

# I FEEL TARGETED AND I CAN'T FEEL SAFE:

Peer research of sex workers' experiences under the law



SEX WORKERS  
ALLIANCE IRELAND

# INTRODUCTION

The Sex Workers' Alliance Ireland (SWAI) are the only sex worker led organisation in Ireland. As such we are best placed to assess the impact of the introduction of client criminalisation in 2017. This happened via the introduction of Part 4 of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act 2017, following the "Turn Off the Red Light" (TORL) campaign. This law follows the Swedish or Nordic model, so known as it was first introduced in Sweden (Levy, 2018). This law criminalises the purchase of sex, while increasing brothel-keeping fines. Proponents suggest that this law will reduce the demand for sex work, and reduce the amount of people who enter sex work. It is also purported to reduce trafficking. However, there is ample evidence that these laws increase harms to sex workers (Platt et al., 2018). Punitive legal measures such as criminalising the purchase of sex limit the availability, access and uptake of services, care and support for sex workers (UNAIDS, 2014; Sweeney, 2015; Sweeney, Taylor and Molcho, 2020). The WHO proposes states should seek to limit the harmful effects of national laws on the health, safety and rights of people engaged in sex work (WHO, 2015). However, within the Irish context, Campbell et al. (2020) found a 92% increase in the reports of violent crimes against sex workers when comparing the two years pre- and post-legislative change. It is within this context that this research was carried out.

## THE RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY:

The Turn Off the Red Light (TORL) campaign was run by a number of powerful prohibitionist organisations, including Ruhama, the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre, and the Immigrant Council of Ireland. Sex workers and sex work researchers were not included in discussions during the TORL campaign (McGarry and FitzGerald, 2018; Ellison, 2016), and thus sex workers were not afforded the dignity of being experts in their own lives. Bowen (2015) noted that we reproduce structural inequalities and stigma when we exclude sex workers from policy design, and this was evident in the introduction of the Swedish model in Ireland. While SWAI has collaborated with researchers working in a number of universities, we also recognise that sex workers should be free to tell their stories directly; where they are neither infantilised or made objects of pity and where the stories are told unmediated by journalists, academics or spokespersons for non-governmental organisations.

In the three years since the introduction of the Swedish model, sex workers have seen an obvious worsening of working conditions in Ireland. We know this because we talk to them everyday. We walk with them through experiences of exploitation from unscrupulous clients. We help them navigate their relationships with the police and criminal justice system. We help negotiate with landlords that sex workers continue to have a roof over their heads.

The increased criminalisation in the legislation of brothel-keeping led to two migrant sex workers being arrested for working together, one of whom was pregnant. They were initially given 9 month jail sentences each. Simultaneously, Ireland's performance in the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report has worsened, falling from the Tier 1 list in 2017 to the Tier 2 watchlist in 2020. Demand for sexual services remains high. Anecdotally, it became clear to SWAI that the legislation was not working to protect sex workers. So many stories of experiences of sex work under the 2017 law are not recorded and quantified by government agencies. This research project gives voice to those experiences.

Firstly we will discuss the methodology we used in this research. This research utilised both qualitative and quantitative methods, to provide a broad picture of the situation in Ireland for sex workers currently. Following the methodology, the results of the surveys will be discussed in detail. The themes that emerged from this research will be discussed. Finally, conclusions will be drawn from the results, and recommendations will be made. In the next section, the methodology will be explained.

## METHODOLOGY:

A participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology was used for this research (O'Neill & Laing 2018). Peer researchers, who were sex workers (see Lobo et al.2020), found participants through a snowball effect and via social media. The research was undertaken by SWAI peer researchers with due regard for research ethics, ie., informed consent and data protection. A mixed-methods research method was employed, as it was imperative to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaire was built on SurveyMonkey.com. Questions were developed through sex worker focus groups with input from sex workers and representatives of the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI). All five of the interviewers were themselves active sex workers. Sampling was purposive and data was collected through both interviews and questionnaires. The surveys were filled out in person with other sex workers as participants, and responses were entered contemporaneously into both the questionnaire and the survey. Age ranges were requested from participants rather than specific ages. There were 24 participants in all, ranging in age from 19 to 60. All participants engaged in in-person sex work ranging from street work to working in massage parlors to escorting. All bar one of the participants had residency status. Participants reported their countries of origin as Brazil, Croatia, Hungary, Ireland, Romania, South Africa, Spain, UK, US and Venezuela. Participants reported their genders as cisgender female, cisgender male, transgender female, non-binary and genderqueer. All participants were compensated monetarily for their participation. Quantitative data was processed through SurveyMonkey. All participants were guaranteed anonymity through SurveyMonkey, reminded that they had no obligation to participate and were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time up until answers were submitted. Qualitative data was entered into Excel before being sorted, coded and categorized according to emerging themes.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

The sample size of 24 participants is low; this is in keeping with research with 'hard-to-research' populations working in stigmatised and criminalised fields. Snowball sampling while vital in reaching these populations can also pose challenges in achieving a diversity of research participants. It was possible, through purposive sampling, to include migrant sex workers.

However, reaching wider populations of, 'pop-up' male sex workers for example, who often reject the label of 'sex worker' (see Ryan 2019) contributed to smaller numbers. The sample size also reflects the ways in which participants were, in varying ways, networked to our peer researchers. Sex workers outside communities and services that are networked to our peer researchers would be under represented, as would those isolated from sex working communities and/or in very vulnerable and coercive situations.

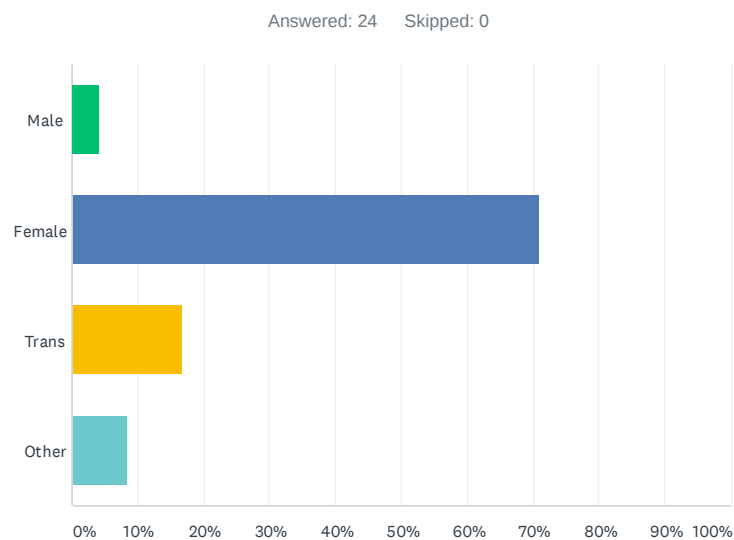
## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This law has not prevented people from engaging in sex work.
2. It has negatively impacted safety measures making survival more perilous.
3. Instead of making workers safer it has made sex work much more dangerous and decreased faith and trust in Gardaí amongst workers.
4. Crime against sex workers has increased significantly under this law.
5. This law has failed to reduce numbers of clients but instead it has worsened behaviour of clients toward sex workers.
6. Sex workers have lost bargaining power and are therefore seeing clients they might have previously refused to see and engaging in acts they might not have previously considered.
7. Existing supports for workers are severely lacking and tend to be focused on workers that are actively trying to exit sex work.

# SURVEY DATA RESULTS:

In this section, the results from the survey will be discussed in detail.

## Q1 WHAT GENDER ARE YOU?



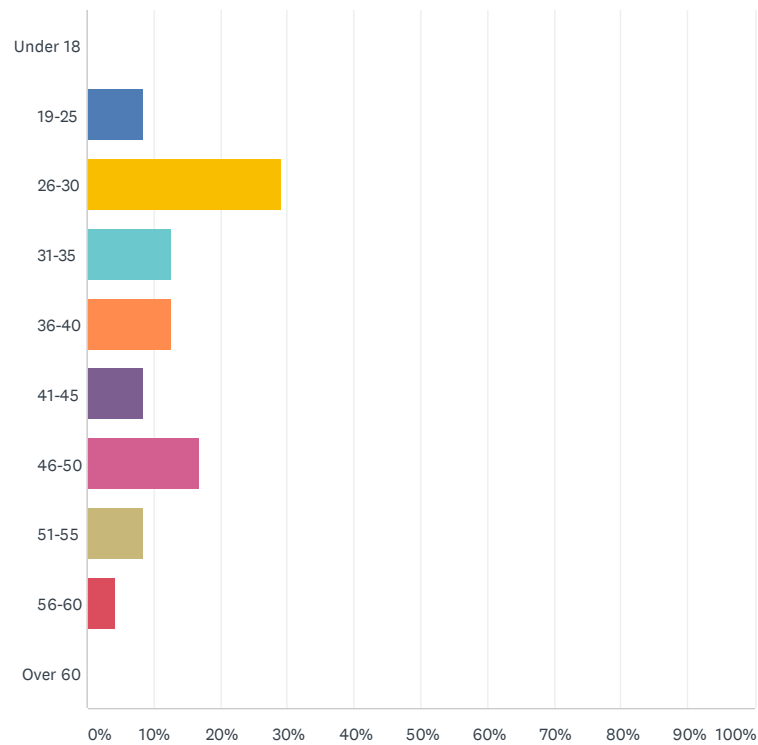
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Male	4.17%	1
Female	70.83%	17
Trans	16.67%	4
Other	8.33%	2
TOTAL		24

The majority (70%) identify as cisgender female, with 16.67% as transgender, 8.33% as 'other' and 4.17% as cisgender male.

Participants were aged between 19 and 60 years with the majority (30%) aged between 26-30. The next highest group are aged 46-50 (circa 15%).

## Q2 WHAT AGE ARE YOU?

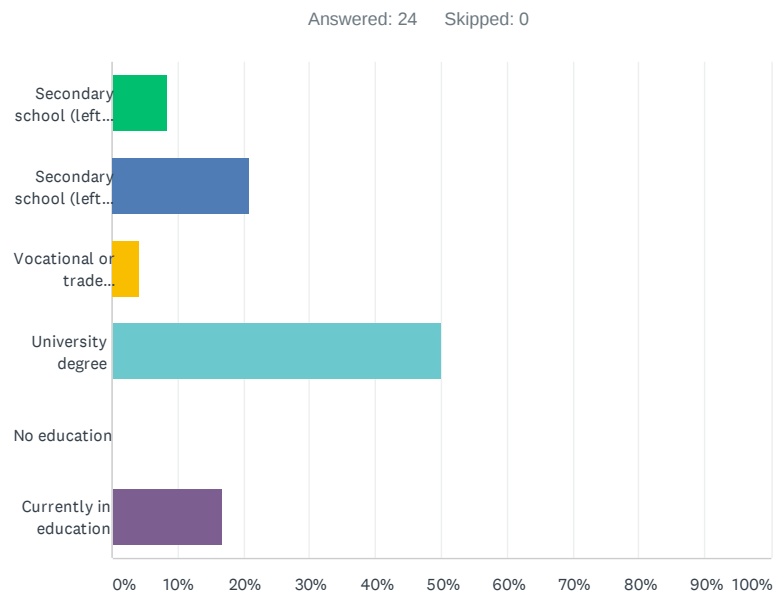
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ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Under 18	0.00%	0
19-25	8.33%	2
26-30	29.17%	7
31-35	12.50%	3
36-40	12.50%	3
41-45	8.33%	2
46-50	16.67%	4
51-55	8.33%	2
56-60	4.17%	1
Over 60	0.00%	0
TOTAL		24



### Q3 WHAT IS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION THAT YOU HAVE COMPLETED?



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Secondary school (left at 16)	8.33%	2
Secondary school (left at 18)	20.83%	5
Vocational or trade qualification	4.17%	1
University degree	50.00%	12
No education	0.00%	0
Currently in education	16.67%	4
TOTAL		24

50% of participants have university degrees.

#### Q4 WHAT IS YOUR NATIONALITY?

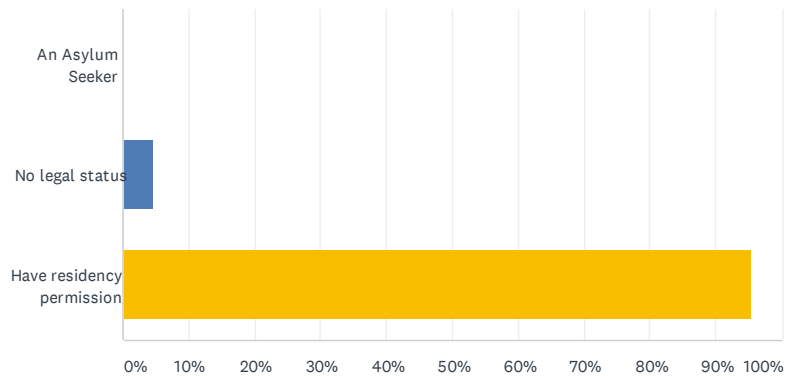
Answer Choices	Responses	
BR - Brazil	8.33%	2
ES - Spain	4.17%	1
GB - United Kingdom	8.33%	2
HR - Croatia	4.17%	1
HU - Hungary	8.33%	2
IE - Ireland	41.67%	10
RO - Romania	4.17%	1
US - United States	12.50%	3
VE - Venezuela	4.17%	1
ZA - South Africa	4.17%	1
	<b>Answered</b>	<b>24</b>
	<b>Skipped</b>	<b>0</b>

#### Q5 WHAT IS YOUR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN?

Answer Choices	Responses	
BR - Brazil	8.70%	2
ES - Spain	4.35%	1
GB - United Kingdom	8.70%	2
HU - Hungary	8.70%	2
IE - Ireland	39.13%	9
IT - Italy	4.35%	1
RO - Romania	4.35%	1
US - United States	13.04%	3
VE - Venezuela	4.35%	1
ZA - South Africa	4.35%	1
	<b>Answered</b>	<b>23</b>
	<b>Skipped</b>	<b>1</b>

## Q6 WHAT IS YOUR RESIDENCE STATUS?

Answered: 22 Skipped: 2



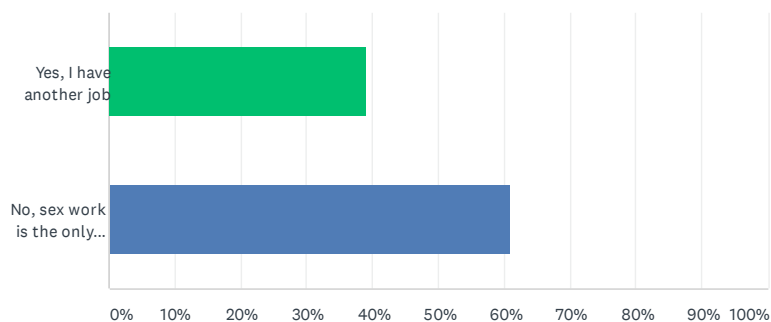
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
An Asylum Seeker	0.00% 0
No legal status	4.55% 1
Have residency permission	95.45% 21
TOTAL	22

The majority of sex workers surveyed have residency permission.

