence, exploitation of younger children incurs heavier penalties.

29 The provisions in the new Sexual Offences Act 2003 which relate to the abuse of children through prostitution or pornography apply to child victims up to the age of 18 years (as recommended in previous government guidance – DoH/HO, 2000). Some projects working with young people involved in prostitution, such as Bristol, define 'children and young people' as those up to the age of 21.

30 Bristol also had prevention as a main aim, but the interventions were primarily geared to provide support and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

31 To be enacted May 2004.

32 A Consultation Paper has recently been published in Scotland to similarly examine ways forward in respect of tackling involvement in prostitution by young people (Scottish Executive, Young Runaways and Children Abused through Prostitution, Working Group Consultation Paper, January 2004).

Following the general policy trend toward multi-agency working seen within criminal justice and other areas of work (Hague, 2001; Matthews and Pitts, 2001) the *Supplementary Guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children* (DoH/ HO/ DfEE, 2000) also provides a protocol for an inter-agency approach in relation to child prostitution. This incorporates recognition of the problem of child prostitution; protecting and supporting children; providing exit strategies for those involved; and effectively prosecuting those who coerce and/or abuse children (see Cusick, 2002).

However, it needs to be recognised that at the present time (and with regard to the period of the CRP pilot projects), under particular conditions, the Street Offences Act 1959 can still be applied to young women from the age of ten, and the activities of boys and young men are regulated by the Sexual Offences Act 1956. The conditions in which young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation may still be subject to the Street Offences Act 1959 or the Sexual Offences Act 1956 are when they are deemed to be 'persistently and voluntarily' returning to prostitution. In these circumstances, the guidelines recommend that young people be processed through the criminal justice system in the way that other young offenders are – after the practitioners concerned have satisfied themselves that the young person is not being forced into prostitution by another (DoH/HO/DfEE, 2000). However, the use of the criminal justice system for young people involved in prostitution has become rare since the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and there are only a handful of cautions or prosecutions each year.

The previous research concerning young people and involvement in prostitution has tended to involve qualitative studies. There have been interviews with young people themselves (ECPAT, 2002; Pearce *et al.*, 2003; Vella, *et al.*, n.d); data on young people as part of retrospective data from interviews with women involved in prostitution (Pearce and Roach, 1997; Melrose *et al.*, 1999); and information has arisen incidentally to other surveys (May *et al.*, 1999). The studies have provided information about backgrounds, entry into prostitution, individual needs, as well as limited information regarding the type of services young people find most helpful (see Cusick, 2002). In what follows, the literature is briefly outlined; the profiles of some of the women in contact with the CRP projects are outlined; and finally the project interventions pertaining to prevention are examined. As indicated above, the cost effectiveness of the interventions will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Previous studies³³

The involvement in prostitution of young people tends to be more hidden than that of adult women (Cusick, 2002), and as a consequence it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which young people are involved. Although estimates of prevalence vary (Shaw and Butler, 1998; McNeish, 1998; Bluett *et al.*, 2000) indications from various sources suggest that the numbers involved have increased in recent years (Green, 1992; Kershaw, 1999; Melrose *et al.*, 1999). Figures derived from police and Home Office statistics suggest that around 2,000 young people are involved in prostitution in the UK (Bluett *et al.*, 2000). This is likely to be a gross underestimate as they rely on the number of individuals cautioned or arrested³⁴. Others have suggested that in Britain, up to 5,000 young people may be involved in prostitution at any one time (Thompson, 1995; Barrett, 1998; Crosby and Barrett, 1999) with a female/male ratio of 4:1 (Barrett, 1998). This includes both street and off-street prostitution, with girls as young as nine and boys as young as six known to have been abused through prostitution (Barnardos, 2002). The 2001 Guidance Review (Swann and Balding, 2001) provides data from Area Child Protection Committees (ACPCs) across England, and indicates the breadth of the problem. More than three-quarters (76%) of all ACPCs said there were children involved in prostitution in their area.

In recent years, it has become more apparent that boys and young men are also involved in prostitution (Donovan, 1991; Gibson, 1995; Barrett, 1997; Kershaw, 1999; Aggleton, 1999; Palmer, 2001). Most research, however, has tended to focus on the involvement of girls and young women (Green, 1992; O'Neill *et al.*, 1995; Barrett, 1997; Barnardos, 1998; O'Connell-Davidson, 1998; Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Pearce *et al.*, 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Phoenix, 2001; Brown and Barrett, 2002). The available literature highlights some of the potential differences in young men's and young women's involvement in prostitution, as follows:

- Young women and girls appear to be far more likely to be targeted by an abusing adult or 'pimp' according to some of the literature (Barnardos, 1998). This may, however, result from gender stereotyping in which young women are constructed as passive, dependent, vulnerable and helpless. This is not to say that young men are never coerced into prostitution. Palmer (2001), for example, suggests that young men are likely to be targeted by 'paedophiles' who condition the child into prostitution activity from an early age.

³³ This section draws on the University of Luton evaluation.

³⁴ Moreover, an aim of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) was to end the practice of cautioning or convicting a female under the age of 18, and police figures are therefore no longer available.

- Young women involved in street prostitution are likely to be more visible than young men are. Because of the stigma that attaches to homosexuality, young men tend to work more covertly and share more of a group culture than young women (Kershaw, 1999; Palmer, 2001).
- It has been suggested that on average young men tend to become involved in commercial sexual exploitation at younger ages than young women (Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Palmer, 2001). Girls and young women, however, tend to remain involved for longer.

With regard to entry into prostitution, the literature indicates that there is no single route through which children and young people become involved in prostitution. Cusick, in an overview of the literature, points out that there is a particularly strong correlation between involvement by young people in prostitution and 'homelessness; running away; experience of life on the street; a desire for money, especially where linked to drug use; and being 'looked after' in local authority care' (Cusick, 2000: 234). However, these variables may not be direct causes of prostitution, nor may they be necessary for entry into prostitution (*ibid.*). In short, the evidence shows that young people become involved in prostitution through a series of complex and inter-related variables that are almost impossible to disentangle (Cockrell and Hoffman 1989; O'Neill *et al.*, 1995; Green *et al.*, 1997; Melrose *et al.*, 1999). As Phoenix (2002:362) has argued,

...there exists a multiplicity of social factors that correlate with involvement in prostitution and funnel opportunities in such a way as to make that involvement plausible.

(Phoenix, 2002: 362)

Pearce *et al.*, (2003) concluded from their interviews with 55 young women at risk of sexual exploitation that there are three categories of young people who are at risk of or involved in commercial sexual exploitation. These are:

- i) Sexualised risk taking (e.g. getting in cars with strangers);
- ii) 'Swapping' sexual favours for some form of gain (often associated with going missing and might involve a roof for the night, a meal, drugs etc.); and
- iii) Self-defined as 'prostitute' (usually working from the street).

However, there was no specific route or pre-determined progression from being 'at risk' to 'selling sex'. The actions the young women took depended instead on the most recent events in their lives. These findings clearly have implications for practitioners working with young people at risk of or involved in prostitution (see below and Chapter 4).

The link between poverty and prostitution has been well established by research for both young people and adults (Green, 1992; O'Neill, *et al.*, 1995; O'Neill, 1997; Pitts, 1997; O'Connell-Davidson, 1998; Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Melrose and Barrett, 2001; Phoenix, 2001; Melrose and Ayre, 2002). Young people between the ages of 16 and 18 who are not able to stay in their family homes for various reasons are unable to claim state benefits and the resultant poverty may act as a strong 'push' factor towards prostitution. In a retrospective study involving 50 women who became involved in prostitution as children, (Melrose *et al.*, 1999) three quarters (37/50) reported that poverty was their main reason for becoming involved in prostitution. Moreover, young people's involvement in prostitution may further entrench their impoverishment (Phoenix, 2001).

It is also known that homelessness, going missing from home or care, experiences of being looked after and previous experiences of sexual abuse are highly significant features in the lives of those young people who become involved (Jesson, 1991; O'Neill *et al.*, 1995; Pitts, 1997; Swann, 1998; Crosby and Barrett, 1999; Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Friedberg, 2000; O'Neill, 2001; Melrose and Barrett, 2001; Melrose *et al.*, 2002). Research in San Francisco, for example, found that of the 200 prostitutes studied, 60 per cent had previously been sexually abused as children (Silbert and Pines, 1981 cited in Pitts, 1997). Other work also suggests that large numbers of adults involved in prostitution have been sexually abused as children (Foster, 1991; Melrose *et al.*, 1999). Such abuse may result in damage to self-identity and self esteem (McMullen, 1987). In turn, this renders the young person vulnerable to feeling that they have little value and nothing left to lose – particularly when they are confronted with an economic situation that appears to offer them little or no alternative (Pitts, 1997).

Others instead propose that abuse triggers a train of events, running away for example, which in turn can lead to prostitution (Seng, 1989; West and de Villiers, 1992; Widom and Ames, 1994; Nadon *et al.*, 1998). Nadon *et al.*, (1998), for instance, compared a sample of young women involved in prostitution with a control group comprising women with similar background but without involvement in prostitution. They found that the young women involved in prostitution were no more likely to have experienced child abuse or other family problems. However, they were more likely to report having run away (87% compared with 61%). Similarly, in Pearce *et al.* (2003) interviews with 55 young women at risk, virtually all (53/55) had run away from home or care, while fewer had experienced abuse (especially sexual abuse) or had been in care.

Increasingly, drug use has been found to be an important component in young people's involvement in commercial sexual exploitation and many who are involved have substance misuse problems – particularly in relation to heroin and/or crack-cocaine. All of the young

women sampled in Pearce *et al.* (2003) had problems with alcohol misuse, and more than half (55%) used heroin at least once a week. It has been found that it is not uncommon for young people to become involved in prostitution to support their own or another's drug habit or for them to be involved in 'swapping' sexual favours for drugs (O'Neill *et al.*, 1995; Crosby and Barrett, 1999; Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Pettitway, 1997; Melrose and Barrett, 2004).

Melrose *et al.*, (1999) have suggested that some aspects of young people's involvement in prostitution may act as 'pull' factors that may make prostitution appear attractive and/or which serve to explain their continued involvement. Amongst these, drugs, 'power', money, 'excitement' are present in many accounts (*ibid.*). For many of these young people, vulnerability, neglect and abuse have been central features of their childhood. Through prostitution, they are able to regain 'control' in that they perceive they have 'power' over the punters and have money to satisfy their own needs. They view their income as a measure of their success and gain a sense of self-worth because they are being paid for the service they provide (Weisberg, 1985; Kershaw, 1999; Melrose *et al.*, 1999). In these situations, young people are able to 'shake off the mood of fatalism which dogs them and experience themselves as active agents controlling events in the world' (Matza, 1964 cited in Pitts, 1997:151). Additionally, the friends and contacts they make while on the streets constitute a form of extended, surrogate family; one they may feel they would lose and could not replace if they were to leave prostitution and return to 'straight' society (Melrose *et al.*, 1999).

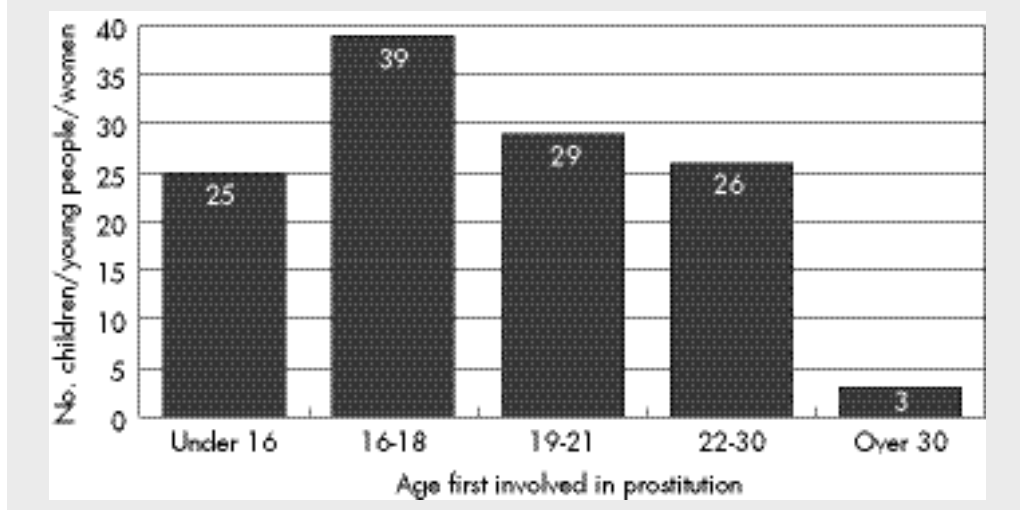
The issue of pimps and their role in the entry of young people into prostitution also needs to be considered. Barnardos, (1998) highlighted the problem of pimping with regard to young people in their study based on the Streets and Lanes project in Bradford. They suggested that adults may prey on the vulnerability of girls and young women through the four stages of ensnaring, creating dependence, taking control and finally total dominance (*ibid.*). However, there are very different estimates of the extent to which 'pimping' actually occurs. Some commentators have claimed that 'between 80 per cent and 95 per cent of prostitution is pimp controlled' (Barry, 1985 cited in Faugier and Sargeant, 1997:121) but this is contradicted by other more recent evidence. Armstrong, (1983) for example, concluded that pimps played a minor role in recruiting women into prostitution. McKeganey and Barnard, (1992) found in their study of prostitution in Glasgow that there was little evidence to suggest that the women were working for pimps. Melrose *et al.*, (1999) found in their interviews that the women were at pains to assert their independence from men and just one fifth said they had been forced into prostitution by another. While pimping may not provide the initial route for young people into prostitution, there is evidence to suggest that young people are *more* likely to be pimped than adults. May *et al.*, (2000) came to this conclusion following interviews with women involved in street prostitution, their partners, pimps, and managers of sex parlours.

The CRP data – childhood experiences and entry into prostitution

From the CRP project monitoring data it was possible to compile individual profiles for the women involved in prostitution who were in contact with the ‘support/exiting’ projects (Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent). Altogether 333 profiles were compiled³⁵, of which 154 included some information on childhood experiences and/or entry into prostitution. Due to the low sample sizes these statistics are mostly presented as overall findings rather than attempting to draw similarities or distinctions between projects.

The profiles show that ages at which the women entered prostitution ranged between 14 and 55 years. This is shown in Figure 3.1 (below).

Figure 3.1: Age of first involvement in prostitution (n=122)



Just over three quarters of the women (76%, 93/122) had first become involved in prostitution at the age of 21 or under. This is similar to the pattern found by Melrose *et al.*, (1999) where 64 per cent of the 50 women interviewed had become involved in prostitution before the age of 16, and also that found by Pearce and Roach, (1997), where in a sample of 46 women interviewed three-quarters had entered prostitution before the age of 20.

³⁵ See also Chapter 1. These profiles were built up by the five project areas providing standardised information about the women they had contact with. This information was centrally collated and analysed by the evaluation team. Information was not available for all the areas requested for all the women, and the response rates therefore differ.

The CRP data also echoes the general findings of previous research on childhood experience and entry into prostitution, as outlined above, which has found that child abuse and being in local authority care may make young people vulnerable to entering prostitution (O'Neill, 1997; Friedberg, 2000; Pearce *et al.*, 2003). Just over a third of the women in contact with the CRP projects (in Hackney, Hull, Kirklees Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent) had experienced some form of local authority care as a child (37%, 46/124) and left their parental or care home when they were aged 16 years old or under (68%, 61/90). Nearly one in ten had spent time in a Young Offenders Institution (9%, 11/125). The proportion who had been in care in this sample was lower than that found in earlier studies, such as 71 per cent from interviews with 55 young women at risk (Pearce *et al.*, 2003) and 78 per cent in the retrospective study by Cusick *et al.* (2004). In the CRP sample nearly four in ten had experienced some form of abuse as a child (39%, 29/74). Nearly a quarter had been sexually abused as a child (24%, 17/70).

The case studies compiled with the women in Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent (n=23)³⁶ further reiterated the importance of abusive childhood and teen experiences for many of the women who became involved in prostitution. The women described being bullied by family and peers; sexually abused by fathers, mother's partners, brothers, neighbours; and in once instance being raped by the doctor in attendance after the young woman concerned had been in an accident. Some had also lived in circumstances of domestic violence, where their mothers were being abused. Crucially, these abusive experiences fed into and further developed feelings of worthlessness and lack of self-esteem. This was a key element in many of these women's vulnerability to becoming involved in prostitution.

'Avril' was not happy as a child. She felt she was overweight and was bullied at school. A neighbour sexually abused her when she was about 7 years of age, and her dad was physically abusive towards her...As a teenager 'Avril' slept with lots of different men so it would make her feel wanted.

(Case study – 'Avril')

However, other difficult life events, especially the death of a parent might also be key:

'Chloe' cites the death of her father as the time when she 'went off the rails'. She was 15 years of age and embarked upon a period of stealing from home and shops as well as bunking off school.

(Case study – 'Chloe')

36 The case studies were compiled from interviews with women who were in the process of or had attempted to exit from prostitution (regarding life history and experience of interventions) and case files. The interviews were carried out by project staff as they had the trust of the women and the data obtained was therefore better than if the interviews had been carried out by the evaluators, although the evaluators observed in some instances.

In the case studies many of the women talked about the particular difficulties they had faced at school – because they were in care, because they and their mother had moved area many times to get away from a violent partner or due to other problems, bullying, or because they were using drugs and alcohol:

'Miriam' was kicked out of high school because she had moved around from school to school so often (due to mum constantly moving house) and she truanted. She also said she was not the 'best kid'.

(Case study – 'Miriam')

...'Rita' had been drinking alcohol from the age of 8 and she was an alcoholic by the age of 12. This was largely down to the fact that she felt very lonely and was also lacking in confidence.

(Case study – 'Rita')

'Rita's' experience of feeling lonely, or feeling different, was one echoed by many of the women, and this also linked into their feeling of worthlessness and lack of self-esteem.

Not surprisingly, given the disruptions to their schooling, educational attainment for the women involved in prostitution in Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent was much lower than the general population. Data on highest educational status was available for 114 of the women linked to the CRP projects in these five areas. Table 3.1 compares the proportion of these women with no qualifications with the general local population picture.

Table 3.1: Percentage of women with no qualifications (n=114)

	Manchester	Hackney	Stoke-on-Trent	Hull	Kirklees
Involved in prostitution	60%	100%	75%	67%	50%
Local population	34%	29%	43%	41%	33%

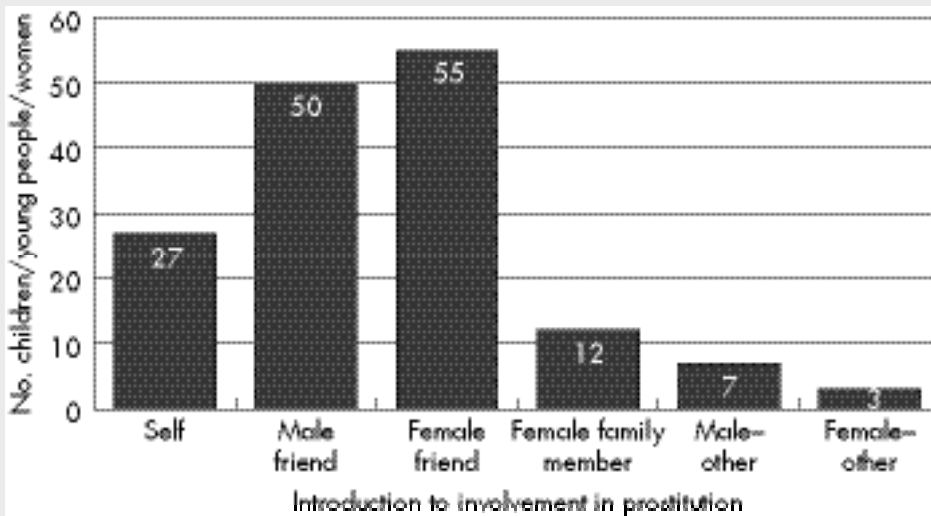
General population figures taken from dataset W20 Qualifications and Students, 2001 – people aged 16–74 (Coverage: England and Wales – Region and LA: ONS Census).

