

Identities of difference in the contemporary city: a spatial and policy analysis of men who sell sex in metropolitan Sydney

Author:

Papadopoulos, Christina

Publication Date:

2017

DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.26190/unsworks/20027>

License:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/au/>

Link to license to see what you are allowed to do with this resource.

Downloaded from <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.4/58829> in <https://unsworks.unsw.edu.au> on 2024-04-26

Identities of difference in the contemporary city:

a spatial and policy analysis of men who sell sex

in metropolitan Sydney

Christina Papadopoulos

A thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters by Research



Faculty of Built Environment

2017

Abstract

There is no doubt that our major cities are marketed as cosmopolitan metropolises, each branding itself with the unique and defining characteristics it offers dwellers in terms of liveability. Although the objective is to compete globally through differentiation, these contemporary cities share a commonality of being diverse: they are inhabited by multiple identities of difference. Managing “difference” presents built environment professionals with an array of cultural and subcultural identities that are not always obvious in the urban landscape. Planners, in particular, are challenged with managing conflicts that may arise when these identities are in close proximity to each other. This thesis focuses on one subculture identity—men who sell sex (MWSS). In Sydney, New South Wales (NSW), where the sex industry is decriminalised, private sex work and MWSS are considered identities of difference with high conflict rates.

Through policy reviews, spatial mapping, and in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, this research explores both the permissibility of the land use termed “home occupation (sex services) (HOSS)” and the understanding of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. Analysis of planning controls reveals that local governance does not often permit the HOSS and fails to recognise the diversity of operations and premises associated with sex work. The spatial mapping describes that there are MWSS in metropolitan Sydney regardless of current land-use policies. The stakeholder interviews expose the sensitivities around sex work even when decriminalised.

This study challenges the ambiguity of planning policy relating to private sex work in Sydney, where councils often fail to acknowledge the HOSS as a separate land use. Findings reveal that sex work is a diverse occupation in Sydney. They dispel the stereotype that sex work is a disruptive activity in urban life and distinguish that private sex work is a legitimate activity, separate to large commercial sex-industry venues, and operating like any other home-based occupation. Policy needs to reflect this in order to provide sex workers with the same civic rights as other urban dwellers. Overall, the study conveys that private sex work and MWSS are an identity of difference which can exist cohesively in metropolitan Sydney.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	v
<i>Abbreviations and other shortened forms</i>	vii
<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Chapter 1: Planning for identities of difference—sex in the city</i>	2
1.1 Introduction	2
1.2 Background	2
1.3 Problem setting	5
1.4 Research framework	10
1.5 Thesis statement	13
1.6 Key research questions and objectives	14
1.7 Research significance	14
1.8 Methodology	15
1.9 Research scope and limitations	16
1.10 Thesis structure	17
<i>Chapter 2: Cities of difference—a conceptual framework</i>	20
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 Contemporary cities as sites of difference	20
2.3 Understanding difference and diversity	22
2.4 Land-use planning in the city of difference	28
2.5 Governing for difference and diversity in the city	34
2.6 Summary	40
<i>Chapter 3: Literature review of the sex industry</i>	41
3.1 Introduction	41
3.2 Sex and the city	41
3.3 The stakeholders	45
3.4 Sex work and the law	52
3.5 Men who sell sex (MWSS)	59
3.6 Summary	66
<i>Chapter 4: Methodology</i>	67
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 Research design: an overview	67

4.3 Literature review	73
4.4 Phase one—review of state and local sex-industry policy in New South Wales	74
4.5 Phase two—geographical analysis	77
4.6 Phase three—in-depth interviews with stakeholders	81
4.7 Limitations.....	85
4.8 Summary	87
Chapter 5: Phase one results—policy	88
5.1 Introduction	88
5.2 The milestones of private sex-work policy—an overview	89
5.3 Milestone one: Decriminalisation of the sex industry	90
5.4 Milestone two: First policy response by the former South Sydney Council (SSC)	91
5.5 Milestone three: Brothels Task Force.....	99
5.6 Milestone four: Sex Services Premises Planning Advisory Panel (SSPPAP)	102
5.7 Milestone five: NSW LEC Planning Principle established for the location of brothels	104
5.8 Milestone six: Standard Local Environmental Plan (Standard Instrument) and HOSS	105
5.9 Milestone seven: <i>Brothels Amendment Act 2007</i>	114
5.10 Milestone eight: The HOSS—like any other home occupation in the City of Sydney Council (CoSC) today.....	116
5.11 Milestone nine: Better Regulation Office 2012	119
5.12 Milestone ten: NSW Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels, Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels (Brothels Inquiry)	119
5.13 Milestone eleven: NSW Government response to the NSW Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels, Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels (Brothels Inquiry)	121
5.14 Discussion.....	122
5.15 Summary	126
Chapter 6: Phase two results—geographies	127
6.1 Introduction	127
6.2 The distribution of MWSS: a quantitative view	127
6.3 The distribution of MWSS: personal views	144
6.4 Discussion.....	150
6.5 Summary	153
Chapter 7: Phase three results—stakeholder insights	154

7.1 Introduction	154
7.2 Reflection one: Legitimacy of sex work is still in question.....	154
7.3 Reflection two: Limited level of understanding of MWSS and HOSS by practicing planners.....	158
7.4 Reflection three: Limitations of the “city of difference” image in Sydney	160
7.5 Discussion.....	163
7.6 Summary	165
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	166
8.1 Introduction	166
8.2 Research approach.....	166
8.3 Empirical research contribution.....	170
8.4 Limitations of the research.....	171
8.5 Implications for future research	172
Glossary.....	174
References	175
Appendix A: Councils and LEPs.....	196
Appendix B: The permissibility of the HOSS	197
Appendix C: Newspapers and associated councils.....	199
Appendix D: Distribution of newspapers in Sydney metropolitan area.	201
Appendix E: Types of sexual services	202
Appendix F: Ethics approvals/letters of support	206
Appendix G: Interview questions and consent forms.....	210
Appendix H: Zoning characteristics	214

Acknowledgements

There are many people who I wish to acknowledge, as this thesis would not have been possible without them. To my supervisors, Dr Christine Steinmetz and Professor Robert Freestone, I thank you both for your knowledge and guidance. Your expertise and commitment to your work and to your students are admirable, and your support through all my ups and downs is truly appreciated. Most of all, thank you for believing in my capabilities as a researcher and planner. It has been a unique and valuable opportunity to develop my undergraduate learnings into a truly investigative project.

I would also like to express gratitude to those who have directly assisted in my research process. Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Basil Donovan for opening doors and giving me guidance in the field of sex-work research. Secondly, I would like to thank the sex-industry advocates who welcomed me into their circle with wide arms and gave me such valuable insight. Julie Bates (principle planner of Urban Realists), I have thoroughly enjoyed our emails and conversations of sex education and planning in New South Wales. You are a brave and inspiring individual, and I thank you for welcoming me into your home and for taking the time to assist my research. To Saul Isbister (Touching Base), I thank you for your support and insight into the diversity of sex work. To Cameron Cox (SWOP/ACON), I thank you for your continual backing of the study and your assistance in commencing the project. Finally, from the bottom of my heart, I would like to thank the private sex workers who participated in and supported this study. Each of you welcomed me into a very personal aspect of your life, and I hope this research provides further advocacy for sex worker rights.

To my cohort peer-support network—Phillippa Carnemolla, Natalie Galea and Laura Schmahmann—you guys were great shoulders to lean on, and you made the experience all the better. To Suzie Scandurra (Faculty of the Built Environment), you are a one-of-a-kind gem, and I don't know where I would be without your problem-solving skills. Thank you to Annie Jo Smith, who edited my final draft as per the Australian "Guidelines for editing research theses", as outlined by the Institute of Professional Editors Limited (IPEd).

To my darling mother, Anne Papadopoulos, I cannot thank you enough for the endless hours providing editorial advice. I would not have finished without your continual support and encouragement. To Amanda Miller, I don't know where I would be without your structural advice and motivational talks. I hope that I have made two new advocates for sex worker rights. To my sister Mary, I would like to thank you for your guidance during my low times

and for always believing in me. To my best friend (and roommate), Rachael Burr, I thank you for your friendship and continual support over the last few years. To all my friends, I thank you for being so understanding of my frequent absences from social events and for still maintaining contact with me and listening to my continual updates. Finally, I would like to thank every coffee shop owner in Coogee who allowed me to stay for the free wi-fi and the one coffee.

Abbreviations and other shortened forms

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Expansion</i>
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
Brothels Inquiry	New South Wales Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels,
BANANA	Build absolutely nothing anywhere near anything
BDSM	Bondage, discipline, sadism and masochism
Code SEPP	State Environmental Planning Policy (Exempt and Complying Codes) 2008
CoSC	City of Sydney Council
ESNA	East Sydney Neighbourhood Association
HOSS	Home occupation (sex services)
Kirby Institute, the	Kirby Institute for infection and immunity in society, UNSW Medicine
LEP	Local environmental plan
LGA	Local government area
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer
LULUs	Locally unwanted land uses
MWSS	Men who sell sex
MSW	Male sex worker
NIABY	Not in anybody's backyard)
NSW	New South Wales
NSW LEC	The Land and Environment Court of New South Wales
Nimby	Not in my backyard
Planning Principle	Planning Principle: The Location of Brothels
SEPPs	State Environmental Planning Policies
SSC	South Sydney Council
SSP	Sex services premises
SSPPAP	Sex Services Premises Planning Advisory Panel
SSPPG	<i>Sex Services Premises Planning Guidelines 2004</i>
Standard Instrument	Standard Local Environmental Plan
SWOP	Sex Workers Outreach Project
SSCBP 1996	South Sydney Council Brothels Policy 1996
SSCSIP 2000	South Sydney Council Sex Industry Policy 2000
Touching Base	Touching Base Inc.
USNW	University of New South Wales

List of figures

Figure 1.1: Research theoretical framework—cities of difference

Figure 1.2: Map of metropolitan Sydney

Figure 2.1: Chinatown, New York City

Figure 2.2: Chinatown, San Francisco

Figure 2.3: Chinatown, Sydney

Figure 2.4: The Rainbow Crossing, Castro District, San Francisco

Figure 2.5: The Rainbow Crossing and surrounding urban environment, Castro District, San Francisco

Figure 2.6: Sydney central business district during Mardi Gras

Figure 2.7: A fragmented city of difference

Figure 3.1: Locational model of prostitution

Figure 3.2 The Wall, Darlinghurst, Sydney

Figure 4.1: Map of metropolitan Sydney councils

Figure 4.2: Extract from Leichhardt LEP, Zone R1 General Residential

Figure 4.3: Newspaper notice example of men selling sex direct services

Figure 4.4: Newspaper notice example of general sex-services advertisements

Figure 5.1: Key sites for sex work, known locations within the former SCC 1989–2003

Figure 5.2: Timeline of SSC sex industry policy

Figure 5.3: Permissibility of the HOSS within metropolitan Sydney councils

Figure 5.4: Map of the permissibility of the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney's councils

Figure 5.5: Sex services premises, unauthorised uses, years 2010–2015

Figure 6.1: Text sample of advertisements of the non-female sex worker market

Figure 6.2: Popular newspapers and their locations of non-female sex workers in metropolitan Sydney, marked by council boundaries

Figure 6.3: Popular newspapers and their locations of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney, marked by council boundaries

Figure 6.4: Website homepage from Tier One website, *My male companion*

Figure 6.5: *Good Weekend* front-cover story “The escort—why women are paying for sex with men like Ryan James”

Figure 6.6: Warning sign to male sex workers posted in a doorway of a residential building in inner Sydney

List of tables

Table 1.1: The regulatory history of the sex industry in metropolitan Sydney

Table 1.2: Current legal framework of the sex industry in New South Wales

Table 2.1: Spectrum of land-use contention

Table 2.2: Levels of governance, responsibility and funding

Table 3.1: Legal frameworks of sex work

Table 3.2: Summary of Australian laws relating to commercial sex work

Table 3.3: Legal status of private sex work in Australia

Table 4.1: Summary of research design

Table 4.2: Interview participants

Table 5.1: The regulatory history of sex work in metropolitan Sydney

Table 5.2: Analysis of the Brothels Task Force recommendations relating to private sex work

Table 5.3: SSPPG land-use terms

Table 5.4: Sex-industry standard definitions in the Standard LEP 2006

Table 5.5: Summary of home-based enterprises within New South Wales

Table 5.6: Review of Sydney metropolitan councils and permissibility of the HOSS

Table 5.7: Sydney metropolitan councils where the HOSS is permitted

Table 5.8: The legal definition of a “brothel” under NSW legislation

Table 6.1: Newspaper advertisements of non-female sex workers

Table 6.2: Popular newspapers for non-female sex workers

Table 6.3: Newspapers advertisements of MWSS (direct sexual services)

Table 6.4: Popular newspapers for MWSS (direct sexual services)

Table 6.5: The three tiers of business types of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney today

Chapter 1: Planning for identities of difference—sex in the city

1.1 Introduction

The metropolis today has morphed beyond a place of settlement to a site of cosmopolitan environments marketed globally as opportunities for business, innovation and creativity. From this, world cities have emerged, international hubs for commerce and culture where inhabitants are global and enticed by the vibrant lifestyle offered (Jenks, Kozak, & Takkanon 2008; The World Bank Group 2015). World cities differentiate themselves through specific brandings, such as “healthy cities”, which value the physical and social environment; “liveable cities”, which focus on access to housing, employment, transport and services; “smart cities”, promoting innovation and sustainability; and “professional cities”, focusing on economics and business. City branding can also overlap with labels like “holy cities”, which are religious meccas, or “multicultural cities”, which are considered to be socially and culturally varied. The brandings of cities are often narratives of their uniqueness, differentiating themselves from one another and making them destinations of choice for the particular opportunities and lifestyles offered. Yet these cities share the variability of diversity, a commonality which makes them all sites of difference, where multiple identities interact daily in their urban environments. This thesis focuses on “cities of difference”, termed by Fincher and Jacobs (1998), which can be branded as any contemporary city.

The chapter introduces the background of the research, establishes the research problem and briefly sets out the research framework. The chapter then presents the thesis statement and establishes the research significance, including the main questions of investigation as well as research objectives and a brief summary of the methodological approach. Finally, the chapter addresses the research limitations and scope and provides the thesis structure outline.

1.2 Background

The majority of the world’s population is now urbanised. Thus, notions of “urbanism” take on new meanings where cities are marketed and graded against one another and contemporary terms such as “world cities”, “mega cities” and “global cities” are coined (Jenks et al. 2008; The World Bank Group 2015). The social demands and cultural aspects of cities are multifaceted, challenging urban planners to look beyond traditional concepts of a singular focus such as transport, resources, economics and housing. To create dynamic spaces, built environment professionals are tasked with accounting for the “other” as a constant in our

cities, as Fincher, Iveson, Leitner, and Preston (2014, p. 5) state: “Planning has wanted to draw people together for encounter in urban public places, to promote intercultural awareness, understanding and connection across their differences”. Healey describes the city as a fluid environment, characterised by distinct movements (of people), patterns (of settlement) and practices (of everyday life and governance) that intertwine (2002, 2007). Contemporary scholars, including Fincher and Iveson (2008) and Fincher and Jacobs (1998), highlight a disturbance in this fluid environment, particularly in the neighbourhood. These disruptions arise when difference is viewed as the “other” or the “outsider”, as Sandercock (2000, p. 21) articulates:

If we think for a moment about the deeper meaning of this story, it would seem to be not at all about a case of air pollution but rather an expression of fear and aversion, fear of change, of the changing face of the neighbourhood, of the new neighbours.

Identities that are feared may become minorities of difference, isolated subsets of urban life. Thus, the global culture of cosmopolitan cities can be a foreign entity in the everyday local context, limiting the true fluidity of contemporary cities.

Fincher and Jacobs (1998) first branded the city of difference, describing the diversity of urban life in their book *Cities of difference* and recognising multiple identities (some of which are undefinable and interchangeable). These identities exist in the everyday metropolis, each with its own narrative and experience to tell, as Jacobs and Fincher illustrate: “We inhabit different cities even from those inhabited by our most immediate neighbours ... Social differences are gathered together in cities at unique scales and levels of intensity” (1998, p. 1).

A decade later, Fincher and Iveson (2008) acknowledged a need for a directional shift in urban theory and practice towards planning for “redistribution, recognition and encounter”, meaning, planning is more than the physical allocation of space. Rather, it can facilitate social interactions in the city. It establishes how inhabitants are recognised in the built environment, creating spaces in which these multiple identities can coexist, a tool utilised to promote urban inclusion. The challenge is to create cohesive encounters between the identities which share a broad degree of difference within the increasingly densified city.

The above discussion highlights specific brandings of modern cities in the context of difference. The differentiation of this thesis is that it scrutinises the inclusionary policies of those identities of difference that are feared or marginalised. The sex industry, specifically

sex-work activities, is one example of a subset that is widely accepted in global “pop” culture, yet it creates anxieties within the “neighbourhood” of the contemporary city. Although the city is fabricated as a highly modernised and sexualised culture, the sex industry faces much scrutiny and resistance from governing authorities and (parts of) society, often remaining underground (Hubbard 1999, 2012; Sanders & Campbell 2007; Weitzer 2012). In a time of globalisation, contemporary society and conventions are further diversifying, and the commercial sex industry is no different, mainstreaming into daily life, from the strip clubs of the “sleazy” night-time districts to the adult bourgeois stores at the high-end street of town (Maginn & Steinmetz 2015). Consequently, the sex industry has become a highly debated land use from governance, law, health and geography perspectives (Brents & Sanders 2010; Hubbard & Sanders 2003).

Narrowing in on sex work from the geographical perspective, the resistance emerges from the perception that it attracts antisocial behaviour such as crime, violence and drugs in one’s proximity (Crofts & Prior 2012; Farley 2004; Hubbard & Whowell 2008). Regardless of the debates, this occupation has become part of an urban contemporary landscape as a common yet contentious land use. Traditional imagery has morphed beyond the female sex worker in the brothel or on the street. Today’s sex workers are diverse, from their identities to their work environments. Recently, geographers, sociologists and health researchers have directed attention to men who sell sex (MWSS), a subset more likely to work within a private capacity, sometimes from home, and so little is known about their existence (Donovan et al. 2012).

New debates arise in the legitimacy of sex work as Amnesty International reveals that the rights of private sex workers can be overlooked as laws seeking to protect them can have detrimental impacts to their working environments and rights. Internationally, many sex workers opting to work privately from home face the possibility of eviction as they are often considered the same as commercial sex premises (Murphey 2015). This lack of distinction is of utmost concern to planners, policymakers, health professionals and sex workers in creating safe workspaces and promoting sex worker rights as human rights. This also impacts the wider community as it presents new discussions around the civic rights of privacy and the right to shelter.

Conversely, society and governance recognise the changing nature of suburbia; as technological advances, it creates opportunities to work from home, often termed “telework” (Alizadeh 2013). Such activities are often recognised separately from their commercial counterparts, except for private sex workers—whose premises often remain categorised as

“brothels”. The geographical realities of the city need to account for all levels of diversity and difference of the sex industry and sex work, including MWSS working privately from home. This research demonstrates how private sex work, a growing trend as a result of technological advances, is changing the patterns and perceptions of sex work and the sex industry. No longer is the industry allocated to vice districts; it now has the ability to operate discretely within the neighbourhood.

1.3 Problem setting

In the state of New South Wales, the sex industry, sex work, associated premises and activities are decriminalised and, thus, a legitimate land use. Current state and local planning policies in New South Wales often assume a blanket approach, generalising venues into the one-fit category of a sex services premises (SSP).¹ Sex workers engage in a variety of forms of work outside of the SSP, such as street-based sex work and private sex work (in venues such as hotels, entertainment spots and the domestic space); however, policy often neglects the existence of these other operations and premises. In New South Wales, sex work outside an SSP accounts for 40 percent² of the sex industry’s activities³ (New South Wales [NSW] Government 2001) with recent estimations to be even higher (Prior & Crofts 2015). In New South Wales, the official land-use description for private sex work in the domestic setting is termed “home occupation (sex services)” or “HOSS” and is defined as up to two sex workers operating from their residential dwelling. Narrowing in on metropolitan Sydney, there is a growing trend for sex workers to operate privately from home, particularly MWSS, making it an area of interest for planners and policymakers in truly understanding this land use (Berg, Bates, & Harcourt 2011; Donovan et al. 2012).

Crofts and Prior (2012) describe a premediated fear towards the HOSS occurring in Sydney neighbourhoods: “Sex work in the home raises the spectre of crime in and around the home, and threatens to undermine the peace and tranquillity of a residential area, potentially tainting the community” (p. 127–128). Subsequently, these community fears can create a strong resistance to sex work, restricting opportunities for private sex workers’ premises to exist as a legitimate land use (Crofts & Prior 2012). New studies detail that private sex

¹ The New South Wales (NSW) government’s official land-use planning definition for a sex-industry venue commonly known as a brothel.

² This includes street-based work.

³ A figure that is only an estimate and may have increased given the ambiguity of the operations and the fact that the last industry measurements were recorded in 2001.

workers do not identify as a commercial activity; rather, they consider themselves as private operators or entrepreneurs (Crofts, Hubbard, & Prior 2013; Hubbard & Prior 2013; Prior & Crofts 2015). Consequently, a private sex worker can often be assumed by authorities to run in the same capacity as an SSP that employs multiple staff and, thus, can often face the same planning requirements and scrutiny. The problematic nature of these misunderstandings between the sex industry and governance was highlighted in the recent publication *Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels*, conducted in 2015 by the New South Wales (NSW) Government.

A legislative overview of private sex work in Sydney

Since its colonial settlement, sex work has been documented in Sydney. Early descriptions, report women working from their homes as it provided opportunities to run a household and earn an income. This was often supported and managed by a spouse or a third party (Frances 1994; NSW Parliament Legislative Committees 1986; Perkins 1991, 1994). The predominately male European population and the limited employment opportunities for the small female population created a tolerance for sex work.

The regulation of sex work focused on public behaviour of a “riotous or indecent manner” and was classed as a criminal offence (NSW Parliament Legislative Committees 1986; Perkins 1994; Smith 1999). In the early twentieth century, amendments to the *Vagrancy Act 1902* and the *Police Offences (Amendment) Act 1908* detailed sex work, living off the earnings of sex work, brothel keeping, and knowingly renting premises for the purpose of prostitution as illegal. Sentences ranged from a twenty-pound fine to six months of jail time (Perkins & Bennett 1985). Perkins (1991) and Perkins and Lovejoy (2007) detail the sensitive relationships between sex workers and authorities to include bribery and the threat of imprisonment. However, there remained some level of tolerance from authorities, as sex work continued to be accepted in Sydney’s inner-city areas of Surry Hills and Darlinghurst.

In the 1980s, the NSW Government, through the investigations of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly upon Prostitution⁴, identified that a significant portion of the sex industry in Sydney was comprised of private sex work:

There are an unknown number of individual prostitutes working privately at home.

Others rent home units, houses and town houses which are used to entertain

⁴ Investigation committee established by the NSW Parliament, Legislative Assembly Committee.

customers. At present such prostitution has been compared by some witnesses to home occupations (NSW Parliament Legislative Committees 1986, p. 63).

Private sex work was known to operate in a range of dwelling types, from detached dwellings to high-density housing, and sex workers in Sydney were identified as a diverse community extending to MWSS and transsexual, transgender and bisexual workers.

The shift to decriminalise

The decriminalisation of the sex industry in 1995 was based on the findings of the Wood Royal Commission⁵, which identified public health, worker welfare and community safety as critical areas for reform; it was officially decriminalised under the *Disorderly Houses Amendment Act 1995*⁶ (Chapman & Midwinter-Pitt 2007; Harcourt 1999; Harcourt, Egger, and Donovan 2005; Department of Planning 2006; NSW Government 2001; Sullivan 2008, 2010). Sex-industry venues were now legally subject to the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* and the jurisdiction of local councils, which meant their activities were to be regulated like any other business or activity and to be accounted for in land-use planning schemes of local authorities (NSW Department of Planning 2006; NSW Government, Better Regulation Office 2012). Metropolitan Sydney councils (and their policies) were impacted most, given the obvious visibility of “activities” in the area (NSW Government 2001).

Following these 1995 reforms, many local councils, particularly in metropolitan Sydney, objected or ignored their legal obligations—often alluding the problematic and confusing discourse of the reforms. The key cause of concern was situated around the all-encompassing definition of venues associated with sex work and the lack of consideration of the diversity of operations. At the time, the regulatory constitution of a brothel fell into the same legal description as any venue associated with sex work, whether it was one worker or nine. It was deemed a brothel “even though used by only one prostitute for the purposes of prostitution⁷”.

Presently, there are revised definitions for sex-work venues, yet confusion remains in their interpretation. Today, the term “brothel” is replaced with “SSP”, which is defined as “a

⁵ The Wood Royal Commission was a public inquiry undertaken by Commissioner Wood into the corrupt practices of NSW police officers in the early 1990s.

⁶ Also known as the *Disorderly Houses Act 1995* which has since been repealed and fallen back into the jurisdiction of the *Restricted Premises Act 1943*.

⁷ Definition under the *Disorderly Houses Amendment Act 1995*.

brothel, but does not include a home occupation (sex services)” (NSW Government, Department of Planning & Environment 2015). Moving on, a HOSS means:

The provision of sex services in a dwelling that is a brothel, or in a building that is a brothel and is ancillary to such a dwelling, by no more than two permanent residents of the dwelling and that does not involve:

- (a) the employment of persons other than those residents, or
- (b) interference with the amenity of the neighbourhood by reason of the emission of noise, traffic generation or otherwise, or
- (c) the exhibition of any signage, or
- (d) the sale of items (whether goods or materials), or the exposure or offer for sale of items, by retail, but does not include a home business or sex services premises (NSW Government Department of Planning & Environment 2015).

From a policy perspective, there are now two distinct land-use definitions for sex-work venues in Sydney and New South Wales—one for commercial operations (the SSP) and the other for private workers (the HOSS). The key difference between these definitions relates to the number of employees and the venue type. The SSP allows the employment of more than two sex workers in a non-residential building, whilst the HOSS only permits up to two sex workers, and (if there are two) both must reside in the subject dwelling in order to operate from the home. Yet the HOSS continues to perplex planners, particularly in understanding the distinction between commercial and private sex-work operations.

Over the last twenty years, the NSW Government has established and undertaken actions through task forces, panels, legislative amendments and inquiries in order to resolve matters relating to the regulation of sex work. Table 1.1 outlines chronologically the regulatory response to the sex industry and private sex work since decriminalisation. The first action of the State Government was establishing the Brothels Task Force in 2000, followed by the Sex Services Premises Planning Advisory Panel (SSPPAP) (2002–2004). Next, standard definitions associated with sex work were created and incorporated in the Standard Local Environmental Plan (Standard Instrument) in 2006.⁸ Specifically, private sex work was termed HOSS and a brothel was amended to mean an SSP. This was followed by amendments to the related

⁸ Introduced by the State Government with Amendments to the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act

closure laws for unauthorised sex-industry premises under the *Brothels Amendment Act 2007*. More recent actions include the *Regulation of brothels in NSW*, an issues paper, driven by the NSW Government's Better Regulation Office in 2012, and the recent New South Wales Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels (Brothels Inquiry) in 2015. Table 1.2 outlines the current legislative context of sex work, covering aspects of criminality, planning, governance, housing, and occupational health and safety to public health.

Table 1.1: The regulatory history of the sex industry in metropolitan Sydney (source: NSW Parliament, Legislative Assembly Committee on the Regulation of Brothels 2015; NSW Department of Planning 2006; NSW Government 2001, adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

Year	Legislation/action
1995	Decriminalisation of the sex industry under the <i>Disorderly Houses Amendment Act 1995</i>
1995–2000	South Sydney policy formation
2000	The Brothels Task Force was established
2002	SSPPAP was established
2004	The Land and Environment Court of New South Wales (NSW LEC), Planning Principle: The Location of Brothels (Planning Principle) was established
2006	Standard Instrument
2007	<i>Brothels Amendment Act 2007</i>
2012, September	Better Regulation Office issues paper: <i>Regulation of brothels in NSW</i>
2015, June	Brothels Inquiry. Followed by the final report <i>Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels</i> .

Table 1.2: Current legal framework of the sex industry in New South Wales (NSW) (source: NSW Parliament, Legislative Assembly Committee on the Regulation of Brothels 2015, adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

<i>Crimes Act 1900</i>	The legislative framework relating to sexual servitude and sex work by a minor. Provides the legal definition of sexual intercourse being: (a) sexual connection occasioned by the penetration to any extent of the genitalia (including a surgically constructed vagina) of a female person or the anus of any person by: (i) any part of the body of another person, or (ii) any object manipulated by another person, except where the penetration is carried out for proper medical purposes, or (b) sexual connection occasioned by the introduction of any part of the penis of a person into the mouth of another person, or (c) cunnilingus.
<i>Restricted Premises Act 1943 (formerly Disorderly Houses Act)</i>	Legal framework which decriminalises the SSP. Includes a definition and details closure orders.
<i>Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979</i>	Regulates the sex industry like any other land use or activity through the development-assessment process.