## Q7 APART FROM SELLING SEXUAL SERVICES, DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER JOB AT THE MOMENT?

moment?

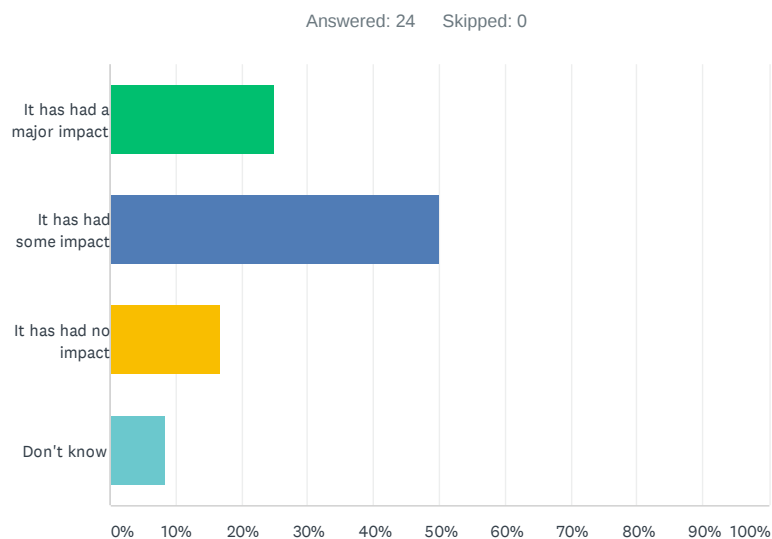
Answered: 23 Skipped: 1



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Yes, I have another job	39.13% 9
No, sex work is the only work I do	60.87% 14
TOTAL	23

One third of the sex workers we surveyed are supplementing their income with sex work.

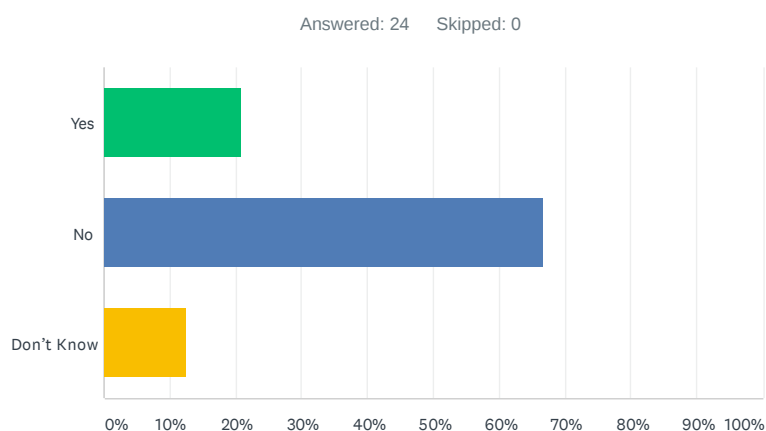
Q8 THE LAWS IN IRELAND GOVERNING THE SELLING OF SEX CHANGED IN FEB 2017 TO MAKE THE PURCHASE OF SEX ILLEGAL. IT ALSO INCREASED THE PENALTIES FOR WORKING TOGETHER AND ADDED A JAIL SENTENCE. HOW HAS THIS AFFECTED THE WAY THAT YOU CONDUCT YOUR BUSINESS?



ANSWER CHOICES		RESPONSES	
It has had a major impact		25.00%	6
It has had some impact		50.00%	12
It has had no impact		16.67%	4
Don't know		8.33%	2
TOTAL			24

75% of workers surveyed say the law has affected how they work.

## Q9 IN YOUR EXPERIENCE, DOES THIS LAW PREVENT PEOPLE FROM ENTERING THE SEX INDUSTRY?

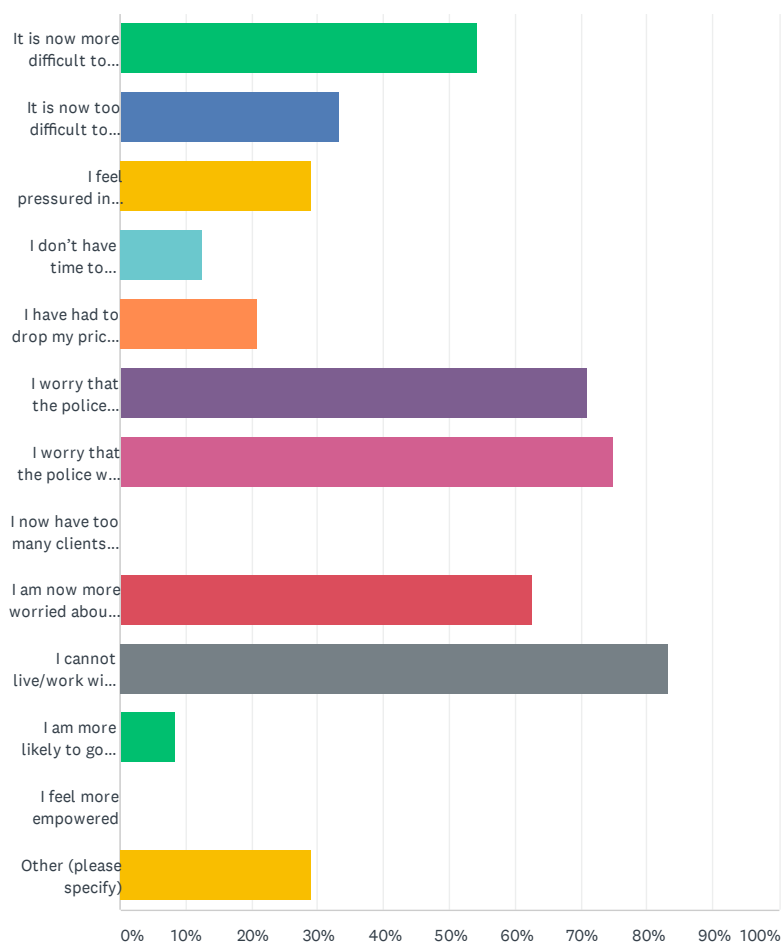


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	20.83%	5
No	66.67%	16
Don't Know	12.50%	3
TOTAL		24

Two-thirds of the sex workers surveyed think that the law has had no impact in preventing sex workers from entering the industry. Only 20% think that the law is successful in stopping workers from entering the industry. One of the aims of the current law was to deter people from entering the sex industry, which it has failed to do. By dealing with sex work exclusively through criminal law, Ireland ignores the myriad reasons why people enter and stay in sex work. These reasons become clear later in this document.

## Q10 WHAT HAVE BEEN THE MAJOR IMPACTS OF THE CHANGE IN THE LAW ON YOUR WORK?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
It is now more difficult to screen clients.	54.17%	13
It is now too difficult to keep regular clients that I trust.	33.33%	8
I feel pressured into performing unsafe sexual practices	29.17%	7
I don't have time to negotiate with clients	12.50%	3
I have had to drop my prices to get clients	20.83%	5
I worry that the police might arrest me	70.83%	17
I worry that the police will arrest my clients	75.00%	18
I now have too many clients to deal with	0.00%	0
I am now more worried about violence and abuse	62.50%	15
I cannot live/work with another sex worker for fear of arrest for brothel keeping	83.33%	20
I am more likely to go to the Gardai if a crime has been committed against me	8.33%	2
I feel more empowered	0.00%	0
Other (please specify)	29.17%	7
Total Respondents: 24		

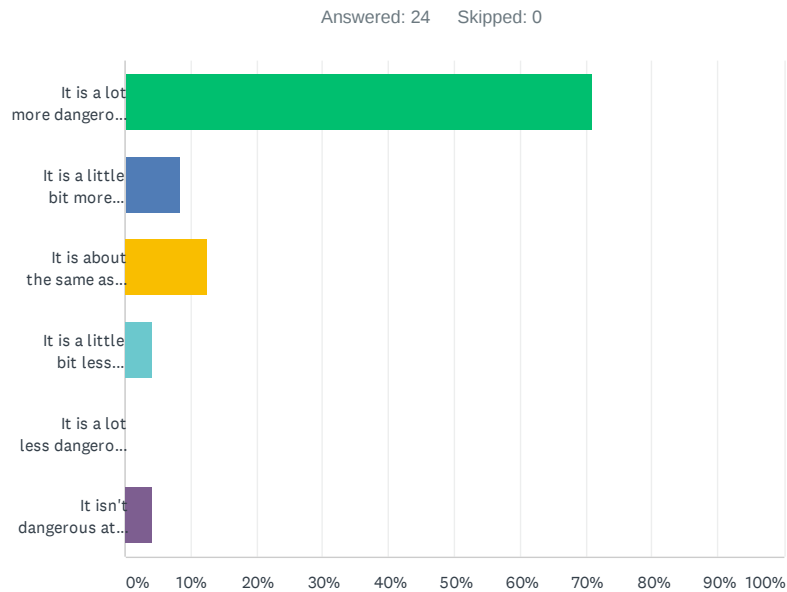
The law has had an adverse effect on how sex workers work in Ireland. Over 50% say that it is more difficult to screen clients. This may be because it is now the client who is breaking the law, not the worker, so clients are more reluctant to submit to screening processes as they are the ones taking criminal risks. This is compounded by the fact that 75% of workers are concerned that their clients will be arrested. Over a quarter of workers now feel pressured into performing unsafe sexual practices. The client criminalisation model means that negotiation times are curtailed which leads to increased risk-taking.

The benefit of the decriminalisation of the sale of sex work is not being felt as over 70% of workers were still concerned with arrest themselves. Despite claims from sex work prohibitionists that the sex workers themselves are decriminalised, sex workers do not feel that they are safe. Over 60% of those surveyed were more worried about violence and abuse than they had been before the law changed.

80% of workers feel the law impacts them on living or working with another sex worker for fear of brothel-keeping arrest. Less than 10% of workers are more likely to report crimes committed against them to the Gardaí. None of the workers we surveyed felt more empowered by the law.

These results show that the spirit of the law has failed. The law has made workers feel less safe and less likely to report violence to the Gardaí. Workers are concerned about the arrest of their clients and themselves and fear of violence is present.

**Q11 THE 2017 LAW WAS SUPPOSED TO KEEP SEX WORKERS SAFE. DO YOU THINK THAT SEX WORK IS NOW MORE DANGEROUS OR LESS DANGEROUS SINCE THE LAW WAS INTRODUCED?**

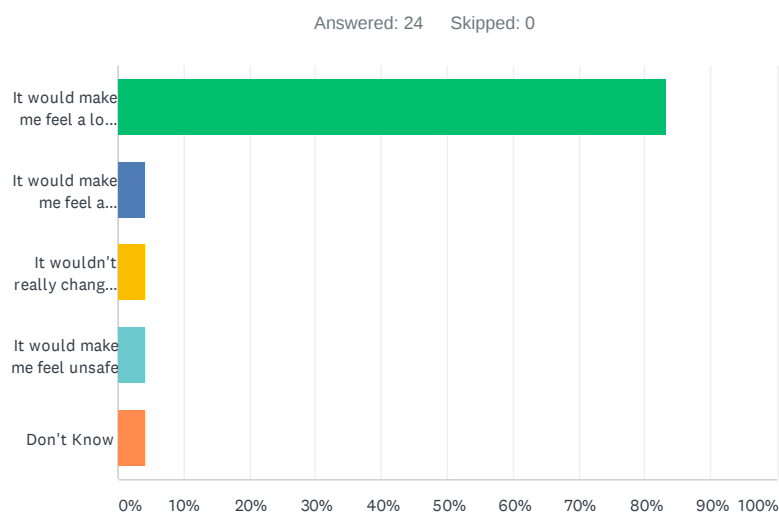


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
It is a lot more dangerous now	70.83%	17
It is a little bit more dangerous now	8.33%	2
It is about the same as before	12.50%	3
It is a little bit less dangerous now	4.17%	1
It is a lot less dangerous now	0.00%	0
It isn't dangerous at all	4.17%	1
Total Respondents: 24		

Almost 80% of workers surveyed think that the law has made sex work more dangerous, with over 70% feeling that the law makes sex worker a lot less safe. This shows that the law is not fit for purpose as it is felt by sex workers to have increased the danger they face.



Q12 IF THE LAW WAS CHANGED TO MAKE IT LEGAL TO WORK WITH ANOTHER SEX WORKER HOW WOULD THIS AFFECT YOU?