Overall, just under two thirds of the women had obtained no qualifications (66%, 75/114) as compared with less than a third of the general population nationally (29%) and half across the general figures from the project areas (Table 3.1). Overall, only 2 per cent of the women involved in prostitution had entered further education (compared with a national

average of 28 per cent in the general population) and another 2 per cent had entered higher education (compared with a national average of 20 per cent in the general population). Options for employment were therefore especially limited for the women involved in prostitution.

Entry into prostitution by the women in the CRP sample echoed previous research in a number of respects. As increasingly identified elsewhere (Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Cusick, 2002) most frequently it was a friend who first introduced them to prostitution. As shown in Figure 3.2, this was slightly more likely to be a female friend (36%, 55/154) than a male friend (33%, 50/154).

Figure 3.2: Introduction to involvement in prostitution (n=154)



In the case studies the women described in more detail how their entry into prostitution had come about. Having girlfriends or knowing women who were already involved in prostitution was an obvious route of entry for some of the young women:

While in one care home 'Jasmine' got friendly with an older girl who always had plenty of money. 'Jasmine' presumed that this girl was shoplifting and asked to join her... The older girl told her she was a prostitute ...and 'Jasmine' began to 'cover' for her in exchange for being 'treated' with money... At 15, 'Jasmine' was working the streets two or three times a week.

(Case study – 'Jasmine')

At the age of 17 'Chloe' was introduced to prostitution via an older female friend and again for a period of time ran away from home, got into trouble, went back home etc.

(Case study – 'Chloe')

For 'Janice', who was being supported by one of the young people's projects, entry was also via a female friend. In this instance her friend, Karen, was initially supporting both of them in their drug use and encouraged 'Janice' to pull her weight. As she explained:

Well I can't blame no one else. It's not on, is it, dumping it on somebody else? But Karen, you see, she was out working on the streets, she was supplying us both. One day she said, 'I can't keep doing this, I can't keep up working for both of us'... I knew I had to get some drugs, I was desperate, so I did.

(Interview with young woman involved in prostitution – 'Janice')

From the case studies it was apparent that for all the women access to money was important: because they had got into debt, being forced by a violent boyfriend to pay for the drug habits of him and/or herself, or wanting money for 'nice things' were all given as primary reasons for becoming involved in prostitution. Those who had become involved in their teens were even more likely to give as a reason that they wanted money for 'nice things' (see also Melrose *et al.*, 1999).

It was not clear from the case studies to what extent women who were already involved in prostitution were also being pimped, and thus encouraged to encourage other women into prostitution. Some of the women and young people, however, were actively groomed by men living off prostitution:

While working in a pub she got to know a man who ran a massage parlour. He was always telling her about the fantastic money 'his girls' earned and asked her if she'd like to apply for a job. She was 21 at the time and had no knowledge of anyone else involved in prostitution. As she was always in debt she decided to try it... Once involved, she became used to the money and found it difficult to get out.

(Case study – 'Gina')

The CRP projects – preventative approaches with young people

As indicated above, the CRP projects in Sheffield and Nottingham had prevention as a main aim and interventions to identify early risk. In addition, Kirklees adopted a diversion and prevention strategy in the second year of the evaluation. As indicated earlier, support will be discussed more fully in Chapters 4 and 5. It is important to stress here, however, that all the projects implementing work with young people emphasised the need for multi-agency working, including shared protocols regarding information sharing and the implementation of multi-agency plans and strategies – often involving an imaginative range of agencies as well as parents.

Sheffield – early intervention

In Sheffield, the main red light area is in the centre of the city in a non-residential area. Young people tend to come from surrounding towns, in particular a number of girls/young women are thought to travel from nearby Rotherham (interview with Sheffield police, 2001). The Sheffield ACPC Sexual Exploitation Project was primarily a statutory sector based response involving the police, youth service (Taking Stock) and Social Services. The project tended to work with a young age group for whom drug abuse had not yet become a major problem and the project was set up so that young people could be referred *before* they had become involved in street prostitution. Young people were considered to be 'at risk' if they were aged 18 or under and in relationships with older men, went missing from home or care, did not attend school and/or disengaged with their family and friends. All but one of those referred to the project were female, and the majority (81%, 79/97) of young people with whom the project worked were 15 years old or younger. The youngest girl was aged 11 years old. The interventions provided by the Sheffield project with regard to preventative work are shown in Table 3.2.

In line with Sheffield's early intervention strategy, young people were referred to the project predominantly through Social Services (young people could not self-refer). Social Services were often alerted to concerns about a young person by practitioners involved in the multi-agency planning group, which included educational welfare and child protection officers, Youth Offending Team (YOT) workers, housing workers, drug service workers, police and youth services. As shown above in Table 3.2, a total of 97 young people were referred to the project between March 2001 and March 2003. This was far more than the number of referrals predicted prior to the project's initiation (estimated to be around 30) and was also higher than the 80 young people considered to be at risk in Operation Insight (a joint initiative between police and Social Services carried out before the project started). Strategy meetings

were held in relation to the young people referred to the Sheffield Sexual Exploitation project. Between April 2002 to March 2003 a total of 110 strategy meetings were held enabling multi-agency plans to be put into place to support the 97 young people referred.

Table 3.2: Sheffield – Preventative work with young people at risk

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Training of managers and practitioners about young people at risk and referral processes. ● Preventative group work for young women. ● Warning letters to offenders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 97 young people were referred to the project. 110 strategy meetings were held. 34 young people engaged in one to one work. 30 managers from various agencies received training about young people at risk. 121 practitioners from various agencies received training about young people at risk. 100 people (approx.) attended a conference about referral processes for young people. 150 young women engaged in preventative group work. 8 warning letters were sent to offenders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The high number of referrals made to the project indicates some success in terms of training managers and practitioners. However, it is not known how many young people were diverted away from becoming involved in prostitution.

It is not known how many of the 97 young people were diverted away from entering prostitution. In addition, there is no way of knowing how many of the young people identified as being at risk of becoming involved in prostitution would actually have become involved in prostitution if no intervention had taken place. Although those referred to the project engaged in sexualised risk taking behaviour and some were being sexually exploited, commercial sexual exploitation would not necessarily have followed. Although this makes evaluation difficult, the project and other research (Pearce *et al.*, 2003) report that it is necessary to provide interventions to those involved in sexually exploitative relationships in order to divert them from commercial sexual exploitation.

The strategy meetings also allowed the systematic gathering of intelligence about the young people, their associations with one another and with adult offenders, thus enabled the police to identify targets for prosecution. It should be noted, however, that no prosecutions against the men involved in abusing the young women were pending by the end of the evaluation. Interviews with staff indicated that this was primarily because, although the young women were encouraged to make complaints to the police, they were unwilling to give evidence in

court. This suggests that the police may not have been following guidelines to proactively gather evidence so that they could prosecute even in cases where the victim withdrew co-operation (Criminal Justice Act 1998, section 23) or that such evidence was not available or not solid enough for the CPS to continue with the prosecution. Additionally, standard letters warning offenders that they face prosecution should they continue their association with the young person were developed and procedures for serving these by the police or Social Services were agreed. By February 2002, 8 of these letters had been served; however, it is not known how many letters were served in the period March 2002 – March 2003. It is not known what impact, if any, these letters had in terms of whether the offenders did cease their association with the young people.

The Sheffield project through its youth service provision (Taking Stock) also undertook preventative work through groupwork with young women in schools and community settings. This was conducted at five different sites and involved approximately 150 young women. It is not known whether this groupwork prevented any young women from becoming involved in prostitution nor how many would have become involved in prostitution without the groupwork intervention. Leaflets were distributed to young people through schools, youth clubs and other agencies providing them with telephone numbers they could call if they were concerned about sexual exploitation (of either themselves or their friends) but it is not known how many calls were made to the agencies or how this was reflected in the referral figures.

With regard to raising the awareness of practitioners who may come into contact with young people (an important step in developing early intervention and prevention), the Sheffield project ran training sessions aimed at professionals and agencies and working directly with young people up to the age of 18 who may be at risk of or involved in prostitution. In the period March 2001 – March 2003, seven training events were held, one for managers and six for practitioners. In all, 30 managers and 121 practitioners received training, and the events were successful in raising awareness of the issue of commercial sexual exploitation amongst managers and practitioners as demonstrated by the number of referrals to the project. There were 30 new referrals between April 2002 and March 2003.

Although the development of information sharing protocols and referral systems led to some friction at the start of the project, practitioners interviewed at the end of the project pointed to the ease at which referrals could be made:

Initially agencies were protective of their work but now information and referrals pass easily between agencies.

(Practitioner interviewed in Sheffield)

This suggests that the intervention relating to the development of interagency data systems and information sharing protocols had some success. This is supported by the high number of referrals made to the project, and this number of referrals also indicates some level of effectiveness in the raising awareness and training sessions given to managers and practitioners. The support aspects of the project (e.g. one-to-one work, drugs support) were important in attaining the overall outcomes for the project, which led to some young women reducing their offending behaviour (see also Chapter 5). However, it is not possible to determine the general impact that the interventions had in diverting young people away from prostitution.

Nottingham – identifying and preventing young men becoming involved

In addition to the enforcement interventions discussed earlier (see Chapter 2), the Nottingham project appointed a youth worker to focus on identifying and preventing young men becoming involved in prostitution. This was an extension to existing multi-agency work dealing with the sexual exploitation of young people. Whilst female street prostitution was visible, making young and underage women more easily identifiable to the police and outreach services, it was noted locally that prostitution among young men was more covert and likely to take place in private space (peoples’ homes) making it less easy to detect. The youth worker was based within the statutory sector, at the Youth Offending Team (YOT), and provided one-to-one support to boys and young men, raised awareness of the risk of sexual exploitation of boys and young men among YOT workers and social work staff, collated relevant information on boys or adults perpetrators from YOT case managers and other relevant agencies (e.g. Anti-Vice Unit, Social Services) passing this on to the agencies concerned.

Table 3.3: Nottingham – Work with young men

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Recruitment of a youth worker to work with young men. 	Reports were made about 50 boys and young men.	The number of reports dropped from 25 in the first quarter to 3 in the fourth quarter (a reduction of 88%).

Between April 2001 and March 2002, the Nottingham youth worker had reports made about 50 boys and young men aged between 10 and 18 years old (Table 3.3). Reports

were made to the worker by a range of agencies including the police, social workers, concerned parents and other agencies. The focus of the reports was as much on the early identification of potential risk than actual sexual exploitation.

The liaison between the youth worker with other agencies and parents was particularly successful. For instance, in May/June 2001 there were a number of reports from members of the public to the police regarding five boys soliciting in a recreational area. The boys were identified as school children and the Anti Vice Unit, Social Services and the youth worker immediately visited the school, and a group of boys were pinpointed. An intervention plan was agreed which involved discussions with family members, an assessment of family situation (action by Social Services where required), and contact with a sexual health worker (from the YOT). Of note was that a number of agencies operating outreach in and around the park, and public toilet attendants employed by the council, were asked and agreed to check for any further activity in this area³⁷. By March 2002 no further outdoor soliciting was reported for those who were tracked over time. The number of reports made to the youth worker dropped over the year that the post was funded, with a total reduction of 88 per cent from quarter one to quarter four which indicates some success (see Table 3.4). It is not known whether these boys continued to be sexually exploited indoors (for example within the offenders' homes). However, if boys/young men told others about a house they were going to then the youth worker checked the adult's name against the Sex Offenders Register³⁸ (see also below).

Table 3.3: Nottingham – Number of reports made to Youth Worker per quarter

Q1 (Apr-June 2001)	Q2 (July-Sept 2001)	Q3 (Oct-Dec 2001)	Q4 (Jan-March 2002)
25 reports	18 reports	4 reports	3 reports

In response to concerns from social workers or others that boys were absconding from home or were spending considerable amounts of time with unrelated male adults, the youth worker would also check existing files to see if the named adult was known to police as a sex offender. If he was, then the Anti Vice Unit would be informed and police action could be taken. Reports originating from the police included those made by the public. However, during the intervention period there were no prosecutions or pending prosecutions against adult abusers as a result of information gained via the youth worker post, suggesting that either the

37 Since the evaluations were finished, from May 2004, there is a new offence of 'sexual activity in public lavatory' (Sexual Offences Act 2003, section 71).

38 Although it is recognised that sexual offences have low reporting and conviction rates meaning that many offenders will not enter the Sex Offenders Register.

perpetrators were not known to the police, or the police did not take appropriate action or that there was not enough evidence to enable the CPS to continue with the prosecution.

Kirklees – Diversionary work with young girls and support for children of those involved in prostitution

The Kirklees project area included Huddersfield town centre, an area of low income and high unemployment. The Kirklees project, SWEET (Sex Workers' Education, Empowerment and Training), emerged from an ongoing process, beginning in 1998, in which concerned councillors, residents and local agencies and individuals began meeting about the problems in the local red light area. The project aimed to deal with the chaotic nature of the lives of women involved in prostitution and to enable them to exit, with the interventions largely concerned with providing support (described in Chapter 4). During the earlier part of the project it became apparent that work on prevention was important to the project's overall aims. As a result, by the second year Kirklees had developed a Young Girls Diversionary Group for those girls at risk of sexual exploitation and also a group for children (both girls and boys) of women involved in prostitution³⁹. The outputs and a summary of outcomes for these interventions are shown below in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: *Kirklees – Work with young girls and children of those involved in prostitution*

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Diversionary group for young girls. ● Children's group. 	<p>99 contacts were made with girls/young women. Not known how many children of women involved in prostitution attended the children's group.</p>	<p>In one operation 12 young girls were diverted away from becoming involved in prostitution.</p>

The Kirklees Young Girls Diversionary Group also established multi-agency links with a number of other agencies, including Barnardos, Social Services (including residential care homes) and the Youth Offending Team (YOT) to enable it to identify girls at risk of sexual exploitation as well as those who sought to exploit them. Much of this work was facilitated by the Kirklees Police Prostitution Liaison Officer who attended meetings and addressed any concerns that were raised. For example:

³⁹ Although this latter group had been evolving less formally since the beginning of the project with events such as picnics taking place where the women involved in prostitution could bring their children.

A decision was made between the YOT and myself that any person under 16 years would be referred [to the project]. It is the policy ... to treat all under 16-year-olds involved in prostitution as victims. This would involve bringing them to a place of safety, whereby Social Services will be called and a case conference set up as soon as possible to look at diversionary work alongside the SWEET Project.

(Interview with Kirklees Police Prostitution Liaison Officer)

The diversionary work with girls/young women who were referred to the project included recreational activities, crafts, training and work placements. Ninety-nine contacts were made with young women from when the intervention began in December 2002 until the end of March 2003. However, as in Sheffield it was not known how many of these girls/young women were diverted from becoming involved in prostitution⁴⁰ nor how many would have become involved in prostitution had the intervention not taken place. The Kirklees Police Prostitution Liaison Officer also trained a number of agencies on how to identify girls/young women at risk of commercial sexual exploitation and what to do if it was suspected. It is not known how many professionals or agencies were trained nor what impact this training had.

In addition to the Young Girls Diversionary Group, an operation was put in place in Kirklees with the help of Social Services to divert 12 young girls who were seen as being at risk from commercial sexual exploitation, and men who had been identified as targeting girls from the area and from the local residential care homes. One girl, who was particularly vulnerable and became pregnant as a result of these activities, was working very closely with the SWEET Project by the end of the evaluation. All the girls had been made aware of the dangers, as were the parents who were also drawn into monitoring the situation. Since the operation was initiated there had been no further evidence of the young girls' activities, thus indicating the productive working relationship between the Police Liaison Officer, SWEET and Social Services. The project aimed to set up a new group supporting young women who had already become involved in prostitution (34 individual young women under the age of 18 had been identified during outreach sessions between 2001 and 2003 demonstrating the need for this group).

Summary of findings

- A greater number of young people considered at risk of or involved in prostitution were referred to the projects than had been identified in the area prior to the project's initiation (Sheffield).

⁴⁰ Especially in light of the short intervention period.

- Despite systematic gathering of intelligence about the young people, their associations with each other and with adult offenders, no prosecutions against the men involved in abusing the young women were pending by the end of the evaluation. (Sheffield). Similar problems were identified elsewhere, when the passing of information to the Anti-Vice Unit resulted in no prosecutions (Nottingham).
- Multi-agency training of managers and practitioners enabled new referrals to the project (Sheffield). Multi-agency working in practice enabled some young girls to reduce risk-taking behaviours and divert them from being sexually exploited by men in the area (Kirklees).
- A targeted youth worker in liaison with other agencies and parents was successful in identifying and curtailing soliciting by young boys (Nottingham).

Conclusion

The profiles of the women involved in prostitution across five of the CRP projects (Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent) indicated that the women involved had similar childhood backgrounds to those outlined by previous studies. The women had mostly entered prostitution at a young age; many had experience of being in care, of being abused as children (particularly sexual abuse), and had low educational attainment. They had usually entered prostitution via a female or male friend, although some were introduced through members of their family, or became involved in prostitution by themselves. Consistent with previous research, the case studies with women and interviews with young people talked about 'push' and 'pull' factors in terms of becoming involved in prostitution (e.g. drugs, alcohol, money, debt, wanting 'nice things', running away from abusive family lives, and wanting to feel 'wanted').

The findings from the Sheffield, Nottingham and Kirklees CRP projects suggest that young people can be successfully diverted from behaviour and involvement in prostitution through early intervention. Targeted interventions with dedicated workers (e.g. the Nottingham youth worker) to identify young people at risk are important, as is working within a multi-agency context (including the Police, Social Services, Young Offending Teams and specialist projects, for example in the Kirklees project). The Nottingham project found that both parents and members of the community were important in identifying and monitoring children/young people at risk. It is also important that agencies working with children and young people are able to identify those at risk and be fully aware of information sharing and referral procedures (as in the training given to managers and practitioners in Sheffield and Kirklees). More research is needed in terms of how many young people who are

identified as being sexually exploited will go on to be commercially sexually exploited and the factors that are involved in this. Until more is known about this transition period it is difficult to identify the interventions that may prevent this transition. In order to gain further knowledge in this area it is important that projects and partner agencies have clear definitions and criteria regarding what is meant by the terms 'sexual exploitation', 'commercial sexual exploitation' and 'diversion'. This is made more complex by the fact that many young people do not identify themselves as being exploited at the time although they may see this in retrospect (Barnardos, 1998). It is also important that project workers keep records of which intervention was used with each young person in order to be clear about what works, how it works and who it works for.

Despite the gathering of detailed intelligence and identification of known sex offenders spending time with young adults, none of the adults abusing young people within the project areas was proceeded against. This raises questions about the willingness and ability of the police and the CPS to pursue such cases. It may be the case that more training is needed for the police on evidence gathering in such cases and the law. Multi-agency working with the CPS was rare or invisible across all eleven of the CRP projects, and the police and project workers may not have been clear about the nature and type of evidence that is needed to prosecute. This lack of CPS involvement must change if successful prosecutions are to be brought under the new Sexual Offences Act 2003 and possibly the Proceeds from Crime Act 2002. It may be the case that project workers hold the very information needed by the CPS to continue prosecution without realising it. Additionally, if the reason that young people were unwilling to give evidence in court (Sheffield) was because they were frightened of facing their abuser in court then awareness raising by the CPS about recent provisions designed to make evidence giving easier for vulnerable or intimidated young witnesses (e.g. the use of screens in court, videoing of statements, s23 prosecutions) may be needed.

This chapter and Chapter 5 examine the interventions and projects providing support to women and young people in prostitution and enabling their exit. These include projects that aim mainly to enable women to exit from prostitution (Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent), that provided support to women as part of their overall approach (Bournemouth and Merseyside), or that provided support for young people involved in prostitution (Bristol and Sheffield). A range of interventions and types of support were implemented across the projects related to sexual health, drug use, violence against women, housing and other needs. The work included outreach, one-to-one support, drop-in, information gathering and sharing, and referrals to other agencies.