<i>Summary Offences Act 1988</i>	Stipulates offence relating to sex work, such as conducting sex works in unauthorised venues, e.g. massage parlours or SSPs. It provides a legal definition of sex work (termed prostitution) being the act: between persons of different sexes or of the same sex, and includes: (a) sexual intercourse as defined in section 61H of the <i>Crimes Act 1900</i> , and (b) masturbation committed by one person on another, for payment.
<i>Local government Act 1993</i>	Provides the framework imposed on any development regarding conditions of consent and site inspections ensuring compliance.
<i>Strata Schemes Management Act 1996</i>	Outlines the rules and controls for strata management and living relevant to private sex workers operating from this dwelling type.
<i>Work Health and Safety Act 2011 (WHS Act):</i>	Legal framework for occupational health and safety requirements of the workplace.
<i>Public Health Act 2010</i>	Outlines the legal guidelines relating to the control of sexually transmissible infections.

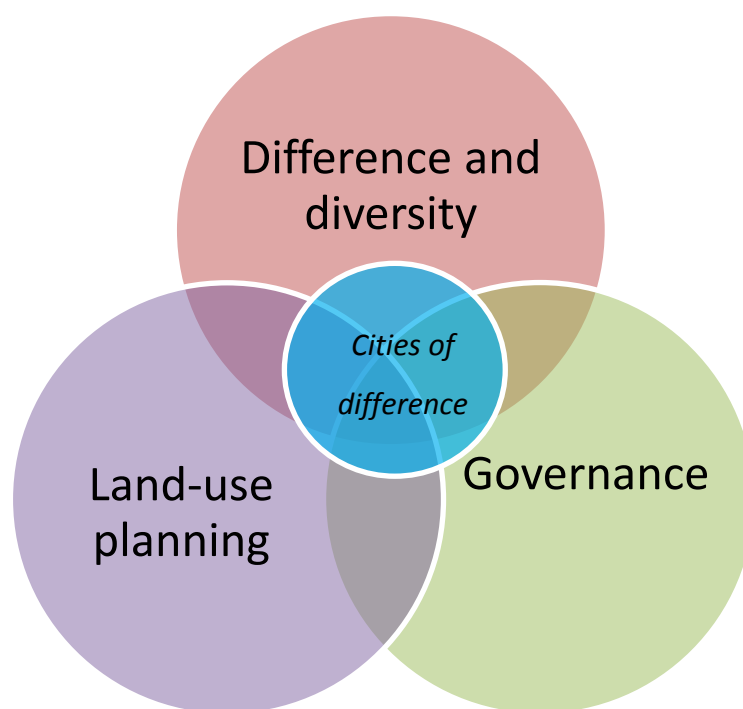
The above tables detail that the regulation of the sex industry in New South Wales has historically fallen into the areas of crime, health and planning. Today, although commonly in the jurisdiction of local governance, Table 1.2 demonstrates that, even in its decimalised status, requirements of law outside of planning remain, relating to crime, public health and occupational hazards. Sexual servitude or sexual intercourse with a minor remains a criminal offence under the *Crimes Act 1900*. The *Public Health Act 2010* acts in the interest of the public, outlining the legal guidelines relating to the control of sexually transmissible infections. The *Work Health and Safety Act 2011* establishes the occupational health and safety requirements of workplaces, including venues that employ sex workers. Finally, the *Strata Schemes Management Act 1996* details the requirements for any resident running a business from a strata building, making it relevant to any residing private sex workers. Clearly, there are multiple aspects in the governance of the sex industry and sex work beyond their geographies.

1.4 Research framework

The contemporary city is a diverse settlement, in all aspects of urban life, where the unpredictability of difference is the only certainty. Undoubtedly, a city's complexity extends beyond geography, religion, language and ethnicity, resulting in new lifestyles, economies, values, cultures and ideals. Urban inhabitants and their activities are symbols of the difference that exist and interact daily in the urban; this difference and diversity are the key elements to Fincher and Jacobs' cities of difference (1998), which are home to many occupants with multiple stories and histories.

This research is based on three broad key themes of the contemporary city: difference and diversity; land use planning for difference; and the role of governance. Figure 1.1 conceptualises how these themes interrelate to create “cities of difference”. Each component is essential to the function and character of cities. Acknowledging cities as sites of difference is not enough; cities need to be planned, allowing a variety of land uses to provide services and infrastructure diverse inhabitants. These land use planning approaches need to be supported through governance to ensure their successful implementation. Good governance can facilitate the cohesion of difference to create dynamic contemporary settlements.

Figure 1.1: Research theoretical framework: cities of difference—the contemporary city (source: Papadopoulos 2016).



Sydney as a city of difference

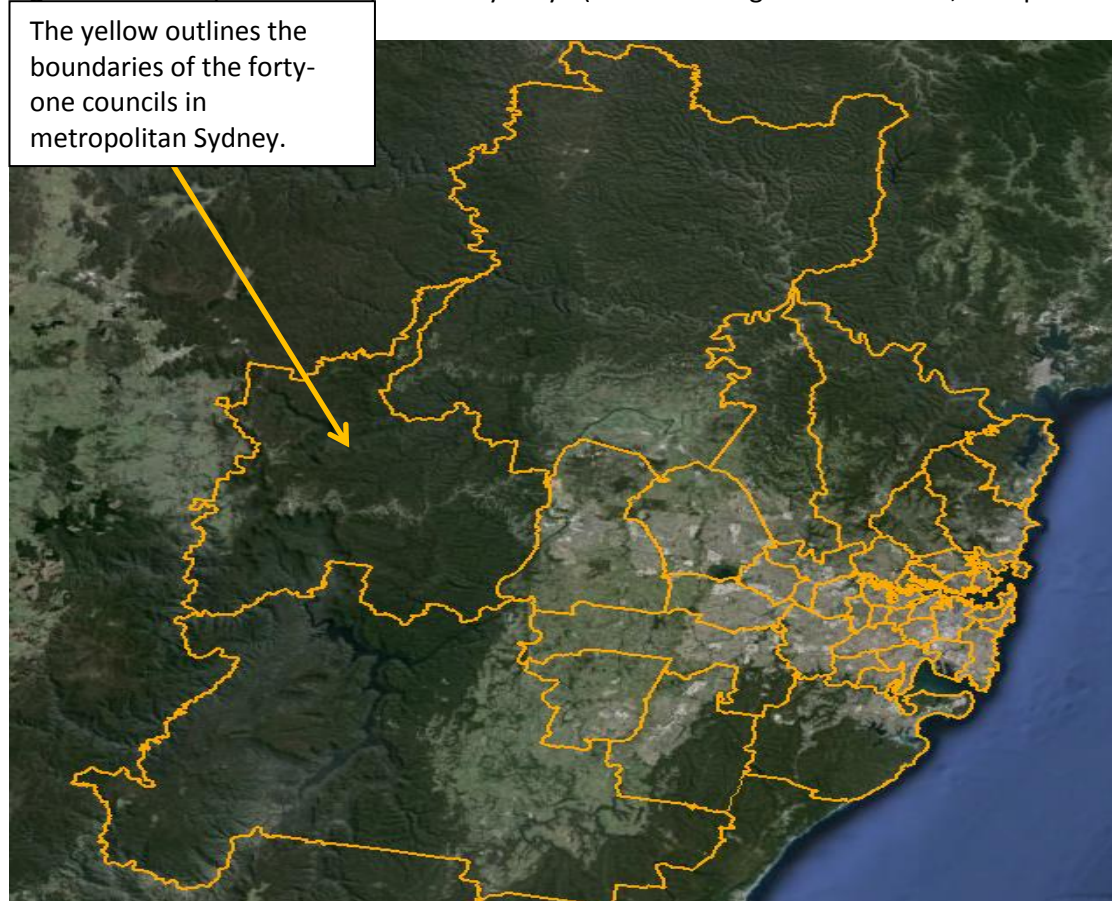
Geographically, the research focuses on metropolitan Sydney, as defined in the *Draft Sydney Metropolitan Plan 2031*⁹ and shown in Figure 1.2. Sydney is described as Australia’s global city, the economic hub of New South Wales and one of the most populated regions in the nation. As a “city of difference”, metropolitan Sydney is home to approximately 4.8 million residents with distinctive social diversity of 40 per cent of the inhabitants born overseas and over 32 per cent speaking a second language (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016).

⁹ Strategic plan prepared by the NSW Government.

The city extends north to the Hawkesbury River, east to its famous beaches and harbour, south to its national parks and west to the Blue Mountains. The area is approximately 12 360 square kilometres in size, with 374 residents per square kilometre. Metropolitan Sydney consists of forty-one local government areas¹⁰ (LGAs), containing a total of 650 suburbs, all of which are regulated through local land-use policies known as local environmental plans (LEPs) (City of Sydney Council 2016).

Metropolitan Sydney is a walkway of multiculturalism, from Chinatown in Haymarket to the Korean street food and signage in Eastwood and the Italian Forum in Leichhardt. The night-life is dynamic, from the small bars rivalling Melbourne's laneways, to the world-class Olympic sporting venues, five-star restaurants, local pubs and food trucks, and the nightclubs and adult-entertainment venues, including the sex industry that exists on the streets, in commercial venues, and in the domestic spaces.

Figure 1.2: Map of metropolitan Sydney (source: Google Earth 2016, adapted by



¹⁰ Prior to the NSW council amalgamations.

The sex industry as an identity of difference

The sex industry has long been viewed as an identity of difference. Specifically, sex work threatens the (heteronormative) cohesion of the urban (Hubbard & Lister 2015; McKewon 2003). Opposition to sex work often stems from “moral panics concerning the spread of sexually transmitted disease, sex trafficking and exploitation” (Hubbard & Prior 2013, p. 141). Commentators also highlight that the offensiveness of the industry is based on biased negative perceptions rather than evidence-based research (Crofts, Hubbard, & Prior 2013; Prior & Crofts 2012; Prior, Crofts, & Hubbard 2013; Weitzer 2010, 2012). Resistance and opposition to sex work in the city arise on the basis of moral geographies, thus, impacting its spatial legitimacy in the urban (Hubbard 2012; Hubbard et al. 2008; Prior & Gorman-Murray 2015).

Regardless of its acceptance in the city, the sex industry is an identity of difference that remains, with the ability to adapt to its surroundings and its legal context. Examples include the adult bookshops in London’s Soho (Martin 2015) and the adult retail chain Anne Summers in the United Kingdom (Coulmont & Hubbard 2010; Hubbard 2012). Clearly, in the context of the contemporary city, the sex industry is a thriving identity of difference.

Chapter 2 examines the theoretical framework of cities of difference, focusing on four key streams: (1) contemporary cities, (2) difference and diversities, (3) land-use planning and (4) governance. Building on these discussions, Chapter 3 examines the literature exclusive to studies of the sex industry, specifically, sex work. Key themes emerged from the literature review: (1) the sex industry, (2) stakeholders and their geographies, (3) law, and (4) men who sell sex.

1.5 Thesis statement

It has been twenty years since the introduction of the 1995 reforms decriminalising the sex industry, sex work and associated premises. Although the HOSS (along with street-based activities) accounts for 40 per cent of sex work (NSW Government 2001), current policies fail to recognise private sex work as a separate activity from commercial sex-industry operations and continue to isolate a legitimate and growing activity (Crofts & Prior 2015). The following thesis statement is proposed:

Within metropolitan Sydney, current policy response from local governments relating to private sex work continues to encourage a legitimate occupation to remain underground and experience disadvantage compared to other home-based work activities.

This thesis is an investigation of the legitimacy of the sex industry as a decriminalised land use in metropolitan Sydney. Focusing on governance and the interrelationships with land-use conflicts, contentious land use, and “not in my backyard” (nimby) attitudes, this study considers how key stakeholders (in industry, policy and planning) are impacted by and influence policy. “Men who sell sex” is an identity of difference which can experience discrimination or marginalisation in terms of its legitimacy in the urban context. Focusing on metropolitan Sydney, this thesis considers how planning approaches can account for inclusion of MWSS from home.

1.6 Key research questions and objectives

The following research questions were established:

1. In the context of key stakeholders, to what extent are sex-work policies clearly evident?
2. What are the geographies of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney?
3. Twenty years since decriminalisation of the sex industry, what are the industry and government perspectives of private sex work?

Based on the research questions, the following research objectives were established:

1. Review the planning approach and impact on key stakeholders relating to private sex work in metropolitan Sydney.
2. Identify spatial locations of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney.
3. Investigate the understandings of private sex work from an industry and planning perspective twenty years after decriminalisation.

1.7 Research significance

Since the sex industry and sex work were decriminalised, metropolitan Sydney and New South Wales have become an international focal point of research, particularly in terms of geography (Crofts et al. 2013; Hubbard 2012), law (Crofts 2007; Harcourt, et al. 2005), governance (NSW Department of Planning 2006; NSW Government 2001), and health (Berg

et al. 2011; Donovan et al. 2012; Harcourt et al. 2010; Sullivan 2010). Yet, there is limited research focus on private sex work itself, although writers Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard and Prior (2013), Prior and Crofts (2015), and Prior and Gorman-Murray (2015) are recently gaining momentum in this topic in the Sydney context. Additionally, MWSS have had an interest from health professionals since the 1980s, focusing on sexual health, with specific interest from sociologists and geographers emerging in the last few years. Early Australian writers in this field include Victor Minichiello, John Scott, Peter Aggleton and Garrett Prestage, followed by the SHANTUSI¹¹ project undertaken by the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University, Australia (Rowe 2011), and the yet to be published “Hook up” study undertaken by the Kirby Institute for infection and immunity in society, University of New South Wales (UNSW) Medicine (the Kirby Institute). This research highlights that MWSS is a topic of substance requiring an increased knowledge base and an identity of difference with relevance to matters of society, policy and geography.

Internationally, the growing momentum in the scope of men in sex work has expanded with revised and recent publications, including the text *Men who sell sex: global perspectives* (Aggleton & Parker 2015) and *Male sex work and society* (Minichiello & Scott 2014). This thesis seeks to contribute to the research of private sex work in the home and MWSS from a geographical perspective in the context of Sydney, Australia, where the sex industry is decriminalised. It intends to contribute to the subject research through providing a basis for further discussion to the topic from a geographical and land-use policy perspective.

1.8 Methodology

This research design included four methods: literature analysis, policy review, geographical mapping, and in-depth interviews. The literature analysis draws from sources relating to law, health and safety, and geography. Key authors include Phil Hubbard, United Kingdom, and Paul Maginn and Christine Steinmetz, Australia, in the field of sexual geography; Penny Crofts, Jason Prior, Australia and Teela Sanders, United Kingdom, in the topic of sex work and law; and Victor Minichiello and John Scott, Australia, gaining traction in the subject of MWSS. Information was also sourced from government reports and media articles from Australia.

¹¹ Surveying HIV and need throughout the unregulated sex industry (SHANTUSI).

The research is written from a land-use planning perspective, drawing on policy and geography concepts. The sex industry is considered a commercial enterprise with a variety of activities, operations and businesses. It takes into account the rights of the individual worker and the policies endorsed by the international agencies Amnesty International and the United Nations.

The second method, policy review, was undertaken in three key steps. The first was a detailed review of the NSW sex-industry planning policy at state and local government levels from pre-decriminalisation to the present. The focus was on metropolitan Sydney, private sex-work policy, and MWSS. The second step was an assessment of the permissibility of the HOSS as a land use in the LEPs of the forty-one councils in metropolitan Sydney. The third step was a brief examination of resident-complaint data termed “unauthorised sex-industry premises”, obtained from City of Sydney Council (CoSC).

The third method, geographical mapping, focused on the locations of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. The data was sourced through a review of public adult (personal) advertisements in free local newspapers and magazines distributed in metropolitan Sydney over a period of twelve weeks. This was followed by an assessment of adult websites advertising the services of MWSS in Sydney.

The fourth method, in-depth interviews, included seventeen key stakeholders: planners, policymakers (from state and local governance), sex worker organisational representatives, and sex workers, all based in metropolitan Sydney. Each stakeholder has had involvement in either policy or advocacy since the sex industry was decriminalised. The intent was to provide a varied yet detailed analysis of the topic from multiple perspectives.

A mixed-method approach of qualitative and quantitative methods was utilised as it provided a somewhat statistical nature to the research, which was then complemented with detailed insights. The last three methods—policy review, geographical mapping and in-depth interviews—are each presented as a results phase in the thesis, which is explained further in conjunction with the methodology background, constraints, and ethics process in Chapter 4.

1.9 Research scope and limitations

This thesis statement and objectives are informed by the view that the sex industry, specifically sex work, is a legitimate profession with a unique set of skills and practices (Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Harcourt et al. 2010; Sullivan 2010) and is written in the context

of the state of New South Wales, focusing on metropolitan Sydney where the sex industry and sex work are decriminalised. The project scope focuses on private sex work and MWSS and aims to demonstrate how private home-based sex-services activities can operate like any other home business.

It is acknowledged that illegal sex-industry activities take place (human trafficking, child pornography, and the exploitation of male and female sex workers). However, these illegal activities are beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, this research focuses on private workers—mainly MWSS—who choose to undertake this work on their own accord and are not forced into the activity.

Some men do not identify to the term “male sex worker” (MSW) due to stigma around sex work, health, and sexuality, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. In light of these sensitivities, this thesis adopted the term “men who sell sex” (MWSS) as developed in Aggleton (1999) and Aggleton and Parker (2015). Where the term “male sex worker” has been utilised, this has been done for grammatical purposes only (relating to the specific sentence structure). Additionally, this thesis recognises the diversity of sex services from indirect to direct and to workers and their clients. This diversity means there can be various legal and social understandings of what constitutes sex work. For the purpose of consistency in the context of this thesis, the research focuses on direct sex work, further explained in Chapters 3 and 4.

1.10 Thesis structure

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 introduces the topic and the background of the research, followed by the problem setting, including a legislative summary of the sex industry in Sydney, New South Wales. A research framework is then detailed, followed by the thesis statement and research questions. The research significance is then explained, and the methodological approach is briefly summarised. Finally, the research limitations and scope are presented, concluding with a summary.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 introduces the conceptual framework of this thesis, which can broadly be categorised as cities of difference. Four key concepts are discussed: (1) contemporary cities, (2) difference and diversities, (3) land-use planning, and (4) governance. The intent is to discuss how contemporary cities are all sites of difference, detailing the current opportunities and constraints of urban culture in embracing diversity. This chapter establishes the

framework, which is used to identify MWSS privately as an identity of difference that resides within the built environment.

Chapter 3

This section focuses on the existing literature surrounding private sex work and MWSS from global and local perspectives. Areas of focus include the sex industry in the city (broadly), followed by an analysis of current understandings of sex work. The review then focuses on sex-industry stakeholders with particular attention attributed to sex workers and their geographies. Moving on, the chapter examines the regulatory contexts for sex work whilst also considering the sex industry broadly. Attention is directed to new discussions around the impacts of law on private sex workers—in some cases described as potential human rights violations. Finally, the chapter concludes with emerging studies of MWSS and current understandings of their work. The chapter establishes that both private sex work and MWSS are relatively new fields of research, where there are particular gaps in understanding their placement in the city.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 details the methodology employed for this project, including a description of the range of data sources utilised, their complementary relationship, and the identification of limitations relating to collection methods. This thesis has engaged both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to provide a detailed result, and these methods supplement one another in terms of findings. The results are presented in three phases, reflecting the order of the research questions. This chapter also details the ethical processes engaged to access the sex-industry stakeholder—a sensitive participant. The chapter concludes with a reflection of the study's limitations, from scope to participant engagement.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 is the first phase of the results, presented through a legislative lens focusing on the status of private sex work in Sydney from decriminalisation to the present. Eleven key milestones relating to private sex-work policy are identified and investigated through a detailed planning analysis and complemented with in-depth interviews with key stakeholders. Key findings reveal ambiguity in policy, where there is a limited understanding of private sex work as a land use. There is a failure to differentiate between the diversity of sex work and associated venues, namely, private sex work and commercial sex work. Planners and policy are limited in categorising private sex work with other home occupations, exposing general resistance to sex work in the neighbourhood and the residential zone. Rather than facilitating

inclusion, policy is often utilised as control measure, limiting the rights of private sex workers and the objectives of decriminalisation. Finally, while there was some evidence of acknowledgement of MWSS in policy, law often still assumes the sex workers in Sydney to be females.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 is the second phase of the results, focusing on geographies of MWSS privately in metropolitan Sydney. The localities of MWSS are described through empirical evidence derived from a newspaper review, internet search, and interviews with sex-industry stakeholders, including MWSS privately. The data reveals that regardless of the policy ambiguities, men sell sex privately from home in metropolitan Sydney. The review of print and online content establishes a broad spatial understanding of MWSS, whilst the in-depth interviews provide insights into the HOSS in the neighbourhood from the sex-industry stakeholder perspective.

Chapter 7

Chapter 7 is the third and final phase of the results, a reflection drawing on the data of the in-depth interviews. It focuses on the stakeholders' perspectives from when the sex industry was decriminalised until the present day. Three key themes emerged from their reflections: (1) legitimacy of sex work is still in question, (2) limited level of understanding of MWSS and HOSS by practicing planners, and (3) limitations of the "city of difference" image in Sydney. The commentary reveals there are many barriers relating to private sex work, the HOSS, and MWSS in Sydney today.

Chapter 8

Chapter 8 is the conclusion of the thesis and summarises the results presented earlier. The chapter highlights the empirical research contribution in three points: (1) there is a lack of clarity in current sex-work policy, (2) men sell sex in metropolitan Sydney, and (3) private sex workers and the HOSS remain resisted identities of difference in metropolitan Sydney. There is also consideration to the limitations of the subject research. The chapter then concludes with suggestions of future directives for researchers.

Chapter 2: Cities of difference—a conceptual framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the conceptual framework of this research situated broadly within the notion of cities of difference (Fincher and Jacobs 1998). Themes in the discussion include (1) contemporary cities, (2) difference and diversity, (3) land-use planning and (4) governance. The intent here is to build a foundational context which is drawn upon in Chapter 3 in discussions on sex work, geography, policy and MWSS.

This chapter begins with a general discourse of urban differences, introducing contemporary cities as sites of difference, where global and local are manifested (theme 1). This is followed by a discussion of characteristics of difference and diversity (theme 2). Then the chapter concentrates on land-use planning strategies (theme 3), how planners facilitate and account for difference in the city. Finally, it considers the advantages and limitations of the role of governance managing the city of difference (theme 4). The intent is to discuss how contemporary cities are all sites of difference, detailing the current opportunities and constraints of urban culture in embracing diversity. This chapter develops the discussion in how the city comprises multitudes of difference, where the sex industry, sex work and MWSS are some of the many identities that exist within.

2.2 Contemporary cities as sites of difference

The reality of the contemporary city is that urban life is diverse, both socially and geographically, creating multiple experiences, narratives and identities. As stated in Chapter 1, cities are often branded in a multitude of ways: the smart city, the holy city, the healthy city, or the global city, and they are often global, highly populated, and socially complex, with layers of cultural and subcultural identities.

Early descriptions of contemporary urbanism included world cities identified by Patrick Geddes in his *Cities in evolution*, published in 1915. Geddes described the city as a living organism, a built environment which could expand and diversify whilst being geographically categorised into a hierarchy of urban places (Batty & Marshall 2009). Peter Hall subsequently identified key attributes of modern cities in the text *The World Cities*, first published in 1966, to include mass migration, multicultural citizenship, commerce, political influence, trade, the arts, culture, technology, education and innovation (Hall 1966; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a, 2015b). Another key historic contribution was Friedmann (1986) in the text *The World City*

Hypothesis, carried on by the globalisation paradigm of Sassen (2001). Today, scholars have identified these described cities to have a global culture, connecting with each other through technology, commerce and information sharing and, thus, becoming present-day sites of difference. The evolution of telecommunications has bridged the time and geographical gap between cities, further strengthening the connections between these cosmopolitan epicentres (Hubbard 2012; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a).

Whilst these theories of urbanism were developed, the Burgess “Chicago School¹²” model recognised urban life as dynamic yet attempted to categorise it, to simplify difference through basic land-use zones such as residential, central business district and industrial. This promoted secular ideals of the city for the purpose of urban “order”, often dealing with difference as a disruptive element leading to political and social tensions (Fincher & Jacobs 1998; Howe 2003). Contemporary theorists, such as Fincher et al. (2002, p. 45), challenge such notions:

We conclude, instead, that different perspectives protect against indifference to the subtle and diverse ways that injustice can be perpetuated. That is what they protect against—rather than protecting/preventing us from constructing generalizable similarities and uniformities that can be used for political purposes.

This statement highlights that urban theories, such as Fincher and Jacobs’ (1998) cities of difference, cite diversity as an expected yet unpredictable element in the built environment. This leads into the rights to the city theory (Fincher & Iveson 2012; Fincher et al. 2014), a contemporary argument which embraces the recognition and inclusion of difference into the social order—a preventative measure against discrimination and exclusion, reducing poverty, inequality, racism and sexism.

Understanding the evolution of our cities is critical in terms of creating sustainable urban settings. Presently, the global population is more than seven billion (World Bank Group 2015), where more than 50 per cent of the inhabitants reside in urbanised environments (Jenks et al. 2008; World Bank Group 2015). Drawing on the impacts of rapid urbanism, Hubbard details struggles to comprehend changes to the “size, appearance and apparent complexity” of cities (2012, p. 5). Limitations arise when the measurements of difference are

¹² Created in 1925 by sociologist Ernest Burgess.

standardised, a “one size fits all” homogeneous assumption of urban life (Howe 2003; Jenks et al. 2008; Pratt 1998; Sanders 2009).

The realities of urban life are that many cities experience issues of mass migration, strained services and resources, social inequality, and cultural conflict. At times, economic desires surpass the quality of life of urban inhabitants, resulting in social inequality. Some citizens are more socially advantaged, described as the “cultural and economic elite” (Turner 2008, p. 568), able to afford a cosmopolitan lifestyle with greater access to services such as health care, infrastructure and education. Those with limited access to such services are among the disadvantaged. In terms of the complexity of rapid urbanism, there are emerging disruptions, as Hubbard (2012) highlights in the importance of multi-sexuality in cities, terming some metropolises as “world cities of sex”, which are discussed further in Chapter 3.

Henceforth, governing for identities of difference needs to promote three initiatives: (1) planning for recognition (acknowledgement of various land uses and activities, (2) planning for redistribution (the sustainable allocation of space), and (3) planning for encounter (the everyday interactions and governance) to ensure coexistence amongst the potential conflict (Fincher 2003; Fincher & Iveson 2008; Fincher et al. 2014). Planners with their management and facilitation in the urban setting are presented with significant challenges in negotiating the multiple rights to the city (Fincher et al. 2014).

2.3 Understanding difference and diversity

This section discusses how difference and diversity are categorised. Broad characteristics of difference encompass the social, economic, environmental and geographical constructions of the city. Traditional measurements of difference include gender, sexuality (Bondi 1998; Dowling 1998; Kofman 1998), age (Fincher & Iveson 2014), culture, ethnicity, class (Kofman 1998), family structure, dwelling type, lifestyle, political ideologies and economics (Fincher 1998). Gunder (2005), Howe (2003) and Lees (2003) describe these as “simplified” or generic classifications, limiting the true dynamic structures of urban life. As populations increase, social changes occur, commerce matures and technology advances; the results are multiple “identities of difference” in the city (Fincher & Jacobs 1998; Pratt 1998).

Some lifestyles are more common than others and considered to be in the mainstream, whilst others are considered marginal—the forgotten, such as the homeless (Jacobs & Fincher 1998); the other, such as migrants (Sandercock 2000); or the feared, such as sex workers and criminals (Fincher 2003; Fincher & Iveson 2008). These distinctions are complexities driven

between the relationship of geography and sociology. Pratt states, “there are multiple grids of difference and complex and varied links between place and identity formation” (Pratt 1998, p. 27).

Sex as an identity of difference in a locational sense has emerged in new thinking about urban diversity. Geographical examples of sexuality and difference include vice districts, nightclubs and queer spaces (Bell & Valentine 1995; Hubbard 2012; Weitzer 2012, 2014). Feminist, queer and postmodern paradigms comment that the city itself is a patriarchal and heterosexual setting, creating social distinctions of sexuality, race and gender (Bell & Valentine 1995; Doan 2009; Knopp 1998). Suburbia and the domestic setting have traditionally been conceptualised as feminine spaces, dominated by heterosexual constructs of household and family networks. Often there is limited consideration of alternative domestic structures such as same-sex couples, single parents, childless couples, individuals, or working mothers. However, technological advances and social shifts have progressed ideals of sex, promoting sexual expression and freedom, where the neighbourhood is now multifunctional and multi-sexual, a locality of difference (Alizadeh 2013; Bell & Valentine 1995; Dowling 1998; Hubbard 2012; Hubbard & Prior 2013; Prior & Gorman-Murray 2015).

Patterns of difference and diversity

Diversity, especially in the social sphere, is expressed spatially in the contemporary city. These interactions become patterns and trends of difference at global, urban and local scales (Fincher 2003; Jacobs & Fincher 1998; Healey 2002, 2013; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a). The mapping of these precincts demonstrates that a number of identities can exist in one setting (Bell & Valentine 1995; Pratt 1998). Such examples include Chinatown and LGBTIQ communities, precincts which are common in global contemporary cities such as New York, San Francisco and Sydney (A. T. Kearney 2015). These enclaves share global commonalities, such as eastern architecture or the iconic LGBTIQ “rainbow” pride flag, yet are unique communities with a localised identity through the use of space and place.

