



An Independent Review of the Managed Approach to on- street sex working in Leeds 2014-2020.

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Disclaimer

There were no declared conflicts of interest between persons involved in conducting the independent review. Researchers from the University of Huddersfield have no connections with Safer Leeds and Leeds City Council, West Yorkshire Police, any support and voluntary sector agencies, local businesses in Holbeck, or any residents' groups.

On appointment, all members of the Independent Review Team signed an agreement declaring that they had no moral, religious or ideological stance or viewpoint with regarding on-street sex work in Leeds or anywhere else.

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Glossary

ACC Assistant Chief Constable

EM Elected Members for Leeds city Council

IR Independent Review

IRT Independent Review Team

LCC Leeds City Council

MA Managed Approach

NPCC National Police Chiefs' Council

SL Safer Leeds

SWLO Sex Worker Liaison Officer

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Executive Summary

This report documents the findings and recommendations from the Independent Review (IR) of the Managed Approach ('MA') to on-street sex working in Leeds.

The MA represents a multi-faceted, multi-professional, and co-ordinated approach to managing on-street sex work in Leeds and the issues and problems associated with it.

Previous policing approaches, which were predominantly 'enforcement-led', had been found to be ineffective, with a significant number of complaints regarding sex work taking place in residential areas continuing to be reported.

The MA was developed and introduced by the Safer Leeds Partnership in October 2014, initially for a one-year trial period, as a response to the various issues concerning pre-existing on-street sex work in the Holbeck area of South Leeds, particularly the high number of reports of sex work in residential areas and the low rate of reporting crimes to police (including those of violence) against them by street-based sex workers.

The MA has continued to evolve since 2014, with, for example, the introduction of a dedicated call line for the reporting of on-street sex work related incidents established in 2016, a (fully resourced) dedicated policing team and an effective strategic command and management structure, in place since late 2018, changes in leadership in a number of roles and the relatively recent involvement of LASBT (the Leeds Anti-Social behaviour Unit) as a key partner service.

Although there have previously been several small-scale reviews comprising of residents and business surveys (in 2016 and 2018 whose findings helped to shape the current MA model), until now there has not been a comprehensive review of its performance conducted by an independent party.

The aims and objectives of the Independent Review

The aims and objectives given in the Invitation to Tender document (ITT) for the Independent Review was to:

- I. Assess progress made against the 3 strategic objectives:
 - To reduce the prevalence of street-based sex working in Leeds.
 - To reduce the problems caused by on-street sex working to residents and businesses which currently suffer from such nuisance.
 - To better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life
- II. Seek and understand the views of a wide range of residents, businesses, sex workers and other stakeholders.
- III. Provide recommendations for the future.

Methodological approach

The Independent Review employed the use of: focus groups and interviews (with residents, support service professionals, on-street sex workers, local Elected Councillors, Police, Safer Leeds, residents' groups, prominent community members, Leeds City Council representatives, and a local Member of Parliament); local resident and business surveys (on-line and face-to-face); attendance at 'Listening Well' community and MA strategic leads (e.g. the Director of Communities and Environment, the Chief Officer of Safer Leeds, the Executive Member for Communities, the Leeds WYP District Commander and local Elected Members).; analysis of police and Safer Leeds data; and evaluation with key stakeholders to reflect on the implications of the findings.

A summary of the key findings

The MA reflects a move away in thinking about on-street sex work from an 'enforcement led' approach toward an 'adult protection/safe-guarding' approach. All of the residents interviewed showed sympathy towards on-street sex workers and acknowledged that help and support for them were key to reducing the problems caused by on-street sex work.

The summary view of those residents and local community members who took part in the IR was that the MA should remain but needed to change in some way (e.g. almost 70% of those interviewed). Through the review process there appeared to be a realisation that whilst the MA may not be considered ideal, it comprised a joined-up approach for targeting important resources, such as a dedicated police presence, support for sex workers, and street cleansing, without which the problems associated with on-street sex work, as the impact on local residents and the negative impact on the wellbeing of on-street sex workers would increase significantly.

Communication and co-operation between Holbeck residents and those governing the management of the MA has improved immensely with regular 'Listening Well' sessions and resident representation in the management and governance of the MA.

The summary view of on-street sex workers is that the MA has significantly improved their health and safety.

The summary view of allied professionals working with on-street sex workers is that the MA has helped support service provision become more professional, better targeted and more holistic. The MA has also helped to improve the relationship between on-street sex workers and police, culminating in increased crime reporting by them.

Resourcing of the MA has improved exponentially since its introduction in 2014, for example, since December 2018 it has had a dedicated policing team and since 2016, a dedicated line for reporting on-street sex work related problems.

There has been a steady increase in reporting of crimes by on-street sex workers

A systematic review of the research literature and conducting of a survey of police forces in England and Wales, did not identify any more effective interventions or ways of reducing the problems associated with on-street sex work within the parameters of existing UK law.

A summary of questions raised and recommendations

The review produced some emerging questions taken directly from stakeholder responses. These are presented in summary with recommendations for answering them (in no particular order).

- **Should the MA continue?** - The MA was found to be more effective at reducing the impact of problems associated with on-street sex working than any other approach or model. There are currently no alternative models or approaches that promise to be more effective and which fit within existing UK law on sex working. The MA needs to be fluid enough to react swiftly to changes in on-street sex work or a change in UK law. The MA must continue to evolve and adapt when needed as it has done over the past six years.
- **Does the MA succeed enough at this aim *'to better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life'* to justify current funding levels?** As it was found that on-street sex workers, allied professionals and police, unequivocally considered the MA to be invaluable to achieving this aim, particularly as it has helped services better identify and build relationships with on-street sex workers and to provide individual support in a more co-ordinated way, it is recommended that at least this level of investment and organisational of support, is necessary to achieve and (and sustain progress/achievement) this aim.
- **What does the MA strategic aim of *'reducing the prevalence of street-based sex working'* actually refer to or mean?** Is it to reduce the number of those street sex working? Is it to reduce the amount of reporting of on-street sex work? There is a need to clarify what 'prevalence' means in terms of a strategic aim and to explain more widely the complexity of prevalence reduction and 'exiting from street sex work' to a wider audience (including Holbeck residents, businesses and the media). This echoes current National Police Chief's Council Guidance for adopting a 'harm reduction' approach to sex workers (NPCC, 2019).
- **Is it now time for the Holbeck community to now share responsibility for the MA?** Much work has been done and progress made in bringing local residents and businesses onboard with the MA. It is recommended that more be done to ensure that the residents and community continue to be brought along on in the evolution of the MA. Considering a slight change to the current MA management structure in order to ensure true community involvement (including considering terminology used to emphasise a more joined-up approach) should help. Responsibility also needs to be shared with the community so that there is a shift in the thinking that solutions to the problems caused by on-street sex working lie solely with police and LCC.

- **Should there be a fully representative ‘future planning group’ whereby changes in street sex work can be predicted and planned for in advance based on accurate data and feedback?** To consider forming and developing a representative ‘MA Future Planning Group’ (MAFPG) whereby changes in on-street sex work and their effects can be predicted and planned for in advance according to accurate data and feedback. Moving from a reactive MA to a future scanning and ‘pro-active’ MA. This group could identify, plan, and develop different scenarios and strategies for the future (including possible end strategies, reactions to the development of the area, changes to off street sex working). The MAFPG should complement the existing MA management structure. To also consider
 - Appointing an Independent Chair of the ‘MAFPG’ to help facilitate agreement and to increase trust and transparency.
 - MAFPG to lead on the conducting of a short, transparent and inclusive annual performance review of the MA.

- **How can we make the women residents of Holbeck feel safer and less intimidated by the problems associated with on-street sex work?** Devise and stage a positive campaign amplifying the positive aspects of being part of Holbeck, including respect for all in Holbeck (not about the MA). This should be jointly developed and presented by residents and businesses of Holbeck. Possibly a ‘We love and respect Holbeck’ month?

- **Is there a need for a more coherent, coordinated and ‘partnership approach’ (including media strategy) and if so, what would it look like?** To help counter some of the negative perceptions of the MA, we recommend that the positive aspects of ‘Holbeck life’ be rigorously promoted, such as the fact that it is home to diverse and vibrant communities. This may also help to address issues associated within its online presence (for example Holbeck children and young people highlighted the fact that ‘Googling Holbeck’ brings up a top ten of stories about the MA). Previous ‘deliberate media use’ has tended to focus more on the negative aspects of living in Holbeck (such as the MA) which has often been detrimental to the overall image and impression of the area. Residents, residents’ groups, businesses and partners need to be more mindful of this in future. Moving forward, to develop an inclusive and co-ordinated PR and media strategy for the whole of Holbeck to promote its strengths and successes and help to shift perceptions away from Holbeck being solely about the MA.

Chapter One: Introduction

In June 2019, the Applied Criminology and Policing Centre, at the University of Huddersfield, was appointed to conduct an independent review of the Managed Approach to on-street sex working in Leeds (IR).

The Managed Approach (MA) represents a multi-faceted, multi-professional, and co-ordinated approach to managing on-street sex work in Leeds and the issues and problems associated with it.

Previous policing approaches, which were predominantly 'enforcement-led', had been found to be ineffective, with a significant number of complaints regarding sex work taking place in residential areas continuing to be reported.

The MA was developed and introduced by the Safer Leeds Partnership in October 2014, initially for a one-year trial period, as a response to the various issues concerning pre-existing on-street sex work in the Holbeck area of South Leeds, particularly the high number of reports of sex work in residential areas and the low rate of reporting crimes by on-street sex workers to police (including those of violence) against them.

1.1. Aim of the Independent Review

The remit of the Independent Review (IR) was to:

- I. Assess progress made against the strategic objectives:
 - To reduce the prevalence of street-based sex working in Leeds.
 - To reduce the problems caused by sex working to residents and businesses which currently suffer from such nuisance.
 - Better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life
- II. Seek and understand the views of a wide range of residents, businesses, sex workers and other stakeholders
- III. Provide recommendations for the future

Specifically, the review sought to assess the following:

- Have the right things been done?
- Have things been done well?
- What results have been achieved?
- How do the results compare with alternative interventions?
- How could things be done better in the future?

- Are the results sustainable?

The focus of the Review is therefore of the efficacy of the MA since 2014, rather than a review of what residents, businesses and other stakeholders feel more generally about on-street sex working.

To ensure that this review was as inclusive as possible, emphasis was placed on seeking and obtaining as wide a representation of views and experiences from as diverse range of stakeholders as possible, by employing a variety of research methods, including; individual interviews, survey questionnaires, focus-groups, a review of secondary data (e.g. police calls for service) and by attending a number of public and community meetings (e.g. 'Listening Well').

This Independent Review has been undertaken for the Safer Leeds partnership (as the client) to provide evidence concerning the extent to which the MA has achieved its objectives. The Independent Review includes a review of other schemes and approaches in response to the problems associated with on-street-sex working in the UK and abroad. The Review draws conclusions from the evidence gathered and suggests recommendations informed by that evidence and through consultation with stakeholders, to inform future decision-making.

1.2. The structure of the Independent Review Report

The Report begins with Chapter 2 providing a wider context within which to understand the MA and its introduction in 2014. This includes an overview of the law relating to sex working in the UK, current guidance on the policing of sex working and prostitution in England and Wales (NPCC, 2019) and a systematic review of key research concerning the policing of sex working both in the UK and overseas. A brief account is also provided of the policing approach to on-street sex working in Leeds prior to the introduction of the MA. Chapter 3 outlines the main features of the MA charting its evolution to the present day, including detailing current resourcing and policing levels. Chapter 4 outlines the research methods used in the Review. Chapter 5 provides an overview of key findings and Chapters 6-8 present findings for each of the strategic aims in turn. Chapter 9 shares stakeholder perspectives on the future of the MA and highlights emerging questions from the Review and recommendations for future decision making and moving the MA forward.

Chapter Two - A review of the law, academic research and policing approaches to on-street sex working

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a context for the MA to on-street sex working in Leeds by:

1. providing a systematic review of the extant research literature pertaining to the policing of street sex -work in the UK and abroad;
2. presenting the current National Police Chiefs' Council Guidance on the policing of sex work and prostitution in England and Wales (2019);
3. presenting the current legal context for sex working in England and Wales;
4. presenting the results of a brief survey of current police practice in the UK;
5. presenting a brief synopsis of the policing of on-street sex working in Leeds before the MA (2014).

2.2. A systematic review of the extant research literature pertaining to the policing of on-street sex working

The results of a systematic review of the selected research literature pertinent to on-street sex working, prostitution, soliciting, and policing, identified the following six themes:

- 1. Adult -protection, safe-guarding and harm reduction** (e.g. support or therapeutic interventions for sex workers). These papers present methods and modes of supporting women to leave sex work, through referrals to drug and alcohol services, sexual health, and other support agencies.
- 2. The legalisation/decriminalisation of sex working and prostitution.** These papers identify certain positive effects from the legalisation of sex working in New Zealand. As soliciting is not legal in the UK then there is little that can be learned with regards to UK police practice.
- 3. The criminalisation of sex-selling/prostitution.** These papers focus on countries and places where the selling of sex and soliciting are criminal offences and are subject to police enforcement. Again, as it is an entirely different legal context to that of the UK, the utility of these papers is of limited value here.
- 4. The criminalisation of sex-purchasers/buyers of sex.** These papers (predominantly focusing on Sweden) relate to research looking at approaches such as the 'Nordic model', where those buying sex are targeted by police because it is illegal. The buying and selling of sex is not illegal in the UK, whereas the soliciting for sex, use of coercion for sexual purposes, human slavery and people trafficking are. The utility of these papers is again of limited value here.

5. Victimisation and violence against sex workers. A notable proportion of these research papers focus on the violence commonly experienced by sex workers at the hands of those buying sex and how this can be reduced (e.g. by introducing ‘tippelzones’ in the Netherlands)¹

6. Human trafficking and sex working. These papers look specifically at the links between human trafficking and sex working.

In summary, it is fair to say that the policing of on-street sex working remains at best an emergent area for academic research and at worst woefully neglected, with much of that which does exist being not easily extrapolated to the UK context. The literature review did not identify any silver-bullets or panaceas for solving the problems associated with on-street sex working, either in the UK or anywhere in the rest of the world, irrespective of the different laws and legal systems.

2.3. Current police guidance on the policing of sex working and prostitution in England and Wales

The current context for the policing of sex working and prostitution is outlined in the National Policing Sex Work and Prostitution Guidance for England and Wales (2019) provided by the National Police Chiefs’ Council (NPCC) for England and Wales This aims to offer:

‘practical advice to those dealing with sex work related issues. It recognises the need to address community concerns but also stresses as a priority the duty that police services have to enhance the safety of sex workers and to find practical ways to address crimes against, and exploitation of, those connected to prostitution’ (NPCC, 2019, p.3).

Recognising the complex nature of sex- work and prostitution, the NPCC guidance promotes the adoption of a ‘supporting the vulnerable’ and ‘adult protection’ approach to the problems associated with sex working and prostitution. More specifically, it does not seek to proscribe, but instead advocates for:

‘principles which will guide the police approach’ whereby police officers and staff are ‘encouraged to focus upon addressing the safety of sex workers and targeting those who seek to victimise and exploit’.

Within the NPCC guide, the clearest indication given of the current expected approach to the policing of sex working and prostitution in England and Wales is presented in the five ‘guiding statements’² :

¹ A ‘tippelzone’ is a designated legal street prostitution zone, where soliciting and purchasing sex is tolerated between strict opening and closing hours at night.

² ‘Developed in consultation with national partners from across law enforcement, academics and partners in both the statutory and voluntary sectors, and those directly involved in sex work and prostitution’ (NPCC, 2019, p.4).

1. The sex industry is complex, often stigmatised, and has many evolving typologies. It is often hidden from the wider public. We recognise this environment is conducive to the abuse or exploitation of those selling sex.
2. Policing starts from a position that seeks to address vulnerability and exploitation. We will engage with those involved in order to build mutual trust and confidence and encourage the sharing of information to improve safety.
3. The police should use engagement and intelligence to develop a better understanding of the typologies and extent of prostitution. We will work with partners to develop an approach that tackles the issues associated with sex work and prostitution by engaging a wide group of stakeholders.
4. The role of policing is not to make moral judgements. The police focus will be on reducing vulnerability and criminality. We will seek to maximise safety and increase trust and confidence. This will encourage those in the sex industry to report crimes and abuse. This approach will shift the focus onto safeguarding those being harmed in the sex industry. Intelligence and information should be shared between forces and relevant partners to maximise safety and target those who exploit or cause harm.
5. An evidence-based 'what works' approach will be used to enhance awareness of officers and partners dealing with this complex environment. It will ensure the focus is on vulnerability and safety and a consistent approach across the country.