Although many of the issues regarding support for women and young people overlap, as indicated in Chapter 3 distinctions also need to be made. For this reason, and for ease of analysis, the projects are divided into two main sections across this and the following chapter. In this chapter the range of support developed to respond to the needs of women in particular is discussed (Bournemouth, Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester, Merseyside and Stoke-on-Trent). In Chapter 5 the support for young people is discussed (Bristol and Sheffield). The literature regarding support is outlined in this chapter, although much is also of direct relevance to the support for young people discussed in Chapter 5. The costs and benefits relating to the interventions are discussed towards the end of the two chapters.

This chapter continues the exploration (begun in Chapter 3) of the particular risks and vulnerabilities faced by women and young people children involved in street prostitution. As will become apparent in this and the following chapter, supporting women and young people requires a wide range of targeted services and approaches, with drug use, housing, safety and alternative income being key aspects. Moreover, enabling individuals to exit from prostitution is a long process. Chapter 6 looks more explicitly at the specific support that may be needed by women and young people at the different stages of 'entry into', 'involvement in', and 'exiting from' prostitution.

Previous studies

Most of the UK literature concerning support to women and young people involved in street prostitution focuses on specific problem areas such as drug use and violence (e.g. May *et*

al., 1999; Green *et al.*, 2000; Church *et al.*, 2001; Barnard and Hart, 2000; McCullagh *et al.*, 1998). A few studies have documented the development of support services for women involved in prostitution (e.g Ward and Day, 1997; Vella *et al.*, n.d.). However, there is a lack of studies examining the practice approaches (such as outreach, one-to-one etc) used by the agencies providing support services for women and young people involved in prostitution. Where these approaches are mentioned it tends to be without detailing the approach or its application (e.g. Ward and Day, 1997)⁴¹.

The development of support services

Providing support to women and young people involved in prostitution has grown out of a long-term concern to regulate prostitution as a 'health problem'. Women involved in prostitution have for a long time, and in different ways, been seen as a 'health risk' to other sections of the population. The driving force behind the Contagious Diseases Acts in the nineteenth century (1864, 1866 and 1869), for example, was the perceived need at that time to protect the armed forces and others who might be using prostitutes from the health risk they were deemed to pose. More recent policies, for instance in Holland, have linked legalisation of prostitution to health care and screening of the women concerned (Kilvington, Day and Ward, 2001). In the UK, during the 1980s, the developing problem of HIV/AIDS created a new push for health related services for women involved in prostitution, as the women were perceived as potential carriers of the virus and liable to infect others. Women involved in prostitution were also themselves concerned that they might be infected by their clients. By the mid-1990s Casey *et al.* (1995) found that there were at least 80 projects in the UK working in whole or part on issues of health with women involved in prostitution, most of which were focusing on sexual health and HIV risk.

In actuality, research on HIV in relation to women involved in prostitution has found that in the UK the level with HIV infection is low. Unusually high figures were obtained for Edinburgh, where 14 per cent of those involved in prostitution in 1988 (including men) were infected with HIV. However, only 2.5 per cent of women involved in prostitution in Glasgow in 1991 were infected with HIV, 1.7 in West London in 1986-8 going down to 0.9 per cent in 1989-91, and none infected in Sheffield in 1986-87 (Woolley *et al.*, 1988; Thomas *et al.*, 1990; McKeganey *et al.*, 1992; Ward and Day, 1997: 141). Thus it would appear that women involved in prostitution pose little or no risk of HIV, despite popular beliefs to the contrary.

⁴¹ Practice approaches such as outreach and advocacy have been discussed in relation to other areas such as domestic violence (see Kelly and Humphreys, 2001).

One of the best documented projects has been the Praed Street Project in London, in existence since 1986 (Ward and Day, 1997). The history of the Praed Street Project exemplifies the pragmatic way in which many of the support services for women and young people have come about. The project was set up as a specific clinic for women involved in prostitution when it became apparent that these women had difficulties using mainstream services because they did not necessarily want to, or it was disadvantageous for them, to disclose their involvement. Further specific needs related to involvement in prostitution led to expansion of the project into a wider range of clinical services. To accommodate women's working patterns a drop-in centre was established with related provision of non-medical advice, including legal advice. In the attempt to reach women not already using Praed Street, outreach work was established to offer condoms and health advice, and to advertise the other services available at the Project. The outreach work revealed that for many women it was drugs use rather than merely sexual health that was a main concern:

A quarter of the women described problems with drug use, some of whom wanted needle exchange and other drug services which we were not able to provide.

(Ward and Day, 1997: 155).

Fertility and violence from clients were other major concerns. The services of the Project continued to develop to reflect women's (at times changing) needs, including provision of self-defence classes, and developing links with drug agencies.

To varying degrees and in different ways, these services and approaches have also been replicated by other projects, including those in the CRP initiative. Support for young people involved in prostitution has been one of the more recent developments, and also covers some of the same services. However, as a newer area there have been fewer specific services for young people involved in prostitution than for adult women (see Chapter 5).

Drug use

Drug use has become an increasingly important problem with regard to women and young people involved in prostitution in the UK. Studies charting the experiences of women involved in prostitution, and examining links between drug use and prostitution, have found that drug use is even higher for those on the streets than in off-street locations (May *et al.*, 1999; Barnard and Hart, 2000; Church *et al.*, 2001). Moreover, the type of drug being used has changed over time, in particular from use of heroin to increasing use of

crack cocaine (Strang *et al.*, 1993; Ward and Day, 1997; May *et al.*, 1999 *et al.*; Green *et al.*, 2000). A survey of 317 street prostitutes in the North West region by McCullagh *et al.*, (1998) found that 58 per cent were injecting drugs at time of interview, and 84 per cent had injected drugs at some time. In their survey, including 115 women involved in street prostitution⁴², Barnard and Hart, (2000) found that 93 per cent of the street sample had used an illegal drug in the past six months and 63 per cent stated that their main reason for engaging in prostitution was to pay for drugs. Seventy eight per cent of the women used heroin, 39 per cent used another opiate, 37 per cent used tranquillisers and 32 per cent reported using crack cocaine. In Merseyside, Campbell, (2002) interviewed 70 women involved in street prostitution and found that 96 per cent of the women were using heroin and 81 per cent were using crack cocaine. Again, a large percentage (84%) reported that the main reason for their entry into prostitution was to get money for drugs (and see Chapter 2).

Many women remain involved in prostitution exclusively to fund their drug use and often the drug use of a partner (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; May *et al.*, 1999). These women often work daily, for long periods of time, sometimes while suffering from withdrawal or the effects of overdose, in order to raise sufficient funds (Campbell *et al.*, 1996; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). McKeganey and Barnard, (1996) in their study of street prostitution in Glasgow, found that drug-injecting women worked more frequently and for longer hours. They found from interviews with the women concerned that the reason was that the drug-injecting women were more pressured to earn sufficient money to finance their drug addiction.

May *et al.*, (1999), examining the links between 'sex markets' and 'drug markets' in three areas of the UK, found that the increasing use of crack cocaine made the distinction between drug using and non-drug using women even more marked. Women using crack cocaine worked even more frequently, and were also more likely to experience detrimental effects to their health.

In a further study, examining use of an arrest referral scheme for those involved in prostitution in Kings Cross, May *et al.*, (2001) again found that there was a trend towards use of crack cocaine, with 53 of 100 women assessed using heroin and 73 using crack cocaine. Almost half of these women were either homeless or living in temporary accommodation. Green *et al.*, (2000), from interviews with 37 women mainly involved in street prostitution, also found that crack use had a particularly detrimental impact on the women concerned, increasing their vulnerability to 'violence, exploitation,

42 The overall sample was 240 and included women involved in both street and off street prostitution.

safe sex and issues of sexual health' (p 31). Moreover use of crack increased the women's risk-taking behaviour, such as allowing sex without using a condom because they were trading sex for crack (*ibid.*: 31). They also found that some of the women had moved from involvement in off-street to street prostitution as a result of the impact of using crack cocaine:

One woman explained how she had been working as an escort when she first tried crack. ...This woman had not been able to continue escort work as she became increasingly agitated and unsociable, and less concerned about her appearance. She moved to street work to support her own and her partner's daily use of crack.

(Green *et al.*, 2000: 34)

With regard to services for women involved in prostitution who are drug dependent, it has increasingly been found that services (as with sexual health and other support) need to take into account the particular nature and impact of their involvement in prostitution. Moreover, such services appear to be effective (Hough, 1996; Department of Health, 1997). May *et al.*, (2001) found that arrest referral to drug treatment can also play a positive role. They indicate three areas for practitioners to consider when developing arrest referral:

- Workers should not rely on custody work alone to reach the target group. Other imaginative ways of contacting sex workers should be implemented to maximise the potential for referrals;
- Expectations of projects should be realistic. Reductions in drug use and sex working are likely to take some time with this client group; and
- Appropriate services to refer sex workers to, both in and outside of a sex working area, is integral to a project's success. May *et al.*, (2001: 39)

Drug use and the CRP projects

As outlined earlier (Chapter 1 and Chapter 3) it was possible from the CRP project monitoring data and case studies to compile individual profiles for the women involved in prostitution who were in contact with the projects in Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent (the 'support/exiting' projects). Altogether 333 profiles were compiled⁴³ 228 included information on drug use.

⁴³ As indicated in Chapter 1, these profiles were built up by the five project areas providing standardised information about the women they had contact with. This information was centrally collated and analysed by the evaluation team.

Nearly all the women, across these five project areas, were currently using non-prescribed drugs (93%, 212/228). This figure of 93 per cent is the same as the finding by Barnard and Hart (2000) (see above – 93 per cent of their sample had used an illegal drug in the past six months). This was echoed in the Bournemouth CRP project area, where all the 30 women surveyed were using non-prescribed drugs. As expected, drug use by women in prostitution is far also higher than for women in the general population⁴⁴.

As shown in Table 4.1, heroin was the drug most likely to be used by the women in contact with the CRP projects, with nearly nine out of ten of those women who were currently using drugs using heroin (88%, 213/242). Crack cocaine was used by more than six out of ten women currently using drugs (68%, 164/242). One in ten women were also using another (unspecified) drug (10%, 21/212). Bournemouth, Stoke-on-Trent and Kirklees had the highest level of heroin drug users (100%, 93% and 92% respectively) and Kirklees had the highest level of crack-cocaine drug users (80%, 39/49). The CRP project staff raised particular concerns about the perceived increase in the number of women with dual-addictions. Over half of all the women who used drugs were dual-addicted to both heroin and crack-cocaine (58%, 113/196).

Table 4.1: Type of non-prescribed drug use (n=242¹)

Drug type	Stoke-on-Trent (n=56)	Hull (n=53)	Manchester (n=38)	Kirklees (n=49)	Hackney (n=16)	Bournemouth (n=30)	Total
Crack-cocaine	59% (33/56)	45% (24/53)	68% (26/38)	80% (39/49)	75% (12/16)	60% (18/30)	68% (164/242)
Heroin	93% (52/56)	87% (46/53)	74% (28/38)	92% (45/49)	75% (12/16)	100% (30/30)	88% (213/242)
Dual use	57% (32/56)	45% (24/53)	53% (20/38)	76% (37/49)	Not known	Not known	58% (113/196)
Other drug (unspecified)	14% (8/56)	6% (3/53)	13% (5/38)	10% (5/49)	0% (0/16)	Not known	10% (21/212)

¹ Sample size is reduced for dual use and other use where information for some areas is not known. See total column for reduced sample sizes. Within-project samples are used but no project totals are provided because some women used more than one drug and were dual-addicted.

⁴⁴ The British Crime Survey (Ramsey *et al.*, 2001) provides a measure of self-disclosed drug use among the general population, although it may under-estimate drug use by not including certain groups in its sampling frame (for example homeless people). It shows that women are less likely to use class A drugs than men. It was estimated that 373,000 16-29-year-olds in the general population had taken a Class A drug in the last month, only 4 per cent of whom were women (a ratio of 1:9). Less than half a percent of women aged between 16 and 29 years old had taken heroin within the last month, and less than half a percent of women had taken Crack-Cocaine.

As discussed further below, addressing drug dependency by the women involved in prostitution was crucial to the effectiveness of the CRP projects.

Violence against women⁴⁵

Another area in which there is a growing body of literature concerns violence experienced by women involved in street prostitution (Barnard and Hart, 2000; Lowman, 2000; Miller and Schwartz, 1995; Pyett and Warr, 1999; Williamson and Foleon, 2001; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). Barnard and Hart, (2000) found that it was the location of prostitution, whether indoors or street, rather than any other factor that was significantly associated with incidence of violence. In their survey including 115 street prostitutes in Leeds and Glasgow, they found that 81 per cent had experienced client violence, with 47 per cent having been slapped, punched or kicked, 37 per cent having been robbed by clients, 28 per cent having suffered attempted rape, and 22 per cent having been raped. May *et al.*, (1999) reported similarly that over three-quarters of the 67 women involved in prostitution in their study had been subjected by clients to physical, sexual or other forms of violence. In a survey of 193 women involved in prostitution conducted in London, Ward *et al.*, (1999) found that 68 per cent of those involved in street prostitution had experienced physical assault and all had a mortality rate twelve times higher than expected for London. Moreover, the majority of street prostitutes have had multiple experiences of violence, not only from their clients but also from passers-by abusing them both verbally and physically (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Campbell *et al.*, 1996).

In the UK, at least 60 prostitutes have been murdered in the last ten years (O’Kane, 2002); Kinnell, (2000, 2001) has recorded the murders of 51 women and girls involved in prostitution. The mode of working is known for 44 cases, and of these the majority (84%) were involved in street prostitution. In the 29 cases where charges were brought, 18 (62%) were clients. Sixteen convictions were secured and eight of these men had previous convictions for violence against women (including murder, manslaughter, rape and assault). Thus, individuals convicted of serious assaults against women involved in street prostitution, including murder and attempted murder, often have a history of similar offending (Campbell and Kinnell, 2001). Whilst in three-quarters of all homicide cases a conviction is obtained (Richards, 1999), a third of all prostitute murders remain unsolved (O’Kane, 2002).

It is well documented that women involved in street prostitution are reluctant to report violent crime committed against them to the police (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Campbell *et al.*, 1996; May *et al.*, 1999). This is a result of their common perception that they have no

45 This section draws on the London South Bank University evaluation.

recourse to justice, accepting violence as an occupational hazard (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Pyett and Warr, 1999; Phoenix, 2000; Williamson and Foleron, 2001).

Experiences of violence and abuse and the CRP projects

The experience of women in contact with the CRP projects echoed the extensive levels of violence against women involved in prostitution found in the other studies outlined above. Moreover, the level of violence appeared to be even higher for the women in contact with the CRP projects.

From the profiles compiled from the Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent monitoring data, information regarding physical violence was available for 140 women. The vast majority had experienced physical violence (74%, 104/140). The figures for the Merseyside project, where a survey of 70 women involved in street prostitution had been carried out by Campbell (2002) it was found that 54 per cent (38/70) of the women had been physically assaulted. This compares with only 47 per cent (54/115) in the study by Barnard and Hart, (2000; Church *et al.*, 2001). The perpetrators in the CRP sample were most often kerb crawlers (63%, 66/104) and/or a boyfriend/ pimp/ partner (60%, 62/104). Some of the women had been physically abused by local residents (10%, 10/104), raising concerns about possible vigilante behaviours (see also Vella *et al.*, n d.).

From the same CRP project profiles, information was available about 133 women's experiences of sexual violence. Just over half of the women had been forced to have sex or been indecently assaulted (53%, 70/133) and the perpetrators were most often the male clients (81%, 57/70) and/or a boyfriend/pimp/partner (23%, 16/70). In Campbell's (2002) Merseyside interviews, 43 per cent of the women said they had been sexually assaulted (30/70), and 36 per cent (25/70) that they had been raped. In addition, 43 per cent (30/70) of the women interviewed had been threatened with a weapon, and 13 per cent (9/70) had been abducted.

In the CRP profiles information was available for 132 women in terms of whether they had ever feared for their lives while they had been involved in prostitution, and over half of these women said that they had feared for their lives at least once (52%, 68/132).

In the case studies compiled with the women in Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent (n=23) (see footnote 36 for details) women spoke of how violence from boyfriends/pimps tended to keep them in prostitution (that is, acted as a barrier to exiting) while violence from kerb crawlers was more likely to serve as 'crisis points' leading them to pursue exiting:

'Alison' first became involved in prostitution when a boyfriend 'pimped' her. He forced her to prostitute herself to support his drug habit. He became violent towards her if she made any form of protest.

(Case study – 'Alison')

While her partner was in prison [for domestic violence related offences] 'Chloe' was raped by three men. This event led her to ask for more support from the project.... At present 'Chloe' is not working in sex work.

(Case study – 'Chloe')

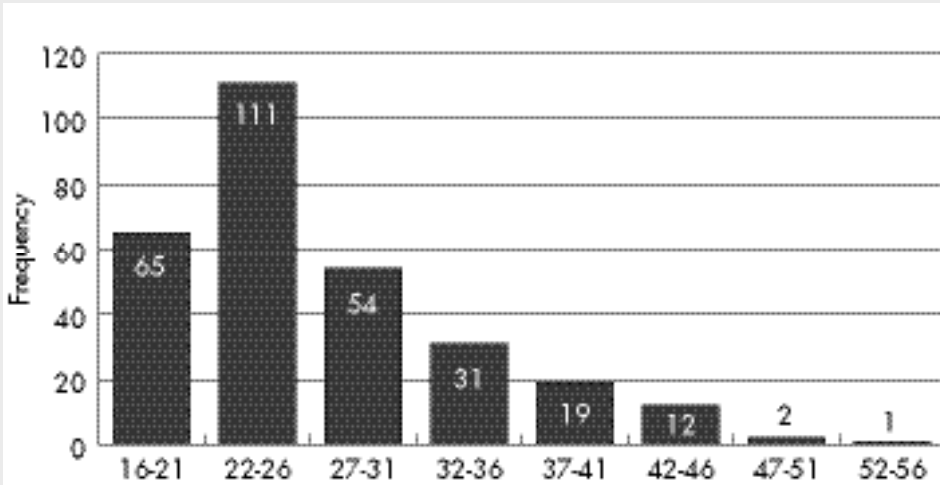
As will be discussed further below, some of the CRP projects were specifically attempting to address violence against the women involved in street prostitution, via schemes such as 'Dodgy Punters', 'Ugly Mugs' and other interventions.

The CRP Projects – Supporting women involved in prostitution and towards exiting

Five of the CRP projects, in Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent, had supporting women towards exiting prostitution as one of their main aims. Two of the projects from the 'enforcement' package (Bournemouth and Merseyside) also provided some form of support for women involved in prostitution, although the support interventions in these projects were supplementary to their other (main) interventions (see Chapters 2 and 3) and not necessarily aimed at supporting women towards exiting prostitution.

While the projects discussed below were aimed at supporting women involved in prostitution, in practice there were also a number of young people who accessed the interventions. The women using the five 'supporting/exiting' projects were aged between 16 and 55 years old (mean age=27, median age=25). In total, nearly a quarter of the women were aged 21 or under (23%, 65/288) and one in twenty was aged 18 or under (see Figure 4.1 and Appendix). It was not possible, however, to disaggregate the use of the support being offered by age.

Figure 4.1: Age distribution of women involved in prostitution



A number of themes emerged across the projects that we will discuss here in order to avoid repetition when discussing the individual projects below. In particular, that the support interventions found to be crucial across the CRP projects providing support were outreach, drop-in and one-to-one support, and definitions of exiting.

As with previous research, (see Ward and Day, 1997; and see above) **outreach** emerged as an important way of identifying and 'getting to know' the women, gaining their trust and informing them about other interventions offered by the projects. Without outreach the contacts for more in-depth work would have been difficult or even impossible to make.

... we seem to pick up one-to-one work from doing the outreach work as well, which is obviously helping us to build up better links with the women.

(Interview with project worker in Manchester)

Building up relationships between the outreach workers and the women allowed the project workers to assess when a woman seemed ready to access one-to-one sessions during the day (as opposed to their usual pattern of night working), and to begin the exiting process. Outreach also provided harm minimisation for those women who were not ready to exit, with the outreach workers generally offering condoms, food, drinks and information leaflets to the women.

Four of the projects (Stoke-on-Trent, Manchester, Hackney and Kirklees) provided outreach, which was funded wholly or partly by the CRP (see costs and benefits below for more detail on cost-effectiveness). Outreach work was already being conducted by two agencies prior to the CRP initiative in Hull and received no CRP funding; therefore the Hull outreach is not discussed below.