Chinatown

The phenomenon of Chinatown is an iconic display of difference and diversity in the city. Multiculturalism is displayed in the built form, the preservation of Chinese culture (identifiable in signage, architecture and street layout) appropriated into its western urban surroundings. Figures 2.1–2.3 are of three different Chinatowns, located in the cities of New York, San Francisco and Sydney. Figure 2.1 of Chinatown is distinctly New York, from the wide streets to the backdrop of the famous high-rises known to Manhattan. Similarly, Figure 2.2 of

Chinatown in San Francisco conveys the unique characteristics of eastern culture adapted into the art deco architecture distinct to the California city. Figure 2.3 of Chinatown in Sydney, Australia, displays traditional eastern architecture in the backdrop of the city's central business district. Each Chinatown portrays similar characteristics, yet each remains uniquely different, demonstrating the multifaceted nature of the physical and social environments which we inhabit.



Figure 2.1: Chinatown, New York City (source: Timeout 2016).



Figure 2.2: Chinatown, San Francisco (source: Papadopoulos 2015).



Figure 2.3: Chinatown, Sydney (source: Papadopoulos 2017).

LGBTIQ communities

Queer or LGBTIQ spaces are another identity of difference in cosmopolitan cities. Although well-established, they continue to challenge the heteronormative ideals of society, for example, relationships, family structures and suburban life. Commentators of queer theory recognise that governance often fails to recognise the LGBTIQ identity as an influencer in the production of space and place (Binnie 1995; Knopp 1995). Prior to the 1970s, many western countries restricted or prohibited the activities and exhibition of the LGBTIQ community. In the United Kingdom (UK), queer sex (sex between men) was only made lawful in 1967. Binnie articulated the legal system as “infamously prohibiting the promotion of homosexuality” (Binnie 1995, p. 189). Such attitudes were common, thus, queer safe zones formed, often located in fringe areas, industrial zones or undesirable suburbs (Doan 2007). Over time, these neighbourhoods formed a distinct mark in the urban setting for the LGBTIQ community, such as “Gayborhood” in Philadelphia (Doan & Higgins 2011, p. 6).

These neighbourhoods also became spaces for activism and culture for the LGBTIQ identity, holding events such as the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras (Binnie 1995). Symbolisms of identity are incorporated into these spaces, such as the iconic rainbow pride flag (Bell & Avletine 1995; Doan & Higgins 2011, p. 6). Specific examples include the rainbow crossing of the Castro District, San Francisco (Figures 2.4–2.5), and the colourful transformation of Sydney CBD during the Mardi Gras festival (Figure 2.6). However, within these safe zones, Doan (2009) highlights that there are subcultures subject to further marginalisation. In the case of the transgender population, Doan (2009, p. 22) describes “they are tolerated but not always welcomed warmly” by society and within the LGBTIQ community, becoming a minority in heterosexual and LGBTIQ spaces (Doan 2009, 2015).

At the same time, these iconic spaces face gentrification as a result of their location (the city’s fringe) and improved amenity. In the case of the Castro District in San Francisco, gentrification resulted in increased rent, pushing out many LGBTIQ residents (Doan & Higgins 2011). In midtown Atlanta, local authorities and new heteronormative residents are driving out the once iconic LGBTIQ businesses—Backstreet, The Armory, Metro Video Bar, and Bulldogs (Doan 2015, p. 201). In Sydney, the iconic “rainbow crossing” in Taylor Square was removed in 2013. Thus, as contemporary cities shift towards celebrating diversity, the reality is limited where certain identities are subject to disadvantage.



Figure 2.4: The Rainbow Crossing, Castro District, San Francisco (source: Papadopoulos 2015).



Figure 2.5: The Rainbow Crossing and surrounding urban environment, Castro District, San Francisco (source: Papadopoulos 2015).



Figure 2.6: Sydney central business district (CBD) during Mardi Gras (Source: Papadopoulos 2017).

2.4 Land-use planning in the city of difference

This section examines land-use planning approaches in the city of difference and the locational politics of difference. Focus extends to where cohesion ends and conflict begins, described in this thesis as the “spectrum of contention”. Consideration is then made of circumstances of extreme urban conflict, often referred to as the “not in my backyard” (nimby) phenomena.

The locational politics of difference

Within the modern city, locational conflict is a constant and ever-growing phenomenon, thus, leading into arguments of the “rights to the city” and urban justice (Fincher & Iveson 2012; Fincher et al. 2014), where solutions are often described as “one fit for all” (Purcell 2002; Sanders 2009), a generic response to diversity management. Consequently, these solutions can limit the transformative nature of the city, which can lead to further urban disenfranchisement of various identities of difference that inhabit the city (Thorns 2002). Purcell (2002) explains, “[It] must be seen not as a completed solution to current problems, but as an opening to a new urban politics” (p. 99). This presents new examinations of urban

justice based on multiple characteristics of difference, meaning numerous voices, relationships and experiences in urban life (Fincher & Iveson 2012).

Jacobs and Fincher (1998) described these tensions as the “locational politics of difference”, the interplay of “identity, power and place” (p. 2). Conflict in difference includes three aspects: the inhabitant (the identities of difference), geography (the proximity of these identities to each other), and governance (access, control and legitimacy), all merging into the politics of difference (Jacobs & Fincher 1998). Difference, as an influential force, is described as transformative characteristics continually shaping the urban environment (Fincher & Jacobs 1998).

Cohesion to conflict

There is an emphasis in urban planning to build manageable, sustainable and resilient cities for present and future generations. As such, planning strategies are prepared to foresee the future growth of cities, forecasting population and economic growth and implementing the required services, activities and infrastructure. However, land-use planning is also about the social aspects the city, specifically, the communal use of space and the subsequent interactions of inhabitants (Jenks et al. 2008; Thorns 2002). Sandercock (2000) highlights:

Whether we like it or not, we do share space on the planet with others who in many ways are not like us, and we need to find ways of co-existing in these spaces, from the next door neighbour to the street, neighbourhood, city and region (2000, p. 1).

As described, the urban setting is made up of an array of identities, spaces and activities where conflict can occur in various contexts. This is a reflection of the social diversity in our cities, resulting in a juxtaposition of equally important land uses (Boyd, W., Exter, Whitehead, Howton, & Boyd, P. 2013, p. 16). Broadly, many land uses are accepted by a city’s inhabitants (e.g. a hospital, school or highway) but are often resisted by those within its immediate location (Hubbard 2009; Villaroman 2012). The literature notes a geographical pattern in the response to difference; some identities coexist, while others antagonise (Jacobs & Fincher 1998). Common descriptive terms in literature include “conflict” (Dunk, Grêt-Regamey, Dalang & Hersperger 2011), “antagonistic” (Kaliampakos, Mavrikos, & Menegaki 2011), “the other” (Villaroman 2012), and “illicit” (Ford & Beveridge 2004). Such language conveys a perception that some identities in the city, when recognised as undesirable, become the marginalised or feared and are treated with zero tolerance (Hubbard 2004, p. 1688).

Not all different land uses react to each other negatively. Rather, these activities can exist in a social harmony, continually negotiating and managing competing priorities cohesively. Generally, the shift from cohesion to conflict is the result of the intensity of the inhabitant's resistance. Such responses are influenced by community values and culture, political agendas, and current governance management approaches (Boyd et al. 2013; Campbell 1996). Resistance can be further driven by the inhabitant's emotions, such as anticipated or perceived impacts: decline in property values, quality of life, and amenities. In suburban Australia, the emotional drivers of conflict can relate to the cultural values around home ownership and the right to a house with a backyard (Fincher 2003; Sandercock 2000).

The spectrum of contention

This shift from cohesion to contention can be described as a four-stage spectrum: (1) low-ranking land-use conflict, generally manageable, (2) medium-type disputes involving compromise, (3) high disputation, where some aspects cannot be resolved, and (4) extreme contention, where resolutions are unforeseeable. Geographically, the spectrum often begins in the neighbourhood, given the immediacy of potential impacts (the emotional drivers mentioned above). When the threat is extreme, it can then expand to impact beyond the street, to the suburb, (sub)urban, and wider urban scale (Boyd et al. 2013; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a, 2015b; Sandercock 2000; Villaroman 2012). Table 2.1 categorises the four-stage spectrum based on the Australian governance system, describing land uses from international and national examples (from both scholarly and media sources). This is to demonstrate resistance types and associated issues towards identities of difference in the city and how they are managed. The intention is to convey the interrelationships between different land uses, stakeholders, issues and objection types as well as governance responses.

Land uses associated with cohesion or low-level conflict (though, nonetheless, felt strongly by local stakeholders) include local developments such as home redevelopment, community facilities, local infrastructure, and minor commercial developments. Identified stakeholders include immediate neighbours, local councillors, land owners, and residents. Complaints are described as minor, such as visual amenity and noise, and are made by residents in the form of letters or phone calls to council. The governance response is from councils who approve, reject or modify the activity; conduct on site meetings; and notify the public or refer the complaint to other agencies.

Medium conflict expands to more significant commercial and infrastructure insertions, such as windfarms, stadiums, telecommunications, powerlines, and adult-entertainment venues.

The conflict increase is triggered by geography, when perceived impacts move beyond the street to the wider suburb. Impacted stakeholders include local communities, business owners, developers, numerous councils, local councillors, state government agencies and Members of Parliament (MPs). Objections can take multiple forms, including petitions, formation of local action groups, and letters to newspaper editors. Issues raised include mistrust of the developer, lack of public interest, and detrimental impacts to health, traffic, noise, and property values. The local governance response is similar to low conflicts, but it can expand to include community information sessions, on site meetings, or approvals from regional or state authorities.

Progressing further up the scale, the elements of high conflict impact across regions or the entire city. Examples include significant developments, such as major transport infrastructure and mass land clearing. Interested and affected parties include whole communities, action groups, councils, state MPs and federal MPs. Objections range from large-scale protests and legal actions to appeals in the state or federal judiciary system and wide media interest. Concerns raised are of high impact, relating to matters of health, pollution, environmental systems, cultural conservation, political agendas or compromising public interest. The governance response extends to approvals, public consultation, committees of inquiry, legal action, and fines.

Finally, examples of extreme conflict can encompass mining, cultural conservation (native title), sites of national or international environmental significance, agriculture, and major infrastructure. The impact is of national and international scale. Objections are extreme, including large-scale protests, political resistance, media interest and legal action. Governance response can include Royal Commissions, federal approvals or appeals in the High Court, or policy reform. Planning for shared space can, at times, result in extreme conflict at a localised level. Table 2.1 reveals the urban reality in the everyday allocation of space; there will always remain a push and pull between land-use cohesion and conflict (Healey 2002, 2007, 2013).

Table 2.1: Spectrum of land-use contention (multiple sources as referenced in table) (adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

Level of conflict	(1) Low-level conflict or cohesive	(2) Medium conflict	(3) High contention	(4) Extreme contention
Governance	Local councils	Local councils/State Government	Local/State/Federal	Local council/State Government/Federal Government/International law
Land-use activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Neighbourhood development, e.g. home extensions, fencing, tree removal (Boyd et al. 2009) Places of worship (Villaroman 2012) Infrastructure: power lines (Devine-Wright 2013) telecommunications facilities, and waste facilities (Hubbard, 2009c; Thomas 2010) Social welfare services, e.g. affordable housing and aged care (Hubbard 2009; Thomas 2010) Adult entertainment venues (Weitzer 2012; Hubbard 2012) Community facilities, e.g. public toilets, parks, pools, lighting and parking (Thomas 2010) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State infrastructure: power lines (Devine-Wright 2013); telecommunications facilities, waste facilities(Hubbard 2009; Thomas 2010) Social welfare services, e.g. affordable housing and aged care (Hubbard 2009; Thomas 2010) Places of worship (Villaroman 2012) Cemeteries (Thomas 2010) Stadiums (Ahlfeldt & Maennig 2012) Vice districts (Weitzer 2012; Hubbard 2012) Biodiversity, cultural and historical conservation (Boyd et al. 2013; Kaliampakos et al. 2011) Agricultural activities (Boyd et al. 2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State/federal infrastructure: power lines (Devine-Wright 2013); telecommunications, mining and wind farms (Botetzagias et al. 2013) Hazardous waste facilities (Johnson & Scicchitano 2012) Social housing (Hubbard 2009) Major transport infrastructure, e.g. airports (Stevens & Baker 2013; Freestone et al. 2011); highways, e.g. West Connex Vice districts (Weitzer 2012) Major environmental destruction, e.g. mass vegetation clearing (Boyd et al. 2009) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agricultural activities (Boyd et al. 2009) Mass vegetation clearing (Boyd et al. 2009) Mining Native title Major airports, e.g. Badgerys Creek, Sydney's second international airport (Freestone et al. 2011; Stevens & Baker 2013) Major infrastructure, such as federal roads Damage to national/world sites of environmental significance, e.g. UNESCO (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) sites, for example, the Great Barrier Reef (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2017)
Stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subject landowner (Boyd et al. 2012) Adjoining properties (Boyd et al. 2012) Local residents Local councillors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local communities or neighbourhoods Local stakeholders, e.g. business operators, resident action groups. Politicians: local councillors and state Members of Parliament (MPs) Developers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jointed action groups (Devine-Wright 2013) State and federal governing authorities Politicians: local councillors, state members of parliament (MPs) and federal MPs. Developers/investors Councils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Action groups, organisations (Devine-Wright 2013) Local, state and federal governing authorities. Politicians: local councillors, state Members of Parliament (MPs) and federal MPs Developers/investors International agencies
Types of objections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single or few objections from local residents, e.g. letters/phone calls Generally, objections are minor with a feasible solution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single or multiple objections, e.g. letters/petitions/posters and flyers Low-scale protests from local action groups (Devine Wright 2013) Political involvement at local/state governance level (Baker & Freestone 2012) Local media interest (Devine-Wright 2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple objections. Political involvement (state/federal). Media interest—local, state and federal (Devine-Wright 2013) Large-scale public protests Legal appeal—the Land and Environmental Court of New South Wales (NSW LEC) (Devine-Wright 2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political involvement (state/federal) Media interest—local, state and federal (Devine-Wright 2013) Large-scale public protests Legal appeal, e.g. NSW LEC or the High Court of Australia (Devine-Wright 2013) International objections
Issues raised within objections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact on local amenity: property prices, noise and pollution (Boyd et al. 2013; Hubbard 2009a; Kaliampakos et al. 2011) Heritage/cultural conservation (Kaliampakos et al. 2011) Biodiversity/sustainability (Thomas 2010) Social exclusion (Villaroman 2012) Limited public interest (Devine-Wright 2013; Williams & Maginn 2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact on neighbourhood amenity (Boyd et al. 2013; Hubbard 2009) Health (Devine-Wright 2013) Heritage and culture conservation (Kaliampakos et al. 2011) Biodiversity/sustainability (Stokes, Hanson, Oaks, Straub, & Ponio 2010; Thomas 2010) Limited trust in developers, governance and the public interest (Devine-Wright 2013; Williams & Margin 2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heritage/cultural conservation (Kaliampakos et al. 2011) Large-scale health and pollution impacts (Devine-Wright 2013) Large-scale biodiversity/sustainability (Stokes et al. 2010) Lack of public interest (Williams & Maginn 2012; Healey 2007, 2012) Wider political agendas (Devine-Wright 2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National and international biodiversity/sustainability (Thomas 2010; Stokes et al. 2010) Large-scale pollution Heritage and cultural matters (national/international significance) Wider political agendas (Devine-Wright 2013; Williams & Maginn 2012) Lack of public interest (Healey 2007, 2013) (Williams & Maginn 2012)
Governance response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On-site meetings with objectors and applicants Response to objections via phone or written form Approval/rejection of application Referral to other agencies for approval Environmental reporting, e.g. State of Environment Reports—NSW Council requirements (Boyd et al. 2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On-site meetings with objectors and applicants Response to objections via phone or written form Approval/rejection of the application Community consultation in the form of drop-in sessions, meetings, community forums. Referral to other agencies. Referral to state or regional planning panels, e.g. the NSW Joint Regional Planning Panel Political intervention 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In-depth consultation with stakeholders Fines/penalties/loss of commercial licence Legal decisions, e.g. the NSW LEC Criminal charges Royal Commissions of Inquiry Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) Investigations Suspension of authorities' powers Legislative reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legal proceedings, fines/penalties In-depth consultation with stakeholders: meetings, drop-in sessions, community forums, etc. Issuing of fines/loss of commercial licence under specific legislation in relation to environmental noncompliance Appeals within the judicial system, such as the High Court of Australia Review or Royal Commission inquiries into existing legislation to identify key areas for reform

The nimby: cohesion and conflict

The “not in my backyard” (nimby) phenomenon can occur at any stage in the spectrum of contention, an example of how citizens respond to the geographical placement of difference in the city. Hubbard defines nimby as “a term which summarises the oppositional rhetoric of those residents concerned about the potential impacts of new developments on their neighbourhood or locality” (2009, p. 444). Commonly, nimby attitudes in the physical environment relate to “potentially hazardous facilities” and “undesirable human service facilities” (Hubbard 2009, p. 444). In contemporary times, the nimby response is not just locational; rather, it is manifested with other concerns from public interest, transparency, global issues, democracy, infrastructure, urban design, values, morals and culture (Ahlfeldt & Maennig 2012; Hubbard 2009, 2012; Hubbard & Lister 2015; Johnson & Scicchitano 2012). Ruming (2014) draws on the civic response to the “Nation Building—Economic Stimulus Plan¹³” in Australia. The intent of the plan was to boost the national economy whilst providing necessary local infrastructure, such as social housing, schools and roads. Although a proactive action to a global economic crisis, a series of localised resistances remained, some of which were a general opposition to the “other”—specifically, social housing projects—masked under “planning” issues from consultation, timing, funding, proposed locations and design (Ruming 2014).

Nimbyism is apparent through negative attitudes towards the “other”, noxious identities and land uses in an individual’s neighbourhood (Hubbard 2009). Modern terms also extend to “locally unwanted land uses” (LULUs) (Lake 1993), “not on my block”, or “any place but here” (Wolf 1987, pp. 216–217), to NIABY (not in anybody’s backyard) (Feldman & Turner 2010) and BANANA (build absolutely nothing anywhere near anything) (Hubbard 2009). All these terms demonstrate the resistance (local and global) occurring when there are conflicting interests of space, place and identity (Fieldman & Turner 2010; Johnson & Scicchitano 2012; Wolf 1987). The nimby attitude today extends beyond the built form and geographies encompassing social identities, calling for urban planning to be both collaborative and transparent. As demonstrated in this research, often, urban planning remains focused on heteronormative ideals, oftentimes resulting in the nimby attitude. In summary, land-use planning approaches are key in the management and facilitation of difference in the city and of its incorporation into future governance.

¹³ A federally funded government project implemented between 2007–2009 during the global financial crisis (GFC).

2.5 Governing for difference and diversity in the city

Building on the previous discussions of concepts of difference and the land-use planning approaches, this section intends to observe a third key dimension of difference: the role of governance. This section will examine governance in three key aspects: (1) governance structure, responsibility and limitations; (2) the role of planners as facilitators of difference; and (3) the fragmented “city of difference”, when governance is limited in understanding its meaning.

Governance: structure, responsibility and limitations

Governance and land-use planning (both in specific and general approaches) entwine within all aspects of the city, from transport, infrastructure, health care, environment, and education to social structures. Strategic urban planning in governance ensures the provision of infrastructure and services in the city. At times, land-use planning objectives battle a multitude of government departments (centralised or decentralised) and political agendas, often resulting in a contradiction of priorities (Healey 2002; Mashima & Kawakami 2014).

Describing governance and strategic thinking, Healey (2013) draws upon urban planning in Europe and the western world. Her work highlights the existence of “transnational flows,” a multitude of patterns of difference creating cosmopolitan cities. Today, many urban policies incorporate transnational patterns in their strategic thinking, promoting economic growth as well as cultural and social diversity. Policies are often based on a hierarchy of jurisdiction and spatiality, with the intent to integrate city and neighbourhood; yet, the acknowledgment of difference can remain limited (Thorns 2002).

Fincher and Iveson (2008), Fincher et al. (2014), Gunder (2005), Howe (2003) and Sandercock (2000) recognise that authorities can tend to generalise (and thus oversimplify) a fixed public identity rather than recognise a multiple-identity public. Fincher and Iveson (2008) and Fincher (2007) highlight such generalisations in governance as occurring to ensure a broad relevance and application of policies. Fincher (2007, p.1) explains that these generic assumptions limit the interests of cosmopolitan societies:

The understanding that there is no overarching “public interest” that policy makers can define and that rather there must be acknowledgement of multiple and shifting interests and identities in the citizens of cities for whom public policy works, provides a major social logic for urban policy and planning, that of recognition.

Governance often regards difference as disorderly to the urban structure; as such, it seeks to normalise difference through categorisation on the pretence that it creates urban order (Gunder 2005). Sometimes policy normalises (thus, advantages) certain groups whilst others remain marginalised in policy (Fincher 2003; Fincher et al. 2014; Healey 1997, 2002, 2007, 2013; Jacobs & Fincher 1998). Drawing on earlier discussions of heteronormative ideals dominating the city, Doan (2015) highlights a long-term discriminatory response from local government authorities towards the LGBTIQ community in Atlanta:

Throughout much of the twentieth century, harassment and overt discrimination from heteronormative local governments towards the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) community have resulted in the location of queer social activities in marginalised areas where a variety of sex-related businesses were situated. For most local government officials there was little distinction between adult entertainment, sex work and gay/lesbian bars (Doan 2015, p. 197).

Inadvertently, directives by governance to create cosmopolitan cities are limited when there is a failure to recognise difference as a constant on urban life. Consequently, the locational politics of difference occur, limiting the inclusion of the various identities of difference that inhabit cities.

Describing the numerous planning responsibilities in Australian jurisdictions, Williams and Maginn (2012, p. 46) highlight three tiers of governance (listed in Table 2.2). Councils are the responsible bodies for planning in the neighbourhood; state agencies are responsible for long-term land-use planning; and the federal government focuses on vital nationwide infrastructure, such as airports and highways. In 2015, the Prime Minister announced the portfolio of the Minister of Cities and the Built Environment, presently known as the Assistant Minister for Cities and Digital Transformation (Commonwealth of Australia 2016). In April 2016, the federal government launched its *Smart Cities Plan*, which focused on ideals of collaboration, inclusion and technological innovation in land-use planning. The plan focuses on creating cities and regions that promote growth, securing the future of Australia internationally and locally. Particularly, collaboration between governments was promoted as a key tool to a city's success.

Table 2.2: Levels of governance, responsibility and funding (source: Bugg & Gurran 2011; Ruming & Gurran 2014; Ruming, Gurran, Maginn, & Goodman 2014; Williams & Maginn 2012; adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

Governance	Jurisdiction	Responsibility	Revenue/funding
Local government	Municipalities (numerous local neighbourhoods or regions)	Local development and community infrastructure	Local residential rates, developer contributions, and some state and federal funding
State Government	The whole state, with the ability to override local governments	State infrastructure, strategic planning, e.g. urban growth and transport infrastructure	Land tax, mortgage tax, leasing of government infrastructure, and service charges for state provided infrastructure
Federal Government	The Australian nation, with the ability to override state and local governments	Strategic development of regions and cities nationwide	Income tax, goods and service tax, and custom charges

The discussion and table above convey a potential struggle between the three tiers of governance in Australia. Such governance approaches can be described as “top down”, which can be problematic between the hierarchies of jurisdictions (Healey 2002). Particularly, neighbourhood planning decisions may contradict long-term city-wide strategies, or vice versa. Top-down governance approaches, combined with multiple jurisdictions and generalisations of a secular public, can limit the acceptance of difference and diversity in the policies of our cities.

The role of planners

The second matter to discuss in the governance of our cities is the role of planners as facilitators of difference. Planners aim to uphold justice, equality and fairness perceived to be achieved through tolerance, respect and acceptance of diversity within our cities. However, this social consciousness does not often reflect the formal designs which shape our cities (Healey 2013, 2015).

Planners, particularly within Australia, have maintained a delicate balance between cohesion, tension and conflict. Planners review a multitude of regulatory frameworks, planning schemes and policies—at times where there is less distinction between global and local (Sandercock 2000). Fincher et al. (2014) detail: “The increasing ethnic and racial diversity of contemporary cities challenges urban planners who are charged with managing the built environment to promote social order and harmony” (2014, p. 5).

Planners are assigned to deal with these challenging issues, creating and administering land-use plans that are relevant to the present and future growth and maintenance of local communities (Murtagh & Ellis 2010). Contemporary foci of planners relate to housing, culture, sustainability, leisure, transport, technology, economics and the public domain (Fincher 2003; Jacobs & Fincher 1998; Sandercock 2000). Healey (2013) stresses that such concepts are not new to planning; rather, governing strategies need to be revitalised to accept difference as a transformative benefit to the urban: “The starting point is the recognition of the complexity and diversity of urban life and its multiple time-space horizons” (2013, p. 1510). Contemporary commentators, such as Shergold (2015), realise this continual lack of differentiation of the wider public means there are many untold urban histories. The forgotten histories of past minorities are starting to gain tract with planners as a lessons learnt—meaning that governance needs to promote equality in policy. Shergold (2015) explains, “government interventions are necessary to the extent that they ensure that barriers to equality of opportunity are removed”. Such action is vital in contemporary cities where communities at the local and global scale are richly diverse.

As such, contemporary planners have revitalised the concept of collaboration, engaging stakeholders outside the traditional client realm and heteronormative public (Healy 2002, 2007, 2013; Williams & Maginn 2012). This is not without challenges as collaboration with and between a wide and diverse public require multiple dialogues. Contemporary approaches need to be flexible and adaptable rather than generic, rethinking traditional planning of zoning and development controls. As the contemporary city of difference transforms, so do the roles of the planner.

The fragmented city of difference

This section considers the consequences of governance when it fails to truly comprehend the inclusive city of difference. Rather it becomes the fragmented city of difference when poorly managed by authorities. Figure 2.7 visually narrates the impact when difference and diversity are not wholly incorporated in land use planning approaches, nor supported through governance, thus excluding certain identities over others. Thorns (2002) notes that governance can influence the trajectory of cities towards disjointed, polycentric, or sustainable environments (a spectrum from bad to good). Inflexible and didactic policy responses can create urban division, where only one (or a few) of many social groups will see an advantage and enjoy superior access to a range of services and facilities. At the same time, minority groups arise, isolated and disadvantaged from services, the notion of the “other”

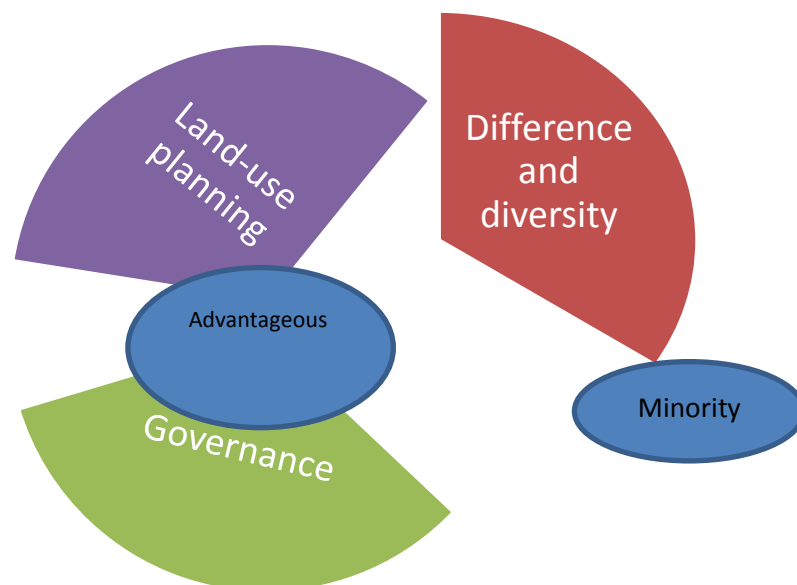
(Sandercock 2000; Sanders 2009; Thorns 2002). Thus the broken interrelationships between difference and diversity, land use planning and governance are relayed in Figure 2.7 showing the distinction between advantageous and minority groups.

In contrast, strategies promoting organic movements, that is, undictated interactions in the built environment, can lead to more sustainable social integration (Fincher 2003; Jenks et al. 2008; Sanders 2009; Thorns 2002). This allows identities of difference to naturally form their own stories and meanings within the urban environment. As Nagar and Helga (1998) state:

Such an understanding enables us to view identities and communities as unstable and changing in their signifying practices and in their relationships with each other. It also challenges such simple binary oppositions between male and female, white and non-white, Hindu and Muslim. It allows us to see communities as specific yet simultaneously uneven and unclosed (p. 228).

Governance which promotes the organic formation of community promotes the true city of difference, a diverse and multifaceted environment which promotes inclusion of all inhabitants over the isolation of the “other”.

Figure 2.7: A fragmented city of difference (Papadopoulos 2016).