(Reproduced from the National Policing Sex Work and Prostitution Guidance, NPCC 2019, p4.)

The section titled '*Guidance for Community Managers*' is the only place in this guide that specifically refers to on-street- working.

'Street sex- working is likely to cause the most community concern or complaints. Street sex- workers are much more likely to become victims of crime, and to have complex vulnerabilities. Engagement with all parties, partners and support programmes is a good starting point. Displacement of street sex working should be avoided. A problem orientated partnership approach is preferred, focusing on welfare and vulnerability, environmental deficiencies, and education and exit from sex- working support should be considered. In all cases suspected exploitation should be prioritised' (NPCC 2019, p.8).

2.4. Sex work and the law in England and Wales

The 'Managed Approach to on-street sex working in Leeds has been set up within the wider legal context in England and Wales. The following are the main tenets of the law as it pertains to the policing of on-street sex working in England and Wales.³

³ See appendix two for additional elements of the law regarding Sexual Offences Act (2003) and the Police Act (2009)

2.4.1 Paying for sex

The **Sexual Offences Act 2003** has been amended by the **Policing and Crime Act 2009** to introduce a new offence of making it illegal: “to pay for the sexual services of a prostitute subjected to force, threats (whether or not relating to violence) or any other form of coercion or any form of deception of a kind likely to induce or encourage the prostitute to provide those services”.

It is not therefore a valid defence for a defendant to argue that he did not know the prostitute had been subject to force or coercion. The maximum penalty is a level 3 fine.

In respect of the abuse of a child through prostitution, the Sexual Offences 2003 Act introduced “an offence of paying for the sexual services of a child, for which the maximum penalty is life when the child is under 13 and involves penetration; otherwise 14 years when the child is under 16, or 7 years if the child is 16 or 17”.

2.4.2. Soliciting for on- street sex

The Street Offences Act 1959 (as amended by the Sexual Offences Act 2003 and the Policing and Crime Act 2009) criminalises loitering or soliciting for the purposes of prostitution. It is an offence for a person persistently to solicit or loiter in a street or public place for the purposes of prostitution. Conduct is persistent, for the purposes of this offence, if it takes place on two or more occasions in any period of three months. The maximum penalty is a level 3 fine or an Engagement and Support Order.

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 has been amended by the Policing and Crime Act 2009 to create an offence of “soliciting a person in a street or public place for the purpose of obtaining sexual services from a prostitute”. This can include a person soliciting from a vehicle in a street or public place and replaces the offences of kerb crawling and persistent soliciting found in the Sexual Offences Act 1985.

2.5. A brief survey of current UK policing approaches to street sex work

A survey was conducted of national police forces via the National Police Chiefs’ Council (NPCC) to explore (1) current street sex worker policies and initiatives that are currently being used and/or (2) any initiatives that they have applied in the past 5 years.

In total, we received information comprising details of projects, policies, and initiatives, from seven UK police forces, shown in Appendix 3. All of the seven police forces who responded described current policing approaches that clearly follow current NPCC Guidance. All reported having adopted a safe-guarding policy to on-street sex- working, focusing on the vulnerability of street sex- workers, within a multi-agency partnership approach to solving the problems associated with it. Although some police forces do continue to include elements of enforcement in their approach, for example South Wales Police reported using Sec 59 of the ASB Act against ‘kerb-crawlers’ as ‘nuisance drivers’, this remains a very small part of their overall policing approach to on-street sex working. As shall be seen, these 7 police force approaches have much in common with the current NPCC guidance and importantly, appear consistent with elements of the MA in Leeds.

2.5.1. The 'Ipswich model'

In what has become commonly known as the 'Ipswich model', it has been claimed that street prostitution and kerb-crawlers in Ipswich 'were eliminated' (Boswell et al., 2013) by adopting a 'Nordic type' approach to 'tackling demand'. By employing, for example, "a combination of high intensity police patrolling, environmental changes such as strategic Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) placement, and a zero-tolerance approach to kerb-crawling" (Boswell et al., 2013, p2).

In response to our email asking for all police forces to tell us about their current and recent policies relating to the policing of on-street sex work, one officer from Suffolk Police was keen to tell us that their policing approach was, and still is, more comprehensive than simply the targeting of 'demand', as it has three other strategic aims (see Appendix 3), reflecting a multi-agency approach to the problems caused. Interestingly, the Suffolk officer also stated that:

"If indeed sex working in Ipswich was removed at this time, and remember that we had a serial murderer killing sex workers in Ipswich in 2005 which is bound to have had some effect on those buying and selling sex on the streets of the city, then it was the result of a number of measures and not just arresting and deterring 'the men'."

He finished our conversation with a comment that the approach taken was no longer the sole remit of the police but of police plus partner agencies, co-ordinating support for the vulnerable

"It definitely became visible again after 2013 and we have a much more co-ordinated and partnered approach now (2019)".

It appears, therefore, that the Ipswich/Suffolk approach was/is not simply about enforcement and as shall be seen in the next chapter, it therefore shares more commonality with the MA in Leeds, than would seem at face-value.

Chapter Three: Development of the Managed Approach to on-street sex working in Leeds

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will first set a context for the development and introduction of the Managed Approach to on-street sex working in Leeds, before moving to its current configuration.

3.2. Policing on-street sex- working in Leeds prior to the Managed Approach

Like most (if not all) cities and towns in the UK, Leeds has always had on-street prostitution and the problems associated with it. As the City has developed and changed over the past few decades, so have the prevalence and location of the main areas for on-street sex working in response. Figure 3.1. shows the geographical location of on-street sex work in Leeds from 1970.

Figure 3.1. The location of on-street sex working in Leeds 1970 2020

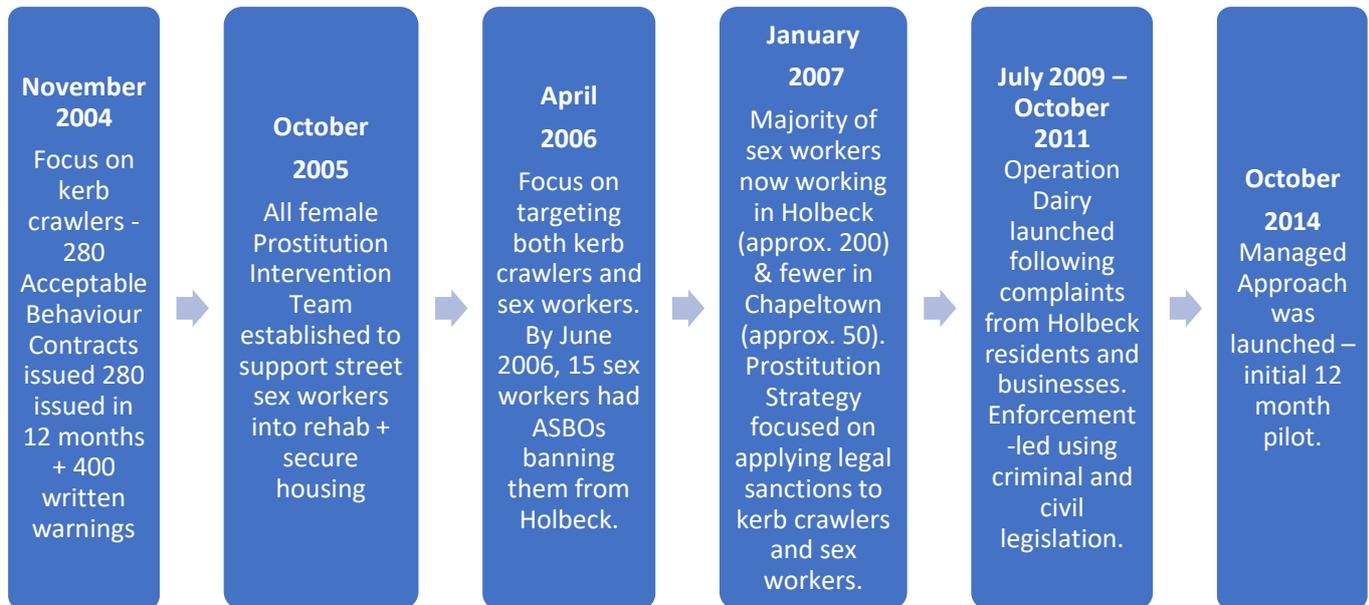
Street sex work in Leeds – 1970s to present day



As areas of Leeds have been re-developed, the location of on-street sex work has moved and become condensed. It has also become concentrated in one location and since 2006 this has been the Holbeck area.

The traditional policing approach to on-street sex working was clearly enforcement-led, primarily by arresting street sex workers and those buying their services. Figure 3.2 provides a brief summary of the policing of on-street sex working in Leeds from 2007 to the introduction of the Managed Approach in 2014.

Figure 3.2. A summary of the policing of on-street sex -working in Leeds 2004 -2014



Approaches to on-street sex working reveal a range of policing initiatives - predominantly enforcement led – that have been used to tackle on-street sex work in Leeds. There is a common belief that an enforcement approach did not reduce the prevalence of on-street sex work, nor did it mitigate the negative impact on the lives of local residents, local businesses, or improve the safety of on-street sex- workers⁴. A consequence of adopting the enforcement-led approach to policing on-street sex work in this period, was the fostering of a poor relationship between police and on-street sex workers, evidenced by the very low reporting rate to police of crimes experienced by them. This was further illustrated by evidence of a significant disparity in the levels of violence being reported via National Ugly Mugs⁵ and that being reported to West Yorkshire Police. As a result, the vast majority of crimes committed against on-street sex workers never entered the criminal justice process at all. Equally importantly, it became increasingly apparent to police, LCC, and support services and agencies, that a policing by enforcement approach was making it more difficult for health and third sector partners to engage with sex workers and provide the services and support necessary to help them leave on-street sex working.

⁴ Perceptions of what it was like in Holbeck leading up to the introduction of the Managed Approach are presented in the 'Findings' section later in this report.

⁵ National Ugly Mugs is national organisation which provides greater access to justice and protection for sex workers who are often targeted by dangerous individuals but are frequently reluctant to report these incidents to the police (see <https://uglymugs.org/um/>)

By 2014, it was generally accepted by all parties that a new approach to the policing of on-street sex-work and its associated problems was urgently needed and a report was produced that suggested an alternative way forward (Brown and Moore, 2014).

The remainder of this chapter outlines the initial conception and introduction of the Managed Approach (MA), the strategic objectives set, and its evolution to the present day.

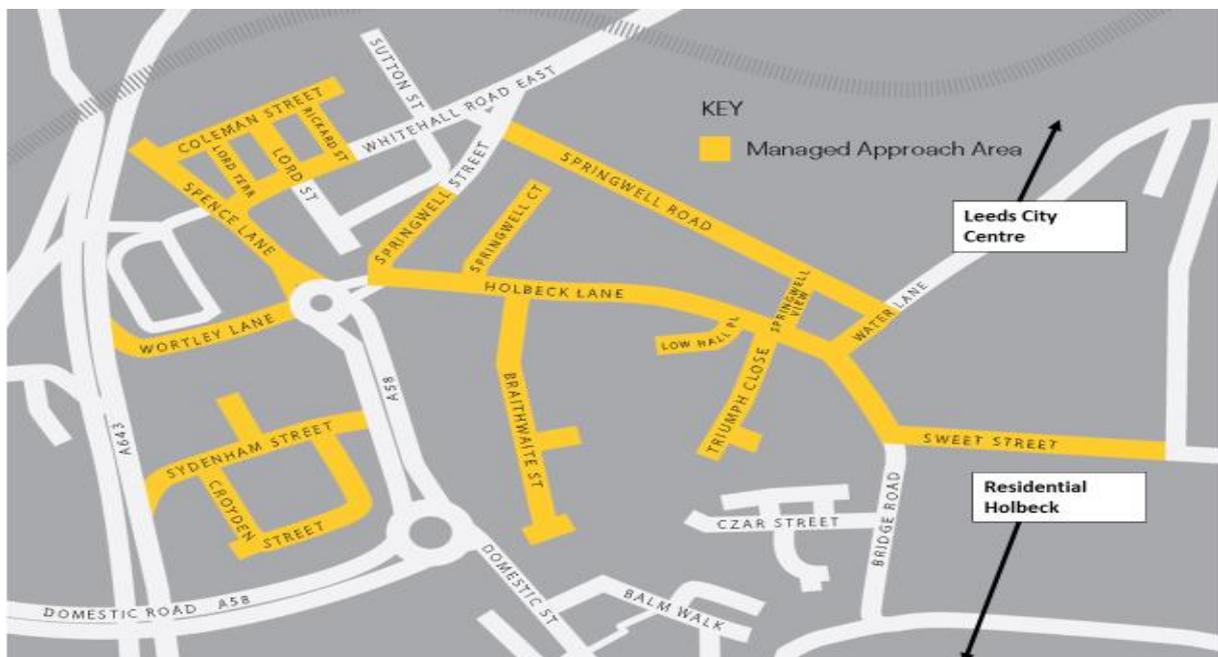
3.3. The Managed Approach (MA) model

The MA involved establishing a set of rules that, if adhered to, meant a reduced likelihood of arrest or other enforcement measures for loitering, soliciting, or kerb-crawling. The rules, summarised below, have been kept 'under review' by Safer Leeds and West Yorkshire Police:

- no offences will be tolerated at any time within residential areas;
- no offences will be tolerated between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. (extended from 7pm previously);
- no offences will be tolerated outside businesses which are operating;
- business premises will be respected and litter disposed of responsibly;
- drug use, trafficking, organised crime and coercion will at no time be tolerated;
- crime, public disorder and anti-social behaviour will not be tolerated;
- indecency will not be tolerated at any time.

Figure 3.3. below shows the Managed Area⁶ of Leeds

Figure 3.3. The streets demarcating the Managed Area



⁶ Formally known as the 'Managed Zone')

According to Safer Leeds, by taking a more rounded partnership approach it was hoped that the MA would:

- increase public confidence in the work of the police and partners to address street-based sex work and the nuisance that this causes;
- increase confidence in sex workers to report offences against them to the police;
- reduce the amount of enforcement action taken against sex workers;
- maximise the opportunities for sex workers to access support services (including drug and alcohol services, health, housing, sexual, and domestic violence services) with a view to exiting sex work.

3.31. The strategic aims of the Managed Approach

Although, some of those recalling the early days of the development remember a slightly different order and emphasis in the original aims (IOA/1), those involved with the MA have told us that the aims have not really changed since its introduction in 2014 and definitely not since 2016. These being:

- i. To reduce the problems caused by street prostitution to residents, and businesses which currently suffer from such nuisance;
- ii. To better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life;
- iii. To reduce the prevalence of street-based sex working.