Drop-in services were important for enabling women to access drugs treatment, health related services, counselling, education and training, and a variety of other support needed to allow the women to move towards exiting. **One-to-one** support enabled the projects to target the support to fit individual need.

With regard to **exiting**, the profiles of the women using these five projects showed that most of the women were trying to exit prostitution or had tried to in the past on one or more occasion (69%, 128/186) (see Appendix). Less than a third had never tried to exit (31%, 58/186). If women did not want to nor felt ready to exit prostitution, the support interventions worked as a form of harm minimisation. The fact that the majority of women had attempted to exit also highlights the need for projects to support women towards exiting prostitution, rather than focusing solely on harm minimisation.

With regard to the CRP projects, it soon became clear that different projects and different individuals within projects were talking about very different things under the umbrella term of 'exiting' (see also Chapter 1). These definitions ranged from what might be termed 'complete exits' (where women have completely changed their lifestyle, found alternative employment, education or state benefit support and stabilised their drug use for a specified period of time), to the exiting from street prostitution (where women become involved in prostitution in off-street locations). Although the evaluators stressed the need for projects to define what they meant by exiting prostitution and to place a specific time period on this exit⁴⁶ this was rarely done. This made it difficult to draw direct comparisons between projects in terms of the number of women who had exited. The figures given below in relation to specific projects (Tables 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.9 and 4.10) refer directly to how the project worker who monitored the figures defined exiting. They do not, however, include women with whom the projects had lost contact as it was not known whether or not these women had exited.

We will now discuss the specific support interventions developed by the projects, moving from the projects with the fewest support interventions (Bournemouth and Merseyside), to those with the most (Hull, Hackney, Manchester, Kirklees and Stoke-on-Trent).

⁴⁶ For example, it was suggested that the 'support/exiting' projects use a definition of exiting that included three months without involvement in any forms of prostitution.

Bournemouth – drug referral and treatment

As discussed in Chapter 2, the main enforcement activities in Bournemouth were increased policing, CCTV enhancement, and warning letters to kerb crawlers (see Table 2.1), as well as community liaison. In addition, support to the women involved in prostitution was provided in relation to drug treatment (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Bournemouth – interventions aimed at supporting women involved in prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Outreach, liaison and assessment to identify women wanting drug treatment. ● Third Caution. ● Spot purchase of drug detox and rehabilitation treatment (fast tracking). 	<p>20 women started one or more drug treatment programmes.</p>	<p>26% (20/78) of the women known to be involved in prostitution started one or more drug treatment programme.</p>

The drug support involved identifying and encouraging women to access drug treatment via outreach, and via use of a Third Caution to provide the incentive to enter treatment. As explained in Chapter 2, the use of the Third Caution did not prove effective, and no women kept appointments with the arrest referral worker.

Outreach was carried out by the Dorset Working Women’s Project (DWWP), the existing local support agency for women involved in prostitution. All of the drug treatment referrals were also made via this project in consultation with the police and the arrest referral scheme. The lead worker would talk to women on the street about drug treatment and if women expressed an interest an appointment would be arranged to discuss the options. If interested a referral would be made for assessment to start treatment in a setting appropriate to the individual’s needs. Of 31 women expressing an interest in accessing treatment, 22 (70%) were successfully referred into treatment during the intervention period.

Four treatment schemes were used, including two methadone reduction programmes and two detox/abstinence programmes. Table 4.3 provides a summary of the progress made by the 20 women who started one or more treatment programmes.

Table 4.3: Summary of progress for women starting one or more drug treatment programme

Treatment Type	Number of women (n=20)			
	Started	Completed	On-going	Not completing
Methadone reduction (GP scheme)	5	0	3	2
Methadone reduction (Community Drugs Team)	7	2	2	3
Day treatment programme (detox) ¹	6	0	0	6
Residential programme out of area ²	9	4	0	5
Total	27³	6	5	17⁴

1,2 This was the only CRP funded drug treatment programme.

3 Of 20 women starting drug treatment, 15 started one programme, 4 started two programmes and 1 woman started 4 programmes, making 27 starts in total.

4 Eleven women in total did not complete one or more treatment programme.

As the table shows, six women completed a treatment programme, and five were on-going on a methadone reduction scheme. Nine women did not complete a drug treatment programme and were not in treatment at the end of the intervention period. Women completing or continuing the methadone reduction programmes were seen infrequently, if at all, by the outreach team. This may indicate a reduced need to be involved in prostitution, although it is not clear what happened to these women.

Day treatment in the area was less successful with no women completing this programme. The main reason given by the women for not completing was that the location of the treatment centre was within the red-light area, an environment which they found difficult to be in whilst attempting to abstain from drug use. Residential treatment outside the area appeared to offer better chances of success, with four out of nine women completing this programme. These four women were drug free at the end of the evaluation period (to the best knowledge of the DWWP), and three had found accommodation outside Bournemouth, were attending aftercare and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) meetings, and did not intend to return to Bournemouth. In all cases, longer-term follow-up would be required to ascertain whether these women became stable or drug-free and whether they permanently exited prostitution.

Overall, this intervention resulted in 20 women experiencing one or more forms of drug treatment. This represents over a quarter (26%) of all women seen by the DWWP during the intervention period. By the end of the project six women had completed one type of drug treatment and five were in treatment. This represents 14 per cent (6/78) of the client group and 55 per cent (11/20) of those starting treatment. With a chaotic client group, such as women involved in street prostitution, the results are promising. Many of those who did not complete treatment were still discussing options with the DWWP. Accepting that it may take several attempts to become drug-free, women who did not complete treatment had nevertheless taken a step towards addressing their problem drug use. The combination of outreach, liaison and assessment was thus successful in identifying women wanting treatment, and, importantly, referring them into treatment. Treatment was most successful where located away from the area.

Merseyside – addressing violence against women on the street

The Merseyside initiative was led by an existing outreach agency for women involved in prostitution (the Linx Project, which also acted as an umbrella agency for prostitution-related initiatives across Merseyside), with the police as active partners. The interventions discussed in this section are around increasing the safety of the women involved in prostitution (interventions to alleviate the impact on the community were discussed in Chapter 2).

The 'Ugly Mugs' scheme, set up in June 2000, was organised and run by the Linx project, and aimed to identify violent clients and thus reduce violence against women involved in prostitution. Essentially the CRP intervention sought to formalise an existing paper-based scheme, which disseminated incident reports relating to violence against women involved in prostitution among a group of local agencies. The agencies, known as 'Ugly Mugs' file holders, were Merseyside Police, Merseyside Drugs Council, outreach agencies in Liverpool and the Wirral (3), drop-ins for the homeless (2), hostels (2), and a sexual health clinic. The file holders would then pass this information on to any woman involved in prostitution who requested it. In practice requests were rare so summary sheets of 'Ugly Mugs' reports were produced which were distributed directly to all women involved in street prostitution via outreach. During the intervention period 215 individual women received at least one 'Ugly Mug' sheet. This was felt by the outreach workers to have increased reporting. The survey involving 70 women involved in prostitution, carried out by Campbell during the CRP project found that 67 per cent of the women had heard of the Ugly Mugs scheme and had received information. Thirty-seven per cent had made an Ugly Mug Incident Report. Moreover, the number of reports made between 2000-2001 and 2001-2002 nearly doubled, from 62 (36%) to 112 (64%) indicating the increased confidence among women to report violence to the Linx project.

Table 4.4: Merseyside – Interventions addressing violence against women on the street

Interventions	Outputs	Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The production and distribution of information about violent clients ('Ugly Mugs') and safety information. ● The central collation of information about violent clients in a regional database. ● The establishment of an early warning system to warn women about potentially violent men. ● The provision of personal attack alarms. ● The detection and arrest of perpetrators of violent against women involved in prostitution. 	<p>9 'Ugly Mugs' summary sheets produced for distribution amongst women to warn them of violent clients and passers-by.</p> <p>215 different women received at least one 'Ugly Mugs' summary sheet (of 280 outreach contacts) during 2001-2.</p> <p>112 incident reports were taken from approximately 80 women during the intervention period, representing an increase of 50 incident reports from 2000-2001 (N = 62). Formal statements were made to the police in 25% (n = 28) of incidents reported to the 'Ugly Mugs' scheme.</p>	<p>Campbell's (2002) survey found that 67% (47/70) had heard of the 'Ugly Mugs' scheme and received information from the project and 37% (26/70) had made an 'Ugly Mugs' report.</p> <p>13 out of 15 women interviewed for the evaluation expressed confidence in reporting violence to Linx.</p>

A database of 'Ugly Mugs' reports, known as Trax, was established during the intervention period. Trax was designed to provide a means for tracking serial offenders who commit violence against street sex workers. It enabled the systematic recording of detailed information on each incident and the individuals involved, as well as allowing for comprehensive searches and reports to be made. The inputting of incident reports into the database was well underway by the end of the intervention period. A key development arising from the set-up of the database was a redesign of the 'Ugly Mugs' incident form to improve the collection of intelligence. This redesign resulted from consultation between the Linx Project and Merseyside Police, and was intended to aid data entry and the search capabilities of Trax.

Another way of enhancing the existing 'Ugly Mugs' scheme was the purchase of an early warning system for agencies working with women involved in prostitution regarding dangerous individuals reported to the Linx Project. The system (known as Ringmaster) broadcast messages via telephone to selected agencies. Ringmaster was used to broadcast 14 messages to 'Ugly Mugs' file holders by March 2002.

During the CRP work successful prosecutions were brought against two violent clients in Liverpool. These were the first convictions of violent clients known to the Linx Project since it started in November 1999. The Linx Project was able to provide corroborating evidence in each case through the 'Ugly Mugs' file, which detailed a series of offences committed against different women. Both cases were aided by the support offered to the women involved by Linx Project staff who accompanied women to identity parades and court, and liaised between them and the police.

Hull – drop in service, drugs referral, courses and adapting to need

As outlined in Chapter 2, the Hull Way Out project aimed to reduce prostitution and kerb-crawling in order to improve the quality of life for residents. Also, it aimed to provide interventions which would enhance the women's quality of life through addressing problems of drug addiction, poor health and personal safety and assist them to exit street prostitution through the provision of education and training (see Table 4.5). The structure of the project was more statutory based than the other 'support/exiting' projects. Hull Way Out was designed to supplement, rather than to fund or replace, existing services in Hull for women involved in prostitution. The two existing agencies in Hull continued to do outreach and one-to-one work with women throughout the CRP funded period. This makes it particularly difficult to attribute any change directly to the CRP funded interventions.

A number of problems emerged locally which impacted directly on the project's work. These included the five deaths of women involved in prostitution at the start of the project, one of whom was murdered⁴⁷ and four of whom died from drug overdoses and/or contamination. In the second year of the project a further woman was murdered in connection with a drugs deal and there was an attempted murder by a kerb-crawler who left a woman 'for dead' in November 2002⁴⁸. There was also an influx of crack cocaine into the area during the project's second year⁴⁹, which exacerbated the problems of street prostitution and crime and disorder associated with crack cocaine addiction.

47 The perpetrator was identified and sentenced to life for this murder.

48 A suspect was found not guilty for of this offence.

49 The influx of crack cocaine came in the months following September 11th and was rumoured to be because drug dealers were telling drug users that heroin would soon not be available from Afghanistan.

Table 4.5: Hull Way Out – supporting women to exit prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Drop-in and consultation to improve drop-in service. ● Drugs referral scheme. ● Courses. 	<p>937 contacts with women in drop-in. Health advice was given on 134 occasions. 18 women were fast-tracked onto drugs programme.</p> <p>Women received self-defence instruction on 83 occasions.</p> <p>26 dodgy punter reports were made. 1 edition of a newsletter was distributed (500 copies). 46 women were consulted about drop-in provision. The needle exchange service was used 115 times. 24 attended a computer session.</p>	<p>6 women exited prostitution (no fixed definition was given).</p>

Most of the support interventions offered to the women were implemented through a drop-in service. This worked in the form of a ‘one-stop-shop’ for women that was open between 6pm and 10pm on a Wednesday evening at a specialist health centre. The drop-in was based on the edge of the project area, and had a wide range of workers to respond to the needs of the women involved in prostitution. Workers at the drop-in included drugs counsellors, a support worker, nurse practitioners, and (every other week) a self-defence instructor. The drop-in offered refreshments, condoms, needle exchange, drugs advice and fast-track referral, general health care with a nurse practitioner, gynaecological and sexual health care including smear tests and pregnancy tests. In order to identify violent men, the project also set up a ‘Dodgy Punters’ scheme, and the drop-in was one way in which this information was distributed to the women.

The project was able to fast track women to drug appointments in the surgery the next day and at a time (such as late afternoon) when they were most likely to turn up. Eighteen women were fast tracked to drug treatment. The workers stated that a significant number had successfully stopped using drugs and accessed direct health services, however no other data was made available to corroborate this.

One of the aims of the drop-in was to act as a signpost to offer new opportunities to women who were interested in exiting prostitution. One of the main interventions discussed in the early stages of the project was helping women to access training and educational courses with a view to them finding alternative employment. However, when it emerged that interest in such courses was

small, it was decided to use the funding to offer one-to-one tuition to the small number of women who had shown an interest in training and education. In total six women attended courses, but the project workers and partner agencies were concerned that they had not reached enough women and that some women had entered courses when they were not stable enough to attend regularly. One of the women finished her course and re-enrolled to do a further course, which indicates some success. The general lesson learned by the project was that women needed to address their basic needs (e.g. housing, debt, drugs and violence) before they were able to concentrate and apply themselves fully to other aspects of their lives and futures.

As part of its training package, the project also planned to run a weekly self-defence class on a Wednesday afternoon; however, despite this being well advertised, no women turned up. The project responded well to this setback and reduced the structure of the training by running the self-defence on an informal basis at the drop-in service. By tailoring the support to the lifestyles of the women the project was able to provide the women with new safety skills:

[The self-defence trainer] advised me to leave hair slides or bobbles under the seat of a car if I get into trouble so the police can prove who did it.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

This model of training was then applied successfully to a computer training course.

As indicated above, a 'Dodgy Punters' scheme had also been developed to identify violent male clients (i.e. similar to the 'Ugly Mugs' approach discussed above in relation to Merseyside). The drop-in service helped this work by passing on information to the women as well as receiving information about 'dodgy punters' that was then passed to the police liaison officer and circulated to other agencies working with the women. This was less sophisticated than the Merseyside 'Ugly Mugs' scheme and operated mostly by fax machines and forms. The Dodgy Punters scheme allowed women to report men without making contact with the police, which the women valued (especially if they were concerned about outstanding warrants for their arrest):

We would feel happier filling in a dodgy punter form than reporting violence to the police.

(Interview with women involved in prostitution)

The scheme did not become fully operational until the second year of the evaluation. Twenty-six reports of dodgy punters were made. Because this was a new intervention in Hull there was no baseline with which to compare this data.

One concern expressed about the drop-in service was its location, which excluded younger women from attending because it was on the older women's 'territory':

The drop-in is still mainly used by women between the ages of 25 and 35 and fewer younger women – since it is on the older women's patch if the young women come into the area they get 'taxed' by the older women.

(Interview with drop-in worker drugs counsellor)

However, it would not have been acceptable to the local residents to hold the drop-in in the residential area where many of the younger women were based. In order to partially address this problem the workers were planning to restart a health outreach service and seeking the use of a van from the health care trust to do this. Previous to this two nurses had gone out on foot into the target area for several months but had found that this was too unsafe. The other main problem was that the drop-in service only operated one night a week and views expressed by the women through a consultation exercise was that they would have liked it to operate more frequently and for longer hours. However, the health service costs of funding further evenings a week were considered to be prohibitive.

A total of six women who had accessed the project's interventions were known to have exited prostitution (no fixed definition of exiting was given to the evaluators), although the CCTV evidence mentioned in Chapter 2 suggests that more women may have moved from the streets of the target area. As indicated previously (see Chapter 2) a small-scale community survey with a small response rate (36%, 36/100) found that nearly half the respondents (44%, 16/36) had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in prostitution. Four in ten (39%, 14/36) said they had noticed a reduction in the number of kerb crawlers in the area and the same number said they had noticed a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution (39%, 14/36).

Overall, the findings from the Hull project suggest the importance of having a pragmatic approach based on the needs of the target group. This included tailoring location and opening hours of the drop-in to the women's working patterns, and addressing women's basic needs via outreach and drop-in before being able to deal with other aspects of their lives.

Hackney Maze Marigold/YWCA – holistic approach, domestic violence

The Hackney project aimed to provide workable exit strategies by taking a holistic approach to the multiplicity of problems women involved in street prostitution experience. Other aims included reducing the incidence of sexual infections and reducing nuisance

caused by prostitution in residential areas (see Table 4.6). The project was able to draw on its seven years prior work with women involved in street prostitution in the neighbouring borough of Tower Hamlets, carried out before obtaining CRP funding to extend its work into the London Borough of Hackney. It did however have to adapt its approach, since street prostitution in Hackney borough was found to be far less stable than that in Tower Hamlets. Located near `crack houses` on local council estates, it could be displaced to other sites when the police and local authority closed these down. The project experienced a number of problems initially because it did not have established partnership links with other agencies in Hackney, but these were improving by the end of the evaluation.

Table 4.6: Hackney Maze Marigold/YWCA supporting women to exit prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Outcomes
● Outreach service.	958 contacts were made during outreach.	3 women exited
● Drop-in service and advocacy for individual women.	19,160 condoms were distributed (approx.). 145 referrals were made to sexual health clinics. 160 contacts were made during drop-in.	prostitution (no fixed definition was given).
● Basic skills classes.	21 women received one-to-one support in the form of advocacy.	
● Advice.	9 women were re-housed.	
● Distribution of leaflets and condom `nappy sacks` to women.	33 women were referred to Women's Aid. 6 women received advice on benefits. 6 women received clothing. 93 contacts were made at the soft furnishing class.	

A total of 958 contacts were made during outreach, which was one of the project's main interventions (see Table 4.6). Outreach consisted of a twice-weekly service and included the distribution of food, hot drinks and condoms. This served as a means to make regular contact with the women and to provide individual support and advice on sexual health, drug addiction, housing and domestic violence. It was delivered by the two full-time workers and three volunteers. The project also provided a drop-in service, which at the time of the evaluation was located outside the borough in the neighbouring area of Tower Hamlets. Basic skills classes were offered at the drop-in, including literacy and sewing/soft furnishing skills.

The project's explicit recognition that many women are coerced into remaining in prostitution and need specialist domestic violence support where women are abused by boyfriends/pimps living off their earnings, provided an innovative approach. This aspect

was strengthened through the involvement of a domestic violence outreach worker from Tower Hamlets Women's Aid, (non CRP funded) who participated in the outreach service on a voluntary basis. This worker was able to assist women escape from violent partners/pimps by helping them to obtain emergency housing and through providing specialist counselling on abuse. Project workers and volunteers also provided direct advocacy support to some women, often accompanying them to hospitals when women had experienced serious injury; to homeless persons' units, and helping to collect their belongings when fleeing violent partners/pimps. The drop-in service could be used as a place of safety where women could sleep during the day and where they could obtain clothing, food and individual support. Women could also call an emergency help-line (non CRP funded) which operated between the hours of 9am and 9pm.

Hackney gave 156 contacts advice on domestic violence during outreach and drop-in sessions. Six women were supported to gain emergency accommodation because of domestic violence and three women were re-housed via Women's Aid services. This intervention enabled several of the women in Hackney to define the abuse they were experiencing from pimps/partners as domestic violence and to gain fast-track support and advocacy to escape from such men either through accessing emergency refuge, supported housing provision or through homeless persons' provision in other London boroughs. It also enabled them to gain specialised counselling for domestic violence and other forms of abuse they may have experienced.