Scholars have long commented on the European Union and its collaborative governance schemes, particularly the management of diversity and difference, both culturally and in the built environment. Governance is implemented by overarching agencies linked to the European Council, the European Parliament, and the Court of Justice of the European Union, which are, respectively, responsible for policy, politics and law (European Union 2009). Yet

there are disruptions to these “transnational flows” (Healey 2013), as highlighted by the recent Brexit vote, driven by concerns of nationalism, migration, employment and economics. Critiques of the Brexit impact vary from “isolation through nationalism” (Ullestad & Berrod 2016) to a “subtle form of racist politics” (Fox 2016) to a “triumph for British freedom and self-determination” (Crines et al. 2016). The geopolitical flows in the European Union are broad, dissimilar and, at times, contradictory, an example of where sites of difference can become disruptive when not cohesively managed.

Detailing the impacts of this described urban fragmentation in European cities, Kofman (1998) refers to immigration and gender-inequality issues, focusing on marginalised migrants whom often experience physical and social isolation. Historical examples include the exodus of the working class and the unemployed from the centre of Paris, France and the settlement of immigrants in suburban areas of Frankfurt, Germany away from urban services and facilities (Keil & Ronneberger 1994; Kofman 1998). Recently, the mass migration of war-torn Syrian refugees has created a new social dialogue in Europe, where there is a visible discourse of difference within the urban. Murray (2016) refers to “*les banlieues*”, the Muslim ghettos of France, as disorderly and dangerous spaces:

There has been massive discontent and even violent protests over the last decade or so in these urban settings, often very disadvantaged areas—*les banlieues*, often called the suburbs of exile. Here there is a combination of poverty, housing problems, and a sense of alienation from the advantages of French society (Murray 2016).

Murray (2016) describes an underprivileged local identity, a minority confined to a specific location and facing a number of social constraints. The result is extreme conflict, as there is a distinct separation and disconnect from the wider built and social environment of Paris. Clearly, in its attempts to promote cohesion, Europe suffers social discourse and inequalities. Such barriers are known to exist in many global cities, where some groups are more advantageous than others (Kofman 1998).

Moving on, Australian society prides itself as a society with varying interests, attitudes, and activities. The Australian Values Statement, an official citizen proclamation, refers to the core social values of “freedom of religion ... spirit of egalitarianism ... mutual respect, tolerance, fair play ... equality of men and women” (Australian Government 2016, p. 1). Howe (2003) and Sandercock (2000) critique Australian multicultural policies of the 1970s, identifying them as constrained to European values where attitudes and policy towards the indigenous community remain exclusionary and disadvantaged. Some identities are inherently

marginalised for being too different, driving into other matters of migration, tolerance and respect.

Discussing the Australian 2016 federal election and the global “war on terrorism”, Jakubowicz (2016) reflects on the local impacts: “Multiculturalism may well be supported by 80 per cent of Australians, but this level drops when anxiety about border security rises. So, multiculturalism’s opponents have much to gain from heightened public concern about Muslim immigration”. Here is an example of how global issues are often resisted in the localised context of cities. Although there is a geographic separation between world cities, these recent debates stir issues of immigration, freedom of religion, tolerance and humanity in the city. Villaroman describes how this resistance merges into the neighbourhood: “Such groups often encounter opposition from local residents who are reluctant to share the public sphere with the newly arrived and oftentimes less known other” (2012, p. 216). Planners face the challenge of maintaining planning equity in the face of socio-political pressures to create truly dynamic cities.

2.6 Summary

This chapter explores cities of difference, focusing on the contemporary city and defining diversity and difference, placement in land-use planning, and the role of governance. Cities are made up of a myriad of identities of difference, which need to be acknowledged and accepted. Undoubtedly, planners are required to rethink the nature of cities in terms of collaborative approaches, such as greater transparency and stakeholder inclusion (including the minority). Attitudes towards diversity and difference need to change, where the “other” needs to be considered a transformative benefit to the city by planners and governing authorities. Urban realities need to promote cities as dynamic spaces where growth is encouraged through recognition, redistribution and encounter of difference. As cities expand and society advances, so will the diversity within. The sex industry and sex work are just some of the many identities of difference that need to be accounted for in order to create socially sustainable cities.

.

Chapter 3: Literature review of the sex industry

3.1 Introduction

Building on the conceptual framework of cities of difference, this chapter outlines existing studies and ascertains the current literature gap around the identity of differences of sex work and MWSS from international and Australian perspectives. The chapter begins with a broad review of the sex industry, considering the global status of sex in the city. It then narrows in on the activity of sex work, ascertaining how services are defined. Next, it considers the stakeholders within, focusing on sex workers and their geographies. The chapter then investigates sex work and the law, internationally and nationally. Finally, the chapter appraises understandings of MWSS, their history and current understandings.

3.2 Sex and the city

The sex industry, in all its variations of services, is an identity of difference that exists in many cities, regardless of its status of legitimacy. Today, the virtual world of sex including internet advertising, homemade or amateur pornography, erotic chatrooms, webcams and the plethora of adult products available online have given greater access to an ever-wider audience. It is now considerably easier for the industry to be accessed (or operated) from a variety of locations—such as the home, away from prying eyes—and to develop into a thriving commerce (Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Hubbard 2012; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a, 2015b; Weitzer 2012). The *New York Times*, in 2001, reported that the United States porn industry (e.g. phone sex, virtual sex, adult toys and movies) had estimated earnings of ten to fourteen billion dollars that year alone (Rich 2001). Later, Maginn and Steinmetz (2015b, p.2) reported that, in 2013, the website *Pornhub* had recorded a staggering average of 1.68 million visitors per hour that year. Clearly the market of sex work is global and sought by many urban inhabitants.

Despite this popularity, the industry is commonly resisted and referred to as immoral, exploitative and dangerous (Hubbard 2009, 2012; Weitzer 2012). Governance attitudes of “zero tolerance” (Doel & Hubbard 2002) can limit the access of the sex industry, forming the “anti-sexual city” (Hubbard & Sanders 2003; Sanders 2009). These tensions are then manifested in the built environment, evident through the spatial placement of the sex market in our cities. Regardless of the legitimacy, sexualities coexist in the spatial constructs of the

contemporary city (Bell & Valentine 1995; Hubbard 2012; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a; Weitzer 2012).

Highlighting the relationship between the built environment, globalisation and the sex market, Hubbard (2012) grades cities from “world cities of sex” (e.g. Bangkok and Las Vegas) to “de facto erotic cities” (e.g. San Francisco). World cities of sex have a distinct and unique sexual pattern, luring in international and domestic visitors seeking sexual experiences and entertainment. Examples include the lady-boy shows of Bangkok (Hubbard 2012), the gambling and prostitution of Las Vegas, Nevada (Crofts & Brents 2015), the illicit windows and cafes of Amsterdam, Netherlands (Weitzer 2012; Sanders 2009), and the adult-entertainment districts in Soho, London, and in Greenwich Village, New York (Gilfoyle 1987; Hubbard 2012; Hubbard & Whowell 2008). In “de facto erotic cities”, the sex industry exists in identifiable localities, such as the Castro District of San Francisco, shown in Chapter 2 (Doan & Higgs 2011; Hubbard 2012, pp. 186–188). Understanding these locations is crucial in unpacking the broad spatial placement of sex in the city.

Broadly, the built form of the sex industry has traditionally been characterised by vice districts, strip clubs/bars, beats and the street. Atkins and Laing (2012), Hubbard (2012), Mckewon (2003), and Weitzer (2012, 2014) narrowed in on the formation of the vice district in Western Europe, identifying them as sites of cohesion and conflict. Both Mckewon (2003) and Weitzer (2012, 2014) identify Antwerp, Belgium, as an example of the cohesive red-light district, arguing that the cause of conflict is not the sex industry, rather, the direct result of a resistive local governance or gentrification. The cohesion in Antwerp is credited to its placement on the city’s fringe. The area is restricted to pedestrian access only with onsite police and health services. In contrast, De Wallen, the largest red-light district in Amsterdam, is an example of localised conflict, characterised by familiar drinking haunts, sex shops, cafes and sex tourism (Weitzer 2012, 2014). Council policy utilises zoning and planning laws to regulate these activities, which are a major economic zone of the city, attracting tourists for illicit entertainment and night-life. Recent attempts to reshape this “sin city” (Hubbard & Whowell 2008) have been undertaken through rezoning and limiting sex-work activities, creating tensions between the sex-industry stakeholders and residents in the neighbourhood.

Narrowing in on sites specifically for sex work, Hubbard (2012) eludes its spatial existence in the city is far more diverse. Crofts et al. (2013), Crofts and Brents (2015), Hubbard and Sanders (2003), Maginn and Steinmetz (2015a), Sanders, O’Neill and Pitcher (2009) and Weitzer (2012) are of the consensus that law, society and economics are key influential

factors in the formation of sex-work sites. This is visualised in McKewon's (2003) locational model of prostitution (Figure 3.1).

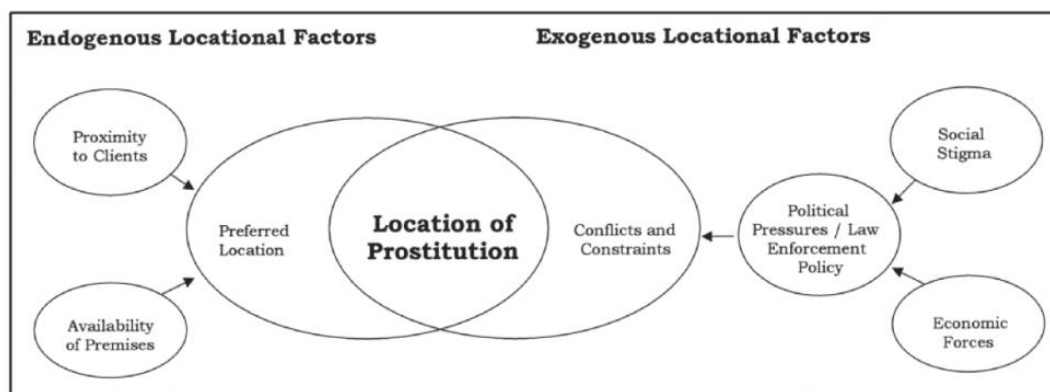


Figure 3.1: Locational model of prostitution (McKewon 2003, p. 300).

Although focusing on female sex-work locations, Figure 3.1 summarises the broad relationship between the sex work and its geographies in the contemporary city. Figure 3.1 visually explains how preferred locations for sex work (such as client access) are restricted by politics driven by social fears, laws and economics. This refers to earlier discussions in Chapter 2 of the locational politics of difference. Such tension dominates the locations of sex work in urban centres as McKewon describes the impact where sex work “tends to gravitate to central city locations and zones of transition” (2003, p. 289). Similarly, Maginn and Steinmetz (2015a) describe such locations as “sexual quarters”, “bubbles”, “enclaves”, “districts” or “zones” (p. 27). Consequently, sex work can exist in the city in industrial or pre-gentrified areas or in fringe areas to the local neighbourhood.

Defining sex work

The general consensus of sex work is that it includes sexual acts in exchange for payment (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Donovan et al. 2012; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015b; Sullivan 2008; 2010). In the recently released¹⁴ Amnesty International policy on state obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of sex workers, the activity of sex work is described as

the exchange of sexual services (involving sexual acts) between consenting adults for some form of remuneration, with the terms agreed between the seller and the buyer. Sex work takes different forms, and varies between and within countries and

¹⁴ Published online by Amnesty International on 26 May 2016.

communities. Sex work may vary in the degree to which it is more or less “formal” or organized (Amnesty International 2016, p. 3).

The above definition indicates that the detailed understanding of sex work is somewhat subjective, yet existing literature often describes sex work in two ways: as forced labour (Farley 2004) or as a profession-with specialised skills and tasks (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Berg et al. 2011; Donovan et al. 2012; Sanders et al. 2009; Sullivan 2008). Harcourt et al. (2005) suggest the latter view is common in all forms of employment, concluding that sex work is no different to other occupations, responsible for paying taxes like all businesses.

Direct and indirect sex work

Hubbard (2012), Harcourt and Donovan (2005), Sanders et al. (2009), and Weitzer (2012) have categorised sex work in terms of indirect or direct services, based on levels of physical contact. Harcourt and Donovan (2005) describe more than twenty-five different forms of sex work “ranging from erotic displays without physical contact with the client, through to high risk unprotected intercourse with numerous clients” (p. 201) (refer to Appendix E). The transactions of indirect sex work are blurred, less definitive, where the work may be an ancillary income, and thus, the individual may not identify as a sex worker. It can also include a range of limited to nil genital contact, such as erotic massage, body slide, virtual sex, phone sex or lap dancing (Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Sanders 2009; Sanders et al. 2009). Indirect sex services are often sporadic and opportunistic—on-the-spot services in nightclubs, bars and saunas (Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Hubbard 2012; Sullivan 1997; Weitzer 2012). Sex tourism, another form of indirect work, can be a sexual encounter in the guise of a holiday romance in exchange for gifts or goods. Consequently, the rise of online sex services blurs the regulatory lines between “adult entertainment” and “sexual services” (Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Jenkins 2010; MacPhail, Scott, & Minichiello 2014; Scott, MacPhail, & Minichiello 2015).

Direct sex work is the provision of sexual services, known as penetrative sex for remuneration. Direct sex workers engage in full-time or part-time work and can be employed by a third party or work independently. Shifts or work times can be a regular routine (daily or weekly), and clients can be pre-booked or sporadic (walk-ins/last-minute call-ins). Places of engagement for direct services are vast, from sex-on-premises venues such as SSPs, hotels, and saunas to the streets, beats, or the home (Ozbay 2015; Scott, Minichiello, & Meenagh 2015).

Sex services and sex work are interchangeable, with no one definitive “fit”; rather, classifications are a reflection of social and legal contexts. Literature reveals that indirect sex services are less definitive in comparison to direct sex services. For the purpose of the research scope, this thesis focuses on services that involve direct sexual intercourse, otherwise known as penetrative and/or oral sex, whilst also recognising that other “sex” services may also occur as part of the commercial exchange. The reasoning is based on the NSW legal context, where sex work is predominately defined as direct sexual services. Indirect sex services are also considered in the law as an ancillary aspect, termed “related sex services” and; discussed further in Section 3.4 of this chapter.

3.3 The stakeholders

Building on earlier descriptions of sex work, this section examines the associated stakeholder groups: sex workers, clients, operators and industry organisations. Specific attention is made to sex workers and associated geographies of their work.

Sex workers and their geographies

Building on previous discussions of sex work, this section considers sex workers as stakeholders, focusing on their portrayals and sites of work. Amnesty International defines sex workers as “adults (aged 18 and older) of all genders who receive money or goods in exchange for the consensual provision of sexual services, either regularly or occasionally” (2016 p. 4). This is a broad prescriptive description with the purpose to influence policy of international governments. New sociologies convey sex workers as educated and operating in an entrepreneurial capacity (Read 2013; Rowe 2011). Harcourt and Donovan (2005) and Infante, Sosa-Rubi, and Cuadra (2009), describe sex workers as a legitimate and diverse community.¹⁵ Described skills include sexual adaptability, negotiation and building rapport with clients to secure work (Ozbay 2015). New technologies nested within the internet and app media platforms allow sex workers to market, dictate their work schedule and price, and select clients as well as work venues (Kingston & Sanders 2010).

Contemporary portrayals of sex workers include the pop-culture imagery of the high-class worker, a fantasy of the beautiful and exotic female ready to provide sexual satisfaction (Hubbard 2012; Perkins & Lovejoy 2007; Weitzer 2012). Television shows such as *The Secret*

¹⁵ This definition does not include individuals who are victims of trafficking or forced into the industry against their free will.

Diary of a Call Girl portray an intelligent, attractive, sassy woman who can understand men and their needs, all for a high price, whilst enjoying the profession. This can influence real life as Tyler (2015) describes the “petite bourgeoisie” of MWSS: university graduates favouring sex work over a career associated with their studies (Tyler 2015). Yet imagery of the powerless worker remains, as Berg et al. (2011, p.4) identify those most at risk as “sex workers from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds; sex workers with complex needs (including street-based, Aboriginal and transgender); [and] male sex work”.

Today, literature specifies that those who sell sex may not associate with the term “sex worker”; rather, it is a prescriptive social or legal description (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Ozbay 2015; Rowe 2011). For example, those working in sex-on-premises venues, such as swingers clubs or BDSM dungeons, may describe themselves as occasionally peddling sex in exchange for cash or “part of the BDSM lifestyle” (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Berg et al. 2011; Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Harcourt et al. 2005; Hubbard & Sanders 2003; Padilla 2015). Then there is sex-tourism (common to third world nations), where individuals (sex workers) operate in the guise of having “exclusive” relationships with tourists in return for living support, goods and accommodation, (Padilla 2015; Scott, Minichiello et al. 2015; Weitzer 2012). Clearly the descriptions of sex workers and their geographies are multiple.

Street-based sex workers

In the public realm, street-based workers are sometimes described as nocturnal, variable and unpredictable (Whowell 2010b). This work can be undertaken individually or under the control of a pimp or “boyfriend”. There is an abundance of literature from ethnographic and auto-ethnographic perspectives on female street life (Perkins 1991; Perkins & Sanders 2007). Research is emerging on street life for MWSS, focusing on sexuality, mental wellbeing and relationships and is discussed further in Section 4.6 (Infante et al. 2009; Leary & Minichiello 2007; Minichiello, Scott, & Callander 2013; Smith, Grov, Seal, & McCall 2012).

Street-based sex work commonly occurs in vice districts or in the outskirts of town in accessible yet autonomous spaces (Atkins & Laing 2012). Such locations, if used by a collective of workers, can be branded as “beats”: public locations which are known exclusively as sites for sex—examples include parks, toilets, bridges or tunnel crossings. The locations are characterised by the opportunities in the surrounding built environment to interact with clients discreetly, as in alley ways, hidden corners and other areas of limited lighting (Atkins & Laing 2012; Crofts et al. 2013; Hubbard & Sanders 2003).

Commercial sex workers

Commercial sex work can be described as a larger scale operation similar to other commercial businesses involving a third-party operator. Although it is more common for women to work in commercial venues, male and transgender workers have been known to operate in this capacity (Berg et al. 2011; Donovan et al. 2012). There are three common types of commercial sex-work venues: SSPs, Sex on Premises (SoP) and escort services. This work can involve direct and indirect services and occurs in a range of establishments, varying in size and scale (Bar-Johnson & Weiss 2014; Mitchell 2015; Ozbay 2015). Of difference to the SSP, SoP venues only provide opportunities to sell sex on site, leaving the commercial details of the sexual encounter between worker and clients. Sex workers and clients pay a fee to the operator for use of the venue, such as saunas, BDSM clubs, swinger clubs, or bars (Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a). Such venues are common in legal settings where it is prohibited to live off the earnings of sex work (Bar-Johnson & Weiss 2014; Mitchell 2015; Ozbay 2015). Escort services are another form of commercial sex work, generally undertaken through a third party organising the clients and retaining part of the fee. Sometimes the work occurs on location or off site in a hotel or other private venue. This type of work has an emphasis on companionship and outings with clients, though some escort workers may provide sex services, operating under the guise of an escort (Weitzer 2012). Some escorts may also operate independently and, therefore, fall under the category of private sex worker.

In terms of geographical and legal studies, commercial sex work is often discussed as a problematic land use, focusing on impacts on the wider community such as amenity, safety and noise. There has been a conviction in some governance systems that commercial sex premises need to be suitably distanced from “sensitive” land uses such as schools, churches and homes. Challenging these adverse notions, Prior and Crofts (2012) conducted a survey of residents in Parramatta City Council and City of Sydney Council (metropolitan Sydney region). Participants who resided within four hundred metres of an SSP were questioned on their awareness of, and any impacts experienced as a result of, a nearby sex-industry premises to differentiate between the perceived and actual effects. Nearly three quarters (72.3 per cent) of those surveyed stated they “experienced no negative effects as a consequence of the nearby sex premises” (2012, p. 134). Some residents raised positive associations, including employment, commerce and improved neighbourhood surveillance. Prior and Crofts concluded: “Accordingly, locating sex premises within the community may be an effective means of reducing perceptions and anxieties that continue to circulate” (2012, p. 139). As an

identity of difference, sex work demonstrates the capability to exist as a cohesive land use in the built and social environments.

Private sex workers

In the last few decades, internationally and nationally, private sex work from home has increased (Murphey 2015). Geographically, the industry's sites have broadened beyond the vice district, changing perceptions of its locale (Maginn & Steinmetz 2015a). Private sex workers commonly operate indoors in venues such as hotels, residences or apartments hired exclusively for their business (Hubbard 2012; Donovan et al. 2012; Weitzer 2012). Often described as sole operators or working with another, private workers are able to function independently, controlling their workspace and operations (Kingston & Sanders 2010; Perkins & Lovejoy 2007; Rowe 2011; Weitzer 2012).

The internet has revolutionised private sex work, being invaluable for its discretion, accessibility and marketing opportunities. Private sex workers can screen-check clients and organise security and the details of the exchange, such as cost, services or time, prior to the encounter. Some services are advertised on personal webpages like any other business or on wider "networking" sites, where they may pay the web operator the fee (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Bar-Johnson & Weiss 2014; Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Harcourt et al. 2005; Perkins & Lovejoy 2007).

Yet this type of work challenges the heteronormative values of the neighbourhood, which Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard (2012), Prior and Crofts (2015), and Prior and Gorman-Murray (2015) term as "respectable domesticity":

Geographical research emphasises how sex services, which are viewed as falling outside of "respectable domesticity"—that is, the social norms of heterosexual monogamous relationships and reproduction—have distinctive moral geographies within cities that are often characterised by socio-spatial exclusion, repression, marginalisation, separation and distancing from the spaces and landscapes associated with the sanctity of respectability domesticity (e.g. the home and residential neighbourhood as its extension) (Prior & Gorman-Murray 2015, p. 101).

Consequently, sex work in the home stirs a social and political fear driven by its proximity to everyday domestic life. The assumption of the sex worker as a seedy identity of difference, attracting unsavoury characters, also contributes to this localised resistance. Conversely, studies such as Hubbard (2012), Rowe (2011) and Weitzer (2012) describe private workers

operating inconspicuously in their homes and at various hours—full-time, part-time or casually.

Contemporary portrayals of private sex workers have shifted to a professional elite, described as “high class”, charging higher prices and being less vulnerable from third-party exploitation in comparison to their commercial-worker counterparts (Weitzer 2012). Rowe’s 2011 Melbourne study was comprised of twenty-four private sex worker participants: eight males, twelve females, and four transgender identities. Participants were described as a professional workforce experiencing financial independence with family/social ties and security: “Private workers predominately lived in stable accommodation and earned a sustainable income via sex work. They also spoke of retaining supportive networks of family and friends and many spoke with pride of their working lives” (Rowe 2011, p. v3).

Crofts and Prior highlight similar benefits, stating that private workers in Sydney, operating in the capacity of the HOSS, were “seen to offer sex workers ‘increased control and freedom’, ‘increased financial independence’, ‘flexibility of work hours’, ‘personal autonomy’ and ‘increased self-esteem’, when compared to working in a large commercial sex industry premises” (2012, p. 138). Supporting the imagery of exclusivity and financial wellbeing, Rowe’s observations extended to the dwellings of workers: “those private workers interviewed at home lived in fashionable apartments in ‘desirable’ locations surrounded by the latest accessories and expensive furnishings (Rowe 2011, p. 123). From a locational perspective, it appears that those operating from home acquired comfortable accommodation in sought-after neighbourhoods.

The descriptions of the dwellings’ interiors associate an element of sophistication to private sex work. Some private workers have obtained home ownership whilst others rent or are seeking to purchase a home in a similar neighbourhood (Rowe 2011). Recently, Prior and Crofts, in their 2015 Sydney study, revealed private sex workers are specific in selecting homes and neighbours for work and domestic life:

Interviewees indicated that it depended on the design of the entrance and exit, the surrounding environment, and its visibility to neighbours. Operators were concerned to present and preserve a veneer of domestic respectability. They looked for accessibility of public transport and street parking; a high degree of privacy; the presence of good security and lighting; and a location that is easy to explain to clients over the phone (Prior & Crofts 2015, p. 130).

The above reveals that private workers place an emphasis on their sense of place in the community, wanting to live and work in the area for the foreseeable future. Yet in a stark contrast, Berg et al. (2011) reveal some potential hazards when working alone, such as isolation, further marginalisation and limited access to health and safety resources. Such dangers are often associated with low economic private workers working in short-term accommodation.

The client

Clients have long-gaged researcher curiosity in terms of the clients' sexuality, psychology, and reasons for purchasing sex. Little is known about clients due to the stigma and sensitivity around purchasing sex; many are concerned with the impact the revelations would have on their public identity (Minichiello 2014). Historically, Hubbard and Whowell (2008) describe three common types of clientele: the local poor, and well-off locals and cashed-up tourists. Perkins (1994), through ethnographic studies in Australia conducted throughout the late 1980s, revealed the streets, red-light districts and commercial sex venues as key sites of worker–client interactions. Each client identity would purchase sex in different locations of the city: the city's fringe or beats were for the poor; hotels or bars for the wealthy tourists; and gentlemen's clubs for the affluent locals.

Traditionally, men have been portrayed as the main consumers of sex, undertaking “traditionally ‘male’ leisure activities” (Karibo 2010, p. 365). Male consumers of sex have historically been portrayed as deviants, seeking to abuse their power over men (Kay 2014). Sanders and Campbell (2007) in a study of indoor sex work in the UK report that over 75 per cent of the female sex workers interviewed had mainly good relationships with their male clients. Rather interactions that were of a ‘nuisance’ were associated with types of services rendered, associated payment and attitude. Exploring client and sex worker relationships Kolar, Atchison and Bungay (2014) identify that improved sexual health practises were required for those purchasing sex within ‘massage parlours’.

Yet, emerging studies reveal clients as a diverse stakeholder; for example, MWSS cater to a wider range of clientele (men, women, transsexual and transgender) (Minichiello et al. 2013). Wosick-Correa and Joseph (2008) detail a growing female consumer base in the adult-entertainment venues of California in the United States. Moreover, Richter and Isaacs (2015) note evidence of sex workers themselves purchasing sex or seeking supportive relationships from other sex workers. There is also a growing base of clients with special needs, the

physically less able or the elderly, thus, a minority of difference themselves (Touching Base 2016).

The operator

Operators have long been viewed as exploitative of sex workers, exposing them to health and safety risks, violence, exploitation, unsafe sex and discrimination (Anderson et al. 2015; Weitzer 2010, 2012). Weitzer (2012) reveals the potential risk of exploitation between the worker and third parties; street workers are at the highest risk, followed by escorts and commercial-venue workers. Yet Sanders (2009) and Sanders et al. (2009) compare the potential mistreatment similarly to general employee/employer relationships, referring to work shifts, pay and breaks (Sanders 2009; Sanders et al. 2009).

Perkins (1994) notes sex workers shifting into the operational roles of commercial sex venues, acting as “madams”, today known as business managers. Barlow (1994) reveals examples of sex workers forming a worker co-op, sharing a venue to share the work space and control the conditions. Finally, there are private sex workers who take on the role of worker and operator. These are attempts to remove the possibility of third-party exploitation, ensuring that the workers’ health and safety and wellbeing are maintained (Perkins & Lovejoy 2007; Rowe 2011).

Sex worker organisations

Sex-industry organisations have played a vital role in the promotion of sex workers’ rights and philosophy: “nothing about us without us” (Jeffery’s 2006; Scarlett Alliance 2014). Organisations include the International Union of Sex Workers, the Global Network of Sex Worker Projects, the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe, and the Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers. These groups vary from a high-level management structure (similar to corporate organisations), to national organisations with a significant voice, to local “grass roots” groups. All advocate for sex workers’ rights and improved working conditions, researching for and publishing their own materials, such as *The Principles for Model Sex Work Legislation* (Scarlett Alliance 2014; Whowell 2010a), and hosting their own conferences. These agencies have a global influence, as their rights are on the agenda of both the United Nations and Amnesty International (Murphey 2015).

These agencies often engage in outreach projects to access and support sex workers in terms of health, food, shelter, mental health and general support (Fysh 1994; Whowell 2010b). In New South Wales, the Sex Worker Outreach Project (SWOP) provides peer-support programs,

education and assistance to sex workers. Yet, Whowell (2010a) notes that these organisations also experience difficulties in accessing and maintaining relationships with sex workers during their outreach and research projects (Weitzer 2010).

3.4 Sex work and the law

This section discusses sex work and law, focusing on private sex work; the sex industry is referred to broadly in order to establish the extensive legal context. Literature will be presented in the following order: international regulation, followed by the Australian regulatory response, and concluding with a focus on the New South Wales and Sydney reforms.

International setting

The legal stance of sex work varies around the world within a dialogue of legitimacy, public nuisance or criminality. Governance often defines the industry based on intentions to prohibit, control or decriminalise sex work, as detailed in Table 3.1. International regulatory systems which attract the attention of commentators include the Nordic model (Hubbard 2012; Levy & Jakobsson 2014) and those in the United Kingdom (Hubbard & Colosi 2013; Scoular & Carline 2014), the United States (Brents & Sanders 2010; Crofts & Brents 2015; Read 2013; Weitzer 2010, 2012), and the Netherlands, New Zealand and Australia (Begum, Hocking, Groves, Fairley, & Keogh 2012; Crofts et al. 2013; Harcourt et al. 2005; Scoular 2010; Sullivan 2010; Warnock & Wheen 2012).