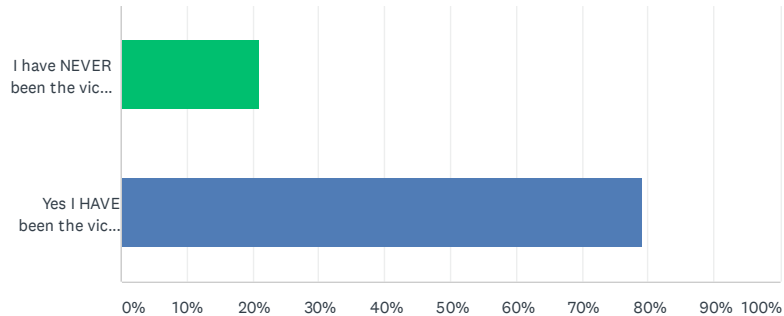


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
It would make me feel a lot safer	83.33%	20
It would make me feel a little bit safer	4.17%	1
It wouldn't really change anything	4.17%	1
It would make me feel unsafe	4.17%	1
Don't Know	4.17%	1
Total Respondents: 24		

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## Q13 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THE VICTIM OF A CRIME WHILE YOU WERE DOING SEX WORK IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0



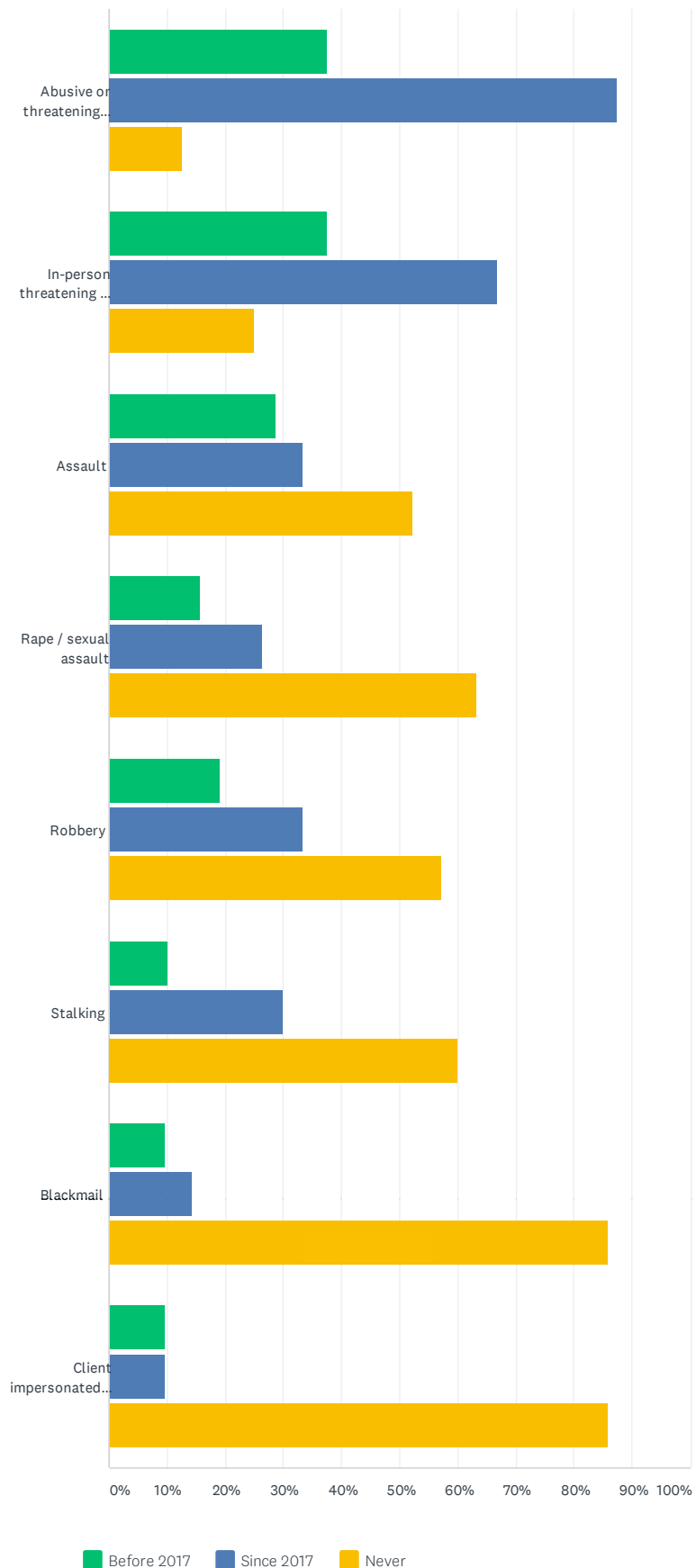
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
I have NEVER been the victim of a crime	20.83%	5
Yes I HAVE been the victim of a crime	79.17%	19
TOTAL		24

Almost 80% of the sex workers surveyed were victims of a crime while working. This is an extremely worrying statistic when compared to the reluctance to report crime.

When we compare this statistic to the general public we see that sex workers are 8 times as likely to become victims of violence or non-violent crime. Sex workers work legally on their own and so are vulnerable to crime. Stigma and dehumanisation of sex workers also make them a target. Sex workers normally deal in cash because it is less traceable for their clients, some don't have bank accounts which again makes them easy targets. These statistics are startling.

## Q14 HAVE YOU BEEN THE VICTIM OF ANY OF THE FOLLOWING KINDS OF CRIME WHILST DOING SEX WORK IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND?

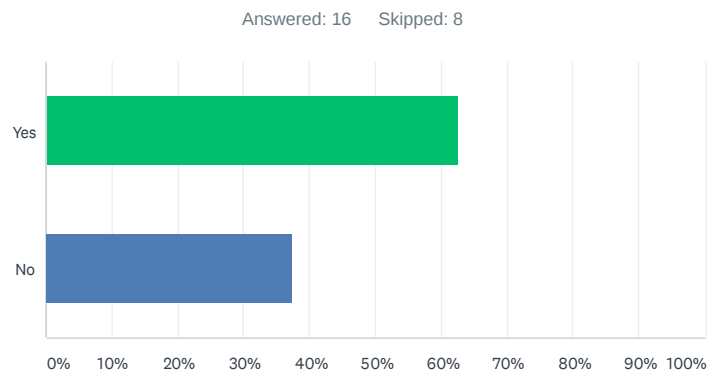
Answered: 24 Skipped: 0



	BEFORE 2017	SINCE 2017	NEVER	TOTAL RESPONDENTS
Abusive or threatening phone calls or messages	37.50% 3	87.50% 7	12.50% 1	8
In-person threatening or abusive behaviour	37.50% 9	66.67% 16	25.00% 6	24
Assault	28.57% 6	33.33% 7	52.38% 11	21
Rape / sexual assault	15.79% 3	26.32% 5	63.16% 12	19
Robbery	19.05% 4	33.33% 7	57.14% 12	21
Stalking	10.00% 2	30.00% 6	60.00% 12	20
Blackmail	9.52% 2	14.29% 3	85.71% 18	21
Client impersonated Gardaí	9.52% 2	9.52% 2	85.71% 18	21

We asked sex workers about crimes committed against them before February 2017 and after February 2017 to make a comparison of crime rates before and after the law. We asked about the following categories: receiving abusive or threatening phone calls or messages, in-person threatening or abusive behaviour, assault, rape or sexual assault, robbery, stalking, blackmail and clients impersonating Gardaí. In all categories bar one crimes against sex workers have increased, and the remaining crime remained at the same level. Almost 10% have had a client impersonate a Garda. These statistics highlight the inadequacies of the law. Sex workers warned that the 'End Demand' or Swedish model would reduce decent clients but would not act as a deterrent for 'bad' clients. Reduced screening time plus a lack of monetary alternatives mean that sex workers have to ignore their gut feelings to earn the money they need. By working on their own, sex workers become targets for criminals. Sex workers who work together for safety are in danger of arrest themselves if they report to Gardaí and criminals are aware of that.

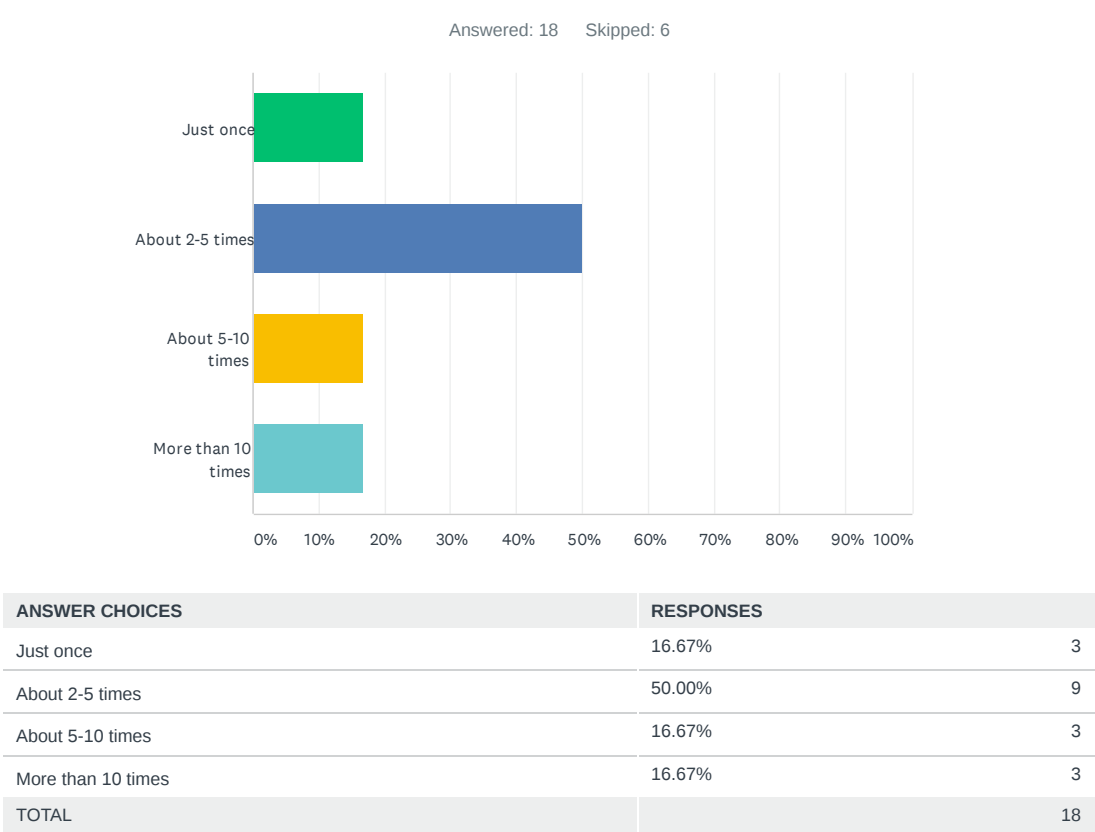
## Q15 HAVE YOU EVER RECEIVED ABUSIVE/THREATENING PHONE CALLS?



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	62.50%	10
No	37.50%	6
TOTAL		16

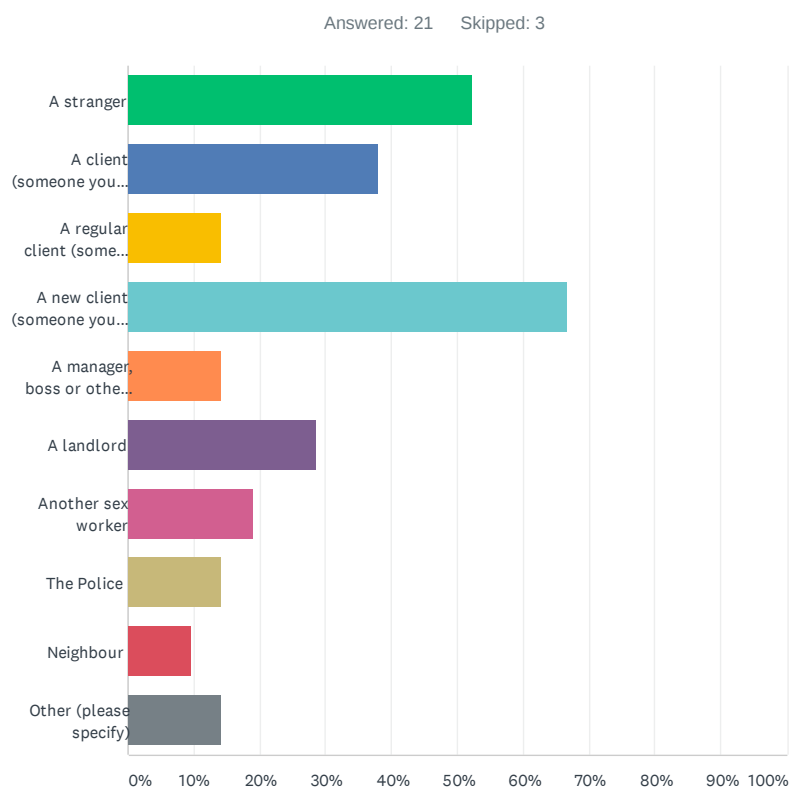
Over half of the sex workers surveyed have received abusive or threatening phone calls. When compared to the general population this is extremely high, as only 0.05% of the population received menacing phone calls in the timeframe 2017-2019 (Central Statistics Office, n.d.).

**Q16 IN THE PAST 18 MONTHS PLEASE ESTIMATE HOW MANY TIMES YOU HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF IN-PERSON THREATS OR ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR, ASSAULT, ROBBERY, RAPE OR SEXUAL ASSAULT, STALKING, BLACKMAIL OR A CLIENT IMPERSONATING THE GARDAÍ WHILST DOING SEX WORK IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND?**



Since the law changed in Ireland the majority of sex workers we surveyed have been victims of a crime, with many having crimes committed against them more than once.