The small number of women who were interviewed (n=5) explained how they valued the support they were given when trying to exit prostitution and leave violent boyfriends/partners/pimps. For many, the support in accessing housing away from the man who was abusing them was key:

I've met with the project workers on the streets – I've known them for about six months – The boyfriend put me on the streets and got me on drugs. He beat me up and now the project is helping me get away from him – most people think you go on the streets through choice but he put me there – now I'm ready to get out – I am going to give evidence against him in court for beating me up and they are helping me with that – the project worker is going to go to court with me – they've also helped me get a hostel place.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

Altogether, three women exited prostitution (no fixed definition of exiting was given to the evaluators). These three women were all re-housed outside the borough of Hackney.

A small community impact survey was conducted at the end of the project's funding period (March 2002)⁵⁰ involving 100 questionnaires randomly distributed by the evaluators, with a response rate of 32 per cent (32/100). Although the numbers are small, this showed that less than one in five respondents (19%, 6/32) had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in prostitution and just over one in five respondents (22%, 7/32) had noticed a reduction in the number of men kerb crawling on the streets of Hackney, and few (16%, 5/32) had noticed a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution.

Manchester Real Choices – drug referral and comprehensive support

Manchester Real Choices aimed to provide women involved in prostitution in the city centre and Cheetham Hill areas with alternative 'choices' to being involved in prostitution. It provided an outreach service to help women realise their choices alongside ongoing support, which included information, advice and referrals on sexual health, benefits, debt, housing, training, education, and safety issues (see Table 4.9). Two full-time project workers provided one-to-one support for women who wanted to exit prostitution and newsletters were produced to tell the women about the services and choices available to them. Due to the known links between prostitution and drug addiction, a fast-track drug service (low threshold supervised methadone programme – LTSMP) was a key element in this project and a part-time drug specialist nurse was also funded through the project.

Manchester had a history of inter-agency working in the area of prostitution before the Real Choices project was implemented (Manchester Prostitution Forum was established in 1997) and this provided the project with strong foundations and emerged as key to its success, particularly in terms of fast implementation of the interventions.

⁵⁰ The majority of respondents were aged between 25 and 44 years old (n=11, 34%) or between 45 and 64 years old (n=17, 53%). Over three-quarters of the respondents were female (n=25, 78%). Over half of the households (n=17, 55%) included children or young people under the age of 18 years old.

Table 4.7: Manchester Real Choices support for women to exit prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Low threshold supervised methadone programme (fast-track). ● Outreach service. ● One to one support. ● Newsletters. 	<p>5,214 outreach contacts.</p> <p>Average of 96 women were supported through outreach per month.</p> <p>60,000 condoms distributed (approx.).</p> <p>29 women referred to sexual health.</p> <p>10 women re-housed.</p> <p>147 personal attack alarms distributed.</p> <p>84 women advised on personal safety.</p> <p>4,000 newsletters distributed in 4 editions – ‘beat news’.</p> <p>44 women were referred to the LTSMP.</p> <p>29 women engaged with LTSMP.</p>	<p>8 women ceased all involvement in prostitution.</p> <p>22 women reduced the hours they spent involved in prostitution.</p>

As shown in Table 4.7, Manchester had the highest number of contacts with women (5,214) when compared across the other projects that provided outreach. Before the Real Choices project began women were only able to make contact via the Manchester Action for Street Health (MASH) van, which parked in one spot for the whole evening. In contrast, the outreach workers drove round the streets and stopped when they saw a woman involved in prostitution. This allowed the project workers to make contact with a larger number of women.

The project workers and partner agencies attributed part of the success of the Real Choices outreach to the long history of MASH. The women were used to seeing the MASH van and seeing leaflets about MASH, it was easy to ‘tag’ Real Choices onto MASH. In other words, it is probable that the women were more likely to engage with the outreach workers because they were part of a project that the women already knew and trusted.

Building up relationships between the outreach workers and the women allowed the project workers to assess when a woman seemed ready to start the exiting process and offer one-to-one sessions during the day. However, due to a lack of baseline data it is not known whether outreach actually increased the number of women accessing services during the day.

From interviews with a small number of women involved in prostitution (n=5) it was apparent that they valued the help they got from the outreach workers. Although the women said that they found it helpful to be given condoms, food and ‘beat news’ by the outreach workers, the most helpful thing they cited was simply ‘having someone there’ for them:

... it's good to be able to talk about problems and everything.

(Interview with 35-year-old woman involved in street prostitution)

Just to talk to – I miss her if she hasn't been here for a week ... I can talk to her about any problem ... no matter what it is.

(Interview with 51-year-old woman involved in street prostitution in city centre for 22 years)

Some women mentioned specific instances where the outreach workers had been particularly helpful, and these were most often related to violent incidents. The outreach workers acted as 'mediators' between the women and the police. For example, a man with a gun and a snooker ball in a sock attacked one woman while in the project area. When she reported the attack to the police she felt as though they 'didn't seem to care' so she reported it to one of the project workers. She felt that with the backing of the project she was taken much more seriously by the police. The project helped her to fill in forms and kept her updated of any progress with the case.

The outreach workers were able to offer some advice on the street, and invited women to engage in one-to-one work during the day to give more in-depth support and advice. Advice on housing, benefits and debt was also available from mainstream organisations; however, project workers indicated these may have not been accessible for women involved in prostitution and/or the organisations may not have understood the additional issues that these women faced:

There's a lot of people who, because they've got quite chaotic lifestyles and they've been rejected by mainstream services, usually think that there's nobody out there that can help them with that sort of a problem – housing and debt.

(Interview with project worker)

One of the aims of Manchester Real Choices Project was to have fewer women involved in street prostitution and/or a reduction in the hours they worked. As the summary of outcomes in Table 4.7 shows, a total of eight women ceased all involvement in prostitution and a further 22 reduced the amount of time they spent involved in prostitution. The women who had ceased all involvement in prostitution had exited for between two and 18 months at the end of the evaluation period (see Table 4.8)

Table 4.8: Length of time and personal circumstances of women exiting prostitution

2 months	6 months	12 months	18 months
1. Stable on methadone, attending various drop-ins. Considering continuation of her higher education course.	2. Moved to a different part of Manchester. Stable on methadone.	3. Moved to a different part of Manchester. Stable on methadone.	6. Regained contact with her family and moved away from Manchester. Stable on methadone.
		4. Left off-street prostitution and stabilised cocaine use. Now on benefits and living in a new flat.	7. Stable on methadone.
		5. Stable on methadone and now working in a sports wear factory.	8. Regained contact with family, is now stable on methadone, has found alternative employment and is attending college.

All of the women who exited or reduced the hours they spent involved in prostitution had done so through a mixture of one-to-one support from the project workers and through attendance on the Low Threshold Supervised Methadone Programme (LTSMP). The LTSMP was designed for individuals whose lives are so chaotic that they would find it difficult to engage with mainstream drug agencies. On the LTSMP women were asked to attend one Wednesday afternoon to be assessed by the doctor. This assessment consisted of finding about the woman's medical history, a medical assessment, a dip-stick urine test and then she was given a starting dose of methadone that day. Every day thereafter women were free to call in between 11am and 4pm to pick up their daily dose of methadone. At weekends the women were given a 'take away dose' on Friday that lasted Saturday and Sunday. The condition of them getting a take-away was that they came for at least three supervised doses during the week.

There were no waiting lists for women involved in prostitution wanting to get onto the low threshold methadone programme. The doctor was available every Wednesday so women would always be started on the programme within a week of the referral. One of the key advantages of this programme was that the project workers who referred the women while on outreach also attended the Wednesday afternoon session. It was thought that this made it less intimidating for women to attend for the first time:

It's the same faces they see on the Outreach as they see when they come into the drug service and that eases people's access. This makes them more confident to cross the threshold of the drug service.

(Interview with drugs service)

This link also provided the project workers with immediate information on who did or did not attend, allowing more support work to be conducted:

When they haven't attended I catch them on the street and ask them why they haven't been and I can talk them into starting again.

(Interview with project worker)

Of the 29 women who were referred and retained in the LTSMP, six were still attending the programme by the end of the evaluation, 15 had stabilised their drug use and moved into treatment at a mainstream drugs agency. Four women dropped out of the LTSMP; however, they were still in touch with the Real Choices outreach workers and had the possibility of re-entering the programme in the future. A further three women had moved out of the Manchester area and returned to their family homes and one was serving a long-term prison sentence in HMP Buckley Hall for robbery.

A small-scale community impact survey was conducted with local businesses towards the end of the first year (March 2002). However the response rate (17%) was too small for the data to be used here.

Manchester Real Choices combined a number of successful interventions which, added to the services already in place by MASH, resulted in a comprehensive package of expertise available to women involved in prostitution in Manchester. Before the introduction of the Real Choices project, harm minimisation support was available to women but the resources were not available to offer in-depth support to women who were thinking about exiting prostitution. The strong connections with fast track drug service provision in Manchester enabled the project to assist women entering drug services, reducing their demand for drugs, enabling them to make more informed choices in their lives and exit or reduce the hours they were involved in prostitution.

Kirklees SWEET project – wide range of services, adapting to need

Kirklees Sex Work Education, Empowerment and Training project provided a wide range of services to women involved in prostitution with the aim of enabling women to exit.

(Diversion work with young women is discussed separately in Chapter 3). Because of the wide range of interventions coming under the umbrella of 'drop-in services' it is only possible to list the project's main outputs (see Table 4.9). The project developed and widened its range of services over the evaluation period, adapting to meet the needs of the women using the project.

Table 4.9: Kirklees SWEET project support for women involved in prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
● Outreach service.	1,102 contacts were made during outreach.	5 women exited entirely from prostitution.
● Drop-in services.	1,052 drop-in contacts were made.	
● Referral to drugs services.	60 arrest referrals were made to the project.	
	157 health referrals were made.	15 found alternative employment in the project's second year.
	65 women were re-housed.	
	133 contacts were made offering support after violent incident.	
	63 women were referred for counselling in 2002/3.	
	20,000 condoms were distributed.	

A total of 1,102 contacts were made via outreach over two years (Table 4.9). Seven hundred and sixty of the contacts were made during 2002/3 and most of these (61%, 465/760) resulted in women attending the drop-in session. Other than arrest referral, this was where project workers were able to engage with the women and inform them about the services offered at the drop-in, which was one of the aims of the outreach service.

The arrest referral programme aimed to refer women into the support services offered by the project and divert them from the criminal justice system. Its start date was delayed due to long negotiations with Probation and the CPS. Originally, a Magistrates Referral Scheme was to be put in place whereby women could be referred to the SWEET project through a probation order. However, it was eventually decided that a similar scheme, the drug referral scheme, which was already in operation in Kirklees, would be adapted for the prostitution referral programme. The police devised a new policy whereby all women who were suspected of the offence of solicit/loiter would be arrested and taken to the police station. At the police station, the woman would be informed of the project and would receive an official caution. Women had two opportunities to be diverted away from the court system.

When a woman was referred to the project she must participate in a one-to-one session with a project worker. This allowed the women to examine aspects of their life and consider the options presented to them by the project and other referring agencies. If a woman was arrested for a third time, she was directed through the court process. The Police Prostitution Liaison Officer explained that this was:

...to allow for as many appointments re engagement with the SWEET Project as possible.
(Interview with Police Prostitution Liaison Officer)

Although it is not clear how many women exited prostitution after receiving arrest referral to the project, 24 out of the 35 women who were referred to the project in the first year attended their appointment (69%), which suggests some success in terms of diverting women away from the criminal justice system and into support services. However there are no data on whether these women went on to re-offend. The level of attendance also indicates that this arrest referral scheme was more successful than the one in Bournemouth (which used a 'Third Caution' – see Chapter 2).

The project also offered employment and benefit support and training in order to provide the women with alternatives to being involved in prostitution. One hundred and sixty eight women were supported in having their benefits needs met, and 135 women received benefits as a result of advice from the project. However, it is not clear how many women exited after receiving such benefits. The project found that the Intermediate Labour Market (ILM) and Job Placement Link (JPL) strategies were too inflexible for women who are or who have been involved in prostitution, particularly when their lives are chaotic through drug dependency. Because some women had not stabilised sufficiently enough to take up employment and training the project felt that to encourage them to do so may be 'setting them up to fail'. To supplement the more formal training schemes, the project ran a number of 'in house' training sessions, including self-defence and assertiveness training which were well attended (52 women were assisted in attending training sessions offered by the project and 43 by external agencies). Although some sessions were mostly recreational, e.g. beauty therapy, others included Computer Literacy and Information Technology (CLAIT) courses and first aid and food hygiene courses. Two of the women interviewed by the evaluators (n=5) had already attended training sessions and the other women said that they would attend when 'the time was right'.

Over a six-week pilot period 20 women accessed the fast-track drug service through the SWEET Project. Three of these women did not fully attend treatment, 16 remained in treatment at the end of the evaluation, and one was referred to the Young Women's

Diversionary Group (described in Chapter 3). The quote below shows how important it is for service provision to be immediately available:

They helped me as soon as I phoned up because they were there. I stopped going on the streets within a week of contacting them, and was scripted within two weeks. They made me feel better as a person and see that I was worth more than that.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

A total of 1,052 drop-in contacts were made, with services available from counselling (25 women were referred for counselling in 2001/2 and 68 women were referred in 2002/3; 11 of the 63 women referred in 2002/3 were under the age of 18), recreational activities (165 women attended recreational activities) and health referrals (157 health referrals were made). Through the drop-in and the outreach services, around 20,000 condoms were distributed, indicating that the project were providing harm minimisation techniques and support for women until they were ready to engage further and perhaps work towards exiting prostitution.

By the end of the evaluation five women, who had been accessing the project, had exited entirely from prostitution. In addition, two women who had been identified as exited had since returned to street prostitution. Other women had left street prostitution to enter saunas (2), reduced their involvement in street prostitution but continued to be involved in prostitution from their own home (3). In addition, there were a further 26 women with whom the project had lost contact and did not know if they were still involved in prostitution.

A small-scale community impact survey with 100 questionnaires distributed randomly by the project was conducted at the end of the first year (March 2002)⁵¹, obtained a 56 per cent (56/100) response rate mainly from residents. Although the numbers are small, the survey showed that only one in five of the respondents (20%, 11/56) had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in prostitution or the number of men kerb crawling (21%, 12/56). Even fewer (9%, 5/56) had noticed a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution.

⁵¹ The respondents were residents (n=51, 91%) and businesses (n=5, 9%) in Kirklees. Most respondents were aged between 25 and 44 (n=17, 31%) or 45 and 64 (n=23, 42%) years old, although younger residents aged under 25 years old (n=7, 13%) and older residents aged over 65 years old (n=8, 15%) were also represented. Just over half of the respondents were female (n=31, 59%). Most households (n=44, 80%) did not have children or young people under the age of 18 years old residing there.

Stoke-on-Trent Peer Support – holistic and adaptable

Stoke-on-Trent Peer Support provided the support component of the Peer Support and Community Mediation Project (also discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to community mediation). The aim was to encourage women involved in prostitution to exit. The project’s title is a little misleading in terms of where the project ended up at the end of the evaluation period. Soon into the project it became clear that peer support was going to be difficult for a number of reasons. Originally a peer support intervention was developed involving women who had previously been involved in prostitution to act as mentors. This plan had to be amended due to a lack of women stable enough to enter the Peer Support Programme. In October 2001 it was agreed that the emphasis should instead be one-to-one support with the aim of stabilising the women involved in prostitution and so encouraging and assisting them to exit. Following this earlier problem the project continued to adapt to the support needs of the women (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Stoke-on-Trent peer support – supporting women to exit prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of outcomes
● Outreach service.	1,441 contacts made on outreach.	21 women had exited prostitution for at least 3 months by the end of the evaluation.
● One to one services (including drop-in, peer support and fast track referral to drug support).	97 women supported through one-to-one work. 81 women were given advice on benefits. 97 women attended drug programme. 139 women referred to emergency housing.	
		18 further women had reduced the hours they spent involved in prostitution.

The project made 1,441 contacts over the two years with a total of 346 individual women contacted via outreach⁵². As with the outreach services in the other project areas, this was an important way of making the women aware of the services offered by the project.

The Stoke-on-Trent project was unique in offering a structured holistic care plan centred on exiting, and based on an approach called the ME Pack. The ME Pack functioned as an aid in developing a strategy for changing all aspects of women’s lives that served to keep them involved in prostitution, thus allowing them to consider alternatives and so begin the exiting process. The success of this particular approach was indicated by Stoke having the highest

52 This intervention was part CRP and part Health Action Zone funded.

number of women who had exited⁵³ during the two-year evaluation period, that is 21 women (as compared with eight in Manchester, six in Hull, 5 in Kirklees and three during the first year of the Hackney project).

The 'ME pack' was an individually-tailored structured care plan. The central focus was, as the name implies, the woman herself. A structured care plan would be jointly discussed and formulated with a dedicated project worker. This approach assisted women to examine all aspects of their lives, including their drug dependency, financial requirements, housing issues, children, relationships with other people and future plans. Once the structured care plan had been devised, women could begin the process of accessing drugs programmes, obtaining benefits and being re-housing. As women became more stabilised they were encouraged to participate in other services provided by the project, including the Peer Support Group sessions which comprised recreational activities, educational training and complementary therapy. The aim of these was to provide new alternative means of employment for the women. There was also group work with the women aimed at raising their self-esteem.

Alongside the 'ME' pack a fast track drugs programme was developed in the first year of the project. A total of 97 women were engaged in treatment as a result of fast tracking into an existing drug treatment facility, Druglink. The fast tracking into drugs treatment was another key aspect in women exiting from prostitution. The 21 women who had exited for at least three months had all been through the fast track programme and become drug-free. For many of the women stabilising their drug use was a key turning point in their lives:

The fast-track was absolutely amazing for me. I was on 55mls and now I'm down to 15. I got my kids back, went on a computer course and am going on a self-assertiveness course next ... even though I've been raped and beat up I would still have gone out there [on the street] if it wasn't for the fast-track.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)⁵⁴

Unlike the Manchester fast-track programme (discussed above), in Stoke-on-Trent a limited number of places were available on the drugs programme at any one time. This caused problems, and there was sometimes jealousy between the women if one was fast-tracked more quickly than another:

53 Defined as no further involvement in prostitution for at least three months

54 Five interviews were conducted with women involved in prostitution.

There's been bad moments, I'm not going to say it was all good ... it was difficult if one girl gets taken to the ward when you're waiting to go.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

In exceptional circumstances the project would also refer the woman's boyfriend/partner/pimp onto the fast track drugs services (the evaluators were aware of this happening in three cases during the evaluation period). This was deemed important because the men were otherwise likely to get the women involved in drug use once again.

A further innovative way in which the project responded to change was through the use of text messaging. Again this responded directly to the women's needs and their way of communicating. The texting approach was for women who wanted to make contact on an evening, or when the women wanted to tell their dedicated project worker something that they felt uncomfortable with verbalising. Below are examples of some of the messages that were recorded:

...thanks 4 ya message ive just got out of the bath I really need to talk...

(Message from a woman who had relapsed after being drug free for 12 months whilst in prison)

... please help im desparate ... im depressed and cant carry on I need to b on a programme 4 my kids b4 they get taken off me PLEASE. X

(Message received from one of the women who had relapsed and needed to get re-scripted. The project was able to help but she had to wait 4 weeks to be scripted)

Yer ive ad a gud wk thanks, I got my contract. I start on the 27th, training on the 25th & 26th ...

(Message received from one of the women had just been offered a job)

The small number of women involved in prostitution who were interviewed (n=5) indicated that they found both the one-to-one work and the more informal drop-in service useful. In all, it was the holistic nature of the project that they seemed to value most:

It's turned my life around this place. This time last year I was a mess. I was five stones and working on the streets – I was just a mess.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

They've helped me with housing, doctors, dentists ... everything that a girl needs.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

One 18-year-old young woman, who had exited prostitution with the help of the project after being sexually exploited for three years, went on to enter full-time alternative employment. She explained how the project had turned her whole life around:

I didn't think they would be able to [help me] but they did. Before I was an under-age prostitute, I'd been attacked and was homeless. They helped me with personal problems and got me somewhere to live ... If it wasn't for the project worker I don't think I would have got through it.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

It was not simply support to exit prostitution *per se* that the women needed, but the ability to see the whole individual and adapt interventions to their needs:

They [the project workers] make you feel like a human being – you're not just a prostitute in their eyes.