Table 3.1: Legal frameworks of sex work (Comte 2014; Kotiswaran 2014).

Legal framework	Description	Examples
Complete criminalisation	Activities of all stakeholders are prohibited in every aspect.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some parts of the USA
Partial criminalization	The selling of sex is not illegal but associated activities, such as the purchasing of sex, or operating or owning SSPs, or soliciting on the street is illegal.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some parts of the USA Northern Ireland The Nordic Model
Legalisation	Permissibility through licensing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nevada, USA Leeds, United Kingdom
Complete decriminalisation	The entirety of sex work and the industry are not a criminal offence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Zealand New South Wales, Australia

Generally, there are two conventions in which sex-work regulation is grounded: firstly, the protection of workers and, secondly, the social attitudes towards sex, as Atkins and Laing comment:

The normative notion that sexual encounters should be performed behind closed curtains, closed doors and within four walls is not only central to legal frameworks but it is also important in the context of understanding societal readings of privacy imbued and embodied in sexual relations (2012, p. 623).

The legal aspect pertaining to the protection of workers is debatable and counteractive as it can create unsafe working environments (Anderson et al. 2015; Berg et al. 2011; Donovan et al. 2012; Harcourt et al. 2010; Pitcher & Wijers 2014; Sanders et al. 2009). Social attitudes often reside on public interests, for example, street-based work, because of its visibility, is less tolerated. Hence, sex workers find themselves navigating through complex laws, some of which attempt to rescue them from exploitation but, alternatively, limit their civic rights (Murphey 2015).

Criminalisation and partial decriminalisation

Some countries view sex work as a violent and exploitative activity and, thus, seek to eradicate it entirely through prohibition, commonly known as the “Nordic model” (Comte 2014; Scoular & Carline 2014). Such regulation is termed “neo-abolitionism”, derived from the feminist or oppression paradigm seeking the protection of women through criminalising the purchaser (Scoular & O'Neill 2007; Weitzer 2012). Northern Ireland recently followed suit, criminalising the purchase of sex services in 2015 under the *Human Trafficking and Exploitation Bill*. The reasons for the change was reported on grounds of moral and social values, to reduce the demand for sexual services and consequently sex work (BBC News, 2014). However, such measures are argued as counterproductive and limited as they are often based on religious morals and on the assumption that only women sell sex; a strong disregard for an evidence base of the industries operations (Comte 2014; Crofts 2014; Maginn & Ellison 2014; Weitzer 2012; Whowell 2010a).

Maginn and Ellison (2014) claim the Northern Irish governments to be so conservative that MWSS was not a matter for consideration during the legislative reform: “Many in the DUP [Democratic Unionist Party] (which attracts a strong Protestant fundamentalist base) simply refuse to believe or acknowledge that there are men who are willing to both sell and purchase sex from other men” (Maginn & Ellison 2014, p. 454). Historically, many legal

frameworks have not only disregarded the concept of men selling sex, they have criminalised the activity of men engaging in sex with men. Homosexuality was illegal until the late twentieth century in many countries, including Italy, the United States, and Australia, limiting the rights of freedom of sexuality (Brents & Sanders 2010; Kingston 2010). Men who sell sex have long been an identity of difference that has been ignored or repressed by law.

Regulation through licensing

Regulation through licensing means some sex-industry premises are permitted to operate subject to regulatory conditions, approval based around locations and activities (Kelly & Cooper 2015). This is often described as a restrictive approach as authorities often utilise law to “control” the sex industry and sex work, where it is an offence to operate without approval. Examples of this model include the United Kingdom (e.g. Leeds) and the United States (e.g. Las Vegas) (Brents & Sanders 2010; Crofts & Brents 2015; Weitzer 2012). When these premises are permitted, it is often due to the history of economic benefits, as Crofts and Brents describe in Las Vegas: “Not only did Nevada resist the regulation of morality and vice, by mid-century, they began to capitalise on it” (2015, p. 222). This regulatory framework can add unnecessary layers for legitimacy and can create further ambiguity for sex workers in operating in these environments in understanding their rights.

Decriminalisation

In 2003, New Zealand was the first country to decriminalise all aspects of the sex industry (including sex work) under the *Prostitution Reform Act 2003*, recognising it as a legitimate commerce and form of work. The government realised that sex workers were treated as a discriminated minority in the city (Armstrong 2010; Warnock & Wheen 2012). The significance of this reform was that it was nationwide, creating a legal consistency for sex workers across New Zealand. The reforms created a wider scope for sex workers, recognising their diverse operations. Private sex work was recognised as an activity in its own right, termed “small owner operated brothels”, where up to two sex workers were able to work together from their home (Warnock & Wheen 2012). In Australia, the regulation of the sex industry and sex work is on a state-by-state basis, where some states, such as New South Wales, have decriminalised the sex industry and sex work. This is discussed in detail in the Australian regulatory review below.

New discussions of sex work

Today, new discussions of sex work extend to tenure, human rights, right to shelter, citizenship privacy and discrimination (Crofts & Prior 2012; Hubbard & Prior 2013; Murphey 2015; Prior & Crofts 2015). Hubbard and Colosi (2013) draw on the “rights to the city” concept, sex work and local governance:

Given the municipal law and policy revolves around the management of land use rather than people, it is perhaps unsurprising the actions of these municipal bureaucrats may well come into conflict with the aims of other state actors for whom the rights of individuals are more important (Hubbard & Colosi 2013, p. 70).

Planning controls, such as zoning provisions, can create localised conflicts and limit the legitimacy of sex work. Often, the diversity of the sex industry is overlooked in regulatory frameworks, encompassing a “one fit for all” approach (Sullivan 2010). Particularly in some jurisdictions, the addition of another worker in private work can lead to legal implications, such as being classified as a commercial sex-industry venue and, thus, attracting unwarranted attention (Berg et al. 2011; Crofts 2007; Crofts & Prior 2012; Hubbard & Prior 2013; Prior & Crofts 2015). As described in Chapter 1, in some jurisdictions, private sex workers face possible eviction if working from home and, thus, are a discriminated identity of difference. Both Amnesty International and the United Nations argue that sex workers are legitimate citizens with rights. Amnesty International directs:

[We] firmly believe that those who exploit or abuse sex workers must be criminalised. But the reality is laws which criminalise “brothel-keeping” and “promotion” often lead to sex workers being arrested and prosecuted themselves. In Norway we found evidence that sex workers were routinely evicted from their homes under so-called “pimping laws”. In many countries of the world, two sex workers working together for safety is considered a “brothel” (Murphey 2015, p. 1).

Such misconceptions have serious implications for private sex workers, possibly denying their rights to shelter and privacy on the basis for wanting to control their work environment. Consequently, they are required to operate in a minefield of policy, politics and social backlash whilst maintaining their autonomy (Berg et al. 2011; Murphey 2015; Pitcher & Wijers 2014).

In the United Kingdom, there is some distinction between the venues of private sex workers and the commercial sex industry, as the legal framework states, “a house occupied by one woman and used by her alone for prostitution, is not a brothel” (The Crown Prosecution

Service 2016). Such laws understand that it is unsuitable to impose on private sex workers the same requirements as their commercial counterparts. At the same time, some assumptions remain, as the UK Crown Prosecution Service still views sex work as exploitative:

Prostitution is addressed as sexual exploitation within the overall CPS Violence Against Women (VAW) strategy because of its gendered nature. As with other VAW crimes, a multi-agency approach is needed to enable women involved in prostitution to develop routes out of prostitution (The Crown Prosecution Service 2016).

Such legal frameworks are characterised by historical assumptions that sex work is forced labour and is women's work. Of interest, MWSS remains a limited consideration in western law with countries continuing to generalise sex workers as females operating in brothels.

Australian setting

While it is not illegal to practice prostitution in Australia, sex work is regulated on a state-by-state basis, with varying degrees of decriminalisation, regulation, licensing and prohibition (Harcourt et al. 2005). Of interest, the Australian Government extends its jurisdiction to taxation and sexual servitude (Scarlet Alliance 2014). Table 3.2 details the regulatory response for commercial sex work and Table 3.3 for private sex work, each on a state-by-state basis.

Table 3.2: Summary of Australian laws relating to commercial sex work (Harcourt et al. 2005, p. 122).

State	Legal status of commercial sex work
New South Wales	<i>Partial decriminalisation.</i> Brothels are legal and only require local government approval. Escorts are not illegal. New South Wales is the only jurisdiction that allows street soliciting, providing it is away from dwellings, schools, churches and hospitals. Living off the earnings is illegal (brothel employees exempted).
Australian Capital Territory	<i>Partial decriminalisation.</i> Brothels permitted in prescribed (industrial) locations with local government planning approval only. Escort agencies are legal. Both brothels and escorts must register the business but do not have to obtain a license. Soliciting in a public place is illegal.
Victoria	<i>Licensing.</i> Brothels and escort agencies with more than two workers must have license plus local government planning approval. Operating an unlicensed brothel and soliciting in a public place are illegal. Living off earnings is illegal.
Queensland	<i>Licensing.</i> Brothels must have a license and local government planning approval. Licenses and planning approval must be renewed annually.
Northern Territory	<i>Licensing.</i> Brothel keeping is illegal; licensed escort agencies are legal, and there is no offence of living off the earnings. Soliciting in a public place is illegal.
South Australia	<i>Prohibition.</i> Brothel keeping is illegal, and some escort work is illegal. Living off the earnings and soliciting in a public place are illegal.
Western Australia	<i>Prohibition.</i> Brothel keeping with more than one sex worker is illegal. Escort agencies are not illegal but have been "contained" by police. Living off the earnings and soliciting in a public place is illegal.
Tasmania	<i>Prohibition.</i> Brothel keeping is illegal. Escort work is probably legal. Living off the

	earnings and soliciting in a public place are illegal.
--	--

Table 3.2 shows how Australian sex-work laws vary in each state. In the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), Sullivan (2008, 2010) defines any type of erotic stimulation, including cybersex, as sex work, thus, creating an ambiguous and generalised legal context. In Queensland, sex-industry venues are required to obtain planning approval and a licence, where the estimated cost is ten thousand dollars (Sullivan 2008). In contrast, New South Wales has a better understanding between direct and indirect sex work, defining “sex services¹⁶” as “sexual acts or sexual services in exchange for payment”, where “related sex uses¹⁷” encompasses erotic dance and massage services. Street-based sex work in New South Wales is permitted; however, those seeking to operate a commercial sex premises must seek consent from their council.

Table 3.3: Legal status of private sex work in Australia (Donovan et al. 2010; Harcourt et al. 2005, Sullivan 2008; The Scarlet Alliance 2014; adapted by Papadopoulos 2015).

State	Legal Status of private sex work
New South Wales (NSW)	Home occupation (sex services) is a defined and permissible land use, subject to councils’ approval.
Australian Capital Territory (ACT)	Single operators may work from home, and there is no offence of living off earnings (Harcourt et al. 2005).
Victoria (VIC)	Small brothels (one to two sex workers) and escorts need local government planning approval only (Harcourt et al. 2005).
Queensland (QLD)	Private sex work is legal and does not require a license. However, workers cannot work as escorts, nor engage a third party, i.e. another sex worker or receptionist (Sullivan 2008)
Northern Territory (NT)	The term “private sex work” does not legally exist. Rather, individual sex workers are classified as escort businesses. Licence is required if working with another individual (receptionist or sex worker) (Scarlett Alliance 2015).
South Australia (SA)	“Brothel” applies to sex workers’ premises if used for the purpose of sex work; the use of a client’s home does not apply or the use of a hotel or motel unless that room has been rented out exclusively and regularly for sex work (Scarlet Alliance 2014).
Western Australia (WA)	Unclear about the legal standing of private sex workers, some interpretations are that sole operators constitute a brothel. However, there are arguments that private sex work within the law is not a brothel (Donovan et al.2010).
Tasmania (TAS)	Private sex work is legal and constitutes no more than two self-employed sex workers, i.e. this does not include operators (Scarlet Alliance 2014).

¹⁶ Definition under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act (as of 18 June 2015).

¹⁷ Definition under the Restricted Premises Act (as of 18 June 2015).

Table 3.3 outlines private sex-work laws in Australia. The studies reveal that the legal response varies on a state-by-state basis and is often unclear. The Northern Territory considers private sex work the same as an escort agency, whilst in South Australia, a private sex worker operating from home is classified as a commercial sex-industry premises. In Western Australia, the legal classification is blurry; whereas, in Tasmania, two workers are able to operate lawfully as opposed to commercial venues. Clearly, the ambiguity of private sex work in law is problematic within Australian states.

Private sex work in New South Wales and metropolitan Sydney

New South Wales is considered to be one of the most liberal states in terms of regulating sex work in Australia. Operators and workers have the ability to exist like any other land use in the neighbourhood. Planning has been a tool to govern the sex industry and sex work, providing for a sexual landscape and controlling community impact. Recently, the State Government reviewed the context of the sex industry:

The Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP) estimates that there are approximately 10,000 sex workers in the whole of NSW, although some researchers have suggested the number is likely lower than this. Of these, around 60 per cent work in commercial sex services premises and the remaining 40 per cent (including most male sex workers) work privately or are street-based.³ The Review Team understands that some workers tend to work in multiple parts of the sector (NSW Government Better Regulation Office 2012, p. 10).

Sex work in New South Wales is a diverse occupation where “private sex workers, street-based sex workers and escorts (including male and transgender sex workers) are estimated to add between 2000 and 3500” to the current sex worker population (NSW Government Better Regulation Office 2012, p.4). Thus, private sex workers and MWSS are identities of difference that cannot be ignored.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, private sex work is a land use termed the HOSS in New South Wales governance. Studies into the HOSS, from a geography and regulatory perspective, have recently been undertaken by Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard and Prior (2013), Prior and Crofts (2015) and Prior and Gorman-Murray (2015). These studies show most workers are known to operate within the mainstream environment with discretion (Berg et al. 2011). Terming the HOSS as “home occupation sex services premises” (HOSSPs), Crofts and Prior (2012) highlight autonomy in private sex-work activities in Sydney’s homes. The majority of

participants stated they had personal community ties or relationships with neighbours. Additionally, all participants stated they operated from home with discretion:

Three of the HOSSP operators who were interviewed reported that surrounding residents and or businesses were not aware of the HOSSP that they operated. Two HOSSP operators stated that residents and or businesses were aware and that this was because they had told the neighbours about their HOSSP operation. The HOSSP operators indicated that the reason they told the neighbours was because they felt they had “friendly relationships with them” and that they had known their “neighbours in the area for a long time, including shop owners”. Three of the HOSSP operators indicated that they had friendly relationships with their neighbours (2012, p 136).

Only one of the participants reported an amenity issue in relation to noise, indicating that these activities are comparable to other neighbourhood activities. Yet, Prior and Crofts (2015) highlight that permissibility of the HOSS is ambiguous and disruptive to the working environments of private sex workers: “Respondents were confused about the legalities of the sex services they provided from their home, although they also expressed a similar confusion about the legalities of other home-based businesses” (Prior & Crofts 2015, p. 130).

Although a permissible activity, private sex work, otherwise known as the HOSS, is an activity which is identified separately from its commercial counterparts by the NSW Government. Consequently, these workers are faced with operating within a setting of confusion and uncertainty.

3.5 Men who sell sex (MWSS)

This section details existing research related to MWSS. Firstly, this section will provide a historical review of MWSS, from early understandings to contemporary identities. An attempt to “profile” MWSS will be made, including aspects of their work. Then, it will review MWSS within Australia, where Scott and MacPhail, et al. (2015) and Scott and Minichiello et al. (2015) note that Australia is at the forefront of this topic.

Early understandings of MWSS

Historically, the term “prostitute” or “sex work” only applied to women selling sex (Friedman 2014; Kaye 2004, 2014; Minichiello et al. 2013). Early understandings of MWSS are highlighted as inconsistent, scattered and limited and, thus, avoided much scrutiny and

debate (Smith et al. 2012; Whowell 2010a). In ancient Greece, Friedman (2014) describes young athletic, attractive, freeborn males in relationships with older wealthier males. The engagement was described as mix of adoration and mentorship, “fulfilling such basic needs as education, affection, attention and sex” (Friedman 2014, p. 5). These relationships were socially acceptable, where masculinity and sexuality were not questioned. In ancient Rome, similar interactions existed; however, they were only acceptable as the underclass or male migrant slaves serving the sexual desires of the wealthier freeborn male class (Friedman 2014). Such relationships, although non-commercial, still conveyed a power imbalance. Furthermore, men who sold sex for cash in commercial sex venues (brothels) were viewed negatively, described as the degenerates of Roman society with limited rights (Friedman 2014).

Moving on, Kaye (2004) details the social heterosexual ideals of sex in the early twentieth century: men with strong sexual lust and women engaging in sex for reproductive purposes only. To an extent, it was socially acceptable for men to seek sexual escapades outside their marriage. The literature describes “straight” men selling sex to homosexual males and homosexual men selling sex to “straight” males. Similar to ancient Rome, these were often young, impoverished, working-class males selling sex as a means to support their families. Alternatively, some men were known to portray feminine behaviour and attire, sometimes described as “fags” (Kaye 2004) or “fairies” (Kaye 2014). Kaye (2004, 2007, 2014) and Bimbi (2007) describe a stigma towards MWSS and those who openly sought to have sex with men for pleasure. Such interactions highlight that MWSS raise a number of interesting factors within society, including sexuality, gender identity and sexual behaviour.

Contemporary understandings of MWSS

In the latter half of the twenty-first century, the sexual practices of MWSS became a focal point of health research when the HIV-prevention campaigns emerged in the 1980s (Pitt et al. 2007). Health concerns generally supported the decriminalisation of sex work on the basis that it led to unsafe and unhealthy working environments, such as stress, health issues, violence and displacement (Bimbi & Koken 2014; Donovan et al. 2012; Koken & Bimbi 2014).

At the same time, portrayals of men selling sex began to emerge in popular culture. Sheaffer (2014) refers to the 1980s film *American Gigolo* in which a young, vibrant, handsome and heterosexual Richard Gere is servicing women. Sheaffer (2014) notes that the film indirectly promotes negative attitudes towards homosexuality and selling sex to men, highlighted when Gere’s character is portrayed to be destitute and in a downhill spiral when he resorts to male

clients. As such, male sex work is conceptualised in two fronts: as idolised males or as disadvantaged individuals selling sex.

In recent years, there has been a surge of interest in the topic of MWSS, with publications by Minichiello and Scott (2014), *Male sex work and society*, as well as Aggleton and Parker (2015), *Men who sell sex: global perspectives focusing on new sociologies*. MWSS has emerged as a field of its own (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Minichiello et al. 2013; Scott & Minichiello 2014). New understandings of male sex work have shifted on par with social and economic contexts to include queer identity (Grov & Smith 2014; Grov, Wolff, Smith, Koken, & Parsons 2013; Infante et al. 2009; Knopp 1998; Mitchell 2015), clients and technology (MacPhail et al. 2014; Minichiello, Callander, & Scott 2014; Minichiello et al. 2013), HIV epidemiology, health and safety (Bimbi & Koken 2014; Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Koken & Bimbi 2014), wellbeing (Begum et al. 2012; Laing & Gaffney 2014), regulation (Crofts 2014; Harcourt et al. 2005), and modes of work (Bar-Johnson & Weiss 2014; Mitchell 2015).

Profiling MWSS

Historical identities associated with MWSS in society and literature include “hustler”, “gay for pay”, “rent boy”, “fag”, “escort”, “gigolo” and “masseur” (Bimbi 2007; Kaye 2004, 2007, 2014; Leary & Minichiello 2007; Tyler 2014). A commonly portrayed persona is that of the young lone worker working the streets, with a range of social problems (Bimbi 2007; Bimbi & Koken 2014; Koken & Bimbi 2014; Leary & Minichiello 2007). Imagery of MWSS emphasises an importance on their physical attributes: masculinity, youth, body type and genital size (Tyler 2014). Discussions today indicate that MWSS are also sexually diverse, identifying as homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual (Leary & Minichiello 2007).

As already noted, many men who engage in sex work commonly do not identify as male sex workers; rather, they consider their activities an additional occupation or ad hoc doings (Bimbi 2007; Rowe 2011, Tyler 2014). Other descriptions of MWSS are that they are seasonal or transit workers, thus a difficult community to define (Prestage 1994; Rowe 2011). Describing these interactions, Rowe summarises his 2011 study of MWSS privately in Melbourne, Australia, stating:

Interviewees spoke of not “officially” sex working, but stressed the ability to operate in an opportunistic fashion, using gay dating websites such as www.gaydar.com.au to strike up a friendship with a (typically) older, less attractive male before offering to

take their relationship to a sexual level in return for financial compensation (Rowe 2011, p. 124).

For some MWSS, the fear of stigmatisation of sex work remains, as Ozbay (2015) and Niccolai (2014) described in Istanbul, Turkey, and in Russia respectively. Ozbay (2015) highlights “straight” rent boys in Istanbul who sell sex causally but identify publicly as a heterosexual to avoid stigmatisation of their sexuality and masculinity. In Russia, Niccolai reported MWSS were concealing their occupation from other sex workers and close friends on the basis of stigma. As Niccolai’s study describes, “the men reported often working alone and not personally knowing other male sex workers, even if they were open about their gay identity” (2014, p. 353). Clearly, the descriptions of MWSS and their work are nuanced.

Minichello et al. (2014 p. 3) highlight on an international scale that MWSS (and transgender sex workers) account from 10 per cent to 15 per cent of the general sex worker population, servicing an average of twenty clients per week. These men undertake sex work for a variety of reasons, from lifestyle choice to economic circumstance. Ridder-Wiskerke and Aggleton (2015) detail evidence of workers in the Netherlands undertaking sex work as it easily incorporates into their lifestyle, providing an accessible income. Mitchell (2015) and Ozbay (2015) describe working-class heterosexual males selling sex for social and economic progression.

In terms of venues utilised by MWSS, Kaye (2007) reports internationally that 80 per cent of men work within indoor capacities. Opportunistic work could entail on-the-spot engagement, such as in bars and clubs, negotiating the transaction directly. Organised opportunities could include advertising on the internet, establishing the service details prior. Structured work could be associated with an escort agency or SSP, where shifts are set and client interactions are controlled by a third party (Bar-Johnson & Weiss 2014; Bimbi 2007; Ozbay 2015). Men are documented to prefer working within a private capacity, which can limit social relationships, access to services and health and safety (Berg et al. 2011; Donovan et al. 2012; Eng, Moore, Grunberg, Greenberg, & Sikora 2010; Koken & Bimbi 2014).

Today, the availability of the internet means MWSS can access an even wider market, and the internet has, thus, become necessary in their daily interactions, advertising their services on a personal webpage, on escort sites such as rentboy.com, and on networking sites such as gaydar and backpage.com (Minichiello et al. 2013; MacPhail et al. 2014; Tyler 2014). Their

services offered are diverse, just as are their profiles. Tyler states, “There is no one true experience of men selling sex to men” (2014, p. 84). Particularly, “passive” and “active”¹⁸ services present discussions about sexuality and indoor sex beyond the heterosexual sphere (Niccolai, King, Eritsyan, Safiullina, & Rusakova 2013; Tyler 2014, 2015). Some websites also provide reviews of workers’ abilities and performance by clients. Workers can use the web to warn others of dangerous clients, providing an element of control to the workspace (Minichiello et al. 2014). From the literature, it can be seen that the profile of a male who sells sex is complex and diverse, not contained to one prescriptive identity.

Male sex work in Australia

Perkins and Bennett (1985), Prestage (1994), Minichiello, Marino and Browne (2001) and Minichiello et al. (2002) detail some of the earliest existence of male sex work in Australia. In Sydney in the 1980s, sex workers and men engaging in sex with men were often associated with the initial HIV outbreak (Pitt et al. 2007). However, social attitudes towards a wider sexual-health education agenda shifted when research on sexual practises revealed that all of Australia’s sexually active population engaging in unprotected sex were at risk of infection (Berg et al. 2011; Harcourt et al. 2005c; Pitt et al. 2007).

Known locations of male sex work in metropolitan Sydney include the wall¹⁹, Darlinghurst (Leary & Minichiello 2007), Kings Cross, and the east Sydney trannie street scene (Prestage 1994, pp. 185–186). Similar to international studies, early examinations of MWSS in Australia were associated with street life. In Sydney, Prestage (1994) and Leary and Minichiello (2007) detail urban street life, focusing on physiology, behaviours, sexuality and spaces of interaction.

Contextualising the Australian male sex worker population Scott, Minichiello et al. detail:

The population size and geographic distribution of male sex workers in Australia remains largely unknown. The numbers of persons working in the sex industry is influenced by economic conditions and legislation (Tax, public health and criminal) and its enforcement (2015, p. 177).

¹⁸ The sexual practices typically offered by men who sell sex by advertising on the internet include active services, passive services, and versatile (Niccolai, King, Eritsyan, Safiullina, & Rusakova 2013; Tyler 2014, 2015).

¹⁹ A well-known beat for MWSS.

The ambiguity of the male sex worker population is also attributed to the earlier discussions of identity disconnect, as Berg et al. contextualise:

Most of them work privately, advertising for clients in gay print media and on the internet. However the population of MSM²⁰ who occasionally opportunistically received payment or favours for sex is probably much larger than the population of identifying male sex workers and they may be more likely to take risks than professional sex workers (2011, p. 6).

The data shows a preference for MWSS in Australia to work privately, as Rowe's (2011) study concluded: "While still outnumbered by their female counterparts, the extent of the demand is such in the private sex 'market' to support a large number of transgender and male to male sex workers" (2011, p. 120). Drawing on earlier discussion of sex work in New South Wales, the NSW Government, Department of Better Regulation (2012, p.77–78) assumes that nearly 3000 of the estimated 10 000 sex workers in the state are private sex workers, predicting that most of the MWSS to fall into this category. Donovan et al. (2012) also report that MWSS in Sydney are most likely to work privately from home or from hotels. The discretion offered by private work makes it the more preferential mode for MWSS in Sydney.

²⁰ Men sexing men.



Figure 3.2 The Wall, Darlinghurst, Sydney (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

Similar to female sex workers, MWSS are also impacted by the regulatory context of sex work, where researchers in Australia have begun to gain stakeholder insights. Minichiello et al. (2002) conducted a survey in Sydney, Perth and Brisbane to draw out similarities and differences between the regulatory context of male and female sex work. Indirectly, the study, given its urban context, provided some geographical insight into MWSS in the built environment, most notably highlighting that MWSS exist in Australian cities. The study highlighted trends in age, sexuality, shelter, education, drug usage and length of employment. It revealed common characteristics of MWSS as young, educated, gay or bisexual males. The average age of MWSS in the study was twenty-seven years old where 30 per cent were found to have a tertiary qualification. The majority of the men were reported to have long-term housing, be in long-term relationships, and have low levels of drug use. Of the men surveyed, the majority had been in the occupation of sex work no more than six months (Minichiello et al. 2002, p. 30). Similarly, Rowe's (2011) study of private sex workers

in Melbourne describes educated men choosing to conduct sex work to support a desired lifestyle. There is also evidence of MWSS in Australian regional communities, conveying a demand for sex work outside of urban centres (Scott, Hunter, Hunter, & Ragusa 2006; Scott, Minichiello et al. 2015).

The cost to purchase sex varies, as Scott, Minichiello et al. (2015, p. 178) describe: “for the services of a ‘five star rated’ male escort for a week, the price is AUD 32,000. The prices for two hours range from AUD 400 to AUD 1,500”. Evidently, social and economic contexts impact on the way sex work is viewed and accepted in society. What is clear from the literature is that MWSS is an emerging subject field where more is to be learnt of true insights. Men selling sex present new arguments round sexuality, identity, erotica and pleasure. Australia has emerged as a key figure in the investigation of this identity of difference.

3.6 Summary

The sex industry is a diverse and common entity in the contemporary city. Specifically, the geographies of sex work are not segregated, isolated nor exclusive in their use of space. Rather, sex work is an identity of difference (in which it has its own diverse characteristics), and it exists in a multitude of places in the contemporary city. Undoubtedly, the understandings of sex work are multifaceted and diverse, comprising of a number of services and stakeholders. The perspectives of sex work in literature vary; however, there is a strong consensus that it is a legitimate occupation with distinct working conditions. It is clear that “men selling sex” is a relatively new field of interest, challenging a number of perceptions of the industry. The increased activities in the private sector of sex work have presented new arguments in terms of human rights, shelter and tenure, as often, in law, private sex work and commercial sex on premises are classed the same. This thesis aims to contribute to a limited yet emerging area of research of MWSS and the HOSS. More needs to be understood about private sex-work law, those who engage with it, and how it currently fits in discreetly within the existing urban landscape.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology to investigate the policy surrounding the HOSS as a land use and the geographical locations of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. The chapter begins with a research-design outline, including a background rationale. This is followed with a detailed explanation of each method engaged, including opportunities and constraints in the context of the fieldwork. The chapter concludes with details of research limitations and the ethics process.