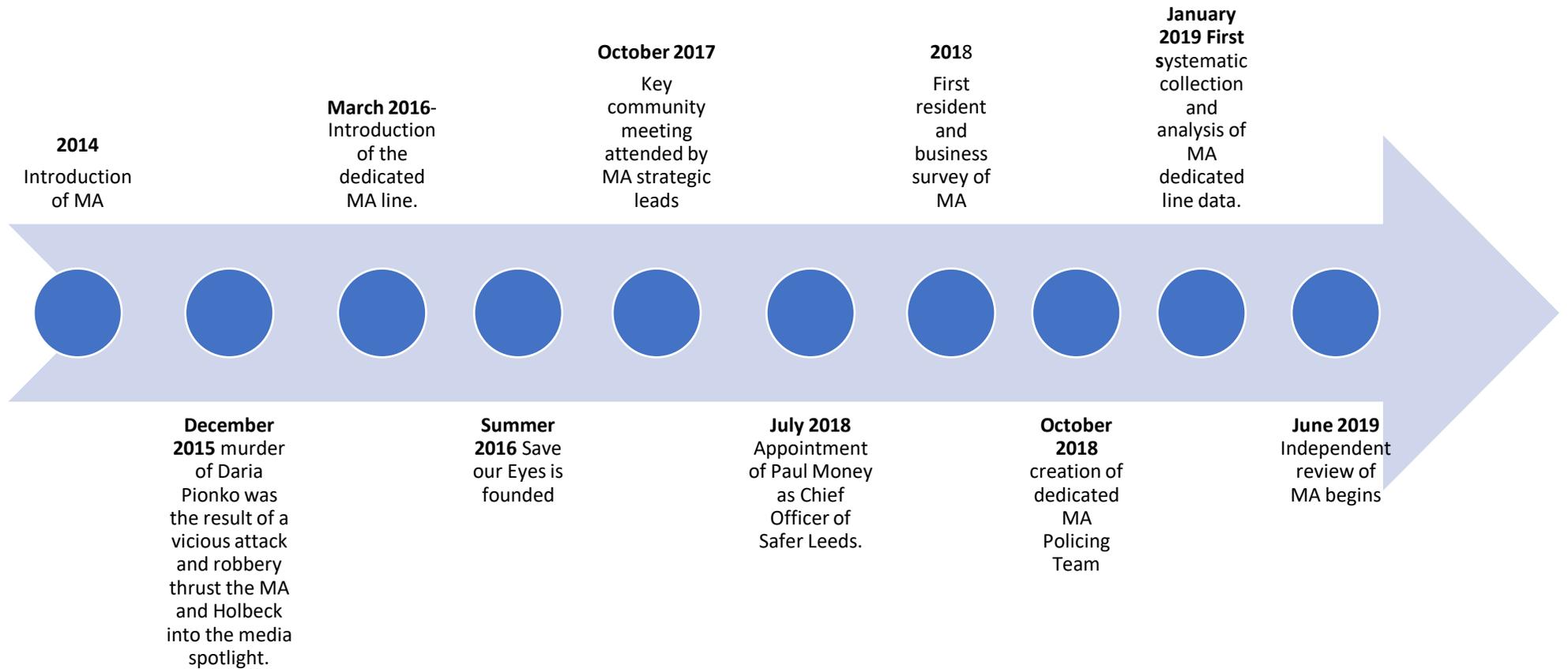
MA partners and agencies now include representatives from the community, statutory and third sector services, Leeds City council Safer Leeds partnership, and the police.⁷

It is difficult to calculate the current additional cost of the MA per year. This includes the cost of two additional police officers and funding towards support services Basis and the Joanna Project. Figures provided by Safer Leeds suggest the extra cost of the MA to be currently in the region of £200,000 per year.

Since November 2018, the MA has had a 'fully staffed', dedicated team of officers comprising of 4 Police Constables (2 match funded by the Local Authority) and a Sex Worker Liaison Officer (SWLO). The team respond to calls and reports to the dedicated MA line between 6am and 11pm, seven days a week.

Figure 3.4. presents a time-line summary of important points in the evolution of the Managed Approach from 2014 to the present day

⁷ See Chapter 5, section 5.2.2. (on page 30) for a discussion of the current MA governance and management structure.



Chapter Four: Methodology

Overview of research methods:

- Focus groups
- Individual interviews
- Online and street-based surveys
- Attendance at community meetings
- Stakeholder engagement sessions
- Secondary data analysis

4.1. Introduction

The Review adopted a mixed-methods approach (as per the ITT document) comprising data provided to and collected by the IR Team.

4.2. Scoping of field work and stakeholder engagement

As per the ITT bid document, an initial stakeholder workshop was held to engage all stakeholders at an early stage in the IR process. This was held 5-8pm on Tuesday 10th September 2019 at 'The Holbeck' (a local community centre). Twenty-two invitees participated, representing stakeholders from local residents, police, local councillors, local business representatives, sex worker support agencies, Leeds City Council, health professionals, and religious leaders.

The rationale here was to provide stakeholders with a voice and sense of ownership in the process. It was conducted in order to better understand the landscape of issues and perspectives at play with the Managed Approach; to conduct an initial appraisal of the Managed Approach; to provide a space for different stakeholder groups to engage in dialogue about the Managed Approach; and for stakeholders to identify issues and questions they feel would be useful for the review.

The stakeholder workshop was run as a facilitated community inquiry process involving small and whole group dialogue, and participatory appraisal (using post-its and posters to enable views to be shared anonymously in response to key questions).

It focused on the three main areas:

1. Exploring people's understanding of the Managed Approach.
2. Assessing progress of the MA in response to strategic objectives and perspectives on change since its inception.
3. Reflecting on the community appraisal data in order to help generate questions for the IR.

After reviewing the findings from the stakeholder workshop, appropriate adjustments and refinements were made to the initial methodological approach which are outlined below.

4.3. Data collected by the Independent Review Team.

Ethical clearance to collect all data for the IR was applied for and given by the *University of Huddersfield HHS Research Ethics and Integrity Committee* in July 2019.

Data collection by the IRT involved employment of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. A summary of all research methods used and their corresponding analyses is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. The different data collection and analyses used to facilitate the independent review of the MA.

Method of data collection	Mode of data collection
Qualitative	Initial stakeholder workshop to identify key themes and questions involved
Qualitative and qualitative	Previous surveys and reports on MA (2016 and 2018)
Quantitative	Incident report data provided by Safer Leeds
Qualitative	5 Focus groups (semi-structured) interviews.
Qualitative	30 individual (semi-structured) interviews (SoE, LCC, SL, WYP, Community leaders, MP., Sex workers, professional support services)
Qualitative	Data collected from our attending public meetings including 'Listening Well' and Voice of Holbeck meetings
Quantitative and qualitative	Data presented on the 'save Our Eyes' website
Quantitative	Residents survey (electronic) leafleting of 1940 residencies in Holbeck,
Quantitative	Business survey. 72 Holbeck businesses contacted. 2 completed.
Quantitative	Holbeck rapid street survey ⁸ 26 people participated.
Qualitative	Final Stakeholder 'findings' presentations. Four separate 'feedback sessions' were held 1. Safer Leeds and LCC, 2. Statutory partners, support agencies, and elected members, 3. Residents and community reps 4. On-street sex workers.

All field work and data collection took place between June 2019 and March 2020.

⁸ The 'Holbeck Rapid Survey' was conducted in response to achieving a poor response rate to the residents' survey. It consisted of a shorter version of the residents' and business', completed face-to face with residents and workers of Holbeck on the 5/3/2020.

All data collection dates (e.g. interviews, focus groups and surveys) are available on request.

4.4. Data collection methods used

4.4.1. Focus group interviews

Three focus group interviews were conducted with Holbeck residents (Ingram Gardens Community Centre, Voice of Holbeck, and a group of women residents) comprising a total of 18 participants.

Two focus group interviews were conducted comprising MA statutory partners and professionals (e.g. Forward Leeds, LCC Cleansing, Sexual health Services)).

4.4.2. Individual interviews

A total of 30 people were individually interviewed regarding the MA; these comprised:

- 3 WYP officers
- 2 Elected Council Members
- 6 Safer Leeds and LCC personnel
- 12 on-street sex workers
- 2 people from Basis and the Joanna Project
- 2 people from Save our Eyes
- 1 prominent community representative
- 2 people that were important in the introduction of the MA in 2014

4.4.3. Attendance at 'Listening Well' meetings

IR Team members attended 5 different 'Listening Well' meetings, each was hosted by a different community group including; Ingram Road School, Holbeck Christian Fellowship and Save our Eyes). Each meeting was attended by up to approximately 50 people comprising residents, local business people and key strategic leads for the MA. The purpose being that the strategic leads 'listen' to the concerns, views, ideas and experiences of the local community. Although there was a common core of attendees, each meeting was also attended by different people from the communities of Holbeck.

Data collected was analysed and incorporated into the IR and is reflected in the findings.⁹

4.4.4. The Holbeck Residents' Survey (online)

A survey was developed to identify whether (and to what extent) residents of Holbeck felt that the MA had met its strategic aim of 'reducing the impact of on-street sex working on residents and businesses in Holbeck'.

A total of 1940 survey leaflets, in white envelopes, were delivered (via Royal Mail) to all households within the postcode LS11 (sector 9 -for Holbeck), each with a unique passcode to the online survey and instructions on how to access and complete the survey.

⁹ We understand that a report of the meetings was commissioned and we were asked to acknowledge its findings in the independent review. To date we have not received or been privy to this report.

The survey leaflets also advertised a dedicated 'drop in session' for those without internet access or in need of technical assistance. The drop-in session was held on 6th January 2020.

In January and March 2020, due to a very poor survey respondent rate, the survey was also advertised on the following Facebook community groups Save Our Eyes [members=600], Save Our Beeston, Cottingley and Holbeck [members= 9,427], and Leeds 11 Community Group [members=3,200]. Those who met the 'resident criteria' were sent a unique password and instructions for how to take part. Unfortunately, this only increased the residents' response rate by 30 (25%). Two who responded did not meet the residents' criteria and so were not included in the analysis.

In total, 120 people completed and returned the survey, despite us providing a drop-in night at the Holbeck for those not able to complete an online survey and the re-leafletting of 300 residencies in Holbeck. Considering 1940 households received an invitation to take part and an individual electronic link to do so, the 120 respondents only represented 6% of Holbeck households and so the findings cannot be taken as representative of the people of Holbeck.

That said, in terms of the demographic make-up of resident respondents there was

- (i) An even distribution of males and females.
- (ii) Responses from a variety of age groups ranging from young adults aged 19 years to older residents aged up to 79 years.
- (iii) Resident respondents had lived in Holbeck for on average 14 years, with some new to the area and some who have lived in Holbeck their entire lives.
- (iv) The type of households that respondents lived in was a mixture between apartments and houses.
- (v) 41% indicated that they were a member of a community group (e.g. SoE, VoH).
- (vi) 64% of respondents outlined that they were happy living in Holbeck.

4.4.5. The rapid street survey

A rapid survey (which was a shortened version of the online survey) was created to further explore residents' and those who work in Holbeck's perceptions of the MA and its progress against the strategic aim of reducing the impact of sex work on the residents and businesses of Holbeck

A total of 26 people participated in the short-survey from a total of 45 randomly identified (i.e. they happened to be present in Holbeck on the day of the rapid survey). Of these:

- 62% were male and 38% female
- The average age was 43 years of age but the ages ranged from 17 – 82 years.
- 62% lived in Holbeck
- 46% worked in Holbeck

4.4.6. IR Findings 'feedback' sessions to stakeholders

On completion of the preliminary findings of the IR it was decided that a final Stakeholder feedback session would be held to

- I. help gauge the reception and likely responses to the IR findings
- II. help decide how best to frame and present the findings in the IR report

In March 2020, UK Government social distancing restrictions in reaction to the Covid-19 pandemic, made holding one feedback session inappropriate, so four sessions were held using 'Zoom' conferencing software: (1) Strategic MA leads (Safer Leeds, LCC, WYP); (2) statutory partners and MA support professionals (e.g. Cleansing team, Basis, the Joanna Project, Forward Leeds, LCC ASB Unit); (3) on-street sex workers; and (4) residents and community representatives.

All stakeholder feedback was discussed within the IRT and has influenced the presentation and terminology used in this report.

4.5. Materials

The same schedule/set of questions was used in all individual and focus group interviews.¹⁰

All interviews were recorded on password protected digital-recorders. Data was stored on a University of Huddersfield network computer and all were transcribed for analysis.

Electronic residents' survey and rapid street survey data was collected using Qualtrics software and stored on a University of Huddersfield network computer.¹¹ It was then analysed using IBM-SPSS (v26) statistical software.

4.6. Additional data used

The IR Team had an initial meeting in June 2019 with the Principal Analyst for Safer Leeds, regarding analyses of the MA from partnership and Police recorded crime data, with all Safer Leeds reports from 1/1/2019 to 31/02/20 provided.

Other data provided is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Data provided to the IR Team

Calls/contacts with WYP via the MA dedicated line
Safer Leeds data (MA 4 weekly update reports)
Ugly Mugs
Save our Eyes (website postings, blogs and reports of sex working problems for 2017)
Ingram Road Primary School parent's survey (conducted by Voice of Holbeck in July 2019)
Voice of Holbeck meetings (IRT attendance at 2 meetings)
Cleansing Team Data

¹⁰ Interview schedules used are available on request from j.roach@hud.ac.uk

¹¹ Both survey templates used are available on request from j.roach@hud.ac.uk.

Chapter Five: Key Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings pertinent to the key questions detailed in the original ITT document:

- Have the right things been done?
- Have things been done well?
- What results have been achieved?
- How do the results compare with alternative interventions?
- How could things be done better in the future?
- Are the results sustainable?

5.2. Have the right things been done?

5. 21. Partnership working

“The communication and engagement with all stakeholders are much better than it was early-doors. Needed to be a more direct relationship with all and not just their reps (e.g. agencies, VoH). This is getting better” (L1).

“Community involvement was poor in the past. A brief survey but the consultation was not good enough. Now Holbeck is getting a lot of attention. Face to face relationships with SL and Police etc. Much more organised community”. (IR1).

Management of the MA began to change as a result of the community and MA strategic leads meeting held on the 4th October 2017, where residents strongly stated to the police, LCC and other partners (including Elected Members) that the MA was failing to improve the effects of street sex work on their everyday lives. Furthermore, they felt that it had appeared to make things worse and that they were angry at the police, Council and others involved with the MA for *“not recognising that the MA was failing them and not doing anything about it”* (FG1/1).

As stated previously, the summer of 2016 was consistently referenced by many residents as a particular point when the impact of on-street sex work was at its greatest. This was noted in terms of the frequency and amount of sex-litter and used needles that were found.

The common consensus is that up until 2018 the Managed Approach had not been ‘managed’ and was consistently referred to by our interviewees as the ‘Unmanaged Approach’.

5.2.2 Managing the Managed Approach

Many allied professionals, police, LCC, and some residents identified the community engagement that commenced in October 2017, and particularly the appointment of Paul Money as Chief Officer of Safer Leeds in May 2018, to represent a key turning-point in the development and implementation of a more co-ordinated, structured and partnership-orientated MA.

In 2018, the partnership introduced the already established (e.g. The UK College of Policing) command structure model that sees different strands of activity carried out at Gold, Silver and Bronze levels. This is a model consistently used to assist the effective management of critical incidents and more complex partnership operations and ensures that any interdependencies or potential conflicts are managed effectively, while ensuring clarity of command and purpose. The three levels comprise:

Gold – Overall strategic command of the MA

Responsibility - Setting overarching strategy that all other plans must take account of, appointing Silver and ensuring resources are available to meet the objectives set in the strategy.

Silver – Coordination of the various individual strategies to ensure they reflect the overarching Gold Strategy and Threat Assessment.

Responsibility – develop a Silver tactical plan that meets the Gold Strategy and the delivery of strategic objectives.

Bronze – The control and deployment of functional resources in line with the Silver Tactical Plan. Each partner is responsible for tasking and manage their own group of resources and for carrying out functional activities through tasking from the Silver Level Group. The Bronze Level roles require specialist knowledge, skills and expertise and are allocated by Silver to individuals or post-holders who are appropriately trained and competent.

In the MA command arrangements there are various Bronze roles and specialisms as determined by Silver Command; these include:

- community Engagement
- media
- street cleansing
- policing team
- ASB Team
- specialist safeguarding support to sex workers,
- strategic Commissioning – supporting sex workers into pathways associated with housing, substance misuse, physical and mental wellbeing, financial support etc.

“The Silver Group membership is wholly reflective of these roles and no others” (SL/1)

For these arrangements to work effectively there needs to be strong connections running through Gold Silver and Bronze underpinned by information sharing agreements that allow agencies to work together appropriately within the structure (dependent on their role) to share (sometimes) sensitive information in order to better understand the residual or dynamic threats and risks and adjust plans accordingly.

Under this MA management structure, community representation is only possible at the Bronze level due to General Data Protection Requirements (GDPR), a point re-visited in the IR recommendations section in Chapter 9. Nevertheless, it is widely considered that the introduction of this management structure to the MA has given it the effective governance, coordination and organisation lacking previously.

We found the 'Listening Well' meetings, useful for providing an environment in which residents and community representatives can share their thoughts, feelings, and experiences, with those strategically responsible for the development and management of the MA (e.g. the Director of Communities and Environment, the Chief Officer of Safer Leeds, the Executive Member for Communities, the Leeds WYP District Commander and local Elected Members).

Although each meeting was attended by a 'core' of attendees, there was also additional voices with different accounts of their experiences of the impact of on-street sex work on their lives. Many of these accounts, were deeply personal and in some cases 'traumatic,' although incredibly important, were situated quite far back in time, often before the MA was introduced (as was found with participants in Focus Group 4).

Partnership working and community consultation have in the main seen much improvement. This was acknowledged by both partners and residents alike:

"We did not involve stakeholders as much as we should have in 2014. If we had then it might not have been so bad, had we kept in touch with all the stake-holders. We go back and check regularly now" (L1).