(Interview with woman involved in prostitution)

The results from the small-scale community impact survey carried out at the end of the first year (March 2002)⁵⁵ showed that local residents had perceived some positive impact. Although involving small numbers, over half of the respondents (61%, 46/75) had noticed a reduction in the number of women involved in prostitution, although less than a third (31%, 23/75) had noticed a reduction in the number of men kerb crawling. Nearly four in ten respondents (38%, 28/75) had noticed a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution. This was the small-scale community survey with the largest response rate, and also the community survey across the evaluations to record the most positive response from residents regarding reduction in women on the streets.

Summary of findings:

- It was important that projects were able to adapt their interventions according to the needs of the women (Kirklees, Stoke-on-Trent, Hull).
- Women may not access mainstream services and it was important that projects offered specialised and targeted support to meet the needs of the women (Manchester, Kirklees).

⁵⁵ See also Chapter 2.

- Women’s basic needs had to be addressed (e.g. drugs, housing, violence, debt and health) before women were stable enough to enter education or training courses (Hull, Kirklees).
- Outreach appeared to be key to making initial contact with the women, gaining their trust and informing them about other services that the project could offer (Kirklees, Stoke-on-Trent, Manchester and Hackney).
- In order for women to exit and sustain their exit a wide range of support services were needed which viewed the woman as a whole individual rather than focusing solely on their involvement in prostitution (Stoke-on-Trent).
- A fast-track drugs programme which was not limited by places was particularly important, and for some women it helped that it was situated out of the area (Manchester, Bournemouth).
- Supporting women who are experiencing domestic violence proved an innovative approach, and accessing alternative housing was particularly important (Hackney).
- Interventions aimed at identifying violent male clients, such as ‘Ugly Mugs’ and ‘Dodgy Punters’ were generally successful in increasing reporting of violent clients to projects and in some instances to the police (Merseyside, Hull).

Costs and benefits related to supporting women involved in prostitution and towards exiting

Costs

As discussed above, outreach is an important intervention in that it allows projects to make contact with the women and gain their trust. Table 4.11 (below) shows the total and unit costs for those projects with outreach where it was possible to disaggregate costs. Where volunteers were used to support the outreach workers these are costed as employed staff.

Table 4.11: Cost per outreach intervention

Project	Total Cost	Unit Cost (per contact)
Stoke-on-Trent (part CRP funded)	£32,728	£23
Manchester	£71,266	£14
Hackney	£52,297	£55
Kirklees (non CRP funded)	£17,982	£16

As Table 4.11 shows, there was a large difference between the cost per contact when comparing the least expensive and most expensive unit costs (£14 per contact in Manchester compared with £55 per contact in Hackney). This can be explained via a number of factors. Firstly, the staff in Hackney were paid a higher hourly rate than workers in any of the other areas, and this was in part due to the London weighting on top of their hourly rate. Secondly, the CRP funded staff in Hackney suffered a lot of illness during the evaluation period. Thus while the input (costs) remained the same, the outputs (number of contacts) decreased. Thirdly, and possibly most important, where the staff in other project areas worked in pairs, in Hackney three or four members of staff generally worked on both of the two nights. On one night this consisted of the two CRP funded workers, a domestic violence worker and one volunteer – on the second night there were two CRP funded workers and one volunteer (occasionally there were two volunteers but only one is costed in the above analysis). If the workers split up into two groups of two they may have been able to make contact with more women. On the other hand, it is possible that because there were more staff working together, probably with more combined skills than fewer staff, this enabled a service that was able to deal with more needs (operating almost as a mobile one-stop-shop). This was almost certainly the case for the night when the specialist domestic violence worker travelled with the outreach workers.

Another way in which the Hackney project differed from other project areas was the number of hours the outreach team worked in any one night. In Hackney three or four workers worked from 8pm to 2am two nights a week (with one hour on one night in a different area – which is discounted from this analysis). In contrast, in other areas such as Manchester, two workers worked from 8pm to 12am over four nights. It may be that by going out for such long hours there comes a stage where the outreach have made contact with all of the women who want to engage with them on that particular night. In other words – if there are 20 women working and these women have all been offered outreach support by midnight then the next two hours would be spent looking for women who have come out after midnight. While they may see some women during this period they may see more women if they spent those two hours on a different night.

As long as safety is not compromised, outreach is most cost-effective (in terms of cost per contact and cost per woman per month) when: the outreach staff work in teams of two (no higher) and when outreach hours are shorter and spread over more nights.

Interventions relating to drug support were also seen as key to supporting women towards exiting from prostitution, and many of the projects had drug related interventions. However, because these were provided by external agencies and generally non CRP funded it was, in

most cases, not possible to obtain financial data or to calculate costs. In Table 4.12 (below) we summarise the inputs, outputs and outcomes for the projects where some level of financial data was available.

Table 4.12: Cost per drug support intervention

Project	Total cost	Unit cost
Manchester	£38,696	£1,334 per woman engaged with programme. £5,528 per woman known to have stopped taking drugs.
Bournemouth	£61,700	£3,611 per woman engaged with programme. £6,566 per woman completing/ongoing programme.

The unit cost per woman engaged in the programme and per woman completing/ongoing in the programme is more expensive in Bournemouth compared with Manchester. This is because one of the programmes in Bournemouth was a residential programme which had greater costs associated with it than non-residential programmes. The unit costs in Bournemouth is therefore skewed by the high unit cost of residential treatment (£4,943 per individual) compared with the three non-residential treatments offered (GP methadone reduction was £248 per individual; CDT methadone reduction was £132 per individual; day treatment was £394 per individual).

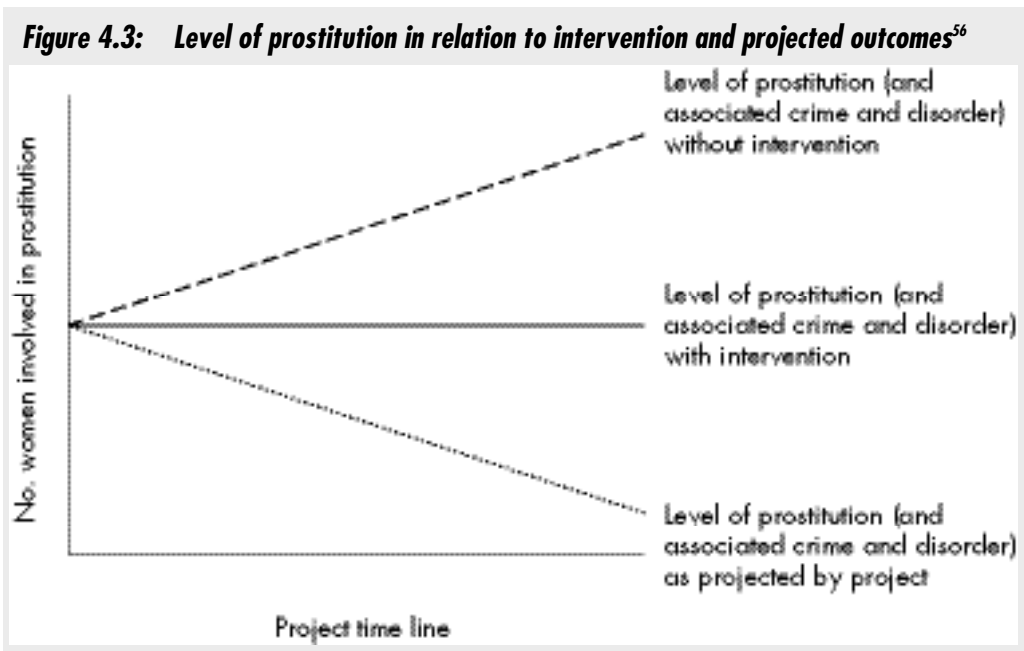
In 1999 the Waterloo project (where Manchester's low threshold supervised methadone programme was based) carried out interviews with 157 local drug users who, between them, spent around £47,197 per week on drugs (a yearly drugs bill of nearly £2.5 million). Because this was only a sample of the drug users in the programme area (Cheetham Hill and Broughton), the report shows that drugs sales represent a multi-million pound turnover per year in these Manchester areas alone. Most of the drug users (71%) gained the money for drugs through crime. Of those users who were willing to disclose which crimes they had committed, 36 per cent were involved in prostitution and 53 per cent committed theft (the remainder were crimes such as fraud). It was found that those who were involved in prostitution to fund their drugs spent more money on drugs per week (£554) than those who supported their addiction through theft (£338).

This localised figure of £554 is similar to that indicated by May *et al.*, (1999) who found that women involved in prostitution spent an average of £525 per week on drugs. We estimate, using figures from May *et al.*, (1999) that, between them, women involved in prostitution in Manchester will spend nearly two and a half million pounds per year on drugs (£2,419,200). Per woman, this equates to an average of £27,300 per year spent on drugs.

Benefits

The benefits to the community if there is a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution are outlined in Chapter 2. Here we are concerned with the benefits to the taxpayer and to the women involved in prostitution if they exit.

The support/exiting projects (Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent) had projected outcomes related to reducing the number of women involved in prostitution and reducing the level of crime and disorder associated with prostitution. Because the projects were aimed at helping women exit prostitution, it was assumed that this would automatically result in a reduction in crime and disorder associated with prostitution. However, this assumes that the population of women involved in prostitution would have remained stable without any intervention. In reality, the level of prostitution may have been rising before the project began its intervention (i.e. more women were entering than exiting).



Because the evaluation started around the same time as the project (or afterwards in some cases) it was impossible to draw any firm conclusions (see Chapter 1 regarding the difficulties involved in measuring change). However, based on the outreach figures over

⁵⁶ The gradient of the lines are unknown in terms of projecting what would have happened if no intervention had taken place. Figure 4.2 simply suggests the general directions.

time, it is suggested that that the number of women may have increased if no interventions were in place (see Figure 4.3 above as example). The rationale behind this is that although some women exited prostitution or reduced the hours they spent involved in prostitution in each project area, the number of women seen on outreach remained relatively stable over the two-year period in terms of their trend-lines. This emphasises the need for projects to be holistic and have interventions simultaneously aimed at preventing young people and women from entering as well as supporting them to exit.

Even so, this does not mean there were no benefits in supporting women to exit prostitution. This is because by stabilising the costs there is a reduction in what the cost would have been if the level of prostitution had risen. Table 4.13 (below) shows the benefits that may arise if women exit prostitution. It should be noted that the benefits listed below for the women who have exited prostitution relate to emotional benefits. We are not aware of any robust estimates of the value of these emotional benefits.

Table 4.13: Benefits resulting from women exiting prostitution

For taxpayer	For woman who have exited prostitution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of criminal justice system (police, courts, prisons, and probation). ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of victim services. ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of health services. ● Change in cost of state provided child care (e.g., children in care). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Enhanced quality of life. ● Enhanced emotional state (including self-esteem). ● Enhanced physical state (including safety and bodily integrity). ● Enhanced life prospects.

For the reasons outlined earlier in this report (see Chapter 1) it was not possible to calculate the cost/benefit ratio. The information in the table below is taken from various sources and suggests some of the savings to the taxpayer that may result if the number of women involved in prostitution is stabilised or reduced.

Table 4.14: Average costs of criminal justice, welfare and healthcare related services

In patient hospital stay per day (Netten and Curtis, 2000)	£233
A & E for serious incident e.g. overdose per visit (Netten and Curtis, 2000)	£282
Community treatment for psychological or emotional problems per visit (Netten and Curtis, 2000)	£50
Needle exchange per contact (Gruer, 2001)	£9.18
Problem drug users – total economic costs per user per annum (Godfrey <i>et al.</i> , 2002)	£10,402
Total economic and social costs for problem drug users per user per annum (Godfrey <i>et al.</i> , 2002)	£35,455
Cost per annum of condoms supplied by outreach services (condom costs as estimated from this evaluation)	£41.25
Unemployment benefits (based on minimum of Jobseekers allowance) per annum (Emmersen and Lancaster, 2000)	£2,714
Health services cost per drug related death per person (Ghodse <i>et al.</i> , 2001)	£670
Average cost of 'looked after' children per child per annum (National Statistics/Department of Health, 2001)	£22,650
Average costs of care for children in need per child per annum (National Statistics/Department of Health, 2001)	£4,420
Magistrates' court proceeding (Harries, 1999)	£550
Magistrates' court sentence (Harries, 1999)	£250
Prison sentence imposed at a magistrates' court (Harries, 1999)	£4,950
Crown Court proceeding (Harries, 1999)	£8,600
Crown Court sentence (Harries, 1999)	£23,900
Prison sentence imposed at the Crown Court (Harries, 1999)	£30,500
Overall average cost per person proceeded against in the courts (inc. sentence) (Harries, 1999)	£2,700

Chapter 5 continues the discussion about support already begun in Chapter 4. Chapter 4 provided an outline of the general literature regarding support, and examined the projects providing support to women in particular. In this chapter the projects and interventions providing specific support to young people (Bristol and to a lesser extent Sheffield) are discussed. Costs relating to the interventions are discussed towards the end of the chapter.

Where young people are concerned, provision of services has tended to come primarily from the voluntary sector, and the CRP initiative has therefore added both further services and included the statutory sector. Appropriate means to intervene and support these young people are still being developed. It has been argued that 'ideal type' projects would provide street based, young person centred services (Melrose *et al.*, 1999, Melrose 2001). They would offer opportunities for counselling to explore the young person's victimisation and offer long-term support. Services would also provide educational and training facilities, careers guidance, help with housing and welfare benefits and help with childcare where appropriate. Young people should also be provided with help in relation to drug misuse issues, detoxification and needle exchange facilities where they are needed. Moreover, multi-agency approaches are essential if the very complex problems these young people confront are to be tackled effectively (Browne and Falshaw 1998; Melrose and Brodie, 1999). In this respect, projects supported by the Crime Reduction Programme have provided an opportunity to develop and extend practice and to facilitate joined up working in this field.

Supporting young people

The CRP project in Bristol developed a range of multi-agency support focused on the needs of the young people concerned. (The CRP project in Sheffield focused on diversion and prevention, as discussed in Chapter 2)

Bristol Pandora

The Bristol Pandora project had as a main aim to engage young people at risk or involved in prostitution and improving the system of referrals for them. The focus was on working directly with the young people to enable exit and prevent involvement. This included

referrals to housing advice and services, sexual health services and drug treatment services. The Bristol project targeted young people, male and female, up to the age of 21. The project was primarily a voluntary sector based response involving Barnardos, Terrence Higgins Trust and ONE25 as well as statutory agencies. The main interventions and outputs in relation to the Bristol project’s support for young people are outlined in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Bristol – supporting young people involved in prostitution

Interventions	Outputs	Summary of Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Outreach support. ● General support . ● Sexual health services. ● Dedicated drug worker. ● Development of inter-agency data systems and information sharing protocols. 	<p>544 outreach contacts were made.</p> <p>36 young women were given one to one support.</p> <p>44 young people attended the sexual health service.</p>	<p>Overall reduction in recorded crime: In 2002/3 there was a reduction compared with 2001/2 for the number of young people: arrested for involvement in prostitution, general complaints and crimes recorded. This may indicate a reduction in the number of young people involved in prostitution or may reflect policies to refer young people into agencies that can support them rather than deal with them through the criminal justice system.</p>

Outreach was used to make initial contacts with the young people with the aim of providing advice and information about the service available to them through Pandora and to provide the name of a worker they could contact in one of the organisations involved in the partnership. The outreach work was conducted by the three agencies involved in the Pandora project. One of these agencies, ONE25, focused outreach on adult women, but had a youth worker providing support to young women (up to 21 years). The two other agencies, Barnardos and the Terrence Higgins Trust (THT), focused outreach provision on young people, with the THT specifically providing outreach support to young men and individual support as required. The overall number of young men supported one-to-one through the Terrence Higgins Trust was 78. Of these, 49 were new cases in 2002. By the end of 2002, THT was providing one-to-one support to 31 young men. In the period March 2001 to March 2003, Bristol Pandora made 544 contacts through outreach work, however it is not known how many of these contacts were repeat contacts nor how many of these contacts were with young people specifically. Nor is it known how many of these people stopped being at risk, or exited from prostitution, although there was some evidence to suggest that some young men were no longer considered to be at risk.

An innovative part of the service delivered by the Bristol Pandora project was to provide sexual health services on the premises at Barnardos BASE (Bristol Against Sexual exploitation) for young people who would not otherwise have accessed sexual health services. This proved to be very popular with the young people. In the period March 2002 – February 2003, 44 young people first attended the sexual health service provided at BASE where nurses provided information and advice, testing and treatment for sexually transmitted infections and contraceptive services. The impact of this intervention is not known, although interviews with the project workers indicated that the service was, as intended, being used by young people involved in prostitution who would not otherwise have attended a mainstream sexual health agency.

Interviews with practitioners⁵⁷ and a small number of young people (n=10) themselves indicated that when they were able to access appropriate housing, they could begin to feel settled and make plans for the future rather than drifting aimlessly from day to day. However, a lack of appropriate housing for these young people remained a major concern in Bristol where homelessness amongst the client group in contact with Pandora was a major issue. Moreover, both the Bristol and Sheffield projects found that hostel accommodation was unsuitable for young people as it provided further opportunities for abuse.

It was not known how many young people were referred to Bristol Drugs project, nor the impact of such referrals. However, the practitioners highlighted drug use as a major problem:

I think the connection with drugs is becoming more entrenched. Here in Bristol at the minute the strongest connection [between young people becoming involved] is the drugs.

(Interview with Residential Care Manager)

Similarly, some of the young people identified their drug use as the starting point of their risky behaviour:

I think if this [the project] wasn't here for me I'd probably be dead. I was putting myself into situations when I started getting into drugs. I was getting beaten up, raped, and I was robbing off people. I was putting myself in danger a lot. Sometimes, if I didn't come here, I don't know what would have happened. I would probably be dead.

(Interview with 'Katie', aged 17 years old)

⁵⁷ Altogether 70 interviews were carried out with project staff and associated agencies, including the police, across the three sites. It is not known how many practitioners were interviewed in Bristol.

There was evidence to suggest that the number of offences committed by young people and complaints about their nuisance behaviour had decreased during the period of the project (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Crime and disorder associated with prostitution – young people (aged 21 years and under)¹

Associated crime and disorder	April 2001-March 2002	April 2002-March 2003
Crimes committed by young people involved in prostitution.	33 (12 of which were committed by young people under 18 years old).	Not recorded.
Arrests of young people involved in prostitution.	23 (2 of which were of young people under 18 years old ²).	6 (none of which were of young people under 18 years old).
General complaints re Nuisance.	18 (8 complaints about young people under 18 years old).	7 complaints (1 complaint about a young person under 18 years old).

1 Data provided to University of Luton team by Bristol Police.

2 Both the under 18s who were arrested were bailed for a decision to be made by the child protection team about how to deal with them. One was 16 and had not previously come to police attention. She was put in touch with appropriate services and no further police action was taken. The other young woman was 17 years old and well known to the police for loitering/soliciting and had also committed other offences. She was aware of appropriate agencies and was going to be cautioned under the young offenders' scheme. However, she failed to answer her bail at the police station.

It is unclear whether the decrease in arrests of young people reflect the guidance on treating young people as being abused through prostitution (see Chapter 3) and use of referrals to support agencies rather than arrests. However the reduction in the number of complaints suggests that the project had some impact.

Sheffield and Bristol

The Sheffield interventions are not discussed here because the project was more focused on diverting young people away from becoming involved in prostitution than supporting young people once they had become involved in prostitution. However, the quotes below from young people are taken from both the Bristol and the Sheffield projects as they highlight the importance of one-to-one work with young people.

'Caroline' (aged 16) had been in touch with her project worker in Sheffield for just over a year and outlined how the worker helped to boost her self-esteem:

She's good to talk to. I used to slag myself down and she's put a bit of a boost to me. She's good to talk to when I'm down. She's helped me; really, she's made me feel better about myself. I wasn't getting any support before, none from Social Services. I had support from key workers but it ain't the same. I haven't had support from anyone like I have from [my project worker].

(Interview with 'Caroline')

Similarly, 'Ella' (aged 16), who had also been in touch with the project for approximately a year had this to say about the same worker:

She's helped me build me self-esteem. When I've been down in the dumps, she's helped me. She's made me realise what life's all about. Money isn't everything. You can't change what's happened in the past. I've changed altogether. I wasn't right bad but I had a face on all the time. Now I'm right bright.