4.2 Research design: an overview

The research engaged four methods: (1) literature review, (2) policy review, (3) geographical mapping, and (4) in-depth interviews. The latter three generate empirical data and are presented in this thesis in three results phases detailed in Table 4.1. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were utilised collaboratively to enhance the data and provide additional insight into the research (Babbie 2013; Flick 2014; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014). This technique is often referred to as a mixed-methods approach, increasingly being used during contemporary social sciences fieldwork (Babbie 2013; Fetters, Curry, & Creswell 2013). For the geographical mapping process the newspaper (personal advertisements) and website database collection were undertaken to supplement the limited locational aspect in the current literature discourse, in the form of quantitative data. This was then complemented by an in-depth policy review (of Sydney, New South Wales, specifically), followed by a series of qualitative interviews with a variety of key stakeholders.

Table 4.1: Summary of research design (Papadopoulos 2016).

Method name	Method detail
Literature review	An analysis of existing literature
Phase one—a review of state and local sex-industry (specifically, sex work) planning policy	<p>1. A review of NSW sex-industry planning policy at state and local government levels from pre-decriminalisation to the present. The analysis focus was metropolitan Sydney, private sex-work policy and MWSS.</p> <p>2. Assessment of the permissibility of the land use HOSS in the LEPs of the forty-one councils in metropolitan Sydney. Focus extended to type of consent and zoning. The HOSS was then compared to planning acceptability of other home-based operations and SSPs.</p> <p>3. Examination of resident complaints data termed “unauthorised sex-industry premises” from CoSC. Data relates to unauthorised SSPs from 2010 to June 2015 to contextualise the historical contention towards sex work as a land use. This empirical data was provided by CoSC in 2015, following interviews with Council’s representatives.</p> <p>4. Attendance at the Brothels Inquiry in 2015</p>
Phase two—geographical mapping of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney	<p>A database collection of the following:</p> <p>1. Review of public adult (personal) advertisements in free local newspapers and magazines distributed across metropolitan Sydney over a twelve-week period.</p> <p>2. Review of adult websites advertising male sex services in metropolitan Sydney.</p>
Phase three—stakeholder interviews	<p>1. In-depth interviews with seventeen key stakeholders from planners, policymakers, to and organisational representatives and private sex workers. This provided a varied and detailed analysis of the topic from a number of perspectives.</p> <p>2. Part of this qualitative data was also utilised for phase one and phase two to provide qualitative stakeholder insight into sex-work policy and the geographies of MWSS.</p>

Rationale for site location

Maginn and Steinmetz (2015a) highlight that large urban settings can provide a desired autonomy desired by sex industry operators, workers and clients. The sex industry is a decriminalised activity in New South Wales, and Sydney accommodates a number of sex-industry premises types (NSW Department of Planning 2006). Based on this reasoning, metropolitan Sydney was selected as the site of focus for this research. Figure 4.1 is a map of metropolitan Sydney detailing each of the councils within.

Figure 4.1: Map of metropolitan Sydney councils (Google Earth 2016, adapted by Papadopoulos 2017).



Rationale for methodology

The methodological approach was established through scoping existing studies and literature related to the topics of MWSS, sex work and geography in Sydney and in other Australian cities and internationally, including the United Kingdom, the United States and Europe. The methodology was continually refined throughout the study via field testing and reflections. Key considerations were ethical limitations and lessons learnt from similar studies, identifying successful approaches as well as shortcomings.

In the investigations of sex work and law, common approaches in Australia have included detailed examinations of governance combined with stakeholder insights. Perkins and Bennett (1985), Perkins and Lovejoy (2007), Perkins (1991) and Sanders (1999) combine in-depth interviews and observations with legal analysis to provide a true historical insight into sex work in Australia. Moving onto contemporary times and private sex workers in Sydney, Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard and Prior (2013), Prior and Crofts (2015), and Prior and Lederwasch (2010) studied the HOSS as a land use. In-depth interviews were conducted with private sex workers, sex worker organisations and council representatives. This was combined with detailed policy reviews, including State Environmental Planning Policies (SEPPs), LEPs and judgements from Land and Environment Court (NSW LEC). The research focused on aspects such as dwelling types, locations, access, benefits of working from home, hours of operation, privacy, and neighbourhood relationships. In terms of interviews, Prior and Lederwasch (2010) engaged five sex worker participants. Crofts and Prior (2012) engaged nine participants: five female private sex workers, three sex-industry representatives and one council representative. Hubbard and Prior (2013) interviewed eight stakeholders, three representatives from outreach programs and five described as HOSS operators. Most recently, Prior and Crofts (2015) interviewed fourteen female private sex workers operating in the capacity of the HOSS. There is a clear difficulty in engaging sex worker stakeholders as participants, where these researchers gradually built trust over time. Specifically, Crofts and Prior (2012) utilised the snowball technique²¹, whilst Prior and Crofts (2015) built on the existing interviews and relationships of Prior and Lederwasch (2010).

There is sensitivity around sex-work related research, given the stigma associated with the occupation and the privacy that surrounds this intimate activity. Sex workers are described as

²¹ Where existing participants recruit future participants

a vulnerable group, and they require engagement through a specialised dialogue, one that is equitable, transparent and fair (Jefferys 2009; Weitzer 2010, 2012). Sánchez, Yuste, Botton, and Kostic (2013) and Maginn (2004) detail risks for these participants, such as fear of personal identification, stigmatisation, persecution, or prosecution (where the activity of sex work is illegal). Consequently, it can be difficult to have large numbers of participants in a study, a challenge experienced in this very study. Hence, in-depth interviews are often employed to enhance the richness of the data and to delve into the issues with greater insight. The in-depth interview in sex-work research creates opportunity to wholly explore the worker experience from understanding the operations, community relationships and attitudes towards governance. It allows the participant to have control in terms of what information can be provided and what can be withhold, creating a power of the worker's "voice".

Considering the described sensitivities and the difficulties in engaging participants, this study consulted existing research, realising that many researchers have collaborated with sex-industry organisations. Harcourt et al. (2010), in a comparative study of sex workers in SSPs, partnered with sex worker organisations in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia. The research included a questionnaire, newspaper review and follow-up in-depth interviews, where contact with participants was through sex-industry representatives. The cooperation was considered a success, with a data sample of 605 female sex workers, one of the largest studies of this kind in Australia (Harcourt et al. 2010, p. 485). The benefit of both questionnaires and interviews allowed for a standardised development of themes, supported by an in-depth analysis, enhancing the empirical data detail. The research also included an examination of advertisements from a range of mediums (print media and the internet) to cross-reference the number of SSPs in each city. These studies engaged in multiple methods (quantitative and qualitative) to cross-reference the empirical research. Of equal importance, liaison and cooperation with industry stakeholders were critical in terms of ethical research and ensuring strong response rates. This thesis investigation undertook the same approach, engaging organisations such as the Aids Council of New South Wales (ACON) and Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP).

Emerging studies of MWSS by Minichiello et al. (2014) reflect that MWSS are a "difficult population", with limitations to access both workers and clients. Multiple means, such as monetary incentives, dial-in hotlines, and online surveys, were employed, yet engagement was limited. In contrast, MacPhail et al. (2014) highlighted the shift towards technology, particularly the internet, as a valuable alternative resource in the study of MWSS. The

MacPhail et al. (2014) study was based on the online profiles of 257 male sex workers advertising on six male-escort websites in Australia. Profiles were reviewed as a basis to determine the patterns of sexual behaviours, health and interactions. Additionally, Smith et al. (2012) conducted an online survey with male clients of MWSS in 2012 with 495 responses. The questionnaire was undertaken in liaison with the website daddysreviews.com, commonly used by male clients seeking MWSS. The questionnaire was promoted and available through the website. The high response rate of Smith et al. (2012) indicates the opportunities for autonomous participant engagement through the internet.

Taking a more personal approach, Leary and Minichiello's (2007) in-depth (face-to-face) interviews with male street-based sex workers in Sydney included twenty-seven interviewees, after approaching forty-four MWSS (2007, p. 78–79). The research focused on experiences, reasons for undertaking sex work, and places of interaction as well as time periods of work. The study stressed the importance of wording: "A recursive style of questioning was maintained throughout all interviews in order to maximise participants' narrative control. Questions picked up on key words, phrases, and themes" (Leary & Minichiello 2007, p. 79). A similar approach was adopted in the application of this study during the in-depth subject interviews. Open-ended questions were asked and marked as opportunities for the participant to control the detail of their response. This created a safe and trusting space between researcher and participant, where themes were able to develop organically as answers were relayed.

Given that research on MWSS is emerging, studies from an international context were also reviewed to identify methodological successes. Infante et al. (2009) undertook a series of thirty-six interviews with male, transgender and transsexual sex workers in Mexico City, focusing on their health practices and experiences. Similarly, Niccolai (2014), in post-Soviet Russia, performed a series of in-depth interviews with MWSS, looking at patterns of work and their experiences in the current social context. What became evident was that there are challenges with participant engagement and data access when researching private sex work and MWSS. Internationally and nationally, in-depth interviews appear as a key tool in the fieldwork of this research.

Based on a review of domestic and international studies, three research methods emerged relevant to this thesis investigation: (1) policy and historical reviews, (2) qualitative and quantitative mapping, and (3) stakeholder insights through interviews (questionnaires or in-depth interviews) and observations. Clear limitations were identified in engaging

stakeholders, determining the first step of this research to be engaging sex-industry organisations such as SWOP. Secondly, aware of the minimal number of participants, this study employed complementary techniques which were similar to the Harcourt et al. (2010) newspaper review. Additionally, in light of the successes of internet-based research of MWSS, this study incorporated a review of adult websites advertising the services of men. In summary, the research scope integrates a detailed policy analysis of sex work to convey its legitimacy, combined with newspaper and internet reviews to convey geographical patterns, and in-depth interviews to reveal stakeholder insights. The collaboration of these three approaches ensures a well-researched and detailed study.

4.3 Literature review

The research engaged a number of primary and secondary sources, including peer-reviewed articles, publications, documentaries and media from Australia, the Americas, and Europe. Key scholarly journals included:

- *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*
- *Criminology and Criminal Justice*
- *Culture, Health and Sexuality*
- *International Journal of Sexual Health*
- *Journal of Homosexuality*
- *Journal of Law and Society*
- *Journal of Sex Research*
- *Urban Policy and Research*

Key subject fields and search terms of the literature included sex industry, male sex work, masculinity, sexuality, geography, land-use planning, nimby diversity and difference, contemporary cities, and law. Existing studies identified were then analysed thematically in order to recognise common literature themes. Subsequently, the review of literature pinpointed the following key categories: sex work, MWSS, geography, land-use planning, and law.

Given the nature of the topic, the research also drew on media reports, legislation, government and policy publications, and published data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the Kirby Institute and the NSW Government. Additionally, the research drew on publications from international agencies such as Amnesty International, the United Nations, and sex worker advocacy groups, including the Scarlet Alliance and Sex Workers

Outreach Project (SWOP). A review of international and national literature allowed for comparisons between global, Australian, New South Wales, and Sydney's contexts of sex work and MWSS, providing detailed theoretical background for the study.

4.4 Phase one—review of state and local sex-industry policy in New South Wales

Review of sex-industry planning policy at state and local government levels from pre-decriminalisation to the present.

A review of policy and legislative documents relating to land-use planning and the sex industry was undertaken as part of the research scope. This included parliamentary inquiries and hearings relating to the regulation of sex work, focusing on Sydney, New South Wales. Such issues are acknowledged in government reports, such as the *Sex Services Premises Planning Guidelines (SSPPG) 2004*²² and other parliamentary documents, including the *Regulation of Brothels in NSW 2012*, issues paper²³ and the recent NSW parliament report *Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels 2015*. These documents were examined to develop a chronological understanding of the sex industry in Sydney, New South Wales. Key legislation and planning policy included (listed chronologically in order of legislation, policy and reports):

Legislation:

- Disorderly Houses Act 1943
- Disorderly Houses Amendment Act 1995
- Restricted Premises Act (superseding the Disorderly Houses Act after the subsequent amendments of decriminalisation in 1995)
- Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979
- Brothels Amendment Act 2007

Policy:

- State Environmental Planning Policy (Exempt and Complying Codes) 2008 (Code SEPP)
- LEPs (refer to Appendix A)
- City of Sydney Development Control Plan 2012
- South Sydney Council Brothels Policy 1996 (SSCBP 1996)

²² Guidelines established by the Sex Services Advisory Panel. This was a panel administered by the local government association of New South Wales and the Shires Association of NSW on behalf of the Department of Planning and Infrastructure in the year 2002.

²³ Published by NSW Government Better Regulation Office.

- South Sydney Council Sex Industry Policy 2000 (SSCSIP 2000)
- The Planning Principle: The Location of Brothels (the Planning Principle)
- City of Sydney Adult Entertainment and Sex Industry Premise Development Control Plan (today condensed into the City of Sydney Development Control Plan 2012).

Reports:

- *Report of the select Committee of the Legislative Assembly upon Prostitution* (No. 363.44) 1986
- *Brothels Task Force Report 2000*
- SSPPG 2004
- Issues paper: *Regulation of brothels in NSW* from the Better Regulation Office 2011
- Final report: *Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels* 2015

These documents provide a comprehensive overview of the historical and current legislative planning context in which private sex work operates in metropolitan Sydney. Particular focus was made on the former South Sydney Council (SSC) as it was the first local authority to create a sex-industry policy and one which acknowledged private sex work.

LEP review of the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney

The LEPs of the forty-one councils²⁴ in metropolitan Sydney were reviewed to obtain data relating to the permissibility of the HOSS (refer to Appendix A). Each LEP was reviewed by searching the term “HOSS”²⁵ under each land-use zone description and objective. Under the standard LEP format, each zone details the categories “permitted without consent”, “permitted with consent”, and “prohibited”. Land-use activities are then listed in these mentioned categories, determining their permissibility in the subject zone. Figure 4.2 is an example of what these described zoning provisions look like in an LEP, an extract of Zone R1: General Residential from the Leichhardt LEP 2013.

²⁴ This review was undertaken prior to NSW’s council amalgamations in 2016. Currently, all LEPs remain in place; thus, the assessment is still of relevance. Appendix A lists councils and their LEPs; it also lists the amalgamated councils for reference purposes only.

²⁵ The HOSS is a standard definition included in the Standard Instrument. Majority of the LEPs reviewed were under the Standard Instrument, and the term “HOSS” generally existed.

Figure 4.2: Extract from Leichhardt LEP 2013, Zone R1 General Residential (adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

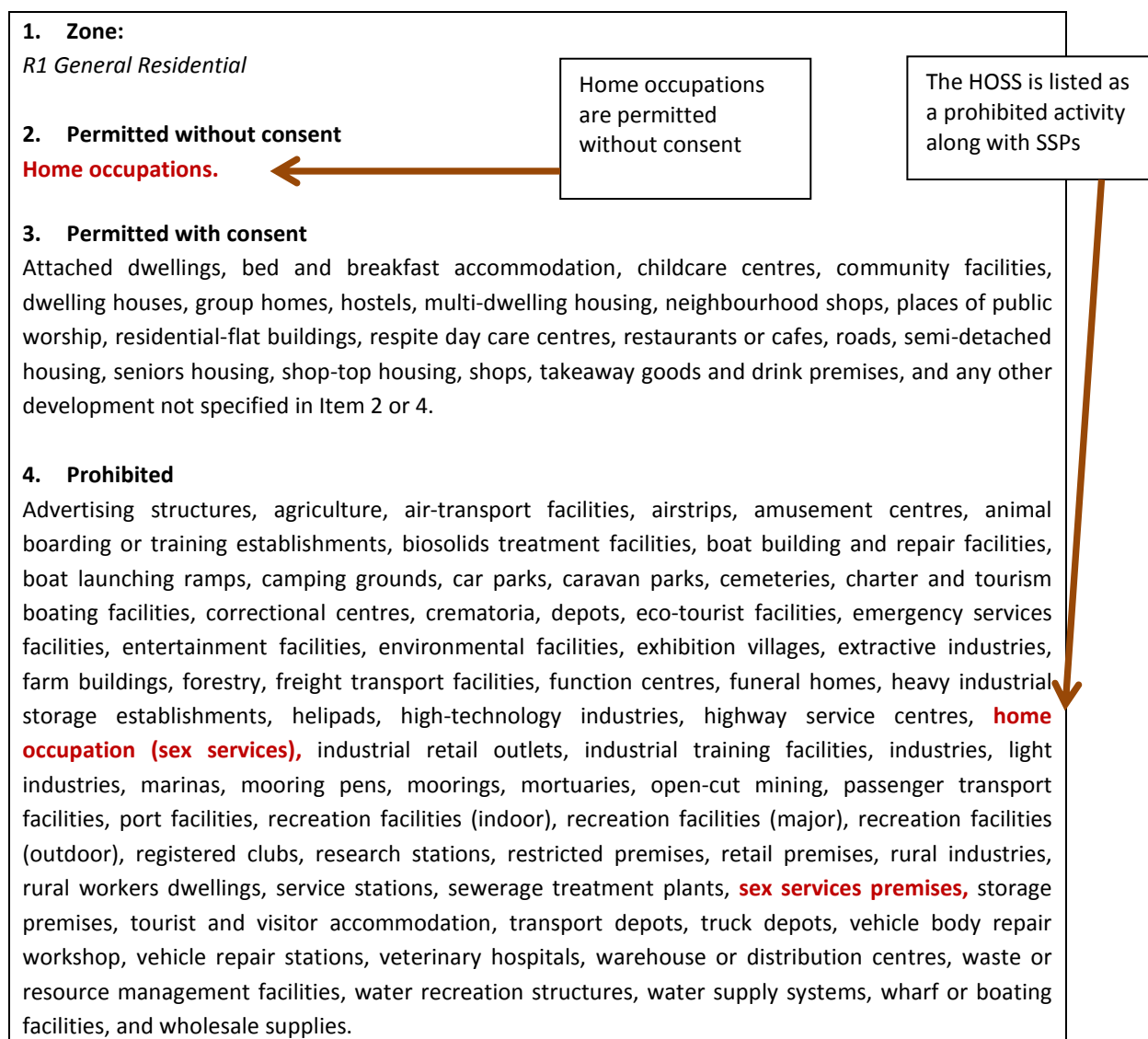


Figure 4.2 shows the above-mentioned categories of permissibility (listed as items two, three and four), where it can be seen in this subject LEP that the HOSS is listed as a “prohibited” activity (item four and highlighted in red), meaning it is not permissible in the Zone R1: General Residential (otherwise known as the local neighbourhood). Of interest, the SSP is also mentioned in this same category as a “prohibited” activity. However, home occupations are listed as exempt activities (item two and highlighted in red).

For the forty-one council LEPs reviewed, the permissibility of the HOSS (categories being either “permitted with consent” or “permitted without consent” or “prohibited”) and the associated zones (where applicable) were documented into a database (see Appendix B). Where the HOSS was permissible with consent or without consent, the associated zones were documented. Then the associated council Development Control Plan was examined to

ascertain specific policies regarding the land use. Additionally, in order to undertake a comparative discussion, the review also recognised the land-use zones in which an SSP and other home occupations were permitted; the intent was to see whether the HOSS was restricted further than SPPs and general home-based activities.

Complaints data review

Complaints filed by local residents to the CoSC from 2010 to June 2015 relating to the sex-industry premises were reviewed. This data, titled “Unauthorised Sex Industry Premises”, is not publicly available and was provided by the CoSC following an interview with a council representative in June 2015. The data was systematically reviewed based on the year the complaints were received, the number of complaints, and the number of penalty notices or compliance orders issued. Given the CoSC policy around private sex work (meaning consent is not required), these complaints only relate to SSPs. The data provides a broad insight of resident attitudes towards commercial sex-work activities in the CoSC context. At the request of CoSC, contact details and general locations were not revealed in this study.

4.5 Phase two—geographical analysis

Geography demonstrates the ties between sexuality and the city, as Hubbard explains: “The city is not simply the context for sex but plays an active role in shaping our desires” (2012, p. xv). The mapping of sexuality is critical in understanding the make-up of cities, as they are continually diversified (Fincher & Jacobs 1998) and sexualised (Bell & Valentine 1995). Researchers have mapped the sexuality of cities through participant observation (Atkins & Laing 2012), case studies (2012), in-depth interviews (Leary & Minichiello 2007), surveys (Minichiello et al. 2014), reviews of advertisements (print media) (Harcourt et al. 2010) and the internet (MacPhail et al. 2014).

The purpose of this mapping approach was to develop a database of public information through print (newspapers) and online media (websites). In the case of this research, the mapping of places associated with MWSS and the domestic setting was undertaken through a local newspaper audit and website search. Advertisements in newspapers and on websites are considered public information and, thus, provide a basic understanding of what is often deemed an underground activity in metropolitan Sydney.

Database collection of personal newspaper advertisements

The research collated the data by tracking the number of advertisements from MWSS published in local newspapers distributed in metropolitan Sydney. The intent was to obtain data to draw on the spatial relationship between MWSS and HOSS. These local Sydney newspapers (e.g. *The Wentworth Courier*) were examined over a consecutive twelve-week period, from the week beginning 4 January 2015 to the week ending 28 March 2015. Having been sourced online as digital editions²⁶ from a local library or the publishers, they were selected on the basis of being free of charge to the community, their distribution areas, and their high-circulation rates (refer to Appendixes C and D). News Corp Australia published their media kit online, whilst Fairfax Media and other agencies were contacted directly.

In addition, free magazines distributed in the Sydney metropolitan area for the LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer) community were reviewed, which included *The Star Observer*, *SX Magazine* and *Q Magazine*. They are free, available online, and placed in Sydney's inner-city shops and cafes (refer to Appendixes C and D). The newspapers were tracked and collected on a weekly basis. For those with multiple publications in a week (such as the *Manly Daily*), the highest circulation day each week was selected.²⁷

A pilot run of the newspaper-advertisement collection was undertaken in May 2014 to determine the scope of the task, including where to source newspapers and the geographical circulation in relation to wider metropolitan Sydney. The trial also sought to determine whether men actually advertised in this form of media and to determine the selection criteria for these notices as discussed.

Personal ads were captured to detail the extent and diversity of an erotic market outside the context of an SSP and the female sex worker. To detail this, two investigative techniques were engaged. The first, titled "Newspaper data set one", encapsulates direct and indirect sexual services advertised by male, transgender and transsexual workers, identified as the "non-female sex worker market". As described in Chapter 3, direct sexual service includes penetrative intercourse, otherwise known as a "full service".²⁸ Indirect sexual service can include "sensual/erotic massage" and "tantric experience", and those offering such services

²⁶(<http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/newslocal/digitaleditions?nk=e0437f467444c34e4c54c47c70c62eef>).

²⁷ This information was obtained through direct communication with publishers or via their media kits.

²⁸ These are terms of reference used within the personal advertisements.

may not associate their activities as sex work, rather, identifying as a masseuse (refer to Appendix E) (Harcourt & Donovan 2005; Harcourt et al. 2005).

The second technique, titled “Newspaper data set two”, identifies advertisements within Newspaper data set one, selecting only those MWSS—the “exclusive male market” explicitly advertising direct sexual services and advertising any indirect services as ancillary activities. The intention was to sort through the ads and focus on men who sell penetrative intercourse. It also intended to convey the proportion of MWSS in the wider non-female sex worker market.

Wording in the advertisements was a key tool to determine type of sexual service advertised (e.g. “body rub/extras”, “sensual” and “full service”). Advertisements also included information of gender/sexuality, such as “M2M” and “TRANS”; geographies, such as “CBD” and “Surry Hills”; and amenities, such as “private” and “in/out”. Figure 4.3 details three advertisements from the *Manly Daily*: two are men selling direct services and one is advertising multiple female workers. Figure 4.4, from the *St George and Sutherland Shire Leader*, details a variety of adult advertisements. These figures convey how the wording of the advertisements assisted in identifying the subject notices within the wider adult market.

Microsoft Excel was used as a tool to organise the data and to document publication dates, newspaper names, distribution areas, and the number of advertisements in each publication. The wording of each notice was also recorded (including phone numbers²⁹) in order to determine information about location and services offered. Not all newspapers included a classifieds section or permitted the publication of notices of an adult nature; the *Penrith Gazette* is an example. *The Star Observer* and *Q Magazine*, both LGBTIQ publications, also had no classifieds section and thus no adult advertisements in their publication.

²⁹ Numbers were only recorded as reference points and were not published.

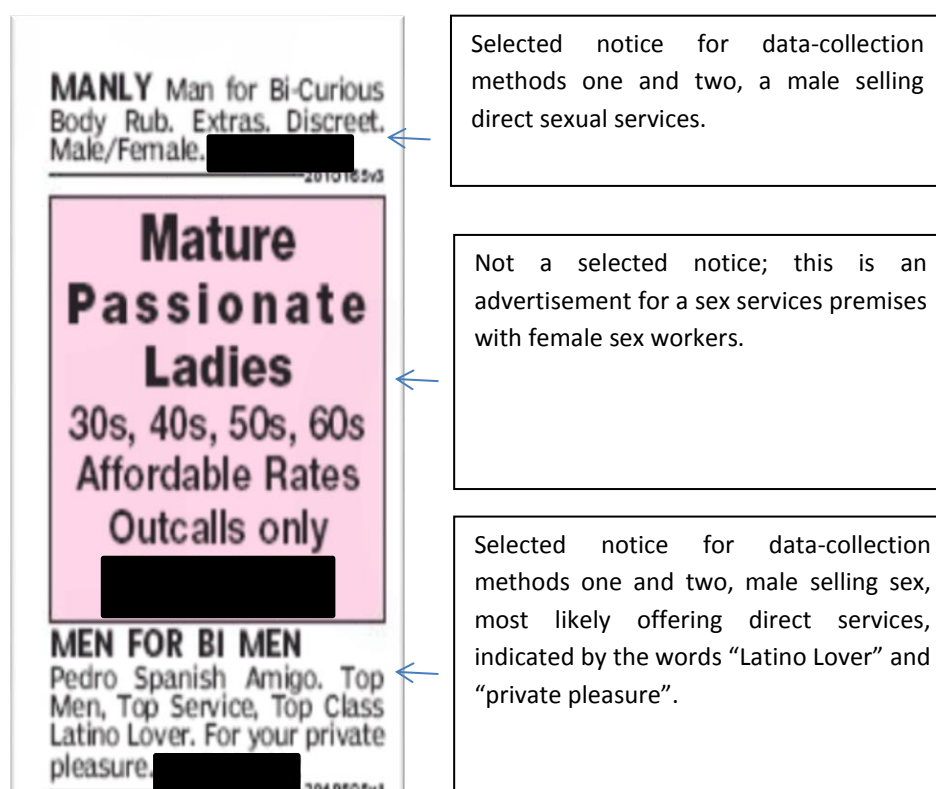


Figure 4.3: Newspaper notices: examples of men selling sex, direct services (source: classifieds section, p. 33 *Manly Daily*, Wednesday 7 May 2014³⁰).

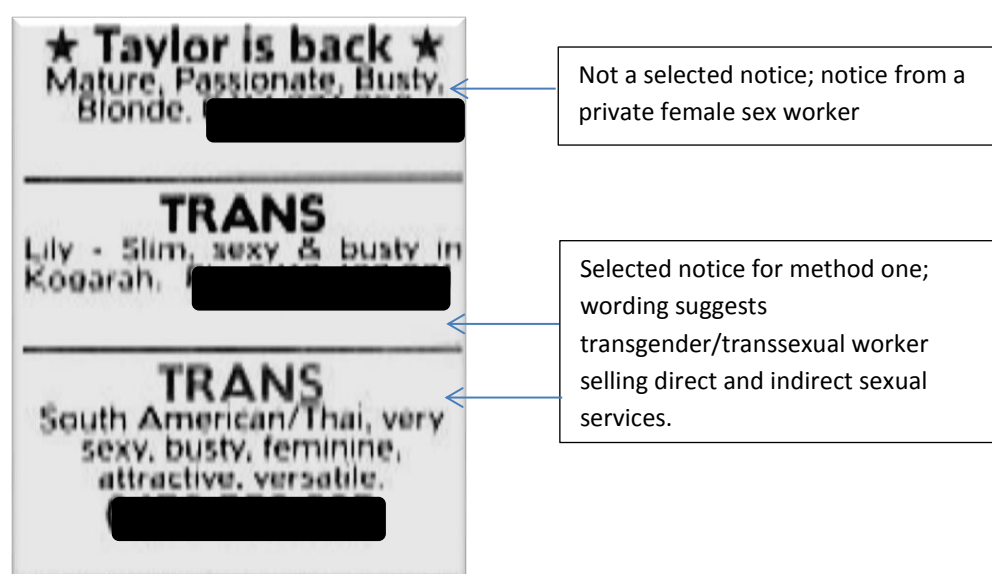


Figure 4.4: Newspaper notice example of general sex-services advertisements (*St George and Sutherland Shire Leader*, 6 January 2015, p. 18 (print)).

³⁰ Accessed online <http://newslocal.newspaperdirect.com/epaper/viewer.aspx>.

Internet search

A review of adult websites was undertaken to ascertain the geographies of MWSS and the potential market scale in metropolitan Sydney. Key search terms—“rent boy Sydney”, “Sydney male escorts”, and “male sex work Sydney”—were entered into Google. Key sites identified were sydneymale.escorts.com, rentboy.com, sydneyescortsforladies.com, and blacktieaffairs.com. The search scope extended to all male sex worker premises and operations in metropolitan Sydney, from SSPs to escort agencies to private workers.