5.3 Have things been done well?

There still remains a degree of anger and resentment harboured by some residents when recalling how the MA was devised and introduced in 2014. It is commonly referred to and expressed at 'Listening Well' meetings. Our interviews with residents are replete with a sense of resentment at the way the MA was introduced:

"In the beginning the focus was very much on the women rather than the men. Their goal at that point was just to move them back to 'the zone'" (FG5/04).

"It was about 'the women'. The community came last" (FG1/04).

"It was an experiment" (Int 2).

"At the time (2014) I thought this is positive, not just criminalising the women but helping them to get out of that life. It felt like a pilot rather than set in stone forever" (FG5/03).

This is contested by some Elected Members, LCC, and WYP who remember it differently:

"The community was invited to the meetings but only six people turned-up. Residents thought the MA sounded like progress" (WYP2).

"We conducted a survey of local residents and businesses in Holbeck before the MA was introduced" (E1).

In the past few years there has been a palpable reduction in the anger felt initially by many residents about the way that that MA was introduced in 2014 and then made permanent in 2015. This is primarily due to the 'Listening Well' events and to the campaigns by residents' groups (i.e. Save our Eyes and the Voice of Holbeck) to be included in the governance structure of the MA (representation at 'Bronze level'). For example:

"Feels like the residents are more respected and that something has changed. Listening Well events are really good natured" (IR1).

5.31. The early performance of the MA.

It is fair to say that the MA neither functioned or performed well in the early days of its operation. LCC, WYP, and residents who took part in the IR all agreed that, for various reasons, the MA was not effective from 2014 -2018:

“It did not work in the beginning. It wasn’t managed as well as it could have been” (WYP2).

“In the initial stages less women were seen working. But then it became public knowledge and it became more obvious” (FG5/2).

“Previously the plan looked good (MA) but the execution was flawed” (S1).

“For a while we did not have the right resources in place and it wasn’t happening...when we became aware of it we acted and made sure things were put in place” (L1).

Consensus was also found regarding what events helped precipitate a change in the resourcing and function of the MA from 2018 to the present day. 2017 was a watershed year when the impact of street sex working on residents and businesses escalated. Reports to police also increased and in 2016 Save our Eyes was formed as a response to the commonly perceived failings of the MA:

“The 2017 community meeting was the key turning-point. Strength of feeling was shown, which led to a dedicated policing team” (WYP1).

“In 2017 certain sections of the community did not think that we were ‘managing’ the approach and they were right. What we said we were doing in terms of the objectives were not being done” (S1).

“From 2017 meeting (300 people) things have got much better and I make sure that I am now fully-briefed. I did not know then how bad things were going. It was every bit as bad as they were saying’. Now I make sure I am fully briefed” (L1).

“Save our Eyes started in 2016 as a response to the increase in ASB etc. Dedicated calls and reports were collected. We reported our figures and compared them to the police ones. There was no dedicated police team or joined-up management and thinking. SOE forced change” (IS2).

5.4. What results have been achieved?

5.41. Resourcing

As previously highlighted, the MA did not have a dedicated policing team until October 2018 and was not considered ‘fully resourced’ until November 2018. Up until that point it was generally considered as under-resourced and therefore not optimally effective. It is considered by LCC, WYP, and partners to have been fully resourced since 2019, which is both a significant achievement and commitment:

“It didn’t have enough dedicated police resources initially. Just a stretched NPT being pulled elsewhere” (L1).

The common police and LCC opinion are that since November 2018 police resourcing is now at the correct level:

“It is resourced now as it should be. It has taken some repairing of relationships” (WYP2).

“There has been a significant improvement. No other issue in Leeds is getting a dedicated police resource to it” (WYP2).

“We have a much better understanding of the cohort of women now” (WYP3).

5.4.2. Shifts in thinking over time

Significant shifts in thinking have occurred with regards on-street sex work since the introduction of the MA in 2014. For example, it was commented by one statutory partner and one resident that:

“We are in a different place now compared with 2014 to 2016” (L1).

“It feels like a move towards a Nordic model. A compassionate approach, dedicated police officer team, dedicated number, lot more visible” (IR1).

This change has been mirrored by the change in police guidance at a national level (identified in Chapter 1) where the MA signified a move away from an enforcement led to an ‘adult protection’ and ‘safe-guarding’ approach to those engaging in sex work. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that the MA has had a strong influence on policing policy and guidance at a National level (e.g. NPCC Guidance 2019).

5.4.3. An increase in the reporting of crimes to police against on-street sex workers by on-street sex workers

One of the principal reasons for the introduction of the MA was that previously there was a serious under-reporting of crimes against them by on-street sex workers. Data supplied by Safer Leeds (shown in Table 5.1) shows that the reporting of crimes against on-street sex workers has increased since the introduction of the MA; with more than double the number of crimes of violence reported since the introduction of the MA. This is substantiated by interviews with on-street sex workers presented later in the report. This represents a significant achievement against this key objective.

Table 5.1. The increase in reporting of crimes by on-street sex workers before and since the MA

Incidents reported per annum	Before MA	Since MA
Violence with injury	20	46
Violence without injury	13	55

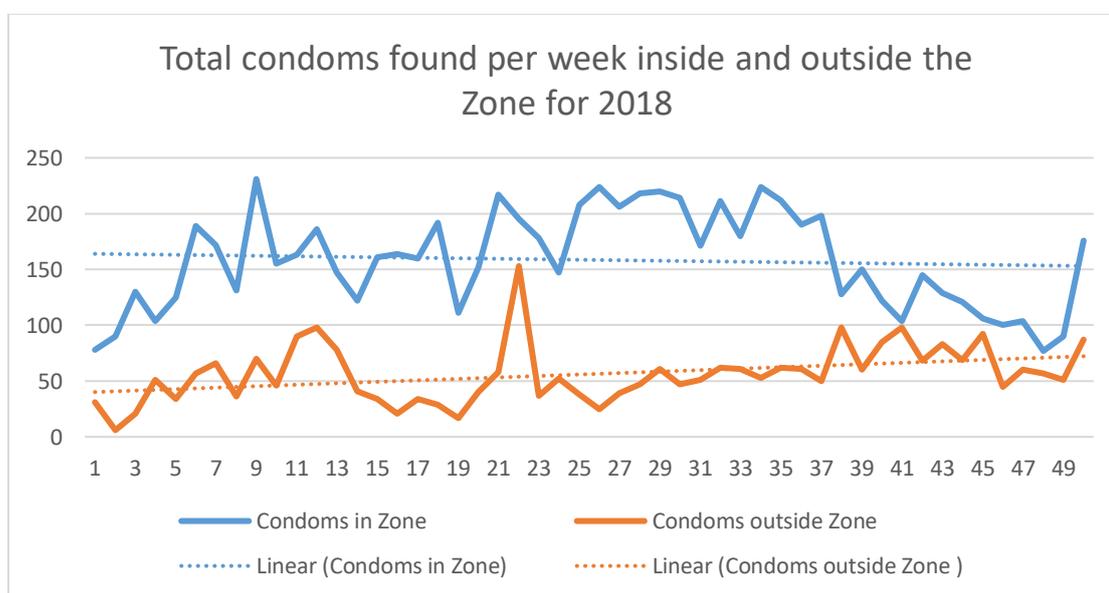
5.4.4 Environmental cleansing (keeping Holbeck clean)

The occurrence of sex litter (e.g. used condoms for instance) and drugs paraphernalia¹² (e.g. used needles) are considered to be one of the major ways that street sex work impacts on the residents and businesses of Holbeck.

There has been significant improvement in this respect, with Holbeck described by several interviewees as “the cleanest area in the City of Leeds” (FG1/05). The cleansing of sex-litter and drugs paraphernalia is a major success of the MA in the past two years.

According to data kindly supplied by the LCC Cleansing Team, up until the end of 2018 the amount of sex litter found in Holbeck was increasing. Figure 5.1 illustrates how the amount of sex litter collected every week by the Cleansing Team began to fall throughout 2018, whereas litter collected in residential areas increased.

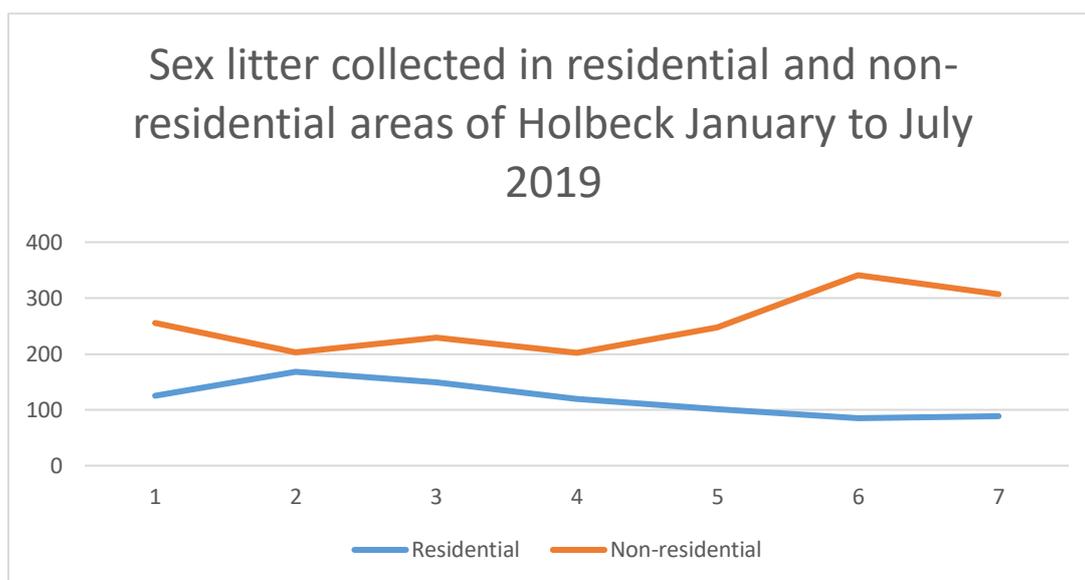
Figure 5.1 Total condoms per week in 2018 collected both inside and outside of the Managed Zone/area by the LCC Cleansing Team.



For the period January to July 2019, things appeared to improve significantly with less sex litter being recovered from residential areas of Holbeck when compared with that collected from the ‘managed area’ (as shown in Figure 5.2).

¹² It must be noted that there is no evidence to suggest that the presence of street sex work in Holbeck is indeed wholly responsible for the amount of drugs paraphernalia found, as most residents accept that Holbeck does have drug use issues irrespective of on-street sex work.

Figure 5.2 The amount of sex-litter collected per month in residential and non-residential areas of Holbeck by the LCC Cleansing Team



Data collected from interviews with residents supports this finding that the environment of Holbeck has been greatly improved since the end of 2018, with special praise for the LCC Cleansing Team. For example:

“The Cleansing Team are marvellous. They never complain and remove needles and condoms without question.” (FG1/2).

“Sex litter was a problem until we responded with Cleansing Team clearing the rubbish early mornings” (LC1).

The LCC Cleansing Team currently claim to have an impressive average response rate of six minutes to reports by residents and businesses finding sex-litter and drugs paraphernalia.

5.4.5. Liaison and Diversion for sex-buyers who break the MA rules

“The diversion work. A 90 min meeting with police to talk about their impact of buying sex. We need to give it longer to see if this works and how. Still more work to be done rather than just arresting and prosecuting” (WYP/2).

This quotation refers to the scheme recently adopted whereby those who are caught breaking the rules enter a ‘Liaison and Diversion’ process and attend a ‘diversion workshop’. If caught again then they could face a formal caution and fine. As of January 2020, 55 men had attended the workshop and none had been caught again. This process needs reviewing over a longer period to see if it is sustainable but has been successful so far.

5.4.6 Communication and cooperation between those governing the MA and residents of Holbeck

Another result achieved in the past 18 months has been the improvement in relations of those governing the management of the MA and residents and businesses in Holbeck. For example:

“The communication and engagement with all stakeholders is much better that we were early-doors. Needed to be a more direct relationship with all and not just their reps (e.g. agencies, VoH). This is getting better” (L1).

“Community involvement was poor in the past. A brief survey but the consultation was not good enough. Now Holbeck is getting a lot of attention. Face to face relationships with SL and Police etc. Much more organised community” (IR1).

5.5. How could things be done better in the future?

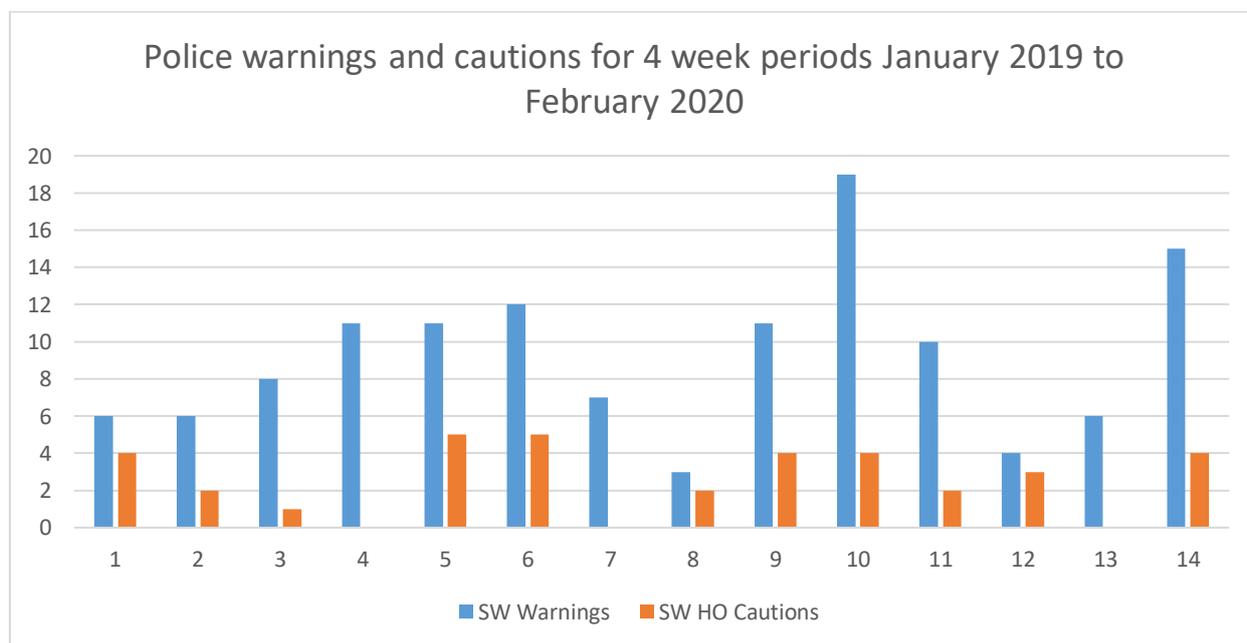
5.5.1. The Managed Area

As will be discussed in the next three chapters, opinions vary on whether the Managed Area has worked well. For example, one resident commented:

“If the powers that be weren’t so damn naïve about the girls obeying the rules then we wouldn’t be here now” (FG1/1).

This may, however, reflect more of a ‘perception issue’ for many; The dedicated MA policing team data relating to the number of warnings and cautions that they have given to on-street sex workers in Holbeck, from January 2019 to February 2020, shows that the rules are being enforced. This is presented in Figure 5.3:

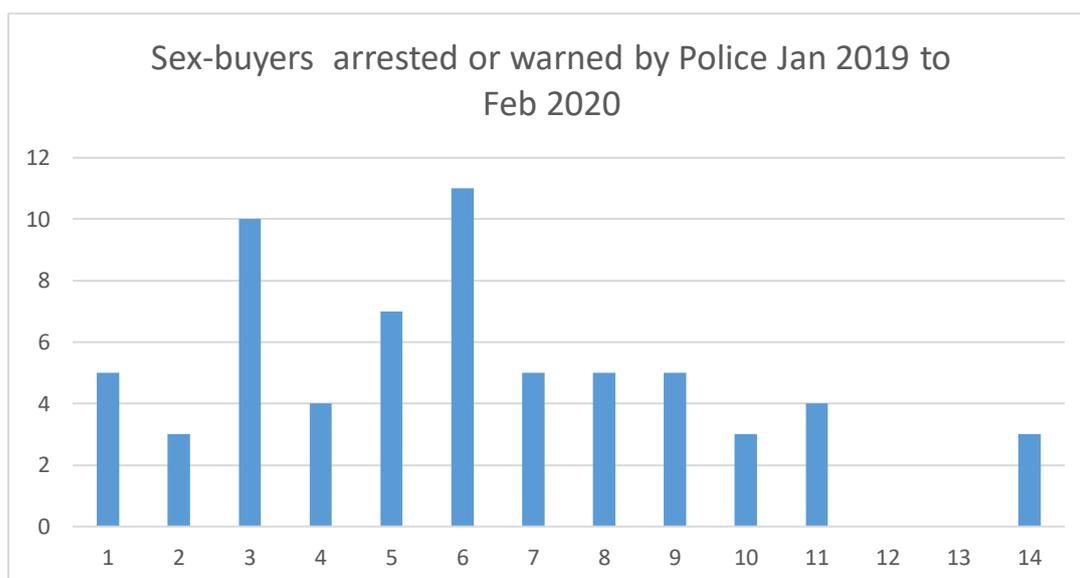
Figure 5.3 Warnings and cautions issued per month to on-street sex workers in Holbeck by police January 2019 to February 2020



As can be seen in Figure 5.3, the overall trend for both is a slight decrease, but from conversations with the dedicated MA policing team, it appears that many of the cautions were given to the same small group of on-street sex workers. This suggests that those that transgress the rules are small in number, with a significant percentage adhering to the MA rules.