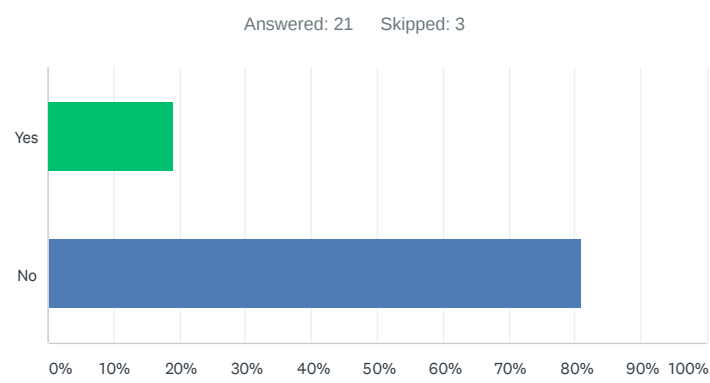
## Q17 WHO HAS PERPETRATED A CRIME AGAINST YOU WHILST YOU HAVE BEEN DOING SEX WORK IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND?



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A stranger	52.38%	11
A client (someone you had met ONCE before)	38.10%	8
A regular client (someone you had met MANY TIMES before)	14.29%	3
A new client (someone you had NEVER met before)	66.67%	14
A manager, boss or other third party you worked for	14.29%	3
A landlord	28.57%	6
Another sex worker	19.05%	4
The Police	14.29%	3
Neighbour	9.52%	2
Other (please specify)	14.29%	3
Total Respondents: 21		

Clients, either new or regulars, make up a significant portion of the people who victimise sex workers. Sex workers warned that good clients would disappear and bad clients, who break the law by assaulting sex workers, will not be deterred by a sex purchase ban. Despite prevalent thinking that clients pose the most danger to sex workers, perpetrators come in many forms. Managers, bosses and pimps pose as much of a threat as Gardaí. Competition due to scarcity of clients may account for the number of crimes committed by other sex workers. After clients, landlords pose the largest threat to sex workers. Ireland's current housing climate combined with the broadness of the definition of brothel-keeping and general stigma of sex work may account for this.

Q18 DID YOU REPORT TO THE GARDAÍ?



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	19.05%	4
No	80.95%	17
TOTAL		21

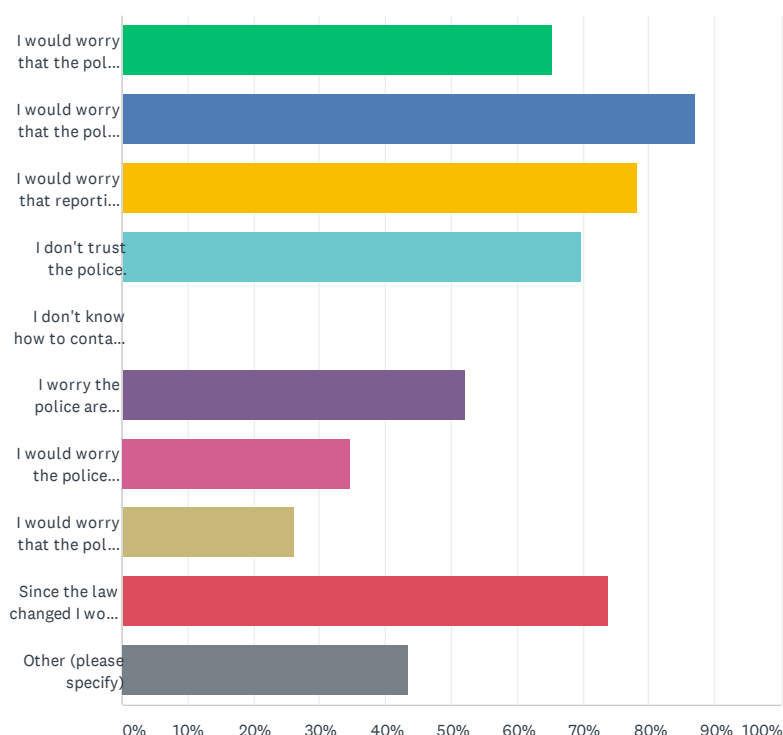
Over 80% of those surveyed did not report crimes against them to Garda. When we compare that to 40% of the general public<sup>1</sup> this paints a grim picture. Sex workers are twice as likely not to report crime against them as the general public.

1 <https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/crime-and-victimisation-study-ireland-22322632>



## Q19 WHY WOULD YOU NOT REPORT A CRIME TO THE POLICE IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND? CLICK ALL THAT APPLY.

Answered: 23 Skipped: 1



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
I would worry that the police could arrest me for being a sex worker.	65.22%	15
I would worry that the police could blame me for what happened because I am a sex worker.	86.96%	20
I would worry that reporting a crime could result in losing my accommodation.	78.26%	18
I don't trust the police.	69.57%	16
I don't know how to contact the police.	0.00%	0
I worry the police are corrupt and would expect me to offer them free sex.	52.17%	12
I would worry the police would want to know about my immigration status, and I might get deported.	34.78%	8
I would worry that the police would think I was trafficked and try to deport me.	26.09%	6
Since the law changed I worry that the police could start to monitor me and arrest my clients	73.91%	17
Other (please specify)	43.48%	10
Total Respondents: 23		

Despite sex work being legal in Ireland, stigma and lack of trust in the Gardaí prevents sex workers from reporting when they are victims of a crime. Sex workers also fear arrest, deportation, Garda corruption and surveillance. Over 86% felt the Gardaí would blame them for the crime committed against them. Stigma and dehumanisation play a large part in this and Gardaí should work to gain the trust of sex workers.

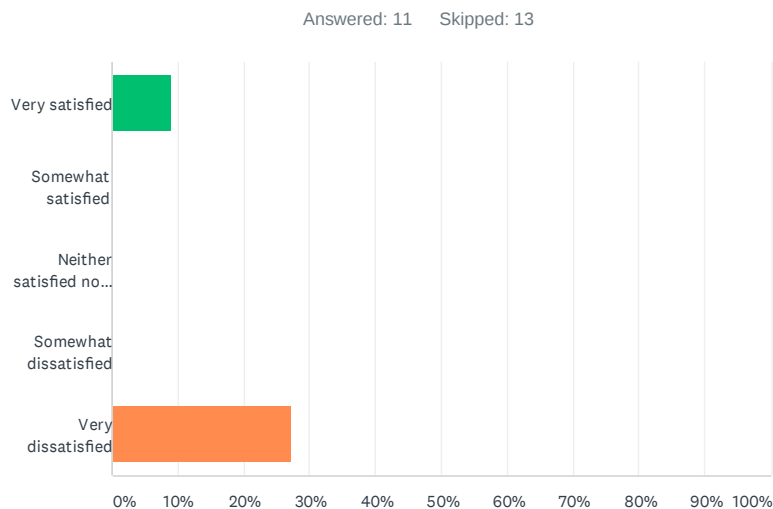
Almost 80% feared that reporting to the Gardaí would result in them losing their accommodation. Over 70% of sex workers worried that once Gardaí learned that they are a sex worker they would be surveilled in order for the Gardaí to arrest their clients. Sex workers have to balance reporting the crime versus losing their housing, or risking their clients being surveilled and losing their income.

69% of sex workers do not trust the police. More than two-thirds of the general public felt the Gardaí were doing a good job so we can see how the laws affecting sex work combined with stigma separates sex workers from Gardaí. Although sex work is legal in Ireland over 65% of the workers we spoke to feared arrest if they told Gardaí they were a sex worker. The stigma of sex workers distances workers from Gardaí.

Over 50% of sex workers fear that the Gardaí would try and extort sexual services out of them.

The majority of sex workers in Ireland are migrants and half of the migrants we surveyed worried that they would be deported. Over 40% worried that the police would think they were trafficked. The conflation of consensual sex work and trafficking acts as a barrier to victims reporting crime. To make everyone safe in Ireland we need to have a firewall between immigration and the Gardaí so that migrants and undocumented people feel safe to report crime against them.

## Q20 IF YOU HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH THE GARDAÍ SEX WORK LIAISON OFFICERS, HOW SATISFIED WERE YOU WITH THE SUPPORT OFFERED?

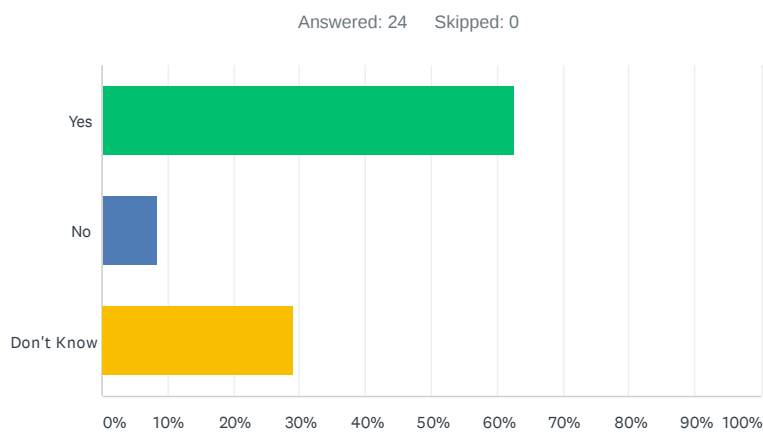


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very satisfied	9.09%	1
Somewhat satisfied	0.00%	0
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	0.00%	0
Somewhat dissatisfied	0.00%	0
Very dissatisfied	27.27%	3
TOTAL		11

75% of those who did have contact with the Garda liaison officers were dissatisfied with their experience. Compare this to the general public's 81% satisfaction rate<sup>2</sup> this makes for disturbing reading. Anecdotally we know that liaison officers have not answered the phone or have failed to follow up with workers. Sex workers are extremely unlikely to engage with the Gardaí and when they do they are unhappy with the support they receive.

2 <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press-releases/2019/december/81-of-people-satisfied-with-service-from-an-garda-siochana-q3-public-attitudes-survey.html>

Q21 HAS CLIENTS BEHAVIOUR CHANGED SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF THE LAW?

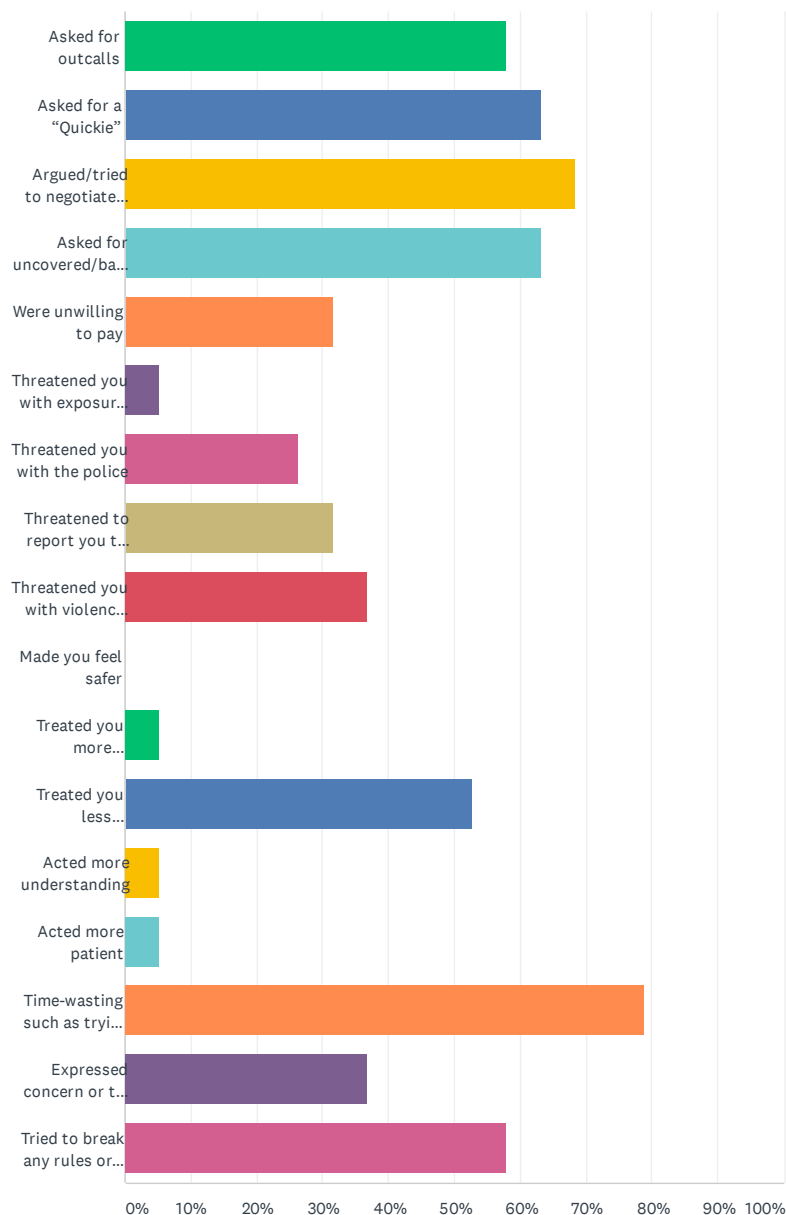


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	62.50%	15
No	8.33%	2
Don't Know	29.17%	7
TOTAL		24

The majority of sex workers have said that their client’s behaviour has changed since the introduction of the law. Below we will explore those changes.

## Q22 IF YOUR CLIENTS' BEHAVIOUR HAS CHANGED SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF THE LAW, HOW?

Answered: 19 Skipped: 5



Almost 80% of sex workers reported time-wasting from clients. This may have resulted from the increased discussion around sex work in the media while the law was being debated. 68% of sex workers have experienced clients trying to negotiate down their price. Scarcity of clients coupled with the fact that the client is now the one acting in a criminal manner may be the cause of this. 63% of sex workers have experienced a client asking for sex without protection. Again the law has not empowered sex workers to protect their own safety but has lessened their negotiating power. Poor sex education coupled with the fact that condoms are being used as evidence that sex work occurred may be a factor in our rising HIV rates. 63% of sex workers have also been asked for "quickies". Workers are being forced to consider options which they would have previously said no to because they are not worth engaging in for economical reasons.