Tabling the above webpages allowed the following criteria to be observed: business name, website address, business type, number of workers, services, client type, and location (refer to Table 6.5). This data was then cross-referenced with the newspaper findings to verify, from a geographical and operational perspective, if the same people were advertising in other media sources. The intent was to determine geographical consistencies for popular Sydney locations for MWSS.

Although the internet was used as a resource, it is acknowledged that the reliability of the data is limited. Many of the men advertising online are assumed to have adopted an alias, and their advertisements may include inaccurate information to ensure their privacy and autonomy. Studies undertaken by Harcourt et al. (2010) and MacPhail et al. (2014) included the use of newspapers or online sources relating to sex workers advertising services. They highlight that the information provides context but can also be unreliable. As a result, this study engaged print and online media together as an alternative method to engage the MWSS stakeholder. The data is also supported by the in-depth interviews, providing further areas of discussion and clarity in the spatial placement of MWSS in Sydney.

4.6 Phase three—in-depth interviews with stakeholders

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were selected as they created opportunities to discuss issues of relevance from a stakeholder’s perspective (Babbie 2013; Flick 2014). The interviews were conducted with four key participating groups: planners, policymakers, industry advocates, and sex workers (detailed in Table 4.2).

Researching the sex industry and, in particular, those who are sex workers, requires high levels of trust, discretion, empathy and open-mindedness from the researcher. As an accredited planner of the Planning Institute of Australia, a discussion about policy and regulation with other planners is part of our professional daily practice. However, this research process faced complex challenges of maintaining access, ensuring autonomy, and

conducting ethically designed research. Those working privately in the domestic space are what Hubbard and Prior (2013, p. 141) describe as a “hidden population”, which highlights the difficulties associated with accessing research participants. As anticipated, this research did experience difficulties in accessing MWSS privately. Hence, interviews involved others, including representative bodies of the industry and a private female sex worker (who provides further context to home-based sex work only). These experienced limitations are discussed further in Section 4.7 of this chapter.

All participants were provided with a copy of the transcript, or quotes that may have been used, to ensure that the morality and objectivity of the study were maintained. As per Jeffery’s (2009) comments, participation from sex workers and agencies created an evidence-based research outcome. For sex workers, aliases were used during the interviews, recordings and transcriptions to ensure privacy and autonomy.

Planners and policymakers

For planners and policymakers, persons identified in key panels, such as the Brothels Task Force, SSPAP, SSC, the CoSC, and state government agencies, were approached. The planners who were interviewed had specific experience with the sex industry and the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney. General calls were made to these agencies or individuals (if contact details were available), and a formal introduction was made and a follow-up email sent. Some participants were identified via the snowball effect, whereby one interview led to another possible participant. Generally, the response from planners and policymakers was positive, and they were willing to offer their expert opinions.

Table 4.2: Interview participants (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

Role	Name	Relevant positions held (positions are listed in order of relevance to the research)
Policymakers	Vic Smith	Mayor of former SSC; chair of the Brothels Task Force 2000–2001, and independent chair of SSPPAP 2002–2004
	Petula Samios	Planning manager (until 2013) and representative on the SAPP for the NSW Government Department of Planning and Environment (DoP & E) (2002–2004)
	Sean Macken	Councillor of the former SSC (1993–2000); principal planner and research fellow (current)
	Giovanni Cirrillo	Manager of SSC and CoSC planning departments (1993–2009); manager of the DoP & E (2009–2013); and principal planner of planning lab (current)
Planners	Linda Scott	Councillor CoSC
	Wendy Wang	Senior council planner—council in east Sydney
	Andrew Thomas	Planning manager CoSC
	Muriel Maher	Planning officer, Sydney—Inner West Council
	Anonymous planning manager	NSW DoP & E
Advocates	Anonymous planner	NSW DoP & E
	Saul Isbister	President of Touching Base (current) and Private Workers Alliance representative to the SSPPAP (2002–2004)
	Julie Bates	The first sex-industry liaison officer for the former SSC (2000–2001); principle planner of Urban Realists; board and foundation member of the NUAA (NSW Users & AIDs Association) (current); and foundation member of the Australian Prostitutes Collective (APC) NSW (now the Sex Workers Outreach Project NSW (SWOP)).
	Cameron Cox	CEO of Sex Workers Outreach Project
MWSS	Private female sex worker	Anonymous advocate
	Private male sex worker A	Anonymous
	Private male sex worker B	Anonymous
	Private male sex worker C	Anonymous

Industry advocates and sex workers

Contact was established with the Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP) in January 2015. This resulted in a rigorous consultation process lasting several months, which included research feedback and ethics approval granted under the delegated authority of the AIDS Council of New South Wales (ACON) on 24 June 2015 (Appendix F). The consultation period included a series of panel reviews and meetings with ACON and SWOP; from this it was concluded that the preferred approach was in-depth interviews with SWOP representatives only. Originally, a questionnaire for MWSS was proposed to be issued through SWOP and their agencies. However, it was felt by SWOP and ACON that this was not suitable, given the existing research circulating in the male sex worker community, termed the “Hook Up”³¹ study, undertaken by the Kirby Institute

Touching Base Inc. (Touching Base), was another industry organisation which supported and participated in the study (Appendix F: Touching Base—letter of support). Private sex workers participated voluntarily, with no payment, as the relationships with SWOP, Touching Base and the Kirby Institute developed.

Given the limited access to MWSS in the duration of research, a female sex worker was interviewed to provide context to the HOSS as a land use. This female was included in the study as she has been in the sex industry for over twenty years and had ample knowledge of private sex workers (male and female) and the HOSS in Sydney and New South Wales. The inclusion of this data is only applied in Chapter 6 in terms of geographical considerations and the activities of the HOSS. Careful interpretation was undertaken to ensure a clear separation of male and female voice.

Other sex-industry stakeholders were contacted with limited success, as summarised below:

- Preliminary discussions had been underway with Scarlet Alliance in mid-2015, but project support was never granted.
- Prior to SWOP feedback, a call-out to MWSS via social media networks was made through a third party. Initially, some interest was garnered; however, no further response was received despite a series of follow-up emails.

³¹ Data from the Hook Up study is yet to be available and, thus, is not included in this thesis.

Prior to their interviews, participants were sent an introductory email with the questions and research statement. Copies were also provided at the interview, along with a consent form (with options to be quoted and identified or be quoted and remain anonymous) and a revocation-of-consent form. At the start of the interview, objectives and significance of the research were explained as well as the typical qualitative protocol involving associated ethics forms; participants were asked to sign the consent form (filed by the researcher) and were instructed to keep the revocation-of-consent forms for their personal files (Appendix G).

Question design

Two sets of interview questions were prepared, one for policy and planning participants and the second for industry advocates and sex worker participants (Appendix G). Each set of questions targeted common issues in the sex industry (focusing on private sex work), including law and policy, community issues, compliance, and industry activities. Consideration of the sensitive nature of the field of research was also maintained, as questions did not steer into personal topics. The research questions for industry advocates and sex worker participants were subjected to a peer-review process by ACON and SWOP. Each interview was transcribed and then analysed to identify key themes using standard qualitative thematic processes (Perakyla & Ruusuvuori 2011). Once themes were established, key quotes and information were categorised for the thesis discussion.

4.7 Limitations

A key opportunity of this research is that that MWSS and private sex work form a relatively new field of study, with Sydney emerging as a key focal point of research, evident in Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard and Prior (2013), Prior and Crofts (2015), and Prior and Lederwasch (2010). However, at the same time, access to participant insights was a constraint, particularly in a topic that is characterised by sensitivities of stigma and privacy. It can take significant periods of time to develop relationships with industry stakeholders, as evident in the studies of Perkins and Bennett (1985), Perkins and Lovejoy (2007), and Perkins (1991). Researchers often work from existing relationships, similarly to the above studies of Crofts and Prior (2012) and Prior and Crofts (2015), whom built off Prior and Lederwasch's (2010) examination of the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney. Between 2010 and 2015 (the years in which these studies were conducted), private sex worker participants doubled, yet, these studies can still be considered minimal in comparison to other studies of sex work. Private sex work is considered more sensitive than commercial sex work given the personal nature of the

occupation. There are two fronts of stigma that MWSS can face, the first in terms of sexuality and the second participating in the act of sex work; thus, they are an extremely difficult population to access. To date, the mentioned studies conducted in Sydney on the HOSS are limited in the inclusion of the insights of MWSS.

ACON, SWOP, Touching Base, and the Scarlett Alliance were approached in early 2015. Whilst most were open to participation, limited interest was received from the Scarlett Alliance. During the initial discussions, these organisations revealed that the research was of critical importance with concerns around operations, tenure and privacy. However, ACON and SWOP required that the project was subject to their ethics approval, a timely process which took several months to complete. Questionnaires with male sex workers were originally proposed to ACON and SWOP, which were subsequently denied in their ethics review. Thus, high-level in-depth interviews were then put forward, with questions subject to the organisations' approval. The questions for sex-industry stakeholders were informed by ACON and SWOP. However, this proved to be a limitation in itself as I was restricted in what could be asked. Additionally, the lengthy approval process significantly delayed the commencement of fieldwork.

On the other hand, Touching Base was supportive of the study, without additional ethical approval; fortunately, other sex-industry participants were sought through the snowball effect as relationship began to develop. The contact and relationship with the Kirby Institute also proved extremely positive as many sex-industry-stakeholder participants had established a relationship with the organisation. Additionally, stakeholders, being planners and policymakers, were open and engaging to the study from the start. Similarly, these participants were sought through the snowball effect where the response rate was high, with only one potential interviewee showing no interest.

The study also included an interview with a female sex worker who operated in the CoSC jurisdiction similarly to the other male sex worker participants. This interviewee provided a much-needed historical personal narrative as she has been in the industry in Sydney over twenty years and was able to add value to overall project with knowledge of the planning system, working in an SSP, street based sex work, and operating as a HOSS. Findings from this interview supported insights into private sex work in the home, and care was taken to ensure her voice was separate to the MWSS participants.

Ethics

Ethics approval for this project was granted by the Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel on 4 June 2014. The project is considered to have minimal ethical concerns. The reference number for this approval is 145052. An addendum to the application was also approved in March 2015. Additional ethics approval was granted under the delegated authority of ACON on 24 of June 2015 for SWOP participation. A letter of support was also provided by the organisation Touching Base Inc. on 23 of August 2015 (refer to Appendix F).

4.8 Summary

This chapter outlines the methodological process of the empirical research, beginning by summarising the four key techniques engaged. This was followed by a rationale of the site location of metropolitan Sydney and of the research design. Then each of the four methods were discussed in detail, the first being a review of literature from international and national sources, providing a diverse background to the topic. The second method, an in-depth review of NSW sex-industry policy, included an analysis of the permissibility of the HOSS in all forty-one LEPs of the local councils in the Sydney metropolitan area. Next, a collection of personal advertisements from newspapers and the internet was undertaken to investigate the spatial placement of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. Finally, in-depth interviews with a range of stakeholders, including planners, policymakers, sex workers and sex worker organisations, provided detailed insight into the research topic. The description of the research methods was critical in order to understand how they complemented previous methods implemented. The chapter concluded with considering the limitations of the fieldwork, focusing on ethics and the importance of autonomy and privacy.

Chapter 5: Phase one results—policy

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents phase one of the research findings. It begins with a broad historical overview of the legislative context of private sex work in the home (HOSS, the official land-use term). Eleven milestones of private sex-work policy were identified, sourced from legislation, governance, media articles and parliamentary inquiries, which are outlined in Table 5.1. The intention is to detail the extent of the policy ambiguity associated with private sex work as a land use since it was decriminalised. Milestones are categorised by date, actions, and their significance and impact on private sex work and MWSS. Supporting commentary through interviews with key stakeholders (from policy, planning and sex-industry backgrounds) explains the reasons for such vagueness in policy. Particular attention is made to milestone two, the first sex-industry policy, and milestone six, the current regulatory context.

5.2 The milestones of private sex-work policy—an overview

Table 5.1: The regulatory history of sex work in metropolitan Sydney (Papadopoulos 2016).

Milestone	Year	Legislation/policy /action	Impact to private sex work
One	1995	Decriminalisation of the sex industry under the Disorderly Houses Amendment Act	No longer an offence to own, operate or work in a sex-industry premises, now regulated under the Environmental Planning & Assessment Act and subsequent local environmental-planning instruments (Smith 1999).
Two	1995 – 2004	SSBP 1996; SSSIP 2000; and creation of the role: sex industry liaison officer (SILO)	South Sydney Council (SCC) created the first planning policy for sex work, acknowledging the existence of private sex work in the home, allowing it to operate as a home occupation. Council introduced the role of the SILO (South Sydney Council 2000; Harcourt 1999).
Three	2000	The Brothels Task Force was established	Found that private sex work accounted for 40 per cent of the sex industry (along with street-based sex work). Additional recommendations included the establishment of SSPPAP to support councils in these reforms (NSW Department of Planning 2006; NSW Government 2001).
Four	2002 – 2004	SSPPAP	The SSPPAP researched the activities of private sex work, including consultation with sex-industry stakeholders. SSPPG was produced with reforms for private sex work, including specific definitions and land-use approaches.
Five	2004	Planning Principle was established by the NSW LEC	The NSW LEC established the Planning Principle in the case <i>Martyn v. Hornsby Shire Council</i> 2004. Sex work is considered offensive and not permitted in proximity to sensitive land uses such as schools, churches and residences.
Six	2006	Standard Instrument	Standard definition for private sex work, the HOSS, was implemented. Other standard terms implemented include an SSP, previously known as a “brothel”.
Seven	2007	Brothels Legislation Amendment Act	Amendment to the definition of an SSP (brothel) within the Restricted Premises Act for the purpose of closure powers. An SSP was now defined as a premises containing “two or more prostitutes”.
Eight	2012	City of Sydney policy	The HOSS became an exempt activity (not requiring council consent) under the City of Sydney LEP 2012.
Nine	2012, September	Better Regulation Office: <i>Regulation of Brothels in NSW</i> , issues paper	Raised areas for reform with public submissions into the current regulation the sex industry. Nothing was immediately actioned.
Ten	2015, June	Brothels Inquiry	Building on milestone nine and political tensions around unauthorised sex-industry premises, a parliamentary inquiry was commissioned. Public submissions were received, followed by a sitting investigation with expert witnesses, action groups and stakeholders. A series of recommendations were published in a Final report: <i>Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels</i> in early 2016.
Eleven	2016, May	Proposed Brothels Inquiry reforms are rejected	The State Government rejects the recommendations to license sex venues and to establish a sex worker register. No reforms have been implemented to date.

5.3 Milestone one: Decriminalisation of the sex industry

Prior to decriminalisation, private sex work was a known activity to authorities, but the extent of it being documented in the Sydney metropolitan region remained relatively unidentified (NSW Parliament Legislative Assembly Committees 1986; NSW Government 2001). Samios, a former government planning manager and member of the SSPPAP, explains why and how private sex workers have existed in the background of Sydney life: “Most of the time, 99 per cent of the time, private sex workers are working from home discreetly. They don’t want their neighbours knowing what they’re doing” (Samios 2015, int.).

Hence, during the initial decriminalisation of the sex industry, there was limited consideration in policy and governance of private sex workers. Shortly after sex work was legitimised, local councils fell into three common regulatory patterns: (1) constitute all sex-work operations and venues within the definition of a “brothel”, (2) ignore the existence of sex work in land-use planning policies, or (3) create specific planning policies for sex work and the industry (Prior & Crofts 2015).

The first response (also the most common) subjected private sex workers to the same controls as their commercial counterparts (brothels), forcing them to operate covertly, even as a legalised activity (Harcourt 1999; NSW Department of Planning 2006; NSW Government 2001; Samios 2015, int.). The second response was ad hoc, sometimes driven by ignorance and resistance. Alternatively, some authorities just accepted sex work like any other businesses. In this instance, private sex work defaulted into the “home occupation” definition under the State Environmental Planning Policy Number 4: Development without Consent (Prior & Crofts 2015). This allowed two resident sex workers to operate from home and benefit from the same opportunities that would apply to any other small cottage industry, such as a hairdresser or an accountant. The least common response was the third approach, where local authorities created specific policies, as undertaken by the former SSC, encouraging the legitimacy and diversity of sex-work operations and venues.

These findings reveal that, immediately post decriminalisation, the concept of private sex work as a home occupation was clearly misunderstood in policy. Assumptions by authorities around sex work were notorious, particularly that all sex-work venues were “brothels” and that only women sold sex. Smith, the former mayor of SSC and director of the Brothels Task Force, reveals, “People (governments and the community) have got to understand, when you talk about a sex worker, [they] just think of a female sex worker ...” (Smith 2015, int.). Such

generalisations conveyed limited collaboration between governing authorities and stakeholder groups, minimising the successful impact of legitimising the industry.

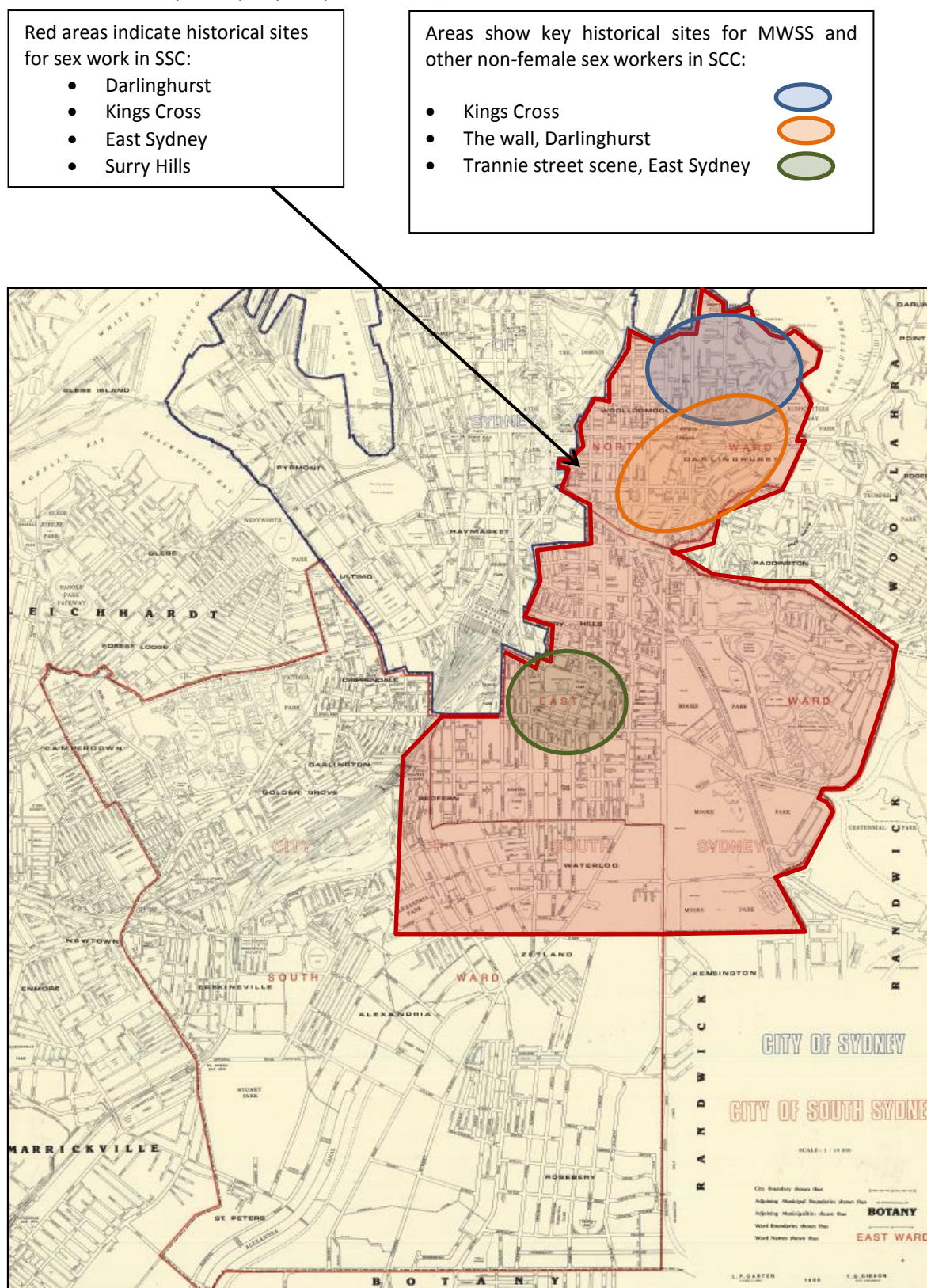
5.4 Milestone two: First policy response by the former South Sydney Council (SSC)

The former SSC was in existence from 1989 to 2004, located on the south and east border of Sydney's central business district (CBD). Sex work was prominent activity in the SSC landscape, with brothels, swingers' clubs, adult shops, strip clubs, and street- and home-based sex workers. The locality was a one-stop shop for sex, as described by Macken, a former SSC councillor:

We were the Grand Central Station for the sex industry in New South Wales and probably in Australia. This was *the* most contentious issue in our community. We had street walkers in Kings Cross; we had still the hangover from the first wave of the HIV epidemic; we had a bunch of activists in the inner city who were clamouring for change; and we had a sex industry that was suddenly unregulated (2015, int.).

These activities were undertaken within proximity to schools, residences, churches and other mainstream commercial businesses. At the time of decriminalisation, Harcourt (1999, p. 34) estimated 513 sex-industry premises to be in operation in Sydney, with 93 of those to be home-based or private operations. Harcourt's description was one of the earliest recognitions of MWSS by a local council stating, "There are also usually four or five male brothels and an unknown number of 'private' male sex workers in business at any given time" (1999, p. 34). A significant proportion of these activities were identified as occurring within the SSC LGA.

Figure 5.1: Key sites for sex work, in the former SCC 1989–2003 (source: City of Sydney Council 2017, adapted by Papadopoulos 2017).



The South Sydney sex-industry policy 1996

Given the historical prominence of sex work in the SSC landscape, in December 1995, the SSC councillors prepared an action plan to account for sex work as a land use. In March 1996, the council consulted with residents, sex-industry groups, health agencies and other relevant community parties (Harcourt 1999, p. 35). The key objective was to improve community amenity as well as the health and safety conditions of sex workers. Cirillo, the former SSC planning manager, underlined: “The council had a fairly strong remit to make sure their policy worked from a harm minimisation point of view and not just having a practical understanding of how the industry worked” (2015, int.).

In September 1996, the South Sydney Council Brothels Policy 1996 (SSCBP 1996) was created, and a key objective was to clearly differentiate between various types of sex work and associated premises. The classification of a “brothel” (SSP) was as a commercial or local business, able to seek consent through a development application (Harcourt 1999). Council consent was determined on the suitability of the design, zoning parking, noise, and amenities listed under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act under *Section 79C: Evaluation (1) Matters for consideration- general*.

At the same time, private sex work was considered a “different” operation and classified as a home occupation, defined under the South Sydney Plan³² as up to two residents conducting business activities from a low-density detached dwelling and without impact on the neighbourhood environment (Harcourt 1999, p. 35). Figure 5.2 outlines the history of the SSC sex-industry policy from 1995 to 2004 when it amalgamated with CoSC.

Overall, this was the first policy in local government which actively sought to remove the police influence and to question of morality in sex work. Describing the planning rationale of the SSCBP 1996, Cirillo articulated:

There is an incremental creep in the way of what planning does and what planning regulates. I think it’s very important to ensure that moral judgement doesn’t form part of that because, as a town planner or a masseuse or a physiotherapist, you can work from home. You can advertise your services online; you have someone come to the door, and the service is provided for the person no matter what industry you’re

³² The equivalent of a local environmental plan (LEP) at the time.

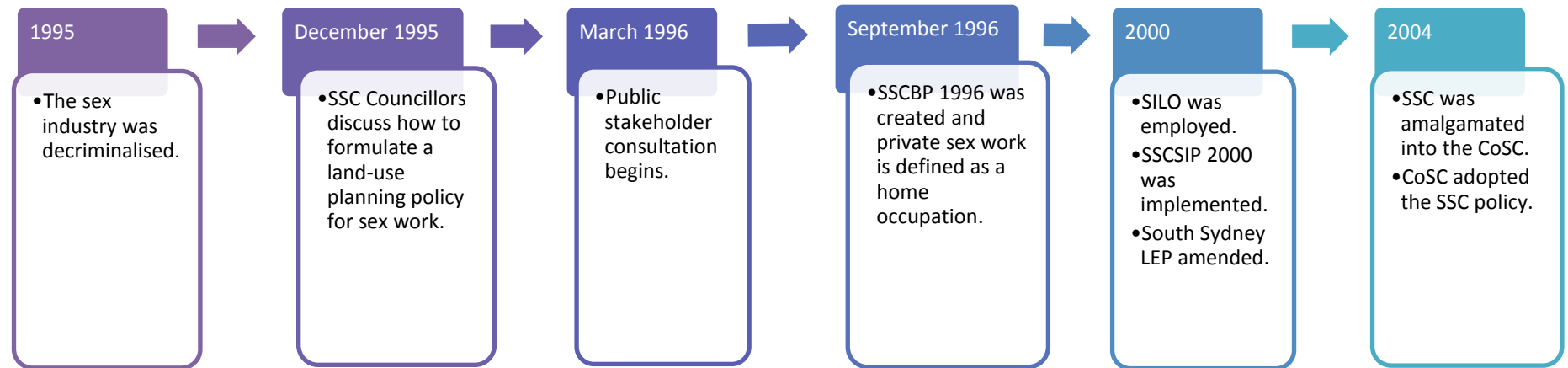
in. And as long as you aren't interfering with the amenity of the neighbourhood, what goes on behind someone's front door, which doesn't interfere with the amenity of neighbours, should really not be a matter of concern (2015, int.).

Where interviewees Cirillo, Macken and Bates highlighted the appropriateness of this approach in relation to private sex work, Bates, the first and former sex-industry liaison officer (SILO), detailed:

Once the land use of private sex work was identified as any other home-based occupation, it initially had to meet the same criteria on amenity imposed on other home occupations: not to pollute the environment, not to take up too many parking spaces, to have no signage, those sorts of issues (2015, int.).

This removed social stigma in land-use approaches, while providing a range of workspaces and employment opportunities for sex workers. Furthermore, the policy demonstrated justifications of the suitability of residential areas and the inappropriateness of industrial zones, based on suitable surveillance as well as on access for workers and clients (Crofts et al. 2013, Hubbard & Sanders 2003). This milestone reveals the SSCBP 1996 as the first policy implemented by a local authority that accounted for private sex work in a residential setting.

Figure 5.2: Timeline of SSC sex-industry policy (adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).



Policy revisions and the role of the sex-industry liaison officer (SILO)

Following the implementation of the SSCBP 1996, the SSC then introduced the South Sydney Council Sex Industry Policy 2000 (SSCSIP 2000) and implemented the role of the SILO. The diversity of sex work was further recognised with new definitions for commercial sex-industry venues and operations: “brothel, safe house brothel, bondage and discipline premises, sex-on-premises venue, and restricted premises” (South Sydney Council 2000, p. 1). Private sex work had two possible definitions:

- **Private sex worker home business brothel:** a “premises operating in a dwelling by one (maximum) resident sex worker and in no more than 10% of any storey within the dwelling”.
- **Local business brothel:** “a business that would be a home business except that it involves the employment of not more than two persons other than the residents concerned (either on the site of the business or having a base at the site)” (South Sydney Council 2000, p. 4).

The replacement of the term, “home occupation”, in the SSCSIP 2000 to “private sex worker home business brothel”, meant a one-worker restriction was now imposed. Of consequence, two resident sex workers operating from home were now defined as a “local business brothel”, only able to operate in medium-density zones with council consent. Bates (2015, int.) highlighted the impact:

After the second amendment of the SSC policy and an amendment to the SSC LEP, sex workers in home occupations were then limited to one person. This, of course, caused an outcry from representative bodies, particularly, the Private Workers Alliance³³, calling it a dangerous and discriminatory policy.

However, there was greater opportunity for the individual sex worker to operate without consent in a greater mix of residential dwelling types, from mixed density to attached housing located in residential or mixed-use zones. Describing the intention of the changes, Smith highlights the objective for safer working environments: “at least with a house or a unit, there was some protection for both—for the worker and the client—and that’s where we were coming from” (2015, int.).

³³ Representative body for private sex workers at the time.

Concurrently with these policy amendments, SSC introduced the role of the SILO in 2000, the first of its kind, to engage sex workers and educate residents and SSC staff. Bates (2015, int.), the first SILO, reflects on the success and constraints of the role:

I think it had a major impact ... The SILO position evaluated really well; it was serving its purpose. Development applications (DAs) were being submitted, and that was the important thing. Council wanted people with existing sex services premises to get their DAs in, and that was the measure of it, I think. The local residents had settled down a bit, being less vocal about the policy, and my phone was always open to anyone wanting to call to complain or just talk about it, and there were very few complaints.

It is evident that policy changes, no matter how minor, from a governance perspective, can have significant implications for sex workers and their environments. Although the SSC community was described to have a familiarity with sex work, there was still evidence of resistance documented within the media, council meetings and research interviews, discussed in further detail below.

The community response

The first policy community engagement undertaken by SSC, in 1996, was received in a largely positive manner; however, resistances towards sites of sex work remained in relation to zoning, clustering and location. In the case of private sex work and its classification of a home occupation, some residents raised concerns about sex in the residential zone. Specific issues were neighbourhood amenity, community wellbeing and the suitability of the operations in residential areas (Harcourt 1999).