(interview with 'Ella')

The young people interviewed in Bristol also expressed similar sentiments about the workers they were in touch with. 'Phillip' (aged 18 years old) explained how the worker was like a friend, and that was what made their interaction effective:

[The worker] is good. I can phone him up whenever I like. He also, if he thinks I need support because I've got to go and do something, if I ask him, he'll come and give me moral support for it. Normally if you get a worker it's strictly a job, but when I see [the worker] he's like a friend as well now, it's a bit more social and because it's more social I feel a lot more relaxed around him. It helps me more. What he does is help you see things all calm and clear. He helps you to come to decisions rather than coming to them for you. He makes you feel more sensible by treating you like you're sensible – or you can be.

(Interview with 'Phillip')

The young people's comments above about the specialist project workers are in stark contrast to the same three young persons' experiences of generic social services workers, highlighting the need for more resources as well as training for those working with young people involved in or at risk of becoming involved in prostitution, and for Social Services staff in particular:

Social Services are a load of shit. They only give you support if you're in crisis. You don't get no regular support from them. They're useless.'

(Interview with 'Caroline')

I can't stand my social worker. I hate her. She's just ruined my life.

(Interview with 'Ella')

I had social workers as well as housing but I hate them, really, really hate them. They think they know everything and they don't listen at all. I've met loads of them [social workers] and they're all the same.

(Interview with 'Phillip')

The comments of young people indicated that the projects had had a positive effect, and that their behaviour had changed as a result of engagement with the projects. The young people had taken the opportunity to assess their situations and make improvements that would provide beneficial outcomes in the long term. At the same time the young people highlighted the need for individually tailored one-to-one support and training for workers in dealing with young people who may have drug addiction problems. Workers need to be able to encourage and to enable young people to make and agree their own solutions.

Summary of findings:

- One to one work with young men by the THT suggests that the earlier that intervention takes place the more likely it is that the young person can be diverted from risk and involvement in prostitution (Bristol).
- The reduction in the number of arrests of young people involved in prostitution suggest that guidelines to refer rather than to arrest are being followed and/or that fewer young people are involved in prostitution (Bristol).
- The contrast between the young peoples experiences of generic social services and specialist project workers demonstrates the need for dedicated workers. It also suggests that generic workers should be trained in assessing risk of sexual exploitation and commercial sexual exploitation so that specialised early intervention can take place (Sheffield and Bristol).

Costs and benefits related to work with young people

There were difficulties in measuring the effectiveness of the interventions relating to young people, particularly regarding the preventative work. Preventative work is extremely difficult to attach a monetary value to since it is essentially a non-event (Crawford 1998). As Tilley has pointed out, *'there is no means of measuring a prevented rape or homicide'* (2001: 90). The ethical and practical issues of using a control group of young people considered at risk of entering prostitution also ruled out such an approach.

Costs

The total costs (where known) for the interventions discussed above and in Chapter 3 relating to young people are shown below in Table 5.3. The evaluation team were supplied with cost data for Bristol for the two years it received CRP funding; however, this information was only supplied for the first of the two years that Sheffield received CRP funding. The evaluation team were not able to divide the total project cost into individual interventions, therefore no intervention or unit costs are shown in the table below. Nottingham provided detailed cost data for the one year it was funded and the evaluation team were able to divide this between the interventions (in this instance work with boys/young men – see Chapter 2 for Nottingham's other interventions which relate to policing and enforcement).

Table 5.3: Cost per intervention

Project	Intervention	Total Cost
Bristol	All project interventions (2001-2003)	£204,249
Sheffield	All project interventions (2001-2002)	£86,236
Nottingham	Work with boys/young men (2001-2002)	£16,500

Benefits

Table 5.4 shows the benefits that may result if young people are diverted from prostitution, either by preventing them from becoming involved or by assisting them to exiting. The benefits listed below refer only to the benefits to the taxpayer and the young person. The benefits to the community are outlined in Chapter 2 (in relation to enforcement). It should be noted that the benefits listed below for the young person relate to emotional benefits and are not benefits that can be given a direct monetary value.

Table 5.4: Benefits resulting from young people diverted away from prostitution

For Taxpayer	For Young Person
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of criminal justice system (police, courts, YOIs, prisons and probation). ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of victim services. ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of health services. ● Stabilisation or reduction in cost of social security payments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Enhanced quality of life. ● Enhanced emotional state (including self-esteem). ● Enhanced physical state (including safety and bodily integrity). ● Enhanced life prospects.

For the reasons outlined earlier in this report (see Chapter 1) it was not possible to calculate the cost/benefit ratio. The information in the table below is taken from the Youth Justice Board (2003) and suggests some of the savings to the criminal justice system that may correspond with any diversion of young people from prostitution.

Table 5.5: Average costs of accommodating young people (Youth Justice Board, 2003)

Accommodating a young person in a Young Offenders Institution for 12 months	£42,000
Making a young person the subject of an Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme for 12 months	£12,000

Conclusion

From the findings in Chapter 4 and 5 the following can be concluded with regard to support for young people:

- It appears that a welfare approach is increasingly being used with young people, as recommended in government guidelines.
- Outreach is important in building trust and to funnel young people into support with regard to housing, debt management, and drug addiction. As with the case of adults involved in prostitution, it was the existence of an outreach service combined with the provision of follow-on services that eventually allowed the young people to become stabilised and thus move between stages.

- Having one-to-one support was important and it was especially crucial that the young people had a key worker.
- Early intervention is more likely to lead to diversion and exiting from involvement in prostitution. Generic workers need the knowledge and skills to assess risk of sexual exploitation and how to intervene.
- While they continued to be dependent on drugs the young people would be unable to exit prostitution, and involvement in prostitution was an obvious way of funding their habit.
- Advice on accessing benefits was important in addressing the absolute poverty that many of the young people involved in prostitution were in, although young people under 16 were unable to obtain benefits.

6 Tackling street prostitution: towards a model of needs and support⁵⁸

As outlined in Chapter 1, it has increasingly been recognised that policing of women involved in prostitution needs to be accompanied by a welfare approach so that women do not merely go back to the streets to pay their fines. At the same time there has been a greater emphasis on policing of those who solicit prostitutes. The shift towards a welfare approach has been even more pronounced with regard to children and young people, who are acknowledged as being the victims in commercial sexual exploitation, with punishment focused on the exploiters rather than the exploited. The approaches of the CRP projects discussed in this overview reflect this trend, although the findings from the project evaluations suggest the need for a further shift away from policing of women involved in prostitution and towards supporting women and young people to exit. With regard to support, the findings show that the support required is complex, with a wide range of services, provided in particular ways, and for provisions to span from prevention through to exit. The findings from the CRP projects also indicate that the use of community-based mediation is potentially more effective than policing in reducing the nuisance and disorder to local communities resulting from street prostitution. Policing tends to result in unpredictable displacement, and may result in temporal and functional rather than geographical displacement. Community mediation was found to have the potential to displace prostitution to areas considered by the community to result in less nuisance.

In this chapter we focus in particular on the 'welfare' approach as this appears to be the more effective, and examine what a model of effective support would look like. Drawing on the CRP findings outlined in the earlier chapters, we develop a general *model of needs and support* indicating the multi-agency responses and services needed to effectively support adults and young people involved in prostitution to move toward and beyond exit from prostitution.

Models of involvement

Most of the literature on young people's or women's involvement in prostitution, much of which was referred to in the earlier chapters, tends to focus on specific aspects of involvement, and especially entry into prostitution. Månsson and Hedlin, (1999) provide one of the only discussions of the entire 'life-span' of involvement in street prostitution, from

58 This chapter draws on the University of Sunderland evaluation.

entry to ongoing involvement to exit. Even so, Månsson and Hedlin are mainly concerned with exiting. Below we briefly outline these approaches before moving on to examine the model of needs and support developed from the CRP projects.

Entry into prostitution

In terms of understanding the methods through which young people become involved in prostitution, there are two predominant models (see Cusick, 2002). On the one hand, young people are said to 'drift' into prostitution as a result of peer group networks (Jesson, 1991; Jesson, 1993; Crosby and Barrett, 1999; Melrose *et al.*, 1999). According to this approach young people's involvement in prostitution is seen in terms of structural factors such as poverty in conjunction with personal experience and local conditions. In this model, young people are coerced into prostitution not by an abusive adult but by the circumstances of their lives. The 'bottom line' in prostitution is an economic need combined with emotional vulnerability (O'Neill, 1997; O'Connell-Davidson, 1998; Melrose *et al.*, 1999; Phoenix, 2001).

On the other hand, young people are said to be 'groomed' and 'pimped' into prostitution by older, abusive, adults (Barnardos, 1998). This approach derives from a discourse regarding victimisation and abuse, where older men prey on emotionally needy and vulnerable young people (predominantly female). The young woman appears unaware of the fact that she is being 'groomed' as she believes herself to be 'in love' with the adult concerned and he with her (Barnardos, 1998).

However, we would not want to make such a strong distinction between these approaches. The findings from the CRP projects would suggest that *both* these approaches in different ways reflect the actual experiences and circumstances of the young people and women who become involved in prostitution (see Chapter 3). For many of the women and young people involved, economic and other structural factors were indeed crucial in their decisions regarding involvement in prostitution, for instance money for drugs, 'nice things' or necessities. Peer groups were often essential to them 'drifting in' to the context where prostitution was a possibility. However, grooming and pimping were also actualities for some of those involved, whether they were aware of this or not. Thus 'drift' may at times obscure grooming processes, and in circumstances where young people do 'drift' into prostitution some may also become 'ensnared' via pimps or partners acting as pimps.

Exiting prostitution

Månsson and Hedlin, (1999) developed a model with emphasis on processes of change and based on qualitative interviews with 23 women who had left prostitution between 1981 and 1995 in Sweden. The strength of the model is the inclusion of 'turning points', 'role changes' and 'exit behaviours' in an examination of how, why and when women may exit prostitution.

The model builds on the work of Vanwesenbeeck, (1994) and Fuchs Ebaugh, (1988). Vanwesenbeeck, (1994)⁵⁹ suggested that it was the interplay between factors internal to an individual and the external factors they were exposed to that explained the differences between women involved in prostitution with regard to health status and risky behaviour. The most important factors were considered to be childhood experiences, financial situation, circumstances of prostitution, individual survival strategies and interplay with the male customers. Månsson and Hedlin, (1999) develop this further by arguing that alongside the interplay between these five factors, it has to be acknowledged that involvement in and especially exiting from prostitution is a process rather than merely an event:

...exiting prostitution is not one event, but many – it often takes place over time and in many different phases.

(Månsson and Hedlin, 1999: 69, emphasis in original)

They end up with a number of identifiable phases, from becoming involved in prostitution ('drifting in') to breaking away (see diagram 6.1)

Månsson and Hedlin model: involvement in and exiting from prostitution

Drifting in → ensnarement → breakaway pre-stage → breakaway → after the breakaway

(Adapted from Månsson and Hedlin, 1999: 74)

Månsson and Hedlin, in order to develop the 'exiting' aspect of their model, draw on the work of Fuchs Ebaugh (1988) and ideas of status transition as rooted in sociological role theory. In particular, they use Fuchs Ebaugh's notion of 'role exit'. From interviews with women involved in prostitution and many others involved in changing their lifestyles or professions, Fuchs Ebaugh describes 'role exit' as a key process by which transition and change occurs. 'Role exit' consists of four consecutive phases:

59 The work is based on interviews with nearly 200 women involved in or having exited from prostitution.

1. First doubts – when the individual begins to question that which has been taken for granted and feelings of disappointment and dissatisfaction come to the fore.
2. Seeking alternatives – when vague alternatives become clearer and take the form of consideration and planning.
3. The turning point – often occurs dramatically and in connection with an external event, but can also come gradually.
4. Creating the ex-role – when the individual frees him/herself and begins to create a new identity.

(from Månsson and Hedlin, 1998: 70)

The individual does not have to pass through every one of these stages, and the way they do so varies between individuals. However, what Månsson and Hedlin do not appear to acknowledge is that women may move backwards as well as forwards through the stages (see below).

Månsson and Hedlin, on the basis of their own interviews, also provide more detail concerning the 'turning points' (number 3 above), adding three types:

- Eye-opening events (experienced by those relatively new to prostitution)
- Traumatic events (difficult, often violent experiences or losing children into care), and
- Positive life event (falling in love, having a child, finding a job, or other possibilities) (Månsson and Hedlin, 1999: 71)

They conclude with regard to exiting from prostitution that:

It is possible to distinguish a pattern in the process of breaking with prostitution, in which both the restructuring of everyday life and the occurrence of critical incidents are necessary ingredients.

(Månsson and Hedlin, 1999: 72)

Exactly how this restructuring of everyday life will take place, and the particular critical events encountered will be specific to the individual and their circumstances. Structural factors (such as access to work, housing and education as well as the attitudes encountered) will interplay with relational factors (such as close relationships and social support networks) and with individual factors (such as the individual's own internal drive, abilities, coping strategies and resilience). Thus any organisation or agency working to enable women or young people to exit from prostitution would need to take these aspects into account, to plug

the gaps and to build on existing strengths and possibilities. Without the restructuring of everyday life being addressed and particular critical events being encountered by the woman or young person concerned it is unlikely that the individual will be able to exit or move on from prostitution.

Moreover, the distance between incomplete exit (or incomplete 'breakaway') and having moved on to a new life can be very great. Månsson and Hedlin (1999) found that some women faced 'stagnation' while others experienced 'development'. Thus for some women exiting from prostitution was not viewed as a positive experience, and had merely led to a 'social dead end' (*ibid*: 75), while other women had experienced and been able to sustain a positive development of their lives.

The CRP projects – towards a model of needs and support

With regard to entry into prostitution, Chapter 3 (and see Appendix) indicated that the women in contact with five of the CRP projects (Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent) had mostly entered prostitution at a young age, many had experience of being in care, of being abused as children, and had low educational attainment. They also appeared to have low self-esteem, and talked of feeling different and socially excluded. They had usually entered prostitution via a female or male friend although some were introduced through members of their immediate family. They saw access to money as central to their involvement in prostitution: because they had gotten into debt, to pay for the drug habits of themselves and/or a boyfriend, or wanting money for 'nice things'.

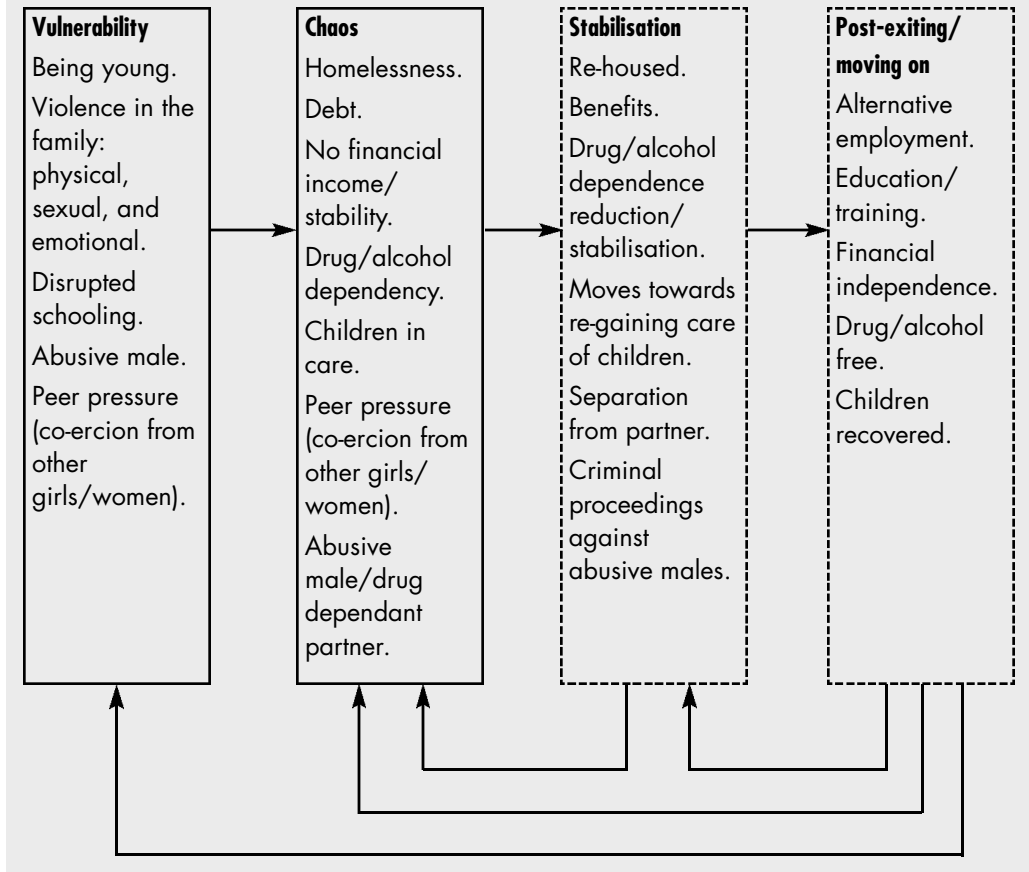
Chapter 4 indicated that nearly all the women involved in prostitution across the 'support/exiting' and 'enforcement' projects (nine in ten) were using non-prescribed drugs, especially heroin and increasingly also crack cocaine. Three quarters had experienced physical violence, mostly from their male clients or a boyfriend or pimp or partner. Over half of the women had been forced to have sex or been indecently assaulted and over two thirds had experienced verbal abuse (and see Appendix). As also shown by the profiles outlined in the appendix, most of the women were single, some were co-habiting with their 'boyfriend' or 'pimp' and only a small minority were married. They were more likely to be living away from their children than living with them, and just under half of the women had at least one child. They were living mainly in privately rented accommodation, followed by being homeless.

With regard to exiting from prostitution, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 indicated the difficulties involved, and that many of the aspects that lead to women and young people entering prostitution also act as potential barriers to exiting. Social circumstances such as difficulties

obtaining state benefits, inadequate housing and drug addiction are often the most prominent barriers that prevent women or young people from exiting. Women or young people may be deterred from exiting if service provision does not meet their specific needs at the time they seek help. Women's partners may live off their earnings (acting as pimps), and can play a key role in maintaining women's involvement in prostitution. Women may remain in or return to prostitution in order to pay fines imposed by the courts, and having a criminal record may affect future employment prospects.

Prostitution involves a number of phases: from entry into prostitution, to involvement in prostitution and exiting. Directly associated with these are vulnerability, chaos and the potential for stabilisation, and 'moving on'. The findings from the CRP projects echo Månsson and Hedlin's, (1999) approach in showing that moving towards exiting and actually exiting from prostitution is a long and complex process. It is not a linear process, and as indicated in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, it requires the appropriate range of multi-agency support to be available at the right time. Figure 6.2 attempts to represent this process, showing the different stages. It shows the possible points of movement from one stage to another, as well as the possibility that the individuals concerned will move backwards as well as forwards. In relation to 'vulnerability' and 'chaos' the risk factors associated with entering and being involved in prostitution are shown. With regard to 'stabilisation' and 'exiting/moving on' the support needed to achieve these is shown.

The move from 'chaos' to 'stabilisation' is an especially important shift, and often brought about by a particular crisis experienced by the women or young people (what Månsson and Hedlin call 'traumatic turning points'), such as near-death overdosing, losing children into local authority care, and/or extreme violence. However, violence from boyfriends/pimps tends to keep women in prostitution while violence from the men using them is more likely to serve as 'crisis points' leading them to pursue exiting. Pregnancy, recovery of children from local authority care or stabilisation of a drug dependency may all provide a catalyst to move between stages, and in particular from chaos towards stabilisation and exiting.

Figure 6.2 Model of needs and support

Using this model it is possible to identify stages experienced by women and young people at risk of involvement, or involved in prostitution. Women and young people may find themselves returning to each stage on more than one occasion depending on life circumstances. It is important to be aware of this non-linear pattern when planning and implementing interventions. Involvement in prostitution is often a result of circumstances and situations generated by outside influences (as identified in the model including drug dependency, debt and violence). As circumstances and situations change, due to agency and project intervention, more choices become available to the women and young people concerned, and they are more able to move between stages and ultimately into the 'moving on' stage.