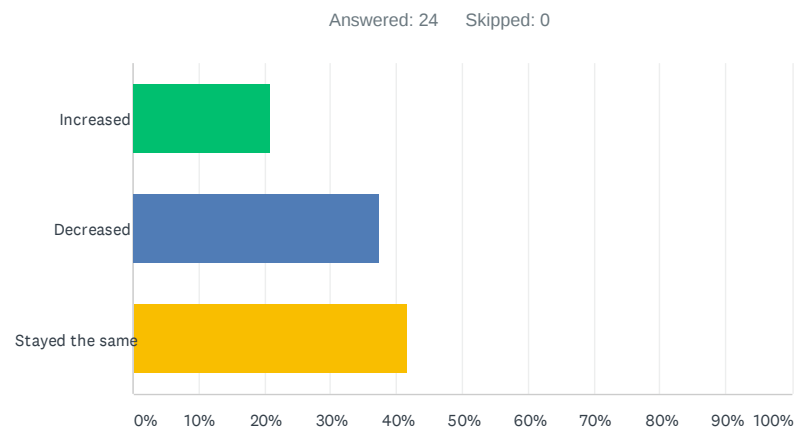
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Asked for outcalls	57.89%	11
Asked for a "Quickie"	63.16%	12
Argued/tried to negotiate down your price	68.42%	13
Asked for uncovered/bareback sex	63.16%	12
Were unwilling to pay	31.58%	6
Threatened you with exposure ie to your family, to your child's school etc	5.26%	1
Threatened you with the police	26.32%	5
Threatened to report you to the hotel or landlord	31.58%	6
Threatened you with violence or personal harm	36.84%	7
Made you feel safer	0.00%	0
Treated you more respectfully	5.26%	1
Treated you less respectfully	52.63%	10
Acted more understanding	5.26%	1
Acted more patient	5.26%	1
Time-wasting such as trying to get free phone-sex, made excessive calls and texts for free chats	78.95%	15
Expressed concern or took interest in your wellbeing, safety, mental health,	36.84%	7
Tried to break any rules or boundaries that had been set at the beginning of the appointment, e.g. tried to remove condom during sex, tried to perform an act or get a service that hadn't been agreed to	57.89%	11
Total Respondents: 19		

57% of those surveyed were asked for outcalls. This is a tactic used by clients to avoid arrest as they feel they are less likely to have their home surveilled as a sex worker's premises. This puts the worker in more danger as they will be in an unfamiliar premises.

57% of sex workers we spoke to have had clients trying to break rules or boundaries that had been set at the start of the appointment. This could include removing condoms during sex, trying to perform an act or get a service that hadn't been agreed on. This, combined with the number of clients who wanted sex without protection, shows that clients are now empowered to request or perform more risk-taking behaviour. Over half of sex workers feel that their clients treated them less respectfully since the law changed, with only 5% saying they were treated more respectfully. This deterioration in how sex workers are treated was something that sex workers warned about when the law was debated and shows how the law is failing in its intentions. However, 39% of sex workers reported that some of their clients had expressed concern about their health and safety.

Over a third of sex workers have been threatened with violence or personal harm by their clients. 31% of clients were unwilling to pay. Again this showcases the failure of the law. Clients are empowered to refuse to pay even after services have been provided. 31% of clients threatened to report the sex worker to the hotel or to their landlord. The law has not afforded sex workers more power in the transaction, as we were told the law would do. 26% of workers have experienced their clients threatening them with reporting to the Gardaí. Again we see the inadequacies of the law. Even though sex work is legal clients still feel entitled to call the Gardaí on sex workers. 5% of sex workers were threatened with exposure to their family or their children's school. Fear of exposure and stigma isolate sex workers from the rest of the community, even though the sale of sex is legal. 5% of sex workers said their clients made them feel safer, acted more understanding or patiently since the law changed in 2017. The laws have had a detrimental effect on how sex workers are treated.

Q23 HAVE YOUR CLIENT NUMBERS CHANGED?

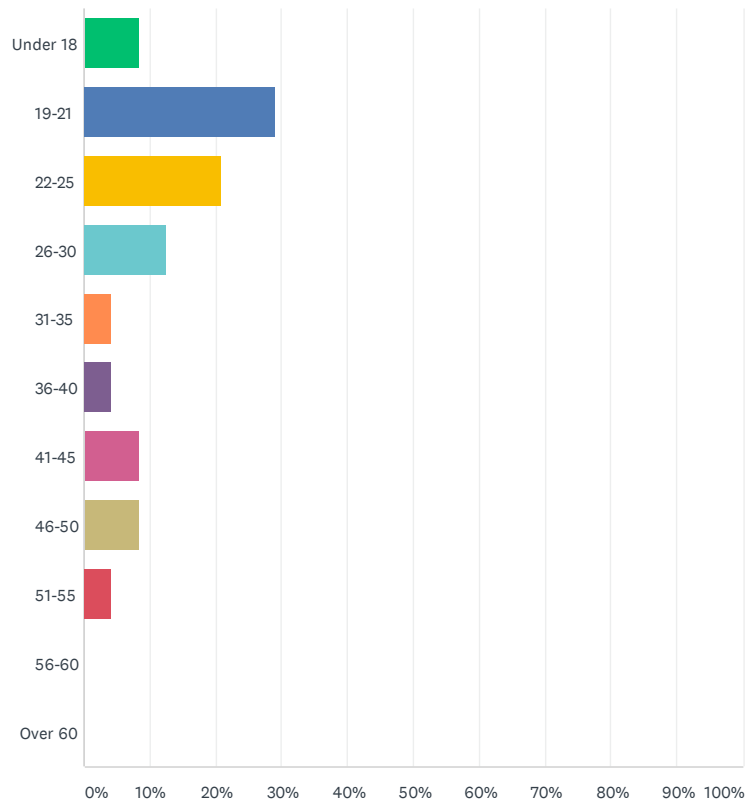


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Increased	20.83%	5
Decreased	37.50%	9
Stayed the same	41.67%	10
TOTAL		24

The majority of sex workers surveyed say client numbers have increased or stayed the same. The law was supposed to tackle the demand for sex but as we can see it has failed.

## Q24 WHAT AGE WERE YOU WHEN YOU FIRST STARTED DOING SEX WORK?

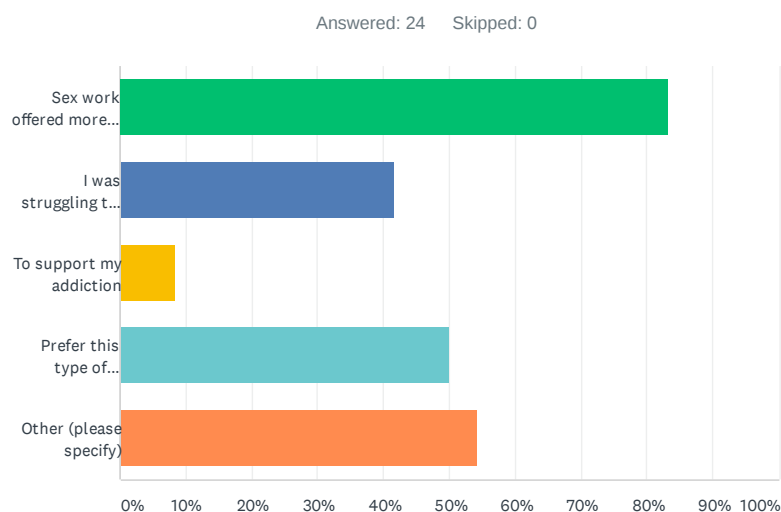
Answered: 24 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Under 18	8.33%	2
19-21	29.17%	7
22-25	20.83%	5
26-30	12.50%	3
31-35	4.17%	1
36-40	4.17%	1
41-45	8.33%	2
46-50	8.33%	2
51-55	4.17%	1
56-60	0.00%	0
Over 60	0.00%	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>24</b>

The majority of those surveyed were over 18 when they started sex work, and workers began working across all age spectra.

## Q25 WHAT WERE YOUR MAIN REASONS FOR STARTING TO DO SEX WORK?

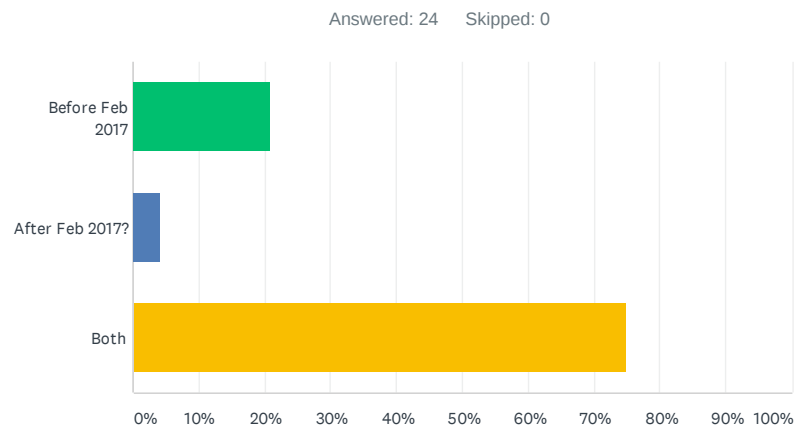


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Sex work offered more money or more flexible hours than other jobs	83.33%	20
I was struggling to find other kinds of work	41.67%	10
To support my addiction	8.33%	2
Prefer this type of employment	50.00%	12
Other (please specify)	54.17%	13
Total Respondents: 24		

Over 80% of workers surveyed feel that sex work offered more money or more flexible hours than other jobs. Sex work offers people less work for more money which is attractive to people with mental or physical health issues, those in precarious employment, and college students. Half of those surveyed preferred this kind of work. Over 40% struggled to find other work. For some workers their trans status, disability, mental health issue or visa (or lack of) act as a barrier to other work. Two of the sex workers surveyed used sex work to support their addiction. Both of these workers are now in prison, showing how little support there is for people with addiction in Ireland.

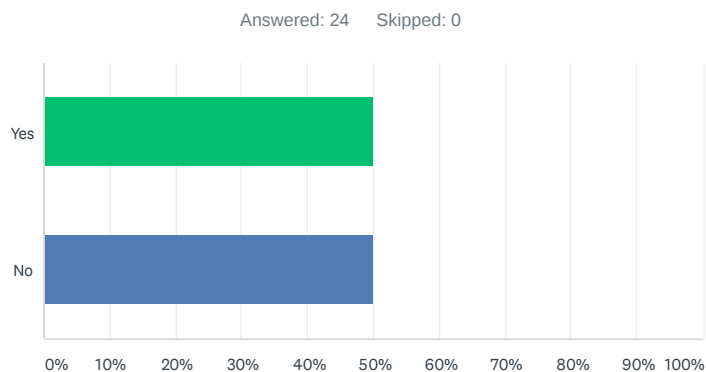


## Q26 DID YOU WORK IN THE SEX INDUSTRY?



The law was supposed to reduce the number of people in sex work by reducing demand. As we can see the majority of those surveyed worked both before and after Feb 2017. It is clear in this cohort that the law has not reduced the number in sex work.

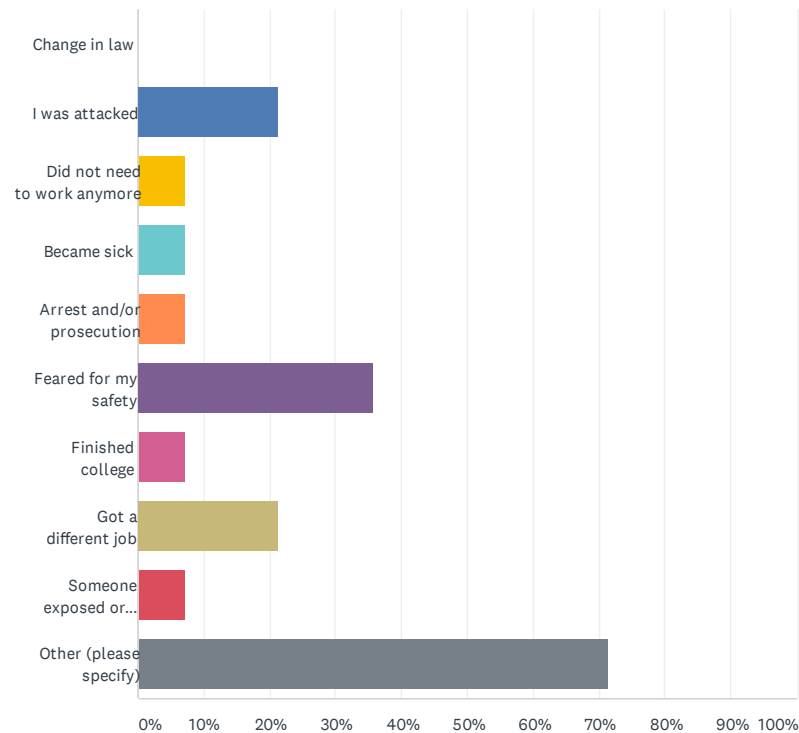
## Q27 HAVE YOU EVER LEFT SEX WORK FOR ANY PERIOD OF TIME?



Half of sex workers surveyed have not left sex work.