Adhering to the MA rules of course applies to those who buy on-street sex. Figure 5.4 shows the number of ‘sex -buyers’ per month arrested or warned by the dedicated MA policing team:

Figure 5.4. The number of 'sex -buyers' per month arrested or warned by the dedicated MA policing team.



On-street sex-buyers that break the rules are also dealt with by the dedicated MA Policing Team. As can be seen in Figure 5.4 the number arrested or warned by police is highest during the lighter, summer months than in the winter.

From interviews with LCC and WYP, we found additional evidence that those who buy on-street sex were penalised if they did not adhere to the rules set. For example:

“Yes, they are now. We are taking- action against kerb-crawlers. Holbeck is the only place in Leeds where this happens” (L1).

An important finding here is that this element of the enforcement of the MA rules was not generally known to residents.

5.5.2. Sustainability and the future

Although a large majority of residents, statutory partners, support agencies and on-street sex workers when interviewed by the IR chose the option the MA ‘was doing okay but needed to change’, opinions on what that ‘change’ meant were varied. Below are a few examples given by interviewees with a fuller discussion in the recommendations section (Chapter 9).

“This (MA) needs to feed into a national policy. Not a small part of Leeds” . (FG5/03).

“My concern is that if we say that it is not working and we’re going to stop it then it will go back to 2014” (FG5/01).

“You can have the approach without the fixed zone. Take that out and keep the support for the women and cleansing” (FG5/03).

“Full commitment to resource the MA. We can’t go back to the early days. If we did then we would have to do with the onslaught that would follow from the residents etc. “(L1)

'I'm not wedded to the MA. As long as it seems to work then I'd like to keep it. If indeed it is. It may need tweaks. I think it will organically move again and may not need to exist in the future. As prostitution becomes even more behind closed-doors" . (L1)

5.5.3. Media representations of the MA

Engagement with the media has been detrimental to the perceptions of the MA and of Holbeck. When the MA was introduced in 2014, the decision was taken by 'partners' to not 'publicise' it at all, so as to not attract unwanted media attention or to 'attract more sex work' (EM/1).

As previously highlighted, several unanticipated events, namely the tragic murder of Daria Pionko in 2015, attracted media attention.

In sum, we found that most view the media coverage of the MA to date as 'unhelpful' at the very least:

"The publicity and media coverage have not been helpful. The public perception is that prostitution is legal. That is not true. There is a certain area at certain times in a specific part of Holbeck where it is sort of permitted" (FG5/05).

Further information about the impact of the media on sex workers can be found in Chapter 8.

Some residents' groups consider that media involvement was vital to highlight the 'Holbeck experience' and to be heard by LCC and WYP in order to precipitate necessary change (IS/2). This was echoed by some police interviewees:

"The media have had a massive impact. The residents believed the stories but this did force changes and progress". (WYP1).

Deliberate use of media by resident groups may have highlighted what were generally agreed to be the early failings of the MA, but also helped to establish an indelible link between the managed area (or 'Zone' as it was previously referred to) and Holbeck. One resident said that the media had played a significant effect as:

"..the Managed Approach as a name is tarnished. Time has not really healed anything. People are just aware of 'the zone' and nothing else" (FG5/04).

The principal finding in terms of media representation effects is that it has been something of a 'double-edged sword', highlighting the perceived failings of the MA and acting as a catalyst for improvement. However, this is at the cost of linking Holbeck with sex work and the erroneous label of being a 'legalised red-light area'.

Figure 5.5. shows the resident survey results for those respondents that took part. As outlined below, respondents did not in general consider the MA to have made improvements, although it should be noted that only 69% of respondents said that they lived in Holbeck before the MA.

Figure 5.5– Resident respondents’ views on whether the Managed Approach has met its aims.



The next three chapters present the findings relating to achievement for each of the MA strategic aims will be presented. We deliberately start with the more general aim of ‘reducing the prevalence of street-based sex working, before moving to the two more specific aims. To recapitulate, these are

- To reduce the prevalence of street-based sex working.
- To reduce the problems caused by street prostitution to residents, and businesses which currently suffer from such nuisance;
- To better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life;

Chapter Six: Findings for the strategic aim: *To reduce the prevalence of street-based sex working in Leeds.*

Key Findings

- Evidence indicates that the MA has reduced the prevalence of on-street sex workers in Leeds
- Evidence suggests that the impact of on-street sex working on residents has reduced.
- To date, 55 male on-street sex buyers have completed the Liaison and Diversion scheme for breaching the MA rules, with none caught breaking them again.
- ‘Prevalence’ as an aim needs clarification (e.g. it can mean a reduction in numbers or in the impact on residents).

6.1. Introduction

This chapter looks at performance of the MA against this strategic aim and suggests that the term prevalence itself is currently too ambiguous for performance to be measured reliably.

6.2. Has the MA reduced the prevalence of on-street-based sex workers in Leeds?

Some residents interviewed stated that in their view the introduction of the MA had initially attracted more women to on-street sex working in the Holbeck area, including some from outside of Leeds and West Yorkshire, namely to meet an increased demand for on-street sex and misinterpretation/misunderstanding of the MA:

“As soon as the MA became known there was an influx of girls from Bradford, Wakefield and from much farther afield. It was seen as a place for legalised prostitution” (ISE/2).

“Previously you knew most of the working girls. After the MA was too many to know” (FG1/01).

Although there is no firm evidence to support such early perceptions of the initial impact of the MA on prevalence, likewise evidence supporting a reduction in the number of on-street sex workers due to the MA is equally lacking. Safer Leeds, however, have reported that 21 women ‘exited’ on-street sex work in the last twelve months under the MA, but as will be discussed, ‘exiting’ is a highly complex and ambiguous term.

Arguably, a somewhat more tangible finding is that relationships between on-street sex workers and police has vastly improved in the last few years, backed up not just by police interviewees but also allied support service people and on-street sex workers themselves (see Chapter 8 for more discussion). ‘Police contact (this does not mean confrontational or enforcement contact) with on-street sex workers in Holbeck, by the dedicated policing team since January 2019 is displayed in Figure 6.1

Figure 6.1. Dedicated MA police team contact with on-street sex workers per four- week period January 2019 to February 2020



Figure 6.1. shows that dedicated MA police monthly contact with on- street sex workers has remained relatively stable over this period, but this is likely to be somewhat has been disproportionate (i.e. contact with some has been much more frequent than for others).

Although ‘police-sex worker contact’ (as long as ‘non-confrontational’) is generally considered to be indicative of better relationships (e.g. building rapport or simply having a chat), this does not help discern whether the cohort of on-street sex workers has been reduced by the MA.

One important question raised by several residents and allied support agency interviewees, is what does ‘exiting’ on- street sex work actually mean/constitute? From our interviews with support agencies, it is clear that leaving on- street sex work is not a linear process and that as a term it fails to acknowledge the complexities involved. It was felt that reducing or exiting sex work for instance are difficult outcomes to measure. As one interviewee commented:

“It’s not always clear cut with exit, we desperately want that to be true, all of the women that we see we want them to live a totally different life that’s free from addiction and that is thriving and that they’re not on the street every night, but I think success looks very different to what the community of Holbeck would like it to” (Professional FG1).

Drug and alcohol dependency were identified by all those who participated in the IR to be one of the key drivers for engaging in on-street sex work and one of the main barriers to reducing its prevalence. This will be discussed further in relation to strategic aim three in Chapter 8.

6.3. Has the MA reduced the prevalence of on-street sex working in Leeds?

As previously mentioned the MA has incorporated specific ‘*Liaison and Diversion Pathways*’ for both sellers and buyers of on-street sex. Table 6.1. shows the number of arrests and warnings for January 2019 to January 2020 (data supplied by Safer Leeds).

**Table 6.1. Arrests and warnings given by the Dedicated MA Policing Team
January 2019 – January 2020**

Arrests and warnings since Jan 2019	Male not complying	Female not complying	Other arrests	Home Office Cautions	Warnings
Number	55	6	42	30	67

As can be seen in Table 6.1. a total of 55 ‘sex buyers’ were found breaching the MA rules in this period. None to date have been found to have breached again.

It must be noted that a relationship between greater adherence to the MA rules and a reduction in the prevalence of on-street sex working can only be taken as an (albeit logical) assumption, as there is no direct measure of the effect of one on the other.

Many interviewees stated that they felt the MA aim of reducing the prevalence of on-street sex working to be problematic and this is discussed in the following two chapters.

6.4. What does prevalence actually mean?

An important finding relating to strategic aim 1 was that the term ‘prevalence’ was found to be ambiguous, with interviewees interpreting the aim and measurement of performance against it in at least four different ways:

1. It refers to a reduction in the number of on-street sex workers.
2. It refers to on-street sex workers working less.
3. It refers to the amount of sex working being limited by the MA rules (i.e. not between 6am and 8pm).
4. It refers to a reduction in the amount of on-street sex work in residential areas.

This is an important finding in terms of measuring progress against this MA strategic aim, for example:

- If cohort of women fluctuates from 60 -90 is it fair to say that an increase represents failure to achieve this aim?
- If it becomes zero (e.g. it is displaced to off-street working) then is this success?
- Or is a stable number of on-street sex workers a measure of success?

This point is important if performance against this strategic aim is to be assessed appropriately.

Chapter 7: Findings for the Strategic Aim:

To reduce problems caused by on-street sex working to residents and businesses which currently suffer from such nuisance

Key Findings:

- Residents and business feel that the impact on them got worse until the last 12 months
- Residents and businesses generally feel that the impact has been reduced in the last 12 months
- Volume and nature of calls to dedicated line suggest that the impact on residents has reduced.
- Cleanliness in Holbeck has been greatly improved

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the findings for the performance against this strategic aim from the perspectives of

- Police, Safer Leeds, Leeds City Council and statutory partners
- Residents
- Businesses in Holbeck

7.2. The police and partners perspective

7.2.1. Analysis of calls to the dedicated MA line (WYP and SL data)

A dedicated line for residents and businesses to contact police to report street sex work related issues was introduced in March 2016, however the dedicated MA police team was not fully complimented until November 2018.

Data pertaining to calls to the dedicated MA line was collected from the 1st January 2019 and has continued to be so since. Figure 7.1 displays the number of contacts (calls) to the dedicated MA line per month from January 2019 to February 2020. Although the trend line shows a very small increase across the 14 months, further analysis identified that this might be explained by an

increase in the number of calls not directly relating to on-street sex working or where no issues were found (shown in Figures 7.2 and 7.3).

Figure 7.1. The number of calls/contacts to the dedicated MA line each month from January 2019 to February 2020

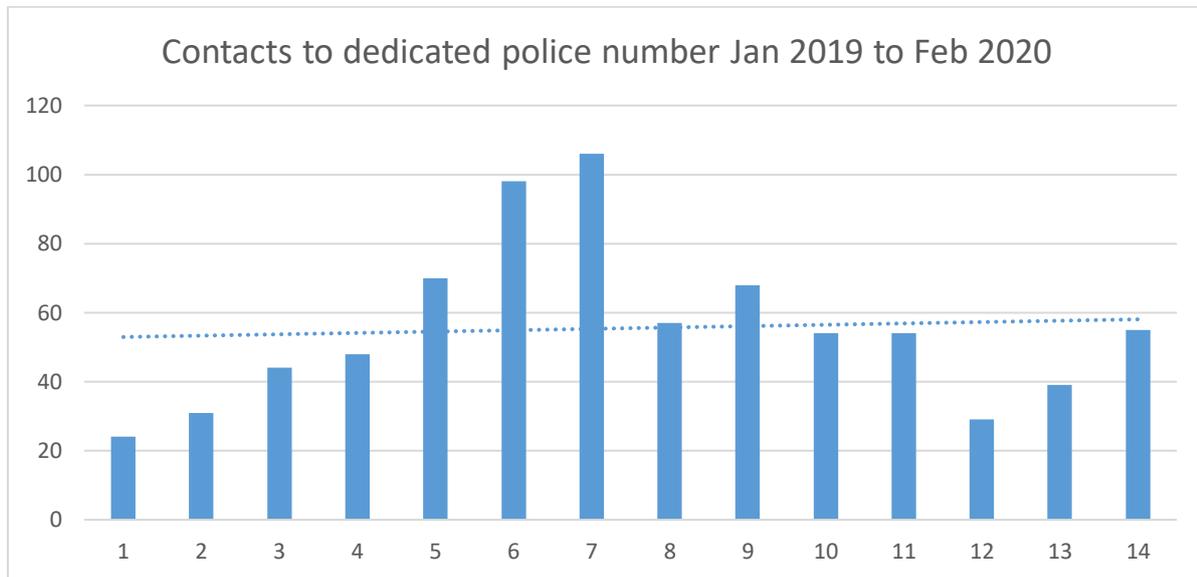


Figure 7.2. The number of calls/contacts to the dedicated MA line each month from January 2019 to February 2020 found not relating non-street sex work issues.

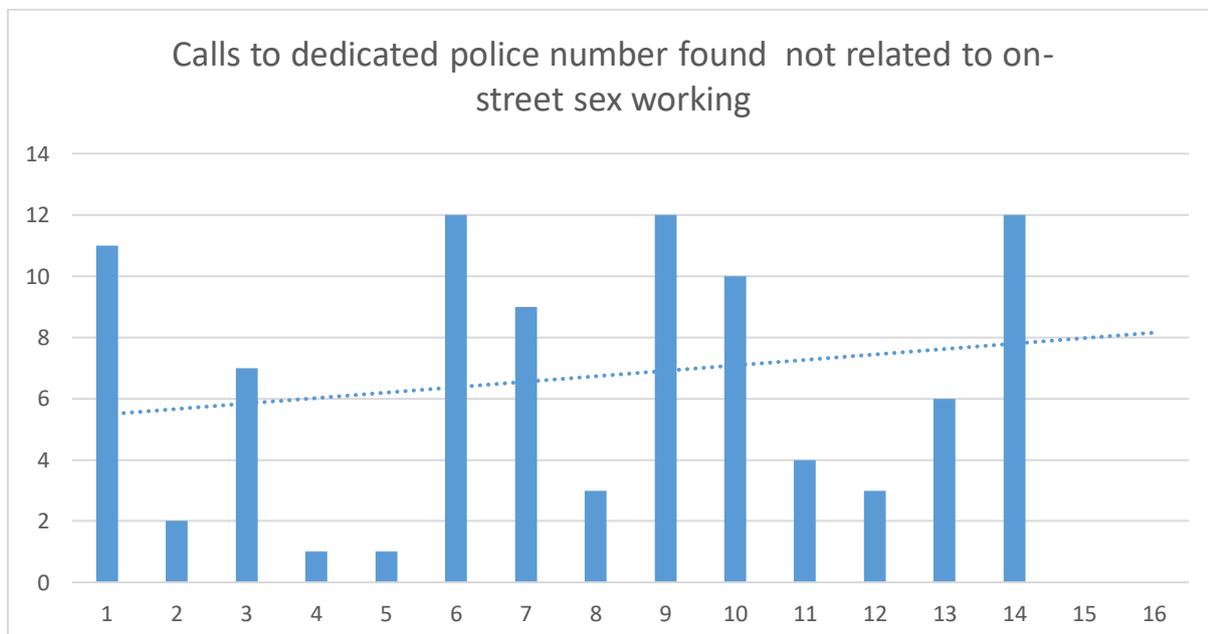
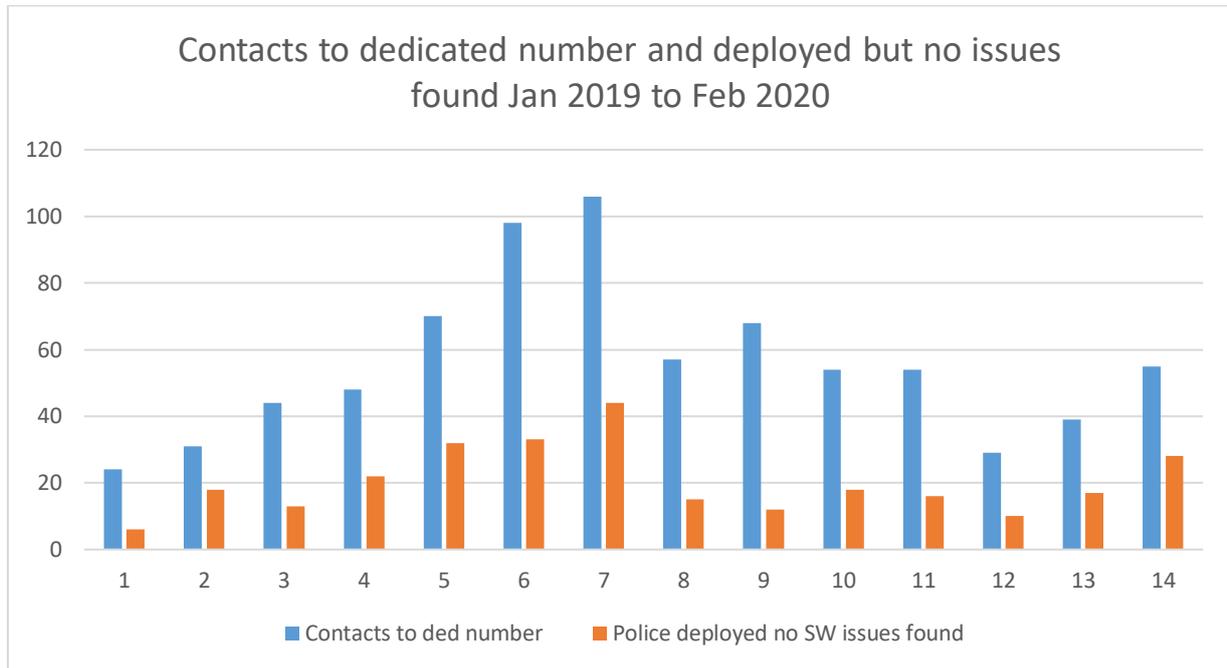