The process of exiting necessitates multi-agency support, building on individuals' coping and resilience strategies. In this sense parallels can be drawn with domestic violence (Hester

et al., 2000). Women's and young peoples' lives must be stabilised during the early stages of an exiting strategy (e.g. stabilising drug use, finding suitable housing, having other means of income, leaving domestic violence) before the later stages of exiting can be realised (e.g. finding alternative employment, enrolling for college courses, regaining care of their children).

Below are briefly outlined the different stages and associated interventions identified by the model as they relate to the interventions from the CRP projects.

Operationalising the 'needs and support' model

Some key lessons have emerged from the CRP projects about what works in tackling prostitution, in assisting women and young people through the exiting process and/or through tackling those who abuse women and children/young people through prostitution. These best practice elements are outlined below in Figure 6.3 and operationalised in relation to the different stages set out in the model by drawing examples from the specific work carried out by the CRP projects. We begin with the stage of vulnerability, and the associated work on prevention in relation to young people. Then moving through the stages of chaos, stability and exiting/ moving on, outlining the appropriate responses related to these stages.

Vulnerability – this necessitates early intervention and preventative work with young people in particular to try to prevent entry into prostitution. Preventative work may be carried out by non-governmental agencies, such as the schools programmes implemented by children's charities such as Barnardo's or the NSPCC, or may be included in the statutory school curriculum including personal, health and social education programme (PHSE). The evaluation of the young people projects in Sheffield, Nottingham and Kirklees indicated the importance of intervention at stages one and two in particular (Pearce *et al.*, 2003), if young people were to be prevented from becoming fully involved in prostitution. That is in relation to sexualised risk taking, and 'swapping' sexual favours for some form of gain. In addition, all the projects implementing work with young people showed the central importance of multi-agency working, including shared protocols regarding information sharing and the implementation of multi-agency plans and strategies – often involving an imaginative range of agencies as well as parents. Training for professionals who may come into contact with vulnerable young people in education or elsewhere, and who need to be able to identify such vulnerabilities and risk, was also seen as important.

Chaos – at this stage basic needs are key, with outreach important to enable project workers to make and retain contact with the women and young people. Outreach was found to be a significant prerequisite to building a sustainable working relationship between project workers and women or young people involved in prostitution, and before they were able to access other services. Separate services should be available for adults and young people, as young people in particular were found to be less likely to accept support from services seen as ‘adult’. Outreach is needed to funnel women or young people into support with regard to housing, debt management, and drug addiction. It was the existence of an outreach service combined with the provision of follow-on services that eventually allowed the women and young people to become stabilised and thus move between stages. It would appear that giving information and advice along with the support required to follow through such advice is essential. The outreach service alone would merely provide women or young people with harm reduction strategies, such as condoms. Also needed is intervention in relation to drug dependent partners and/or other males living off the proceeds of the women or young people involved in prostitution. Effective referral systems, inter-agency working and fast-track access to services are essential.

Entering a drugs programme tended to be crucial to move towards stabilisation. Although entering a drugs programme on its own was less likely to be successful, without fast-tracking into a drugs programme other interventions could fail.

Some projects were specifically able to fast-track women to emergency accommodation and re-housing options. Obtaining housing was also crucial to the young people involved in prostitution, many of whom (like the adult women) were homeless.

Most projects were providing some advice on accessing benefits, and this was crucial in addressing the absolute poverty that many of the women and young people involved in prostitution were in, although young people under 18 were unable to obtain benefits.

Stabilisation – The women and young people involved in prostitution required a range of interventions to be available for them to access in periods of crisis. Times of crisis were when they were most likely to want change in their lives, and thus intervention at this stage was crucial to move them towards stabilisation and eventually exiting. The interventions needed to address women’s and young people’s survival needs and help them to stabilise as a prerequisite to exiting included: referral to fast track drugs programmes, easy access to health care, escape from violent pimps / partners and re-housing options, counselling and benefits/debt support. Education and training support was unlikely to work unless the women and young people were able to have these primary survival needs met prior to these services being offered.

At this stage it is also important to ensure that support continues with regard to drug addiction, housing and debt management. Ongoing mechanisms need to be in place to ensure safety and protection from violent (ex) partners/pimps. Those CRP projects aiming to reduce violence from punters against the women involved in prostitution ran 'Ugly Mugs' or 'Dodgy Punter' schemes that provided information to the women about men known to be violent to the women on the street. These interventions were generally successful in increasing reporting of violent incidents to the projects and/ or police, and resulted in convictions of violent male clients (Merseyside). Specific support to help some women escape domestic violence from partners/pimps was an important part of stabilising the women's lives. Generally, however, refuges cannot deal with women who are drug addicted and/or still involved in prostitution. Only one project – Hackney – was able to offer the specialist domestic violence support and advocacy needed. This was available via its outreach and drop-in provision through the services of a Women's Aid outreach worker (non-CRP funded) experienced in supporting women involved in prostitution and drug-addicted. Women's Aid are rarely able to accommodate women with drug addictions. Other CRP projects were in the process of establishing safe houses specifically for women involved in prostitution.

Having one-to-one support was also an important feature of effective support. This applied both to adult women and to young people, and for the young people it was especially crucial that they also had a key worker. The CRP projects generally offered one-to-one support, or care plans in terms of drug addiction.

Once the basic level needs have been met it is important to assess what the women or young people want to do once exited, and the support needed to ensure that their self-esteem is strengthened. This may be via counselling, alternative employment, enrolment for college and/or regaining care of children. However, it must be recognised that forcing women or young people into circumstances, such as training or education, prior to their stabilisation can result in failure and the additional burden that such a failure has on self-esteem. Again, separate services for adults and young people are crucial, and a consistent key worker is especially important for the latter.

Moving on – at this stage the continued offer of support is important as is ensuring that 'crisis factors' such as debt, violence and harassment from (ex) partners, and housing problems do not re-occur. Frequently, individuals will enter the exiting process and move through different stages of exiting – sometimes moving backwards at times before moving towards a total exit. Future one-to-one work is likely to be necessary once the woman or young person has exited prostitution. They may need professional counselling at this stage as they struggle to deal with their past experiences.

It is important that voluntary and statutory agencies work together to provide holistic packages of support across these stages.

Figure 6.3: Multi-agency involvement and intervention

Protection and prevention (vulnerability)	Trust building (vulnerability)	Crisis point practical provision (chaos and towards Stability)	Stabilising practical provision (stabilisation and exiting)	'Moving on' support (post-exiting)
<i>Non-governmental organisations/ individuals</i> Parents.	<i>Non-governmental organisations</i> 'Missing' schemes. Outreach.	<i>Non-governmental organisations</i> Drop-in centres. Drugs services: fast track. Housing advice and assistance. Debt advice and assistance. Health/advice services. Domestic violence: support, advocacy, refuges.	<i>Non-governmental organisations</i> Counselling. Peer support. Alternative therapies. Access to education and training.	<i>Non-governmental organisations</i> Peer support. Counselling.
<i>Statutory Agencies</i> School educational programmes. Youth work. Social Services.	<i>Statutory Agencies</i> School welfare officer. Youth work. Social Services.	<i>Statutory Agencies</i> Health Authorities: drugs, sexual health, general health. Social Services: children benefits. Housing.	<i>Statutory Agencies</i> Social Services. Benefits. Help with Children. Housing.	<i>Statutory Agencies</i> Education and Training. School welfare officer. Educational social workers. Health Authorities: drugs, sexual health, general health.
<i>Criminal Justice Agencies</i> Police: intelligence gathering on abusers. Arrest & kerb-crawler programmes. CPS: prosecution of abusers.	<i>Criminal Justice Agencies</i> CPS: prosecution of abusers. Arrest referral for women.	<i>Criminal Justice Agencies</i> Police: domestic violence schemes. Ugly mugs/ dodgy punter schemes. Intelligence gathering on abusers. CPS: prosecution of abusers.	<i>Criminal Justice Agencies</i> Police: information sharing about abusers.	<i>Criminal Justice Agencies</i>



Overlap of provision

Summary of findings

A model of needs and support was developed that shows the different stages a woman or young person involved in prostitution is likely to move through (vulnerability, chaos, stabilisation and exiting/moving on). The model shows the complexities and non-linear process that involvement in prostitution entails, where individuals may move forwards and backwards between the stages depending on circumstances and the support they are being offered. It shows the key importance of crisis or 'turning points' in individuals decisions to move towards exiting, and such moments are therefore crucial in the shift from chaos to stabilisation. The model indicates the importance of the 'right' support being available at the 'right' time. The support available needs to include a range of service and types of support, including:

- outreach to enable project workers to make and retain contact with the women and young people, so building up trust and sustainable working relationships.
- basic level needs provision linked to one to one support in an individually focused approach, such as a structured care plan. This should combine all the basic level needs identified.
- higher level needs assessment and follow up using a structured care plan once the woman or young person has stabilised – this can be peer support activities to retain self esteem, recreational activities and access to training and education and work.
- continuing one to one support and contact from a key worker, perhaps combined with peer support, to enable women and young people maintain their exit from prostitution.

As outlined in Chapter 6, the findings from the CRP project evaluations suggest the need for a further shift away from policing of women involved in prostitution and towards supporting women and young people to exit. The findings also indicate that the use of community-based mediation may be more effective than policing in reducing the nuisance and disorder to local communities resulting from street prostitution. Policing tends to result in unpredictable displacement, and may result in temporal and functional rather than geographical displacement. Community mediation was found to have the potential to displace prostitution to areas considered by the community to result in less nuisance. With regard to support, the findings show that the support required is complex, with a wide range of services, provided in particular ways, at the time it is needed, and for services to be available from prevention through to exit. The project that appeared to be most successful (with the highest level of exits, and the only positive outcomes perceived by the local community regarding numbers of women on the street) incorporated both community mediation and an holistic approach to supporting women involved in prostitution to exit.

The key findings from each of the chapters have been summarised and are presented in the summary.

Recommendations

Enforcement and community liaison

- Where police enforcement is being implemented community liaison and support for women also need to be in place.
- Community mediation should be encouraged involving community-based rather than police officers.
- If kerb crawler crackdowns are taking place the CPS need to work more closely with the police to ensure that evidential requirements are met in order for prosecutions to continue.

Diversion and prevention

- The lack of prosecutions of men abusing young people at risk of or involved in commercial sexual exploitation needs to be assessed. It would help if the CPS and

the police attended steering groups/management committees of projects and forums concerning young people and prostitution. The CPS should be included as a key partner for interventions, which aim to gather information that is intended to be used as evidence.

- Young people at risk of commercial sexual exploitation should be identified at the earliest possible opportunity, even if this means working with some young people who would not have moved from being sexually exploited to being commercially sexually exploited. The early identification and referral allows preventative and diversionary work to take place before the young person becomes entrenched in the lifestyle and addicted to drugs.
- There is a need for ongoing training for professionals who may come into contact with vulnerable young people in education or elsewhere, and who need to be able to identify such vulnerabilities.
- Some of the young people talked very negatively and angrily about their experiences with generic social services. It is important that all social workers, and others working with young people, are trained in recognising the warning signs that a young person may be being sexually exploited and that they are aware of support agencies and their referral processes.
- The new guidelines regarding the referral of young people for support rather than arresting them and prosecuting them should continue to be adhered to, with the police being trained in diversion and made aware of appropriate agencies for referral and liaison.
- Dedicated posts for young people at risk of being or already being commercially sexually exploited need to be established to enable the young people get their lives 'back on track' and to start thinking about their longer term prospects.

Providing support to women and young people

- Outreach should be an integral aspect of projects working with women and young people involved in prostitution, as this is essential for making contact, building trust and enabling take up of follow-on services.
- Separate services need to be available for adults and young people, as young people in particular are less likely to accept support from services seen as 'adult'.
- Young people should be allocated a key worker who can support them in the longer term.
- It is important that all projects have some form of fast track drugs programme, and that support is available for women using crack cocaine as well as heroin.

- Fast-tracking into emergency accommodation and re-housing options also need to be available.
- The specific problems associated with poverty and the lack of benefits for young people under the age of 18 need to be addressed.
- 'Ugly Mugs' or 'Dodgy Punter' schemes that provide information about men known to be violent to the women on the street should be extended.
- Where women are experiencing domestic violence from their partners/pimps they should be treated by agencies as victims of domestic violence. Specific support to help women escape domestic violence from partners/pimps needs to be established, with more safe houses specifically for women involved in prostitution.

Model of needs and support

- It has to be recognised that moving towards exiting and actually exiting from prostitution is a long and complex process and that a range of multi-agency support needs to be available for women to access when this is needed.
- There is a need to develop services that support women after they have exited and are 'moving on', and that include specialist counselling.
- Projects should be developed that are holistic, needs centred and provide interventions for both 'entry into' and 'exit from' prostitution.
- Multi-agency partnerships involving both statutory and non-statutory organisations should continue to be encouraged, with establishment of service level agreements and information sharing protocols.

Further research

- In order to fully measure the effectiveness of interventions research is needed that tracks data at an individual level and over time in relation to those targeted by interventions.
- More research is needed into the effectiveness of kerb crawler re-education programmes. The findings indicated that arrest of kerb crawlers combined with re-education might reduce the number of (locally based) men involved in kerb crawling in the longer term. However, this aspect would need further research involving larger numbers and a longer period to ascertain.
- Further research is needed into the use of ASBOs in the context of street prostitution.
- More research is needed in terms of how many young people who are identified as being sexually exploited will go on to be commercially sexually

exploited and the factors that are involved in this. Until more is known about this transition period it is difficult to identify the interventions that may prevent this transition.

- Research is needed into the links between prostitution, domestic violence and a wider range of violence.
- Further research is needed on the full effect and sustainability of community mediation as an approach in reducing the nuisance to communities resulting from prostitution.

Implications for policy

- The shift from seeing prostitution as a policing problem to approaching it as a welfare issue needs to be taken further where women involved in prostitution are concerned.
- Policing of kerb crawlers, with associated re-education programmes, is an approach that is probably important to develop further.
- Community mediation is more likely to create sustained reduction of nuisance and disorder to communities and should be encouraged as a key approach.
- Holistic support, which includes a range of mechanisms of support and services (outreach to engage those involved in prostitution, one-to-one work and fast track drug services), geared to the individual needs of women and young people involved in prostitution, are more likely to result in exit from prostitution. This should be central to any approach to tackling street prostitution.

Appendix: Profiles of the women involved in prostitution and the men who solicit

Sample

A total of 333 profiles of women involved in prostitution were analysed by the University of Sunderland team. The profiles were compiled from project monitoring data from the support/exiting projects (Hackney, Hull, Kirklees, Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent), supplemented from information collected by the police for the same areas. Some profiles contained information for all variables and some contained information on a limited number of variables (hence sample size changes in the tables below). One hundred and twenty seven profiles were collected of men who solicit women involved in prostitution (kerb crawlers). All of the information for these profiles was collected by the police (again, sample sizes vary).

Women involved in prostitution

- Information was provided on the current age of 288 women. The women were aged between 16 and 55 years old, with an average (median) age of 25.

Table A.1: Age range (n=288)

Age range	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
Frequency (%)	45 (16%)	178 (62%)	50 (17%)	14 (5%)	1 (<1%)

- Just over three quarters of the women (76%, 93/122) had first become involved in prostitution at the age of 21 or under (see Chapter 3 for more detail).
- Information was provided on the highest level of qualification gained by 114 women. Two thirds had no qualifications (this is a much lower level than would be expected from the local population average for each area⁶⁰).

⁶⁰ Sixty per cent of women involved in prostitution in Manchester had no qualifications compared with 34 per cent of the general population; 100 per cent (note – this Hackney figure only refers to 9 women due to a small Hackney sample size) of women involved in prostitution in Hackney had no qualifications compared with 29 per cent of the general population; 75 per cent of women involved in prostitution in Stoke-on-Trent had no qualifications compared with 43 per cent of the general population; 67 per cent of women involved in prostitution in Hull had no qualifications compared with 41 per cent of the general population and 50 per cent of women involved in prostitution in Kirklees had no qualifications compared with 33 per cent of the general population.

Table A.2: Highest level of qualification (n=114)

Qualification	None	GCSE*	Vocational	Further education	Higher education	Other
Frequency (%)	75 (66%)	24 (21%)	6 (5%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	5 (4%)

* or equivalent

- Just under half of the women (49%, 108/221) had at least one child. Women were nearly twice as likely to be living away from their children than living with them (65%, 70/108 compared with 33%, 36/108). A small number alternated between living with them and away from them (2%, 2/108).
- Information was available on the ethnic origin of 304 women. Most of the women from each of the project areas were white European (83%). This largely echoed the local population⁶².

Table A.3: Ethnic origin (n=304)

Ethnicity	White	Afro-Caribbean	Pakistani	Asian	Other
Frequency (%)	251 (83%)	34 (11%)	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)	16 (5%)

- Information was available on the housing status of 210 women. The highest proportion of women were living in privately rented accommodation (29%, 61/210).

Table A.4: Housing status (n=210)

Housing type	Private rented	Homeless	Council tenants	With friends or family	Housing association	Owner occupier	Other
Freq. (%)	61 (29%)	40 (19%)	35 (17%)	43 (20%)	17 (8%)	4 (2%)	10 (5%)

⁶² In Stoke-on-Trent 95 per cent of general population were white compared with 92 per cent of women involved in prostitution, in Hull 98 per cent of general population were white compared with 85 per cent of women involved in prostitution, in Manchester 81 per cent of general population were white compared with 86 per cent of women involved in prostitution, in Hackney 59 per cent of the general population were white compared with 64 per cent of women involved in prostitution and in Kirklees 86 per cent of the general population were white compared with 91 per cent of women involved in prostitution). It is important to remember that while these ethnic distributions largely mirror the various areas' general population, our data refers to street prostitution. Off-street prostitution may be more likely to include ethnic minority women.

- The majority of the women were single (74%, 162/220). One in five were cohabiting with their 'boyfriend' or 'pimp' (20%, 43/220) and only a small minority were married (3%, 7/220).
- Most of the women lived within 5 miles of the projects' location (85%, 189/222).
- Nearly all the women were currently using non-prescribed drugs (93%, 212/228) (see Chapter Four for more detail).
- Information was available on the previous offending for 202 women (as measured by the number of convictions). The number of past convictions ranged from none to 240. Nearly a third of the women had between one and five previous convictions.

Table A.5: Number of past convictions (all convictions in lifetime) (n=202)

No. offences	None	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	Over 100	No. unknown
Freq. (%)	18(9%)	62(31%)	34(17%)	24 (12%)	28(14%)	6(3%)	4(2%)	26(13%)

- Out of the 184 women who had at least one conviction, the convictions were for (in reverse ranked order) – theft/handling stolen goods (73%, 135/184), prostitution related offences (primarily soliciting/loitering) (47%, 86/184), drugs offences (33%, 61/184), fraud/forgery (31%, 57/184), other indictable offences (29%, 54/184), violence against the person (27%, 49/184), burglary (22%, 40/184), criminal damage (15%, 27/184) and robbery (9%, 16/184).
- Of the 184 women who had at least one conviction, just over a third had served at least one custodial sentence (34%, 63/184).
- The vast majority of women had experienced physical violence (74%, 104/140) and over half of the women had been forced to have sex or been indecently assaulted (53%, 70/133) (see Chapter Four for more detail).

Men who solicit women involved in prostitution

- The men's ages ranged between 17 and 80 years old, with a median age of 35.
- Most of the men were in full-time employment (67%, 46/69) and the next largest group of men were students (12%, 8/69).
- Most of the men were white European (58%, 56/96).
- Nearly half of the men were married (47%, 15/32).
- Nearly half of the men were owner-occupiers (44%, 14/32)

- The soliciting offence with which they were charged was the first recorded offence for most men (73%, 91/125). Of those who had previous convictions (27%, 34/125), most had been convicted for five or less offences (85%, 29/34) although a minority had a longer offending history of six or more convictions (15%, 5/34). These convictions ranged from offences such as breach of the peace to serious sexual offences such as intercourse with a girl under 16 and indecent assault of a female.

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