## Q28 WHY DID YOU LEAVE?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 10



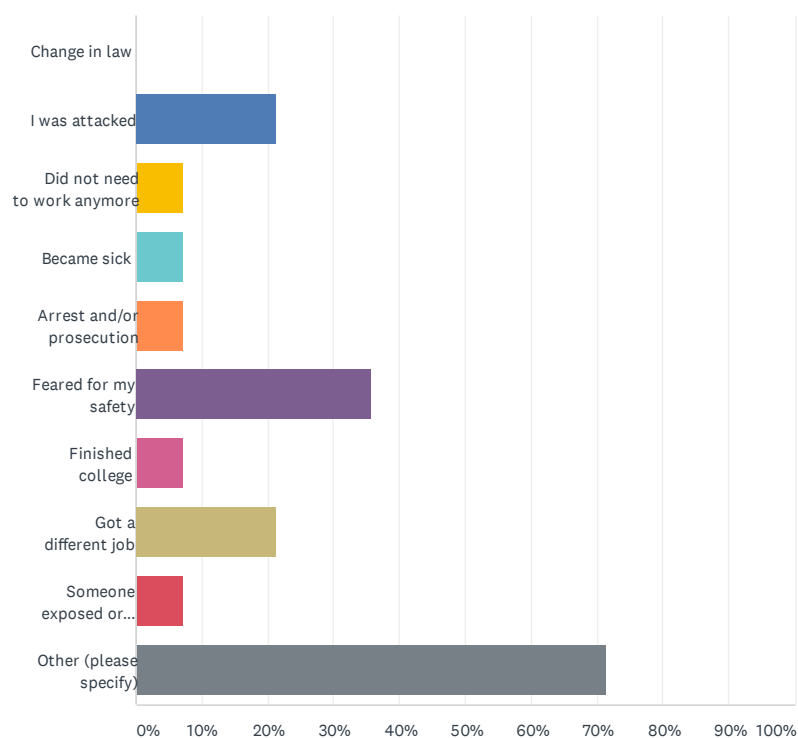
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Change in law	0.00%	0
I was attacked	21.43%	3
Did not need to work anymore	7.14%	1
Became sick	7.14%	1
Arrest and/or prosecution	7.14%	1
Feared for my safety	35.71%	5
Finished college	7.14%	1
Got a different job	21.43%	3
Someone exposed or threatened to expose my real name/ "out" me	7.14%	1
Other (please specify)	71.43%	10
Total Respondents: 14		

Sex workers move in and out of sex work for a variety of reasons but none of the workers we surveyed left sex work because of the law. Again this highlights the failure of the law.

In fact sex workers leave sex work because of fear (35%) of or an actual assault (21%). The law has not reduced the presence of fear of violence on the lives of sex workers. 21% left because they got other work, 7% left because they finished college, 7% because they did not need to work anymore. 7% got sick. 7% were threatened with exposure which shows how stigma is still a significant issue for sex workers.

## Q29 DO YOU ADVERTISE FOR CUSTOMERS THROUGH ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PLATFORMS?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 10

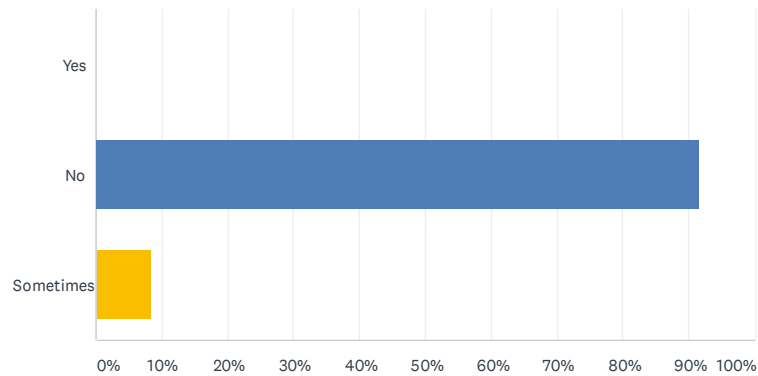


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Change in law	0.00%	0
I was attacked	21.43%	3
Did not need to work anymore	7.14%	1
Became sick	7.14%	1
Arrest and/or prosecution	7.14%	1
Feared for my safety	35.71%	5
Finished college	7.14%	1
Got a different job	21.43%	3
Someone exposed or threatened to expose my real name/ "out" me	7.14%	1
Other (please specify)	71.43%	10
Total Respondents: 14		

Sex workers advertise in a variety of places with most people using Escort Ireland (69%), Twitter (65%) and Locanto (30%)

### Q30 DO YOU PAY SOMEONE TO HELP YOU WITH ACCOMMODATION, BOOKINGS AND MAKING OTHER ARRANGEMENTS? (E.G. A MANAGER, RECEPTIONIST OR PIMP?)

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0

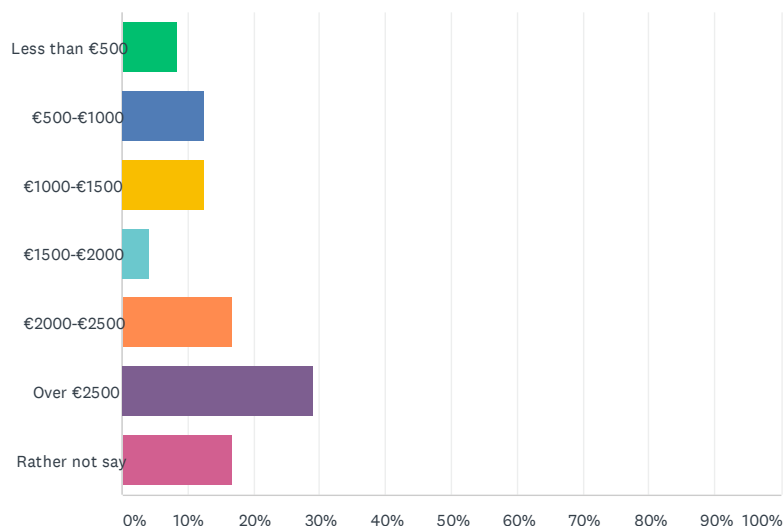


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	0.00%	0
No	91.67%	22
Sometimes	8.33%	2
TOTAL		24

91% of those surveyed are or were independent sex workers.

### Q31 HOW MUCH APPROXIMATELY DO YOU USUALLY EARN PER MONTH BY SELLING SEXUAL SERVICES IN EUROS

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Less than €500	8.33%	2
€500-€1000	12.50%	3
€1000-€1500	12.50%	3
€1500-€2000	4.17%	1
€2000-€2500	16.67%	4
Over €2500	29.17%	7
Rather not say	16.67%	4
TOTAL		24

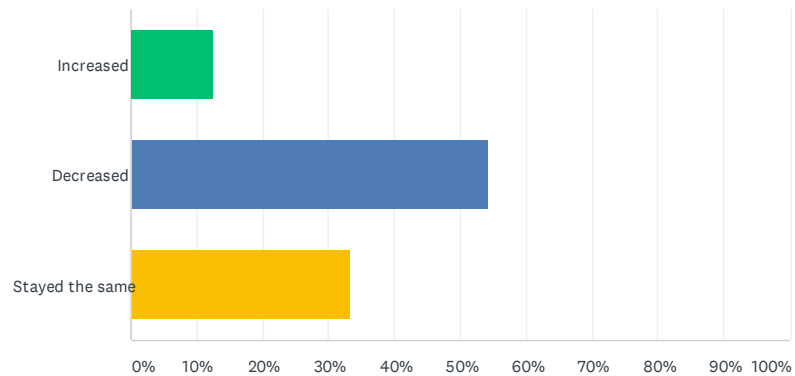
Income from sex work runs the gamut of income with the majority of sex workers earning over €2000 per month. This needs to be taken into consideration when considering exit programmes. Four workers chose not to disclose, possibly as a result of being surveyed by another sex worker.

### Q32 HOW MANY CLIENTS DO YOU SEE EACH MONTH?

The number of clients a sex worker sees in a month varies hugely from 4 to 100. Some of the work is seasonal, with winter being quieter than summer.

### Q33 HAS THE LAW INCREASED OR DECREASED YOUR INCOME?

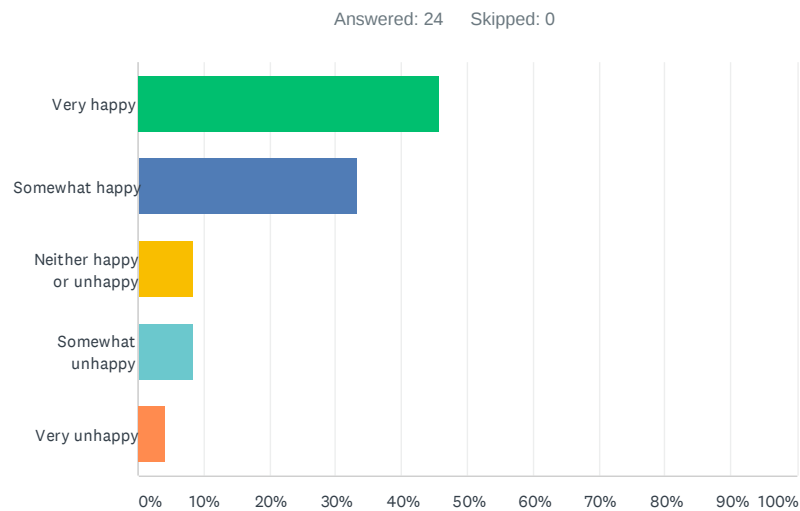
Answered: 24 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Increased	12.50%	3
Decreased	54.17%	13
Stayed the same	33.33%	8
TOTAL		24

Since the law changed in 2017 sex workers' incomes have decreased (54%) or stayed the same (33%). Decreased income may lead sex workers to take risks or see clients that they would not normally see.

## Q34 HOW HAPPY ARE YOU DOING SEX WORK?

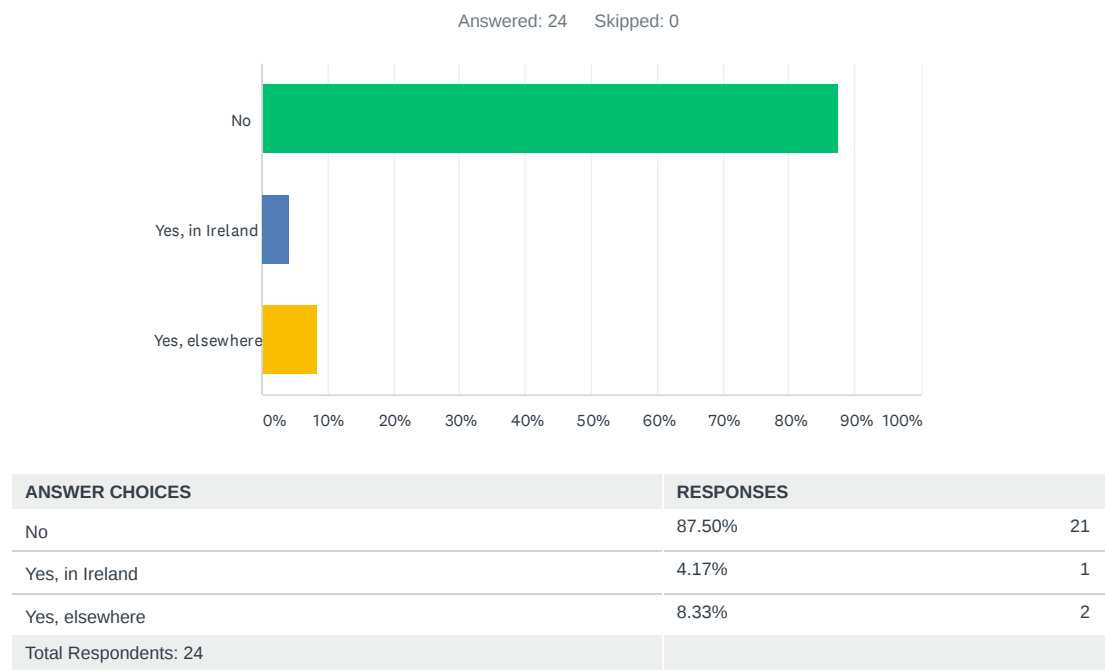


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very happy	45.83%	11
Somewhat happy	33.33%	8
Neither happy or unhappy	8.33%	2
Somewhat unhappy	8.33%	2
Very unhappy	4.17%	1
TOTAL		24

The majority of workers are happy (79%) or neutral (8%) or about sex work, with only 12.5% unhappy in their work. These figures correspond with the general public<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.irishexaminer.com/business/arid-30931124.html#>

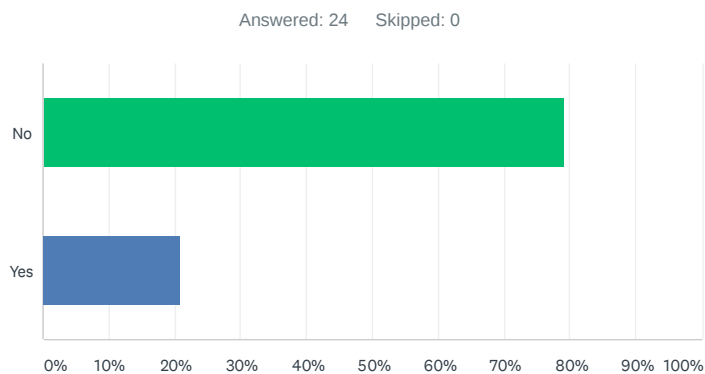
Q35 HAVE YOU – AT ANY STAGE IN YOUR LIFE – BEEN TRAFFICKED INTO THE SEX INDUSTRY IN IRELAND OR ELSEWHERE?



Most sex workers (87.5%) in Ireland have not been trafficked in Ireland. One respondent had been trafficked here and two had been trafficked in another country. Domestic trafficking exists in Ireland.



Q36 HAVE YOU EVER MET A PERSON WHO TOLD YOU THAT THEY WERE - AT ANY STAGE IN THEIR LIFE - TRAFFICKED INTO THE SEX INDUSTRY IN IRELAND?



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
No	79.17%	19
Yes	20.83%	5
TOTAL		24

While the majority (79%) have never encountered a trafficked person, sex workers do have access to trafficking victims (20%). Sex workers could be a valuable aid in the fight against trafficking if relations improved with the Gardaí.