Figure 7.3. The number of calls/contacts to the dedicated MA line each month from January 2019 to February 2020 where no issues were found



As can be seen, the months with the highest number of calls to the dedicated line were June and July 2019, a likely explanation being that more residents were out for longer during the ‘lighter’ summer months and therefore noticed more sex working related incidents. Equally likely is that the prevalence of sex working was higher during the warmer, lighter summer months. Of 231 calls in the last quarter of 2019 approximately 10% were found to be un-related to on-street sex work.

In sum, all LCC, WYP, and Elected Members stated that since 2019 the MA had significantly reduced the impact of sex work on the residents and businesses of Holbeck. All stated that having been inundated previously with complaints and emails (including obscene images) from residents and businesses prior to 2019, they had received few complaints since. This coupled with a reduction in calls for service to the dedicated MA line, were regarded as evidence that things “*have got much better*” (EM/1) and “*that we are now have control of the problems*” (SL/1). For example:

“Looking at calls for service, in the past six months there has been a significant improvement” (WYP1).

“Although the impact on people is important and I completely understand this, we are often still battling historic rhetoric” (WYP2).

7.3. What was on-street sex working like in Holbeck before introduction of the MA in 2014?

Although strong consensus was found that on-street sex working had always been a problem in Holbeck, (e.g. *“Holbeck has always had a reputation for prostitution. I used to see the women around St Matthew’s”* FG5/1) many residents stated that it was less prevalent before 2014 and that before the introduction of the MA, *“It was more discreet”* (FG1/1).

Interviewees from LCC, WYP, and professional support services stated that complaints by residents and businesses escalated from the early 2000’s to 2014,

“There were an awful lot of problems with ASB and on-street prostitution. Councillors were attending many residents’ meetings about the problems caused by on-street sex working and soliciting” (L1).

“Sex working was reported in Holbeck all day every day” (WYP1).

As previously highlighted, this prompted various policing responses to reduce the problems caused by on-street sex working in Holbeck.

“When I came, in terms of the attitude to the police from the sex workers, I felt like I had gone back 15/20 years. A lot of animosity, very little trust or positivity and I was a bit appalled at some of the stuff reported back from sex workers – there was a lot of incivility, some unprofessional conduct, but mostly incivility” (OA1).

One professional involved with key-service delivery recalled that prior to 2014:

“Case conferences were heavily enforcement lead, the whole discussions about women were very much about tackling their “criminal” behaviours rather than support and how to use ASBO legislation against women, exclude them from areas etc. In terms of Holbeck, we just had to chase women around, whatever time of day/night” (KLB1).

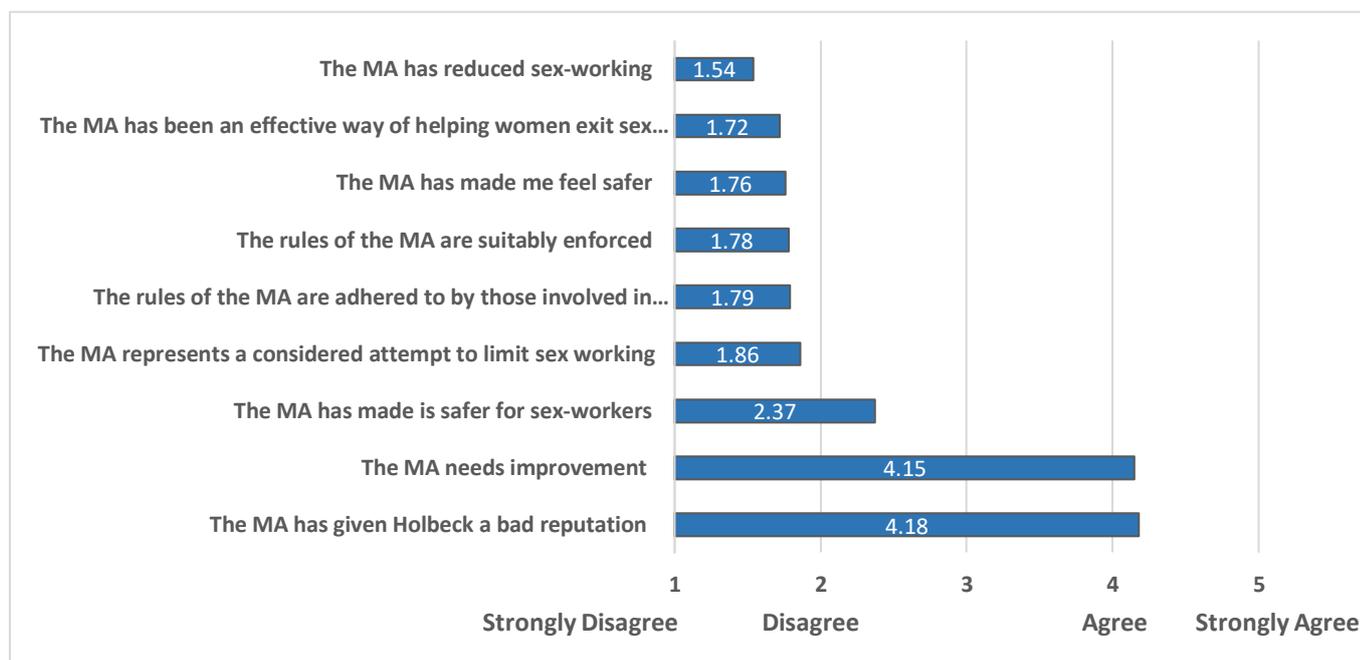
7.4. Residents’ views

An online survey was used in the IR to collect and gauge residents’ views and opinions on whether (and to what degree) the MA had achieved the strategic aim of reducing the impact of on-street sex work,

Respondents reported that they would feel safer walking alone through the streets associated with the managed area in the daytime as opposed to the night. The top reasons for this related to on- street sex work and poor street lighting.

Figure 7.4 displays resident respondents’ opinions on the Managed Approach.

Figure 7.4 – Resident respondents’ opinions on the Managed Approach to street sex work



Those that responded to the survey tended to display a very pessimistic view of the MA and only appeared to agree with the negative questions that ‘The MA needs improvement’ and that ‘The MA has given Holbeck a bad reputation’. It must be stated again that these were the views of only 6% of Holbeck households who could have responded.

The survey asked participants a series of questions about whether the MA had met its aims, presented in Figure 7.5. With the same caveat of a 6% response rate, again resident respondents’ views on whether the MA has met its aims appear to be very negative. Interestingly, the question which received the highest score was, ‘the MA has made the problems associated with street sex work worse’, but this still fell short of reaching the ‘agree’ option.

Respondents were asked whether the MA had improved things in the previous six months. Table 7.1 presents the responses to each question.

Table 7.1. Residents' perceptions of the last 6 months

Statements capturing the perceptions of residents'	Agree	Unsure	Disagree
I have witnessed an increase in street-based sex work in residential areas	55.1%	23.7%	21.2%
I have witnessed an increase in street-based sex work taking place between 6am -8pm	56.8%	20.3%	22.9%
I have witnessed a decrease in street-based sex work taking place outside of local businesses	14.4%	33.9%	51.7%
I have witnessed an increase in drug use in my area	55.1%	24.6%	20.3%
I have witnessed less sexual acts and acts of indecency in public	14.4%	28.0%	57.6%
I have witnessed an increase in anti-social behaviour related to street-based sex work	48.3%	26.3%	25.4%
I have witnessed an increase in police presence	22.9%	20.3%	56.8%
I have seen an improvement in the cleanliness of the area	16.1%	22.0%	61.9%
I have seen an improvement in the response to reports I have made to the police regarding sex work related complaints	11.9%	52.5%	35.6%
I have witnessed a decrease in the frequency of female residents being propositioned for sex	9.3%	31.4%	59.3%
I have seen an increase in drug use paraphernalia	52.5%	25.4%	22.0%

N=118

As can be seen, respondents stated that the issues that the MA was implemented to address were not being reduced or improved. There were however, a small number of residents who stated that certain aspects of the MA were leading to improvement, particularly the 'cleanliness' of Holbeck.

An additional finding was that living in closer proximity (closeness) to the Managed Area did not appear to have an influence on the respondents' views on the MA and its performance against its aims.

Perhaps the most significant finding from this small sample of residents is that it was women and those with children that reported feeling least safe walking/travelling through Holbeck and who were the least optimistic in terms of the MA meeting the strategic aims.

Regarding data from resident focus groups and individual interviews, the findings were different from those that responded to the survey. A consistent interview question was, 'Do you feel that things improved in terms of impact on the community in the past 6-8 months?' Although some questioned the motive behind recent improvements, a majority of resident interviewees said that they felt things had improved. For example:

“Certainly, the last few weeks have felt quieter, but then it is winter. All feels a bit more obvious in summer” (F5/3).

“Has it got better? It’s not as shocking as it used to be. Last 6 months massive difference (review effect?). Police have asked for the review now for a reason. 6-7 problematic girls are now inside (stacked-up charges against them) in time for the review” (IS/1).

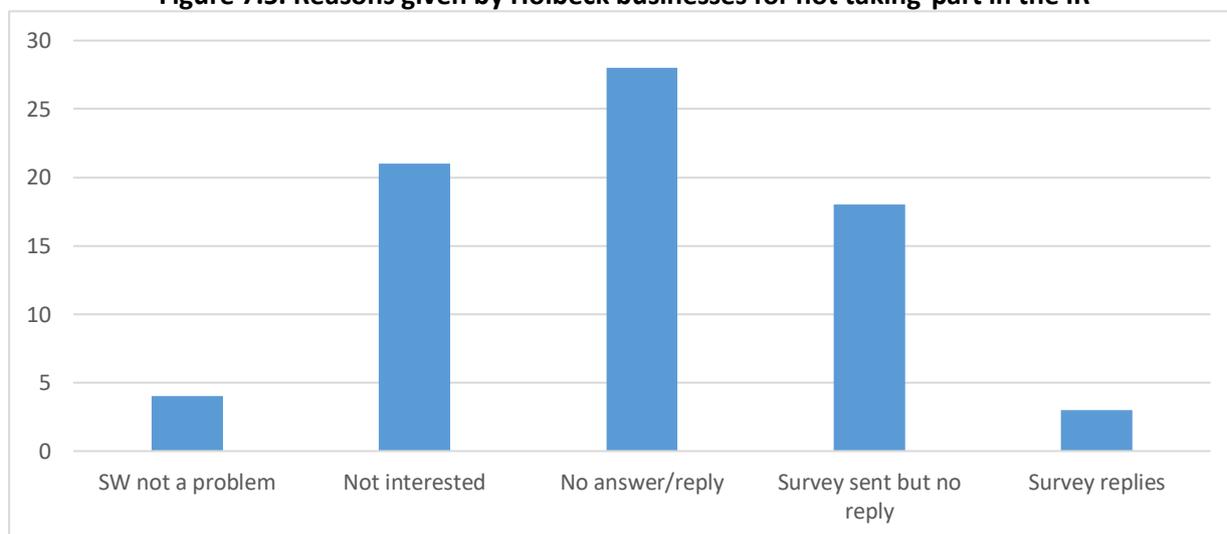
“Last six months, police much more responsive to texts, input in new police entrants. More CCTV, but not recording 24/7. Illusion of safety? The law needs clarifying for residents. Not aware about soliciting and reporting it.” (IR/1).

Additional evidence to support the finding that many residents did feel that things had improved in the last 6-8 months can be drawn from the responses to the rapid street survey where 34.6% said they had noticed a change in last 8 months and 53.8% said the MA should stay. No difference was found between those who lived and those that worked in Holbeck. An important finding here was that only just over half of participants said that they were familiar with the MA and what it was trying to do.

7.5 The views of local businesses

As previously explained in the methodology chapter, after initially inviting 72 Holbeck businesses to take part in a focus group or complete a survey, only one agreed to take part in a focus group and only two fully completed a survey. The reasons given for why they did not or could not take part are shown in Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5. Reasons given by Holbeck businesses for not taking-part in the IR



Although the findings cannot be considered a suitably representative opinion of Holbeck businesses (the response rate was not dissimilar to the 6% rate for the residents’ survey) when the number of those who said that they were not going to complete a survey because they felt that on-street sex work ‘is not a problem to them’ are combined with those who said that they were ‘not interested’, then a total 35% (25) of businesses we contacted did not see any ‘need to take part’ in the IR as it was not a problem to them. Although admittedly, ‘survey fatigue’ is likely to have also played a minor part.

The two business survey respondents reported that the MA had made a difference at reducing the impact of sex work on their businesses. For example,

“At its worst it’s just as bad. But it’s worst isn’t all the time and at its best the Managed Approach manages to take street sex work away from the residential area. When it fails it is more disappointing because of the good faith that everyone has had to show so far” (B/2).

“I think the approach should continue with further investment in welfare for the workers, there is a unit that is in attendance on some nights, but this is for welfare more than anything else” (B/1).

7.6. Perceptions of impact on residents and businesses

Establishing findings on the performance of the MA in terms of reducing the impact caused to residents and businesses, proved to be far from straight-forward for reasons including the following:

1. Reporting to police data regarding street sex work for both before the introduction of the MA in 2014 and for its running up to 1st January 2019 were not available. This has made it impossible to identify whether the MA has reduced the impact on local residents and businesses based on the number of calls for service and reports on a year on year basis (e.g. was there a decrease in calls in 2014 compared with 2013).
2. The lack of engagement with the IR process of a large proportion of Holbeck residents and businesses.

Chapter 8: Findings for strategic aim:

To better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life

Key Findings

- The health and safety of on-street sex workers has been greatly improved by the MA.
- Support service provision has become more professional, targeted and holistic in the MA.
- The MA has helped to improve the relationship between on-street sex workers and police and increase crime reporting by them.
- Supporting women to exit on-street sex working is complex, multi-faceted and non-linear.

8.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from interviews with on-street sex workers, professionals supporting them and statutory partners.