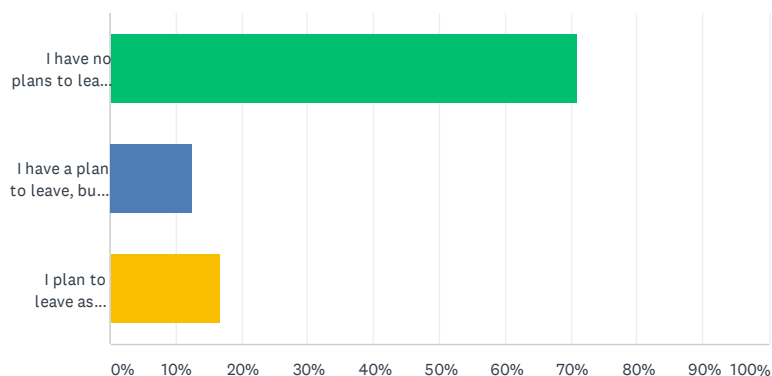
## Q37 WHAT COUNTIES DO YOU WORK IN?

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Antrim	20.83%	5
Armagh	12.50%	3
Carlow	12.50%	3
Cavan	12.50%	3
Clare	12.50%	3
Cork	54.17%	13
Derry	16.67%	4
Donegal	12.50%	3
Down	8.33%	2
Dublin	87.50%	21
Fermanagh	8.33%	2
Galway	41.67%	10
Kerry	20.83%	5
Kildare	20.83%	5
Kilkenny	20.83%	5
Laois	4.17%	1
Leitrim	4.17%	1
Limerick	33.33%	8
Longford	12.50%	3
Louth	20.83%	5
Mayo	25.00%	6
Meath	20.83%	5
Monaghan	12.50%	3
Offaly	8.33%	2
Roscommon	4.17%	1
Sligo	20.83%	5
Tipperary	16.67%	4
Tyrone	12.50%	3
Waterford	20.83%	5
Westmeath	25.00%	6
Wexford	12.50%	3
Wicklow	4.17%	1
Total Respondents: 24		

Sex workers work in all 32 counties in Ireland. Research that is done in Northern Ireland applies here too as workers tend to work both jurisdictions. Sex work is concentrated in urban hubs such as Dublin, Cork, Galway and Limerick. Sex work is quite transient in Ireland.

## Q38 HAVE YOU ANY PLANS TO LEAVE THE SEX INDUSTRY?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0

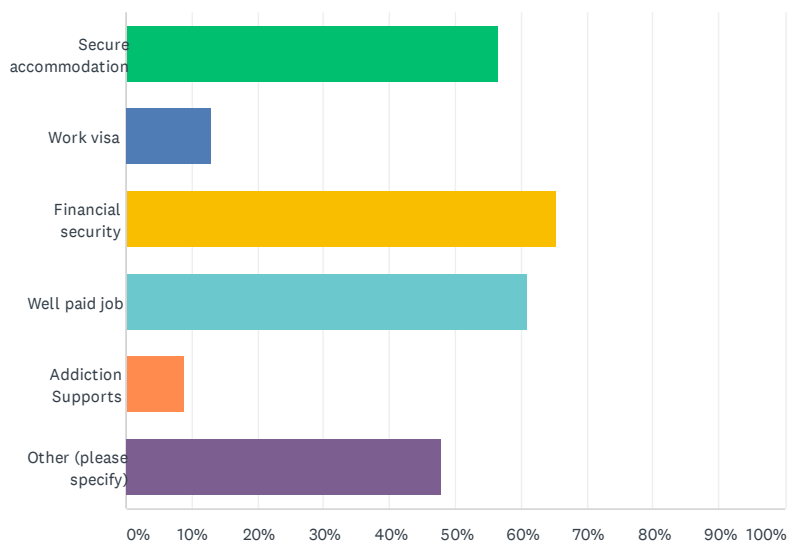


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
I have no plans to leave at the moment	70.83%	17
I have a plan to leave, but not within the next 12 months	12.50%	3
I plan to leave as quickly as possible	16.67%	4
TOTAL		24

Exiting strategies will only apply to a minority of sex workers who took part in the survey. The majority of workers had no plans (70%) or no immediate plans (12.5%) to leave sex work. Service provision that only focuses on exiting will leave the majority of sex workers out. Services need to move away from only providing for people who want to exit.

## Q39 WHAT WOULD YOU NEED IN ORDER TO LEAVE SEX WORK?

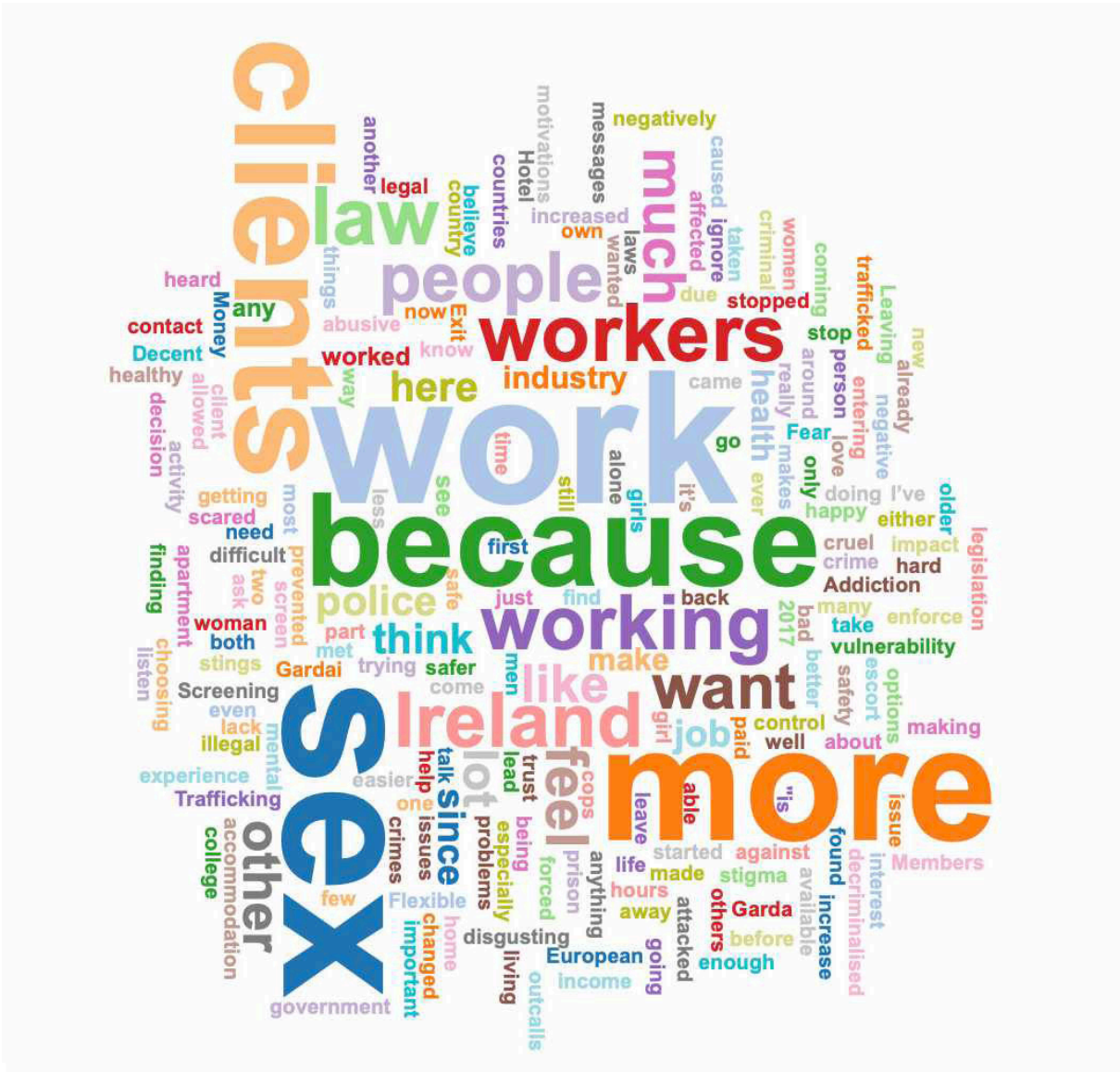
Answered: 23 Skipped: 1



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Secure accommodation	56.52%	13
Work visa	13.04%	3
Financial security	65.22%	15
Well paid job	60.87%	14
Addiction Supports	8.70%	2
Other (please specify)	47.83%	11
Total Respondents: 23		

Sex workers do the job they do for money. To reduce the number of people in sex work we need to provide workers with financial security (65%), a well paid job (65%) and/or secure accommodation (56%). Regularised immigration status (13%) and addiction supports (8.7%) are also needed.

## QUALITATIVE DATA



## METHODOLOGY:

Data was read and reread and searched for emerging themes. The 7 predominant emerging themes were Stigma; Safety, security and vulnerability; Income; Mental health; Ineffectiveness of sex work laws in Ireland; Clients and Distrust in Gardaí. Several responses failed to sit neatly in individual themes due to the considerable overlap of concerns discussed by participants, such as instances where participants discuss the effects of stigma, sex work laws or policing on their mental or physical health.

In response to a question asking participants their reasons for engaging in sex work, answers included a lack of options for individuals such as migrants, transgender people and those with criminal records. The 'End Demand' model we currently employ in Ireland, and any other model that partially or fully criminalises sex work fails to deal with the reasons why people enter sex work. Many sex workers enter the industry due to lack of alternative options. Precarious employment, disability, addictions, poverty, lack of housing supports and immigration or undocumented status are some of the reasons sex workers enter sex work.

*"As a migrant I have few other options for decently paid work."*

*"No, of course not, there are no other options for working class transgender women."*

*"Had a criminal record so could not upskill as door closed to me by potential employers and trainers."*

*"As an immigrant it was easier to do sex work than find other kinds of work."*

*"for a trans person it is almost impossible to get any other kind of work."*

*Other participants with self-reported mental health issues or disabilities responded that sex work provided the best options for working around their conditions.*

*"Sex work is an easier area of employment to access due to my mental health."*

*"I have disabilities that prohibited me finding other types of work."*

[illegible]

*"Like any other person I would leave my job if I won the Euromillions."*

*"I would need a well-paid job but one that was fulfilling."*

*"An EXTREMELY well paid job."*

Flexibility and having their education paid for were also given as primary motivators.

*"It has allowed me to make enough money in a short enough period of time and working flexible hours to help me deal with my mental health issues which would've been much more difficult working a regular job."*

*"Flexible hours, college paid for."*

*"Funding for college."*

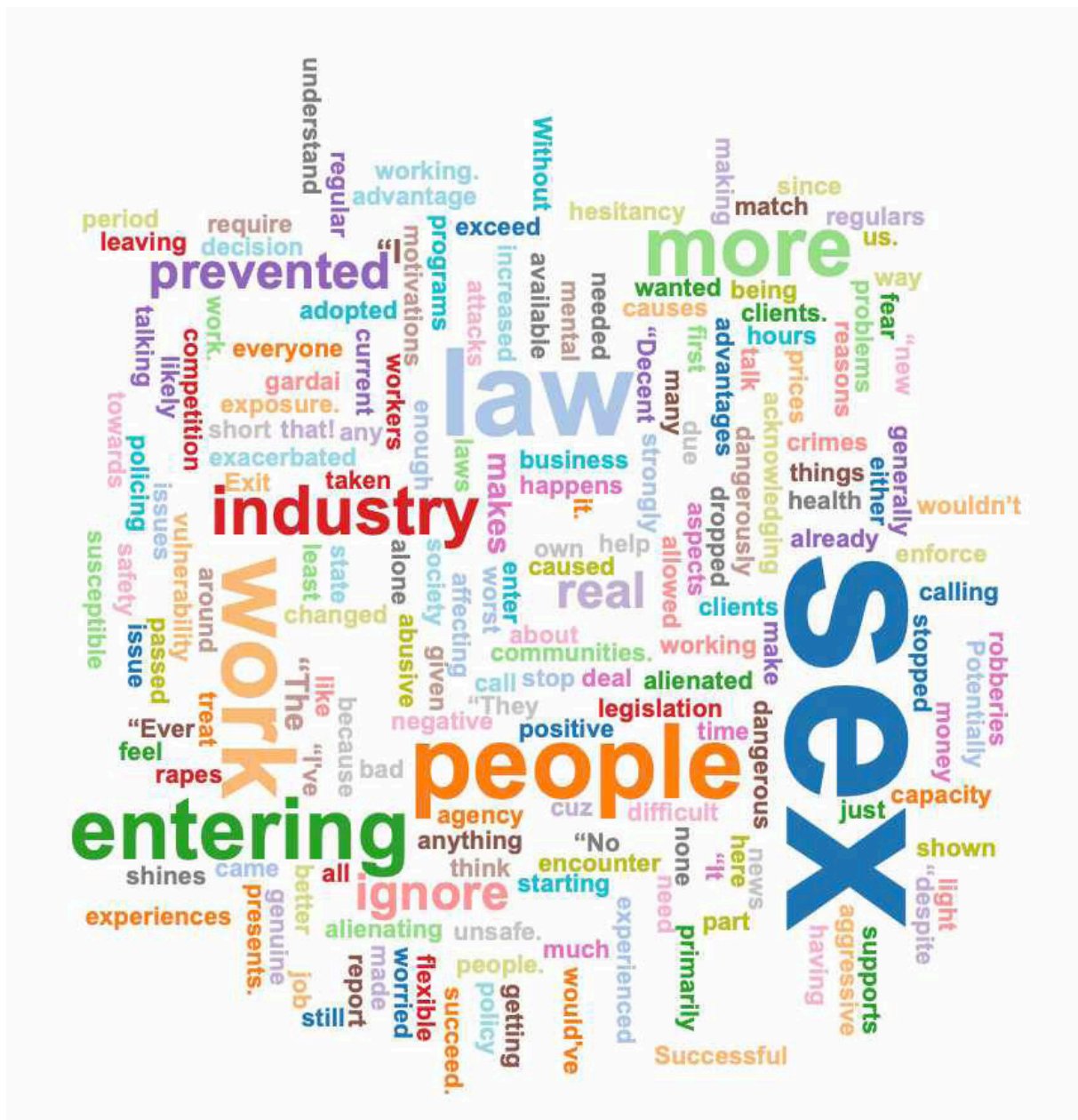
*"Flexible working hours and a job where I make as much money as I do in sex work."*

Support with addiction and accommodation were mentioned as necessary to prevent one participant from needing to return to sex work"

*"Addiction supports and accommodation are the most important things for me. That's what I'll need when I get out of here so I don't have to go back working."*



## THEME 2: INEFFECTIVENESS OF SEX WORK LAWS IN IRELAND



The majority of participants reported that the law would not have prevented them from working.