8.2 Improving the health and safety of on-street sex workers

8.2.1 Sex Worker Health and Safety: Before the Managed Approach

Professionals stated overwhelmingly that earlier approaches to sex work in the city had not been successful in addressing root issues around engagement in sex work. As a result of *Operation Dairy* sex workers had moved from industrial areas and were starting to work in residential zones. Enforcement had not improved the numbers of women working but instead moved issues “around the city”:

“[2011 Scoping Project] ...basically said you’ve got to do something different to what you’ve done, you’ve over the last 10 years you’ve spent a ridiculous amount of money and policing hours prosecuting these women and sending them to court and you’ve made

absolutely no difference in what you've done. We had roughly, 2011, we had roughly the same number of on-street workers as we had done ten years previously, so we hadn't improved anything. We'd moved the issue around the city a little bit for all those reasons we've just spoken about, but we've not actually helped anybody or solved anything" (Professionals FG1).

Before the MA there were greater challenges in building relationships with sex workers to offer support. This was due to a lack of trust, or fears of being arrested. Agencies found it difficult to locate vulnerable women as they were often dispersed across the city. Many were hiding from the authorities or from wider gang related issues (including violence):

"We used to be in cars driving around on a night trying to find women, so just simply locating women was an issue and we could go for days or weeks without finding women...

...we used to struggle to find women to be able to give them the support. And at a very, very basic level, you also can't find women to give them the very basic sexual health supplies, so in terms of risk around their health and wellbeing, not only are they at risk from exploitation and abuse, they're not able to access condoms and testing and those kinds of things as well" (Key Professional 1).

Before the MA women would often be fined or given ASBOs for sex working. Sex workers would frequently hide from the authorities and professionals if they had breached their ASBOs and therefore would not *"come anywhere near services"* (Key Professional 1). This also created a cycle whereby they would return to sex working to pay fines:

"[the 2011 Scoping Project] ...found in that scoping report were things like there is a poor relationship between the women and the police, women are being repeatedly fined and they're ending up on the street needing to pay their fines and that, alongside that the National Ugly Mugs figures telling us as a city that we were the worst in the UK for the reports of crime" (Key Professional 1).

Sex workers who were interviewed reported poor relations with the police prior to the introduction of the Managed Approach. A number also stated that they experienced oppressive language directed towards them:

"There were some right nasty ones that didn't understand. One officer said, and I quote this, he said 'get off the street and stop flogging your arse'... It really upset me because that was a policeman, people you're supposed to trust. So, there was a lot of negative, you know?" (SW2).

"Before it were being policed I had an incident with a policeman and he were proper disgusting, erm calling me a dirty prostitute, a fucking slag, threatening me basically and it happened to a few of the lasses with the police. Since that though the police are more friendly, they'll speak to you, ask you how you are, if you've got any problems, you know with any of the punters or 'owt like that" (SW3).

Enforcement also increased risks for women sex working as they had limited time to risk assess before getting in a car for instance. Prior to the Managed Approach, sex workers did share reports of serious crimes with specialist support agencies and these were reported through the national Ugly Mugs scheme. Crimes included rape, abductions, and violent assaults. This was commented on by one sex worker:

“Men used to get with all the time attacking us girls, they used to get away with it, they used to get away with raping you, robbing you, they got away with it... but now it’s banged up, prison. You can’t do that” (SW8).

8.2.2. Sex Worker Health and Safety: With the Managed Approach

Professionals stated that originally the Managed Approach had “multiple targets” (Professionals FG1) to address problems, including the aim to improve sex worker health and safety. However, it was underlined that this was in response to pre-existing or longstanding issues:

“I don’t know any city that has been as brave and as strong as Leeds in trying to be sensible. Trying to say: ‘this is an issue lets be sensible about it’...

...Well the thing about most of the women working on a night is that most of this is of no relevance to them, because they’re gonna be there whatever. Make it illegal tomorrow? They’ll still be there. Take the Managed Approach away? They’ll still be there” (Key Professional 2).

Sex workers who had worked in Leeds prior to the introduction of the Managed Approach also commented on this:

“It’s on the beat of where we’ve always worked anyways so it’s not like we have to go anywhere new” (SW7).

Most sex workers who were interviewed explicitly stated that they felt the Managed Approach has made them feel safer. Women who had worked in areas outside of Leeds also commented that the Managed Approach was an improvement on their experiences. Sex workers suggested that this was due to several reasons, including a shift in the way that problems are responded to:

...I think if there were no one bothered I think a lot more would go on... a lot more stuff if people heard oh well they’re not bothered, it’s just an area where they all go and do blah blah blah, they’re not bothered, no one’s bothered about these girls, that’s when things start to happen, because they think that the girls are vulnerable, nobody cares about them, they’re probably druggies, down and out, probably haven’t got no family, and that’s when things start to happen. Where now people are learning, listen it’s a Managed Approach down there and the girls are allowed to do it and you need to be careful if you pick them up, it’s you that’s gonna get in trouble, not the girl and I think that’s what’s keeping them safe to be honest” (SW1).

It was noted by both professionals and sex workers that risks to wellbeing and safety cannot be eradicated entirely due to the precarious nature of street-based sex work. The complexities of ensuring safety, whilst also finding discreet (and often dark or isolated) areas to work for instance, was highlighted as a problem. However, it was identified that the Managed Approach has improved the direct reporting of incidents to the police. The number of reports has

increased over the duration of the MA, as has reporting to the National Ugly Mugs scheme. This was commented on by one professional:

"I don't ever remember that being a conversation about reporting something to the police if something had happened, I just don't think... because they wouldn't dare, because then you're outing yourself as a sex worker and so therefore you're not going to do that. So, I think, but now the conversation that people often come up and ask for the Ugly Mugs, they ask to see the pictures, that's you know, it's a conversation that happens normally, it's a normal conversation, I can't imagine that, you know, happening before" (Professional FG1).

Several of the women interviewed reported feeling more comfortable reporting incidents directly to the police. An increase in reporting was perceived to be a result of improved relationships with the authorities and a change in the way sex workers are viewed:

"[Before] Police were like 'oh you're a working girl you deserve it', now it's a Managed Area and things are put in place, people aren't getting away with as much as they were getting away with" (SW1).

This development was also attributed to the Police Sex Work Liaison Officer (PSWLO) role in particular. All but one of the sex workers interviewed stated that they liked or had a good relationship with the PSWLO. They commented that this was because of her approach and that her role differed from that of a 'traditional' police officer. Sex workers also noted her gender, a lack of uniform, and her non-judgmental response:

"PSWLO, nice yeah, she's friendly, I was speaking to her the other day actually, when things have happened to me in the past, whilst I've been working, [PSWLO has] been the one I could go to and speak to about it, that's what kind relationship she has with the women, you know, you feel comfortable with her" (SW3).

"And now I think it's better that there's an officer who understands, a female officer even, who you can go to and report things" (SW2).

"I love her, she's absolutely fantastic, she doesn't come to you as a police officer she comes to you like a friend, do you know what I mean it's like... you wouldn't know that she were a police officer, you just know that she's a normal person" (SW5).

Several women commented on the introduction of CCTV cameras; they stated that this had also made them feel safer and that they would choose to stand near them:

"I said years ago, you need cameras, you need cameras, cause you know there's one thing a camera can't do, it can't lie... look at Daria, they put the cameras in after she died, if they'd put the cameras in before she died she may have still had a chance" (SW8).

"...because it's managed and people know that [purchasers of sex] can't get away with certain stuff...Can't get away with stuff with the girls, take their money off them or robbing them or doing stuff like that cause there's cameras dotted and it's a Managed Area... I think it's better yeah" (SW1).

However, it was commented by one sex worker that this could also have an impact on those purchasing sex:

"I think it's died down a lot, I don't think people come down as much... I don't know I think it's cause of the police and all the cameras, there's a lot of cameras, you can hear them..."

...like you'll meet people who don't wanna come down here, because of the cameras and stuff, so like they'll see you at home and stuff, but only if they're alright" (SW6).

Similarly, whilst it was agreed that cameras improved a sense of safety, it was also questioned how they are used:

"...providing it's not used to persecute us" (SW9).

Several sex workers commented on being targets of abuse by people in passing cars, including verbal harassment or items being thrown (including fireworks); they also emphasized the distressing impact of this. Professionals commented that media reporting can attract attention to the area which in turn exacerbates these examples of anti-social behaviour, including attacks on-street workers (Key Professional 1 commented that this is reflected in Ugly Mugs data).

Professionals also voiced concerns around long term planning or modifications within the Holbeck area. They noted that redevelopments or environmental changes can have an impact on sex working. Areas of land or streets that are redeveloped or cordoned off can mean that there are fewer places for sex work to take place. Decisions that are made at a structural level need to consider the unintended consequences on sex working and the Managed Approach.

8.3 Provision of support and accessing sex workers

8.3.1 Sex worker perspectives of support

All women who were interviewed strongly praised wider support services, in particular the Joanna Project and Basis. Many stated that they were aware of the rules of the Managed Approach through their involvement with support agencies and had been provided maps of the area, for example. Both sex workers and professionals felt that the Managed Approach has helped to challenge the fear or stigma in coming forward to specialized services.

Sex workers identified the importance of holistic support at multiple levels and commented on the consistent, non-judgmental response from support agencies. This ranged from initial outreach work, drop-in facilities, and health and wellbeing services (hosted by the Joanna Project for instance); to long-term support provided by Basis and Forward Leeds. A number of women stated that this provision was *'life saving'*.

"[Support agency] saved me. Yeah cause I used to self-harm a right lot, do you know what I mean? And I don't now since I've been there [in new home]. I haven't done it for three month and I don't feel like doing it neither" (SW6).

"I've got a lot of support, a lot and do you know, I'll tell you something, I'll tell you how supported, I am going into detox in hopefully December and if it wasn't for [support agency] I wouldn't be there now" (SW5).

"...you can go there, have a hot drink, get a bath, get a shower, go to sleep, get clean clothes, you know what I mean, get toiletries, just all your basic needs, what you need, and you can get it there, as well as a cuddle, you know feeling love really cause like some of us, we're like... not un-loveable but we've had so much shit... we're all still human beings underneath" (SW10).

8.3.2 Interprofessional and multi-agency working

Whilst there were some examples of collaborative practice before the Managed Approach its implementation has significantly improved interprofessional and multi-agency working. It was noted by professionals that a city-wide approach means that there is a shared agenda for practice between different agencies or services. Those involved in the Managed Approach can advocate for individual women with other agencies, but can also work on a strategic level to look at pathways for referrals or training for wider professionals:

“...it’s a bigger thing and people have tapped into it” (Professional FG1).

“I think it helps that everybody has bought into it, I think it helps that people are... and there is some notion of trying to bring some semblance of control to what is uncontrollable...” (Key Professional 2).

“It also means that we have some very practical conversations with the police about where women are continuously in conflict with the community about what might be the best outcome there, because the reality is for some women who are really struggling to abide by the rules and there are problems within the community there may have to be some enforcement action taken and how do we make sure women, women who are quite traumatised and very vulnerable, can access the pathway that they need and not necessarily end up in prison. For some women that’s where they end up and for some women that’s safeguarding for them and as well as the community but the reality is we’re much more nuanced about how we do that” (Key Professional 1).

Increased collaboration was characterized by four main themes, including: a collective understanding of the key issues for sex workers; improved relationships and communication between professionals; focused or directed resources; and increased confidence in information sharing.

Both professionals and sex workers stated that there is an increased awareness of the vulnerabilities of those engaging in street-based sex work and the complexities of addressing their needs:

“I think what the Managed Approach has brought in is a complete sea change in raising the profile of vulnerable women, of seeing them as vulnerable and as being in need” (Key Professional 2).

“I also think we’ve got a bit of a... I think the context in Leeds, is that we’ve got a city that’s very committed to a compassionate approach, and that’s...a compassionate and inclusive approach. And I like to think... I’m really proud of Leeds for being overtly compassionate about some of the most vulnerable people in the city, that need and deserve our protection and people who are otherwise invisible or marginalised and pushed into really precarious situations” (Key Professional 1).

A shared agenda for practice and regular meetings has also improved relationships and communication between professionals. This helps to ensure that targeted interventions can happen and avoids the duplication of work or resources:

“...[before] it would have been all quite separate, whereas now it’s a lot more linked up so, you know, there’s a weekly tasking meeting where you’ve got cleansing, you’ve got the police, you’ve got the anti-social behaviour team, you’ve got the support agencies all sat around the table sharing information, discussing what’s gonna happen and I guess that means instead of us running off and doing something it’s ‘whose best to pick this up? What’s the best way of tackling with it? Whose powers are most appropriate? What’s everyone else doing?’ So, you know so I... so that’s maybe a change that’s not necessarily come in with the Managed Approach but might just be a change over the last, you know, however long about how the Managed Approach is managed perhaps. But I think definitely there’s just that greater link up, you know, you maybe reduce duplication, and you also make sure the most appropriate route is being followed for these things because everybody’s talking” (Professional FG2).

A strengthening of collaborative work has also increased confidence in information keeping and sharing. It has also improved police intelligence around wider crimes in the area, including information on registered sex offenders:

“Because we’ve now got this in place, we can really push the boat out as far as partnership working goes and we do share information and we tell the women, you know, that we’re gonna share information, when we have concerns and what have you and they sign up to GDPR and all that, so that they know that we’re keeping information about them on our system and if we have concerns we’ll talk to others and that we’ll work in partnership to get them the best outcome. And I think all of that would never had happened without the Managed Approach” (Professional FG1).

8.3.3 Targeting support and engaging hard to reach groups

The Managed Approach has improved relationships between sex workers and the authorities, which in turn has increased a sense of trust between sex workers and support agencies. If the police identify women who are sex working outside of the ascribed hours for example, they can be directed to specialist drop-in services. Improved relationships and a shift in focus on to the wellbeing of sex workers has helped with identifying and locating vulnerable women who are at risk; helping to save police resources and the time spent finding women who are reported missing. Furthermore, a shared approach means that support can be given to sex workers outside of core specialist agency hours.

As a result of increased collaboration and defined geographical parameters, agencies can now target health and wellbeing support and jointly follow through with safeguarding processes. Increased access also means that professionals can begin to identify if women (such as migrant sex workers) are being exploited or trafficked:

“The crucial bit is the policing and it’s that wider approach to it that says we’re not here to criminalise you we’re here to check you’re safe, that you’re not being exploited, that you’re not being trafficked” (Professional FG1).

Services (such as health for instance) highlighted the impact of the Managed Approach in terms of their ability to access sex workers, including hard to reach groups. Sexual health outlined that contact with women has been “*exponential in terms of numbers*” (Professional FG1). They commented that a shift from enforcement to support has helped foster a sense of honesty or transparency, therefore increased their ability to access vulnerable women, such as migrant sex workers:

“...as far as across the country, I don’t think anybody’s seen the numbers we are seeing of migrant women in terms of sex working, we know it’s happening but people don’t have access to that” (Professional FG1).

8.4 Support for exiting or reducing sex working

Findings show that the needs of sex workers are often highly complex and are compounded by several factors. Reducing or exiting sex work is a long and challenging process and one that is not always “*linear*” (Professional FG1):

“Often its complex needs, it’s not just one thing, it’s not like you can just go in and say this person needs a house oh great, there’s your house, off you go, job done. You know, this person needs a script, get them off heroin, brilliant, done. You’ve usually got a few of these issues all interplaying together” (Professional FG2).

Improvements in health and wellbeing or changes in behaviour can be incremental and women may be involved with services for several years:

“...and for a few, you know, it’s not to say nobody’s making improvements, people are, but there’s an awful lot of people who aren’t. But maybe they would be dead if they wasn’t” (Key Professional 2).

“We are people, we don’t wanna do it either most of the time. We’re trying” (SW9)

Drug use was identified by both sex workers and professionals as one of the key drivers for engaging in street-based sex work and one of the main barriers to reducing or exiting:

“The only way to get people to exit is to get them off drugs, and the people that have reduced their working are people that have reduced their addiction, and got a house and got some semblance of normality and have begun to rebuild their life” (Key Professional 2).

However, the MA is seen as a step towards addressing these challenges:

“We can’t be threatened because we’re held to ransom... [we need to be] shown a different way rather than forced, rather than the law saying right that’s it, you’ve broke the law, bang, cause you’re just gonna continue until you’ve passed your addiction. They’re not helping us out of addiction, [support agency] is. [Enforcement] doesn’t work, it’s a waste of taxpayers’ money, it’s a waste of time and energy for everybody because until we get the drug under control there’s no way we’re gonna stop. It’s not like we don’t care, obviously, but we can’t do anything about it until we’re clean” (SW2).