*"I don't think the law would have stopped me from starting working."*

*"The law would not have prevented me from entering. It did not make me stop sex work."*

*"New law would not have prevented me from entering, we came here to work cuz we needed to and this law wouldn't have changed that!"*

*"It wouldn't have prevented me from entering sex work, it just makes me feel unsafe."*

*"No, it wouldn't have prevented me from entering sex work."*

*"Despite the law there's still people getting in the sex business, which causes more competition and prices has dropped because of it."*

Some participants noted that the law had a racialised impact. White Irish or British sex workers gained more clients at the expense of sex workers of colour and Eastern European sex workers. This was because it's understood that the Gardaí target migrants.

*"When the law came in the Rep of Ireland in 2017, it had existed but not been enforced in the North and so clients had not stopped seeing sex workers but they were definitely choosing Irish/British/Western European workers but specifically choosing not to see Eastern European workers. This led to more of the clients coming to see me. I think it tapped into an already existing racism that was part of the rhetoric around the law."*

Most participants discussed the ways in which the law has made them feel less safe.

*"Ever since the law changed the worst crimes - attacks, robberies, rapes - have increased. Potentially aggressive clients are more likely to call than genuine clients."*

*"The current legislation is dangerously alienating people, leaving them more susceptible to being taken advantage of, primarily affecting already alienated communities."*

*"Decent regulars stopped calling for fear of exposure."*

Some participants discussed the ways in which stigma against sex workers in Irish society has interacted with the changes to sex work laws.

*"They passed a law that none of us wanted and makes everyone in society ignore us as real people and treat us as real people."*

*"I feel like all this talk about it hasn't made things better, it hasn't given us any more safety and it has dangerous people to us. They passed a law that none of us wanted and makes everyone in society ignore us as real people and treat us as real people."*

*"Many of the problems I've experienced like my vulnerability to abusive clients due to having to work alone are at the very least in part caused by our legislation and the way Gardaí enforce those laws."*

### THEME 3: STIGMA



Most participants mentioned stigma toward sex work and sex workers in Ireland as a major cause of distress that interacted with other factors such as brothel keeping laws to exacerbate the negative aspects of sex work in Ireland.

*"the only downside is the stigma of sex work"*

*"The law is especially cruel, police are especially cruel, the stigma is very severe and damaging, I'm less afraid of clients than police, neighbours and landlords."*

*Stigma against sex work and sex workers has been shown to contribute to violence against sex workers and play a role in the justification of violence against sex workers (Sanders, 2016).*

*"When my partner found out that I was working he attacked and raped me because of it."*

## THEME 4: DISTRUST IN GARDÁÍ



All respondents discussed their relationship with law enforcement in Ireland in a negative light. Many mentioned their reluctance to seek help or report a crime to Gardaí.

*"I don't think they would necessarily blame me but that they wouldn't take me seriously because I'm a sex worker."*

*"I don't trust the Gardai to have my best interests at heart."*

*"The police would harass me, which they did. And they won't believe me."*

*"I'm not safe going to gardai because they don't do anything to stop rapes, robbery."*



Some participants discussed their fear of Gardaí in relation to brothel keeping laws and their belief that any interaction with Gardaí might jeopardise their housing situation.

*"During the illegal eviction, it was clear that the landlord and police were working together, were in cahoots, ever since then I feel targeted and I can't feel safe, or ever trust any authority."*

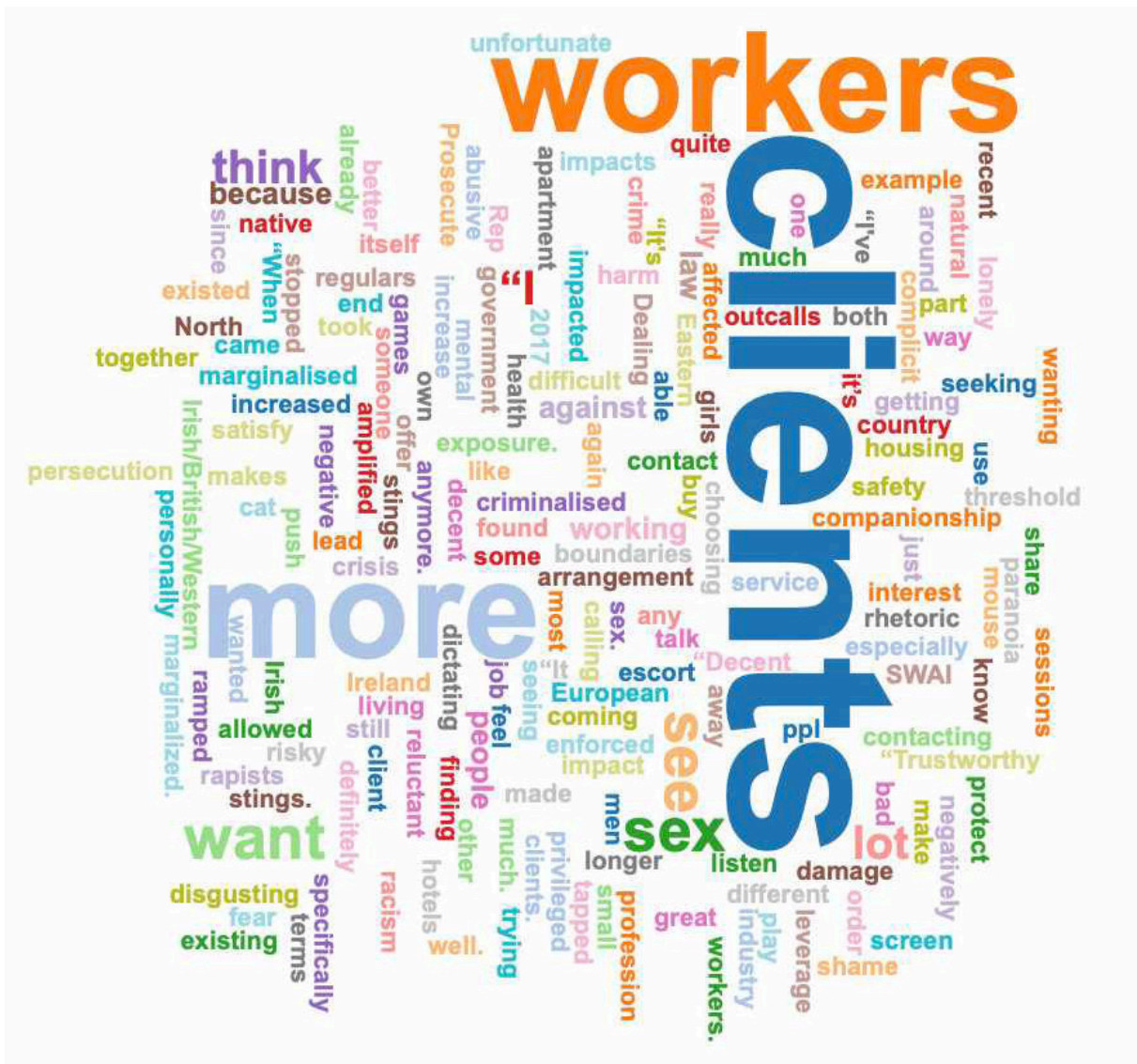
*"More scared to see cops, scared of the cops showing up to my house because my flatmate and I share a lot with my money, fear of my trans partner ending up in jail from benefiting off of my salary."*

*"Because it would be low on their priority list because of who we are, they wouldn't act and it would be a waste of time. I don't trust the police. In my experience enforce the law how they want and don't even know the law. I know they are trying to stamp out prostitution so I don't trust them to treat me as a victim. I have heard the liaison officers are part of operation Quest so why should I trust them not to take away my work or home?"*

Participants discussed their observations of Gardaí appearing to prioritise their persecution of sex workers over criminals.

*"I think it would help if the Garda laid off the girls. They can be more of a hindrance than a help. They just hassle us. If they left the girls alone, they might be able to catch the men that hurt us."*

## THEME 5: CLIENTS



Participants discussed the ways in which laws and policing that focuses on targeting clients fails to keep them safe. Some mentioned how changes to the law have led to a decrease in trustworthy clients.

*"Trustworthy clients aren't coming to see me as much."*

*"Decent regulars stopped calling for fear of exposure."*

Some participants talked about how stigma and the law have emboldened clients, leading to an increase in abuse and risk of injury.

*"Clients are especially abusive in Ireland due to stigma, I feel I can't talk to others about what I do here because of stigma and it negatively affects my mental health."*

*"I feel like clients feel they can get away with more with sex workers because they are both complicit in a crime, so they'll use that fear of persecution as leverage against sex workers."*

*"I've had an increase in abusive people contacting me seeking to be clients. This has made it more difficult to screen clients the way I want and still make a living. Dealing with these contact has had a negative impact on my mental health as well."*

*"I think I am getting interest from clients who will no longer see an escort. This makes my sessions more risky as they are trying to push boundaries with me in order to get more of what the service they really want but won't buy anymore."*

Some participants spoke in defence of their clientele.

*"It would be better to protect workers than play cat and mouse games with clients. The government should listen to workers and to SWAI, itself a small country so it wouldn't be difficult to talk to people working in this industry like with any other profession you listen to people working in that job. Prosecute rapists, not clients."*

*"It's a shame that other girls are not allowed to share if they want to, they should be able to if they want to. And clients shouldn't be criminalised, it's disgusting that they, it's natural to want sex."*

White Irish participants discussed their perceptions of the racist nature of the law and policing, and how they had personally benefitted as clients had become less likely to visit foreign or non-white workers.

*"I think if there was an increase in stings against clients it would lead to a lot more harm to more marginalised sex workers and that it will end up that clients will be dictating the terms of the arrangement, for example I'm finding that clients are wanting outcalls to their own apartment or hotels, especially as a lot workers I know don't offer outcalls. And that you satisfy the clients threshold for safety. Because there aren't a lot of native Irish sex workers, the law has impacted me in a different way to most of the workers. I have been personally negatively affected by the housing crisis and as someone who is quite privileged, I think the impacts would be amplified more for people who are more marginalized."*

*"When the law came in the Rep of Ireland in 2017, it had existed but not been enforced in the North and so clients had not stopped seeing sex workers but they were definitely choosing Irish/British/Western European workers but specifically choosing not to see Eastern European workers. This led to more of the clients coming to see me. I think it tapped into an already existing racism that was part of the rhetoric around the law. Clients are also more reluctant to see me in an apartment or if you're working together. This has increased again since the recent stings against clients. The paranoia has ramped up since these stings."*

## THEME 6: MENTAL HEALTH



Participants discussed the toll the environment in which they engage in sex work in Ireland takes upon their mental and physical health and how factors such as stigma and the law interact to exacerbate the effects.

*"I feel very isolated; the lack of clarity around legal issues worries me."*

*"Clients are especially abusive in Ireland due to stigma, I feel I can't talk to others about what I do here because of stigma and it negatively affects my mental health."*

*"I think it's ridiculous that the police put so much effort into persecuting sex workers when there are no other options available to someone like me here. Policing in Ireland has taken a terrible toll on my health, including mental health. Misogyny here is through the roof too. Despite any progress made here, it's still very much Magdalene Laundry-era catholic Ireland."*



[illegible]

*"I've only ever worked alone because of this law. I wouldn't like to be in the position where the Gardaí might arrest me, but it would definitely be safer to work with another girl."*

*"I am worried because so many more people are talking about this issue in the news it shines a light on our vulnerability, need to work alone and hesitancy to report anything bad that happens to us."*

*"I feel very vulnerable."*

*"I like working here, I only wish it was safer. I wish I had a safe place to work from."*

*"I feel like the nervousness I have is valid and I have to be vigilant."*

*"Working with another sex worker should not be seen as something illegal, you should be allowed to do that because it's a lot safer if you aren't able to screen a client properly, it makes us feel a lot safer."*

*"I feel like all this talk about it hasn't made things better, it hasn't given us any more safety and it has dangerous people to us. They passed a law that none of us wanted and makes everyone in society ignore us as real people and treat us as real people."*

## CONCLUSIONS:

The law has failed to prevent individuals from entering sex work as it has failed to accurately address the reasons people engage in it or become vulnerable to exploitation. Instead it has negatively impacted safety measures workers use to keep themselves safe such as client screening or working together which leads to increased risk-taking for workers. The law has failed to make sex workers safer but instead it has made it much more dangerous for workers and made them much more afraid than before, and much less likely to report to Gardaí. Crime and violence against sex workers has increased significantly under the law while income has decreased. While client numbers haven't decreased significantly as was intended by the law, client behaviour has worsened considerably toward sex workers. Sex workers have lost bargaining power and are agreeing to see clients that they would not have seen in the past in addition to taking risks and agreeing to engage in acts they might not previously have considered.

Existing supports for workers are severely lacking and tend to be focused on workers that are actively trying to exit sex work.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Eliminate brothel keeping laws that keep sex workers from working together for safety.
- Decriminalise sex work so that sex workers can obtain the same rights and protections afforded other workers under law.
- Provide supports such as affordable childcare, regularisation of immigration status, addiction supports, secure and suitable housing and mental health supports.
- Provide viable and preferable alternative sources of income and employment opportunities for those facing higher levels of discrimination in employment such as transgender people.
- Provide viable and preferable alternative sources of income and employment opportunities for disabled individuals and others needing greater flexibility with work schedules such as single mothers.
- Divert money spent policing sex work into providing access to higher education for sex workers.

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