For many sex workers social support networks are often based around drug use, therefore leaving these networks can be challenging, particularly if there is nothing to replace these. Other

barriers to reducing or exiting sex work include a range of social, economic, and emotional factors. These include stigma and shame; mental health (such as trauma and poor self-esteem); isolation; poverty; or a lack of appropriate housing. Similarly, limited awareness about the specific needs of sex workers by mainstream services and institutions (including health and social care, and education, for example) were also felt to be a barrier. Professionals and one sex worker also noted the impact of the media (including the BBC3 documentaries) on the long-term stigma of those sex working.

However, 'exiting' was consistently viewed as a problematic term. Several professionals acknowledged the convoluted nature of this aim and that reducing or exiting sex work are difficult outcomes to measure. Exiting statistics therefore are only ever a "*snapshot*" (Professional FG1) of a moment in time and does not account for those women who sex work sporadically or indoors. Similarly, women may return to sex work for a range of reasons and after a long period of time.

Chapter 9: Emerging questions, perspectives about the future and recommendations

9.1 Perspectives about what should happen to the Managed Approach?

A key question asked at all interviews, focus groups and surveys conducted as part of the IR, was *'What does the MA need to do?'*

The prevailing view of those that took part in the IR was that the MA should remain but needed to change (almost 75% of those interviewed). Through the review process there appeared to be a realisation that whilst the Managed Approach may not be considered ideal, it had provided resources such as a dedicated police presence, support for sex workers and street cleansing, that would be less effective without the MA.

"My concern is that if we say that it is not working and we're going to stop it then it will go back to 2014" (FG5/01 Residents).

"Full commitment to resource the MA. We can't go back to the early days. If we did then we would have to do with the onslaught that would follow from the residents etc." (L1 Safer Leeds professional).

"I'm not wedded to the MA. As long as it seems to work then I'd like to keep it. If indeed it is. It may need tweaks. I think it will organically move again and may not need to exist in the future. As prostitution becomes even more behind closed-doors" (L1 Safer Leeds professional).

Changes identified by stakeholders concerned both operational and strategic issues. Operationally, there was a feeling that having a focus on a 'zone' was not useful because activity moved beyond the zone. Whilst the focus was on MA as an approach, the identification of a 'zone' has been seen as less useful with more focus on supporting the women themselves:

"You can have the approach without the fixed zone. Take that out and keep the support for the women and cleansing" (FG5/03).

"More opportunity to challenge their anonymity. Maybe a stepped approach, where they first get the diversion, then a warning publicising them. I'd like to do more to support the women. We have done a lot in the last year though" (L1).

The geography of the MA is also significant in terms of neighbourhood identity and the allocation of resources.

"There is a focus on one issue but not everybody in Holbeck is a prostitute. Other things are not resourced properly like having a safe park" (FG5/04).

"We need to help sell the good things about Holbeck" (WYP1).

Throughout the Independent Review process and in thinking about the future of the MA, the complexity of the issues at play have become apparent. At the same time through stakeholder engagement in the Review some key issues and questions have emerged that provide

opportunities to engage with the complexity to inform ways forward. These are considered in the next section and are used to frame recommendations emerging from the Review.

9.2 Emerging questions and recommendations

These emerging questions have been taken directly from stakeholder responses in the review.

➤ ***Should the MA continue?***

Recommendation 1. The MA was found to be more effective at dealing positively with problems associated with on-street sex working than any other policing approaches. There is currently no alternative model or approach that promises to be more effective and which fits within existing UK laws. That said, the MA needs to remain fluid enough to be able to react swiftly to changes in on-street sex work or if there is a change UK law. The MA must continue to evolve as it has done over the past six years and be considered as ‘a work in progress’.

➤ ***Does the MA succeed enough at the strategic aim: ‘to better engage with street sex workers to improve their safety and health, with a view to enabling them to exit this way of life?’ to justify current funding levels?***

Recommendation 2. As on-street sex workers, allied professionals and police, were found unequivocally to consider the MA invaluable to achieving this aim, particularly as it has helped services better identify and build relationships with on-street sex workers and to provide individual support in a more co-ordinated way, it is recommended that at least this level of investment and organisational support are necessary to continue to achieve and sustain progress made in this aim.

➤ ***What does the MA strategic aim: ‘reducing the prevalence of street-based sex working’ actually refer to or mean? Is it to reduce the number of those street sex working? Is it reduce the amount of reporting on-street sex work? What does street-based sex work comprise? Is it the same as on-street sex work?***

Recommendation 3. To clarify what is meant by ‘prevalence’ in terms of this strategic aim and to widely disseminate this.

Recommendation 4. To explain more widely the complexity of prevalence reduction and ‘exiting from on-street sex work’ to audiences including Holbeck residents, businesses and the media.

Recommendation 5. If the concept of ‘exiting’ is too complex to be act as a suitable performance measure for reducing the number of women engaging in on-street sex work, then we recommend that another performance indicators or measures be devised which appropriately incorporate the complexities of reducing sex work and the different types and levels of support needed.

- ***Is it time for the Holbeck community to now share responsibility for the MA? For example, should the MA also reflect an agreement between the Holbeck community and the on-street sex workers and not just the police and LCC?***

Recommendation 6. Much work has been done and progress made in bringing the community and residents onboard with the MA, but some residents still feel that the MA is something more ‘done to them’ than ‘done with them’. We recommend that more needs to be done to ensure that the residents and community continue to be brought along in the evolution of the MA. The ‘Listening Well’ sessions have undoubtedly been significant in helping make bridges between the residents, businesses and the MA strategic leads. There is now scope for them to become more ‘Talking and Listening Well’ sessions, where strategic leads and residents engage in conversations about the way forward rather than just relay past unpleasant experiences.

Recommendation 7. To consider a slight change to the current MA management structure in order to ensure true community involvement, including considering terminology used to emphasise a more joined-up approach. Responsibility also needs to be shared with the community so that there is a shift in the thinking that the solutions to the problems caused by on-street sex working lie solely with police and LCC.

Recommendation 8. The ‘Holbeck community’ is far from a homogenous group (e.g. there is a significant transient population), so it is understandable that a large number still appear to have an inaccurate grasp of (or do not know what) the MA is. Despite the best efforts of the IR Team to engage as many of the Holbeck community in the review, participation was low. highlights this. We recommend that further efforts to identify and communicate with the large, generally ‘MA uninformed’ Holbeck population, be made.

- ***Should there be Holbeck community input/representation in MA decision-making and not just be party to an information giving forum?***

Recommendation 9. Consideration should be given to adjusting the current MA management structure to include resident and business representation at an appropriate level. Great inroads have been made and bridges built to bring all sides together, further progress will be to include resident representation in decision making about the MA at a suitable level.

- ***Should there be a fully representative ‘future planning group’ whereby changes in street sex work can be predicted and planned for in advance based on accurate data and feedback? (e.g. development of the South Bank).***

Recommendation 10. To consider a realignment of what residents’ groups want to achieve. If the MA is generally accepted as ‘okay but needs changing’, then this should be the main focus now and not simply have a single issue aim to ‘get rid of it’. It seems a little illogical to have got this far in the evolution of the MA where residents can have influence and be part of the future of the MA, only for some to continue campaigning to end it. Particularly as we have not found any suitable alternative approaches.

Recommendation 11. To consider forming and developing a representative ‘MA Future Planning Group’ (MAFPG), whereby changes in on-street sex work and its future impact are predicted and planned for in advance based on accurate data, thereby moving thinking forward from a reactive MA to a future scanning and ‘pro-active’ MA. This group

could identify, plan, and develop different scenarios and strategies for the future (including unprecedented events such as the Covid-19 pandemic, reactions to the development of the area, and moves to off- street sex working). The MFAPG should complement the existing MA management structure.

Recommendation 12. To consider appointing an Independent Chair of the 'MAFPG' to help facilitate agreement and to increase trust and transparency.

Recommendation 13. MAFPG to lead on the conducting of a short, transparent and inclusive annual performance review of the MA.

➤ ***What more can be done to encourage compliance (all) with the MA rules?***

Recommendation 14. To consider a more comprehensive environmental crime and ASB audit for Holbeck. Although environmental audits have been carried out in Holbeck in the past and have led, for example, to the installation of CCTV, they often only include 'hard' aspects of Situational Crime Prevention (such as target hardening). Such audits often do not identify and highlight possible 'softer interventions. For example, how employing a 'nudge' approach to developing signs which re-enforce 'residential/family areas' of Holbeck or using social media messaging and imagery to encourage adherence to the rules of the MA. The MA and surrounding area might also benefit from being looked at through a 'Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) lens.

➤ ***How can we make the women residents of Holbeck feel safer and less intimidated by the problems associated with on-street sex work?***

Recommendation 15. To devise and stage a positive campaign amplifying the positive aspects of being part of Holbeck, including respect for all in Holbeck (not focusing on the MA). This should be jointly developed and presented by residents and businesses of Holbeck. Possibly a 'We love and respect Holbeck' month?

➤ ***Is there a need for a more coherent, coordinated and 'partnership approach' (including media strategy) and if so, what would it look like?***

Recommendation 16. To help counter some of the negative perceptions of the MA, we recommend that the positive aspects of 'Holbeck life' be rigorously promoted, such as the fact that it is home to diverse and vibrant communities. This may also help to address issues associated within its online presence (for example Holbeck children and young people highlighted the fact that 'Googling Holbeck' brings up a list of ten stories about the MA).

Recommendation 17. To develop an inclusive and co-ordinated PR and media strategy for the whole of Holbeck, to promote its strengths and successes and help to shift perceptions away from Holbeck being solely about the MA. Previous 'deliberate media use' has tended to focus more on perceived negative aspects of living in Holbeck (including the MA) which has often been detrimental to the overall image and impression of the area. Residents, residents' groups, businesses and partners need to be more mindful of this in future.

Recommendation 18. To hold a joint press conference when the IR report becomes public, including resident representation.

9.3 MA operational and performance management suggestions

The following are more minor suggestions for consideration in terms of the future description, operational and performance management of the MA (in no specific order).

- The following needs to be made clear and possibly included in MA documentation:
The MA is an approach to reduce problems associated with on-street sex working in Leeds, within existing UK law (on soliciting and sex working). It is not, therefore, a vehicle for those wishing to petition for the current law on sex working to be changed. Should this happen, then the MA will change accordingly.
- The dedicated MA line is seeing an increasing number of non- on-street sex working related calls. Needs to be made clear repeatedly that the dedicated line is specifically for on-street sex working reporting.
- Calls to the dedicated line in peak summer months need to be planned for as demand increases because of longer nights (for instance additional support to managed the increased prevalence of SW).
- Call-takers for the dedicated should think about using a standard 'welcome response'.
- Monthly MA update needs to be more accurate as it is currently in danger of giving the wrong impression through double-counting as it is not clear which incidents the Dedicated Policing Team attended that were not via the dedicated line. The recording/reporting sheet needs to be examined to see if and how it can be approved.
- Monthly update should not include sex worker engagement with services if the data is not going to be available. The current prose adds nothing.
- Regular clear re-affirmation of the rules of the MA for all involved.
- Encourage increased reporting of off-street sex working as there is evidence that this is increasing and impacting on residents. Consider an off-street sex working campaign to include the wider Leeds area.
- Continue to focus on those buying on-street sex by ensuring that they are adhering to the MA rules or they will be subject to enforcement. Continue with diversion Scheme and publicise. Consider use of driving ASB (Sec 59) driving powers for kerb-crawlers outside of the Managed Area
- Continue to make the existing law clear to as many as possible to provide a realistic context for people to understand the Managed Approach.

References

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Brown, K. and Moore, J. (2014). Executive summary in Prostitution in Leeds: Preliminary Scoping Research. Unpublished report: *Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York.*

National Policing Sex Work and Prostitution Guidance (2019). *National Police Chiefs' Council.*

Appendix

Appendix 1 – Search terms and databases used in literature review

Web of Science; Scopus; Science Direct; SciELO; PubMed; PsychINFO; PsychArticles; Project Muse; PAO; OTseeker; National Archives; MEDLINE; MAG; LexisLibrary; JSTOR; Journal Citation Reports; JISC journal archives; HeinOnline; Europe PMC; Emerald Journals; Criminal Justice Abstracts; Cochrane Library; CINAHL; Arts & Humanities Full Text; Analytical Abstracts;

The following search terms used were used

- 1) policing **OR** police
AND
- 2) street-sex work/ing **OR** street prostitution **OR** street soliciting

For all publications between 17/12/2009 – 17/12/2019

Inclusion Criteria: Relevant to the managed approach to street sex work. Articles that explore the policing of street sex work, articles related to the effect policing strategies have on residents/ businesses in areas of street sex work; articles related to the effect of policing strategies on sex workers. Empirical Work and literature reviews included, conceptual/ theoretical work omitted unless presenting empirical data.

The initial search produced 838 possible returns within the chosen parameters. Of these 45 were selected for initial inclusion¹³

After conducting initial content analysis, 35 articles were selected to comprise the formal literature review after screening (e.g. excluded if focus on off-street or male sex work/prostitution).¹⁴

Appendix 2 - Further parts of the Sexual offences Act 2003 and Policing and crime Act (2009)

Controlling and trafficking

The offences principally directed against those who exploit others through prostitution include controlling prostitution for gain and causing or inciting prostitution for gain both of which have a maximum penalty of 7 years. (**Sexual Offences Act 2003**).

The main offence relating to brothels is keeping a brothel used for prostitution, the maximum penalty for which is 7 years (section 33A of the Sexual Offences Act 2003).

¹³ Inter-rater agreement = 0.95.

¹⁴ A full list of research papers and abstracts has been provided in a separate file

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 introduced the offences of trafficking into, within and out of the UK for sexual exploitation. These offences cover both adults and children and carry penalties of up to 14 years.

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 also introduced offences specifically in respect of the exploitation of children and young people. These are causing or inciting child prostitution, controlling a child involved in prostitution, and arranging or facilitating child prostitution or pornography. These offences carry a maximum penalty of 14 years.

The **Policing and Crime Act 2009** amended the **Sexual Offences Act 2009** to introduce closure orders. These allow a police constable to apply to a court for an order closing premises associated with specified prostitution or pornography related offences for up to three months (which can be extended by up to 3 months if the court deems it necessary. However, the total period for which the order has effect must not exceed 6 months).

Engagement and Support Orders

Engagement and Support Orders were introduced by the **Policing and Crime Act (2009) (Section 17 amended Section 1 of the Street Offences Act (1959))**.

They became available on 1st April 2010. They offer an alternative penalty to a fine for those convicted of loitering or soliciting. To successfully complete the order, someone will need to attend three sessions with a supervisor appointed by the court.

This is the legal context for England and Wales in which the MA was developed and continues to operate. This is an important factor when reviewing whether the MA has; achieved its four main objectives, alternative approaches available, and how the MA can be improved.

Appendix 3 – A survey of approaches to the policing of on-street sex working in the UK.

Police Force	Summary of current policing approach to on- street sex working
South Wales Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street sex working is in 2 different areas (Cardiff and Swansea) • 2014 – ASB approach (sec 35 dispersal and crim behaviour orders) • Kerb-crawlers (1) Sec 59 AS driving (2) repeat then vehicles seized (3) conditional caution. • Visited Leeds MA.
Lancashire Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 BCU areas (each have dedicated Inspector and PC) • Vulnerability and safeguarding approach • Multi-agency partnership approach. • Police haven't targeted kerb-crawlers in a long time. • Do use the 'change course' and found it to be effective (1% re-offending rate).
Merseyside Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A managed Area was identified for street-sex working but those engaged in it refused to move to a designated area and it has continued in two different areas of the city (residential) • SW safety and welfare approach. • MA was discussed but not chosen (would have meant creating another zone).
Greater Manchester Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SW safe-guarding approach • Support and partnership working • Police do not target kerb-crawlers.
Gwent Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SW safe-guarding approach • Support and partnership working
Suffolk (Ipswich approach)	<p>Strategic aims:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tackling demand—by deterring those who create the demand (i.e. kerb-crawlers) and removing the opportunity for street sex working to take place. 2. Developing routes out—by offering individual multi-agency case conferences and appropriate health/welfare support packages to each street sex worker. 3. Prevention—through awareness-raising and early intervention measures to stop others, particularly children and young people from becoming involved in sex work. 4. Community intelligence—through understanding the key issues, the extent of the problem, and its impact on the local community.
Northumbria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The SHADE project is a multi – agency safeguarding hub committed to the engagement, safeguarding and welfare of individuals who are working within the sex industry; including those who are sexually exploited, trafficked and groomed.