Although accepting the legitimacy of sex work, many residents failed to understand diversity of premises types, continuing to regard all forms of sex work generically as a brothel (SSP)³⁴ (Harcourt 1999). The core issue for many residents was the proximity to “community sensitive” locations such as schools, child care centres and places of worship. Macken contextualised the SSC community response:

Some of the more progressive groups were actually kind of supportive, but the residents weren’t. For the first time, the residents were asked, “Do you want sex

³⁴ “Brothel” was the term used within the SSCBP 1996 to describe an SSP.

work in your street?” And they said NO in spades. We then had to consult with every resident-action group, everywhere. There were some really tense, horrible meetings: people were shouting; they had banners and all this sort of stuff. But under the leadership of Christine Harcourt³⁵, everyone in council stood firm, and we were under enormous pressure to refuse them (2015, int.).

Such notions demonstrate objections to particular land uses, even when legitimised in policy. In 1998, the East Sydney Neighbourhood Association (ESNA), a local action group, engaged in a legal battle with the SSC following the approval of a number of sex-industry venues in residential zones. Although some of these premises had been in operation prior to the 1995 reforms, ESNA felt the approval of such premises were contradictory to the objectives of community amenity and the SSCBP 1996 (Russell 1998).

There was also specific pushback against premises of MWSS. The media article “Council rejects plan for gay brothel” details an unsuccessful application for two males to operate a local business brothel in Darlinghurst. Local residents sent 133 petitions opposing the proposal, based on the proximity to residential areas, a school, a church, a local park and a childcare centre (Russell 1998). In contrast to this localised opposition towards sites of sex work, there was evidence of cohesion through decriminalisation. The article “Coming clean to the new Kings Cross” (Newton 1997) describes a cohesive neighbourhood in the wake of decriminalisation:

Taking advantage of South Sydney Council’s brothel policy, which follows on from the 1995 changes to the *Disorderly Houses Act 1995*, Maggie [a brothel operator] approached the council for advice on how to make the establishment legal. “We had their [SSC] people look over the place and we’ve fixed it up. There are sprinklers in every room, smoke detectors, fire doors—we comply with all the regulations” (Newtown 1997, p. 1).

This was an example of success of the SSC objective to legitimise a once-lucrative industry for the benefit of workers and the community. This also demonstrates how relevant and clear policy with active stakeholder engagement can create cohesion between sites of difference. After the introduction of the first SSC policy, most operators actively sought consent, even

³⁵ Christine Harcourt was the former deputy mayor of South Sydney Council and an academic in the field of sexual health.

though they had been operating underground for years. This was a notable example of the intention to seek legitimacy when the opportunity arose.

5.5 Milestone three: Brothels Task Force

Five years after decriminalisation, the Brothels Task Force was established by the NSW Government in response to the regulatory complexities of sex work as described in milestone one. The Brothels Task Force was comprised of representatives from the Department of Planning³⁶, local government, WorkCover NSW, NSW police, sex-work representatives, and NSW Health (NSW Government 2001, p. 2). This was the first evidence base for private sex-work reform, reported in the *Report of the Brothels Task Force* (NSW Government 2001) and remains of relevance today. Notably, it was referred to in key health studies, such as the Kirby Institute's *The sex industry in New South Wales: a report to the NSW Ministry of Health* (Donovan et al. 2012) and *The South Eastern Sydney and Illawarra Health Region Gap Analysis "At Risk" Sex Workers Report* (Berg et al. 2011). Evidence from the Brothels Task Force was also recently cited in the *Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels* report (NSW Parliament Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels 2015). Given that this data remains a reference base ten years on, it reveals a need for the government to reinvestigate the subject of sex work in metropolitan Sydney.

Three key recommendations relating to private sex work were made, which are listed in Table 5.2. The first was to establish an advisory body for sex-work policy, resolving private sex work as separate and legitimate activity. Similarly to the SSCBP 1996, the Brothels Task Force identified private sex work as a home occupation. However, it also detailed other smaller-scaled operations, such as a "small scale sex brothels" (comprised of two non-residents) to be the same as a "local business", able to operate with consent in commercial centres or mixed-use zones. Yet these land-use recommendations were and continue to be ignored by authorities, and they have never been officially endorsed to date. This is evident as neither of these terms is used in local planning policies, nor is the *Report of the Brothels Task Force* circulated to councils as a guide.

³⁶ Name of the NSW state agency responsible for planning at the time.

Table 5.2: Analysis of the Brothels Task Force recommendations relating to private sex work (NSW Government 2001, adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

The Brothel Task Force's recommendations ³⁷	Relevance to private sex work from home	Governance response to date
One: formation of an advisory panel to produce specific planning guidelines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lack of evidence understanding private sex work. Understanding the diversity of premises associated with sex work: home occupations or smaller-scaled commercial operations—"small scale sex brothel". Further education of councils. Men have sold sex for an extensive period in Sydney and NSW. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The SPAPP was established in 2002 (discussed in milestone four). Many councils are still restrictive towards the sex industry and private sex work. The HOSS was an adopted definition for private sex work in the Standard Instrument (discussed in milestone six).
Two: amendment to the Disorderly Houses Act ³⁸ relating to the closure of unauthorised SSPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of inadequate evidence to close down sex-industry venues. Private sex workers can be subject to eviction from their own homes if classified as an SSP. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Brothels Amendment Act established criteria of evidence for the closure of SSPs without consent. Redefined the definition of the SSP, meaning premises with two or more sex workers could be closed down (milestone seven). This protected the individual sex worker.
Three: promote and assist outreach programs for sex workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reform health and safety measures for private workers. Monitoring of these measures from a state agency such as WorkCover³⁹ is recommended. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited involvement by WorkCover. SWOP is an agency under the AIDS Council of NSW in which it receives some government funding for outreach. SWOP, Scarlet Alliance and Touching Base are active industry organisations.

Recommendation two in Table 5.2 revealed that councils often utilised inadequate evidence to close unauthorised SSPs, potentially impacting private sex workers when there was a lack of differentiation between private and commercial sex work (NSW Government 2001, p. 3). The Brothels Task Force recommended the types of circumstantial or direct evidence that were considered appropriate. Examples of circumstantial evidence included:

1. Number of employees, descriptions of employees, and hours of operation from observations of persons who reside or work in the neighbourhood.

³⁷ Recommendations sourced from the *Report of the Brothels Task Force* (NSW Government 2001).

³⁸ Presently known as the Restricted Premises Act.

³⁹ WorkCover is a NSW Government agency that is responsible for the health and safety conditions of workers.

2. Oral, documentary and photographic evidence of notices, signs, red lights or other advertisements on the premises or advertisements in the printed media.
3. Registered business name and address which match the address of the premises, or information on business cards.
4. Evidence from persons who ring advertised telephone numbers as to what was said in relation to the provision of services at the premises.
5. Documents, such as appointment books or the customer database.
6. Accounting information, such as invoices, cheques, cheque books, accounts, bank statements, ledgers and tax returns.
7. Evidence from witnesses of the physical layout and arrangement of the premises, the furniture, equipment, tools of trade and other articles in the premises (NSW Government 2001, p.16).

Examples of appropriate direct evidence included information

from persons who have used the services of prostitutes on the premise, or from prostitutes who work or have worked at the brothel. Persons may be subpoenaed to give evidence. Direct evidence could also be obtained by way of admissions found in letters to the council or to other persons, or in record of interviews (NSW Government 2001, p. 19).

The implementation of specific evidence was to ensure that certainty was established by law prior to evicting suspected operators. Yet councils that encompassed a broad definition of the SSP to include any form of sex work, subjected private workers to the same closure processes. Therefore, ambiguity of policy left private sex workers vulnerable to privacy and tenure issues, including possible eviction.

The third recommendation detailed in Table 5.2 claimed that the current regulatory context limited the health and safety of private sex workers. Policies which did not clearly differentiate the variety of sex-work venues meant private workers could face isolation from society and services. There was an identified need to encourage cooperation with industry organisations such as SWOP and the government agencies NSW Health and NSW WorkCover.

Finally, this policy analysis found that the Brothels Task Force engaged a male sex worker representative for the panel in response to the limited consideration of the diversity of sex work, workers and venues. Smith, the Brothels Task Force chairman reflected:

As far as the Brothels Task Force was concerned, this certainly was an issue ... But I think, even today, if you talk to the average punter on the street and talk about a sex worker, there's no relation to the male sex worker. It's just the female sex worker, and I think that's presumptive. I don't know how you say to people it's not only the female worker, but it's also the male worker who's affected (2015, int.).

Smith emphasised that, at the time, there were MWSS who sought to be recognised the same as their female counterparts. These findings reveal that those who work from home and MWSS are still subject to assumptions and generalisations by authorities and by society today. Although substantial evidence-based findings were in the *Report of the Brothels Task Force*, its recommendations were never endorsed by state and local regulatory authorities (Smith 2015, int.). The only government action from these recommendations was the establishment of the SSPPAP, discussed as milestone four.

5.6 Milestone four: Sex Services Premises Planning Advisory Panel (SSPPAP)

Formed in 2002, the SSPPAP comprised of former Brothels Task Force members with new representatives from state and local government, sex worker organisations and health agencies. Over a two-year period, this panel continued the investigations of the Brothels Task Force, resulting in the *Sex Services Premises Planning Guidelines* (SSPPG) 2004. Building on the findings of the Brothels Task Force, the SSPPAP recommended the adoption of two land-use definitions for private sex work: home occupation and home business (detailed in Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: SSPPG land-use terms (source: NSW Department of Planning 2006, pp. 141 and 143).

Term	Description	Definition
Home occupation	The use of an existing lawful dwelling house or dwelling by its permanent residents and a maximum of one other in the conduct of the occupation (NSW Department of Planning 2006, p. 141).	Home occupation means “an occupation carried on in a dwelling-house or dwelling which does not involve: (a) the registration of the building under the <i>Factories, Shops and Industries Act 1962</i> (b) the employment of more than one person other than those residents (c) interference with the amenity of the neighbourhood by reason of the emission of noise, vibration, smell, fumes, smoke, vapour, steam, soot, ash, dust, wastewater, waste products or grit, oil or otherwise (d) the display of goods, whether in a window or otherwise (e) the exhibition of any notice, advertisement or sign (f) the sale of items (whether goods or materials) or the exposure or offer for sale of items, by retail” (NSW Department of Planning 2006, p. 141).
Home business	The use of an existing lawful dwelling house by its permanent residents and a maximum of two others in the conduct of a business (NSW Department of Planning 2006, p. 143).	Home business means “a business carried on in a dwelling house and that would be a home occupation except that it involves the employment of not more than two persons other than the residents concerned (either on the site of the business or having a base at the site)” (NSW Department of Planning 2001, p. 143).

The land use of home occupation was similar to that proposed by the Brothels Task Force, permitted without consent. The “home business” allowed up to two non-resident workers to operate within the domestic setting; this replaced the “small scale sex brothel” term, proposed by the Brothels Task Force. The recommended consent for a “home business” was “complying development”, where council certification was required but not public notification, protecting the privacy and identity of the subject workers.

Regardless of these recommendations, this historical analysis reveals a limited understanding of private sex work in the home, particularly by local authorities. This was problematic at the time, as there were an estimated 4000 private sex workers operating in the Sydney region; 10 per cent were estimated to be men (O’Rourke & Nicholls 2003). In 2003, Marrickville Council attempted to adopt and adapt the term “home occupation” in the SSPPG, proposing to allow one sex worker to operate from home without council approval. However, the initiative was strongly resisted within council and the community, and it was never implemented (O’Rourke & Nicholls 2003).

Interviews with panel members revealed that the SSPPAP sought to improve working conditions, as one member, Isbister (a representative from the Private Workers Alliance⁴⁰), described the intent of the SSPPG: “The policy changes would have no impact apart from enabling sex workers to operate with a sense of safety and protection from the law rather than being outlaws in their own neighbourhood” (Isbister 2015, int.). Further to this, Samios (the state government representative panel member) highlighted that the intent of the SSPPG was to remove the morality debate from neighbourhood planning: “The ministers were saying, ‘This is a land-use to be controlled by local government; it’s not a police matter’” (Samios 2015, int.).

Regardless, the SSPPG was never endorsed by authorities, as Smith, who was also the independent chair of the SSPPAP, summarised the government’s response: “The reason they wouldn’t do anything was because there were no votes in sex work” (2015, int.). To date, these guidelines are not publicly available through any state agency but only available on sex-industry organisations websites, such as the Scarlet Alliance. It could be argued that the attempts to resolve regulatory issues around private sex work were gestures with limited actions.

5.7 Milestone five: NSW LEC Planning Principle established for the location of brothels

The Land and Environment Court of New South Wales, in 2004, established the Planning Principle under the case *Martyn v. Hornsby Shire Council* 2004. This was in response to the lack of clarity in planning policy for sex work and the subsequent appeals by some operators. The Planning Principle outlines “sex industry premises” as a sensitive land use as Roseth, senior commissioner in the judgement, notes: “The strong community reaction suggests that a brothel should be assessed as a sensitive land use, the location of which needs consideration beyond that of mere physical impact” (*Martyn v. Hornsby Shire Council* 2004).

Roseth’s statement described the influence of community morality and perceptions in planning policy. Location and the proximity of sex-industry venues were noted as criteria of importance—not to be near or within view of a residential zone, places of worship, or areas frequented by children. In terms of residential premises, the Planning Principle states,

⁴⁰ A sex industry representative body at the time.

“brothels should not adjoin areas that are zoned residential, or be clearly visible from them. Visibility is sometimes a function of distance, but not always” (*Martyn v. Hornsby Shire Council* 2004). This highlights a resistance to sex work in the neighbourhood, whilst promoting the “catch-all category of brothel” (Crofts & Prior 2012, p. 131).

Although this research reveals that private sex work is different to its commercial counterparts, complications arise when policy fails to recognise this. Crofts and Prior state that the Planning Principle does not impact private sex work as “by definition, it takes place in homes in residential zones. They are accordingly simultaneously included and excluded, by the [NSW] LEC planning principles” (2012, p. 131). However, the generalised attitude of authorities and communities towards sex work and premises can mean private workers are possibly subjected to these locational requirements. Under the *Brothels Amendment Act*, two or more private workers are defined as an SSP and, thus, subject to these locational requirements (see milestone seven). Thus, definitions of private sex work remain contradictory and ambiguous where the Planning Principle contributes another layer of policy.

5.8 Milestone six: Standard Local Environmental Plan (Standard Instrument) and HOSS

Milestone six reveals how the HOSS, the current definition for private sex work, was established. In 2006, the State Government developed the Standard Instrument, a template of land-use requirements from zoning to building-height controls for all NSW councils (NSW Government, Department of Planning & Environment 2015). Also included were customary land-use definitions, such as “residential accommodation”, “business premises”, “hazardous industry”, and “high technology industry” (NSW Government, Department of Planning & Environment 2015). Key definitions relating to sex work were “restricted premises”, “sex services premises”, and the HOSS (detailed in Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Sex industry standard definitions in the Standard Instrument (source: NSW Government Department of Planning & Environment 2015).

Term	Definition
HOSS	Means the provision of sex services in a dwelling that is a brothel, or in a building that is a brothel and is ancillary to such a dwelling, by no more than two permanent residents of the dwelling and that does not involve: (a) the employment of persons other than those residents, or (b) interference with the amenity of the neighbourhood by reason of the emission of noise, traffic generation or otherwise, or (c) the exhibition of any signage, or (d) the sale of items (whether goods or materials), or the exposure or offer for sale of items, by retail, but does not include a home business or sex services premises.
Restricted premises	Means premises that, due to their nature, restrict access to patrons or customers over eighteen years of age, and include sex shops and similar premises, but does not include a pub, hotel or motel accommodation, home occupation (sex services) or sex services premises.
Sex services	Means sexual acts or sexual services in exchange for payment.
SSP	Means a brothel, but does not include home occupation (sex services).

From Table 5.4, the Standard Instrument clarifies the definitions of sex work and associated venues, moving away from stigmatised and outdated terminology of “prostitute” and “brothel”. The above terminology demonstrates that NSW regulation differentiates between venue types and sexual services, specifically, between private and commercial sex work as well as direct and indirect sexual services.

The growth of home-based work today

The home-based business sector is increasing in Sydney. As such, this research scope reviewed the permissibility of all home-based activities, meaning those outside of private sex work. It found there are multiple definitions in which such land uses in the neighbourhood are defined: “home occupations”, “home businesses”, “home industries” and “home-based childcare” (detailed in Table 5.5).

In 2009, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) reported that nearly 25 per cent of the nation’s employed population worked from their homes at some point during the week (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009). That same year, the NSW Government allowed the home enterprises listed in Table 5.5 to operate as “exempt development”⁴¹ under the State Environmental Planning Policy (Exempt and Complying Codes) 2008 (Code SEPP).

⁴¹ “Exempt development” means not requiring any form of consent from any level of governance

Table 5.5: Summary of home-based enterprises within New South Wales (source: CODE SEPP; adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

Definition	Description of the activity
Home occupation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work undertaken by residents only. • Does not include the retail sale or exhibition of items, other than goods produced at the dwelling. • Must maintain community amenity. • Restricted signage.
Home business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work undertaken by residents and the employment of two non-residents. • Does not include the retail sale or exhibition of items other than goods produced at the dwelling. • Must maintain community amenity. • Restricted signage.
Home industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work undertaken by residents and the employment of two non-residents. • Does not include the retail sale or exhibition of items other than goods produced at the dwelling. • Must maintain community amenity. • Does not include food preparation. • Restricted signage.
Home-based child care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of a dwelling by a resident caring for no more than seven children under the age of twelve. • Must be licensed.

All activities in Table 5.5 could now operate in the neighbourhood without council approval, regardless of the provisions of the relevant councils' LEPs. These home-based land uses allowed residents to operate a small childcare centre, employ up to two non-residents and manufacture small goods such as textiles from their home. Although business activities, they are considered to have minimal impact to neighbourhood amenity and, thus, are suitable in residential zones and a habitual dwelling.

In comparison, private sex work remains defined separately to these home-based activities, regardless of the similar operational characteristics. Presently, the HOSS remains excluded from the Code SEPP, and, thus, private sex workers cannot operate with the same autonomy or capacity as other home-based activities.

The HOSS today: a prohibited, permitted, or exempt land use today

This section summarises the findings of the present permissibility of the HOSS in the current LEPs of Sydney's forty-one metropolitan councils; the associated methodology is summarised in Chapter 3. The findings revealed three key policy responses pertaining to the permissibility of the HOSS:

1. Policy response one: HOSS is prohibited.
2. Policy response two: HOSS is permitted with consent.
3. Policy response three: HOSS is permitted without consent.

The results are presented in Table 5.6, which lists the relevant councils below each policy response, and in Figure 5.3, which visually conveys the associated percentages. They reveal that 81 per cent of Sydney’s metropolitan councils presently are in policy-response category one, prohibiting the HOSS within the entire LGA. The only protection for private workers is extended to the individual worker under the Brothels Amendment Act (discussed in milestone seven). The data reveals that a further 17 per cent of councils are in policy response two, permitted with consent, and 2 per cent of councils are in policy response three, allowing the HOSS without consent. This analysis was undertaken prior to NSW council amalgamations in 2016, and, as such, the review was conducted based on council name and associated LEP.

Figure 5.3: Permissibility of the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney councils (Papadopoulos 2016).

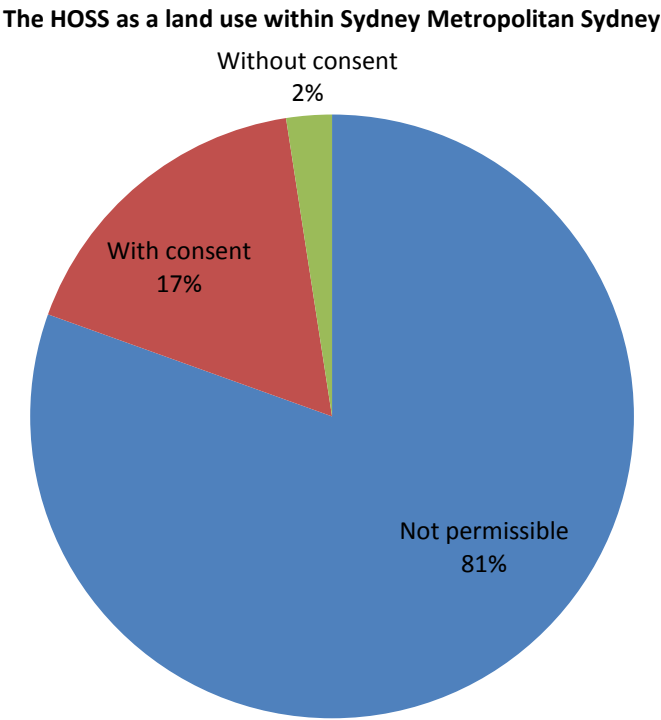


Table 5.6: Review of Sydney metropolitan councils and permissibility of the HOSS (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

Policy response one: HOSS prohibited	Policy response two: HOSS permitted with consent	Policy response three: HOSS permitted without consent
Ashfield Council	Camden Council	City of Sydney Council
Auburn City Council	Ku-ring-gai Council	
Bankstown City Council	Leichhardt Municipal Council	
Blacktown City Council	Randwick City Council	
Blue Mountains City Council	Marrickville Council (under existing use rights)	
Botany Bay City Council	Woollahra Municipal Council	
Burwood Council	Wollondilly Shire Council	
Campbelltown City Council		
City of Canada Bay Council		
Canterbury City Council		
Fairfield City Council		
Hawkesbury City Council		
Holroyd City Council		
Hornsby Shire Council		
Hunters Hill Council		
Hurstville City Council		
Kogarah City Council		
Lane Cove Council		
Liverpool City Council		
Manly Council		
Mosman Council		
North Sydney Council		
Parramatta City Council		
Penrith City Council		
Pittwater Council		
Rockdale City Council		
Ryde City Council		
Strathfield Council		
Sutherland Shire Council		
The Hills Shire Council (Baulkham Hills)		
Warringah Council		
Waverley Council		
Willoughby Council		
Total number: 33	Total number: 7	Total number: 1
Total per cent: 81%	Total per cent: 17%	Total per cent: 2%
		Total number of Councils: 41

Geographically, the councils prohibiting the HOSS account for a significant land mass of metropolitan Sydney, as shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4. A large number of these councils are located in the suburban areas of the Sydney region. For the 17 per cent of councils permitting the HOSS with consent, preference is often given to a range of zones, as shown in Table 5.7 with specific zoning characteristics detailed in Appendix H. The table reveals Woollahra and Wollondilly permit the HOSS with consent within R2 Low Density and R3 Medium Density zones, permitting private sex work in local neighbourhoods with detached housing, town houses and apartments. Wollondilly also permits the HOSS in the RU5 Village, a residential zone with larger allotments given the locality's semi-rural landscape located on the metropolitan fringe. Marrickville permits the HOSS in residential areas only on the exception of existing-use rights. New activities of the HOSS are not permitted anywhere in the Marrickville jurisdiction. Such ad hoc laws are a result of the continual regulatory shifts around sex work, a result of the changing political climate and the councils' abilities to alter policy.

Leichhardt, Ku-ring-gai, Woollahra and Wollondilly all permit the HOSS with consent in the B2 Local Centre zone, a mixed-use area with premises which include shop-top housing, commercial buildings and medium-density residential. Such premises provide the opportunity for off-street parking and separate rear access, a design concept utilised by many home occupations or local business. Additionally, this zone allocation indicates that these councils have some operational understanding of private sex work, although consent remains required. Table 5.7 indicates that the HOSS is often permitted in the same zones as SSP, where Leichhardt allocated the HOSS and SSP to the B2 Local Centre zone. Furthermore, Camden and Randwick permit the HOSS only in the IN1 General Industrial or IN2 Light Industrial zones. To note, Randwick prohibits the HOSS in B2 Local Centre zone, yet an SSP is permitted in this same zone with consent.

Figure 5.4: Map of the permissibility of the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney’s councils (source: Google Earth 2016, adopted by Papadopoulos 2016).

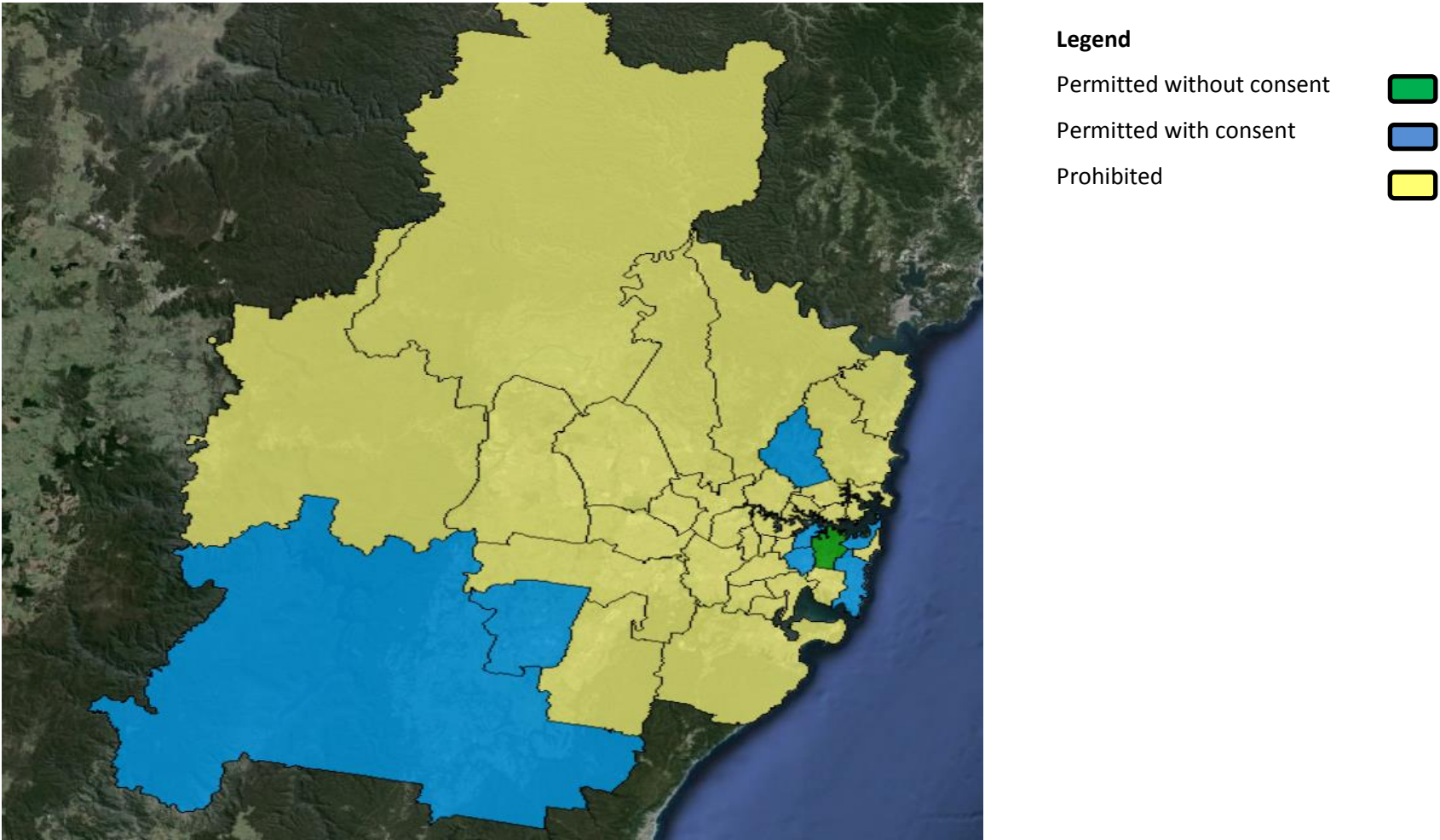


Table 5.7: Sydney metropolitan councils where the HOSS is permitted (refer to Appendix H for zone characteristics) (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

Council	Zones where the HOSS is permitted	Type of consent for HOSS activity	Zones where SSPs are permitted
Camden Council	IN1 General Industrial IN2 Light Industrial	Council approval required	Prohibited in all zones, however, allowed in two industrial locations
City of Sydney Council	All (as long as within a habitual dwelling)	No approval required (exempt development) like all other home occupations	B2; B4; B5; B6; B7; B8
Ku-ring-gai Council	B2 Local Business	Council approval required	IN1; IN2
Leichhardt Municipal Council	B2 Local Business	Council approval required	B2; IN2
Randwick City Council	IN2 Light Industrial	Council approval required	B2; IN2
Marrickville Council (under existing use rights)	HOSS is only permitted under existing-use rights. No new premises are permitted.	Council approval required	B6; IN1; IN2
Woollahra Municipal Council	R2 Low Density Residential; R3 Medium Density Residential; B1 Neighbourhood Centre B2 Local Centre; B3 Commercial Core; B4 Mixed Use	Council approval required	B1; B2; B4
Wollondilly Shire Council	R2 Low Density Residential; R3 Medium Density Residential; R5 Large Lot Residential; B2 Local Centre; B3 Commercial Centre; RU1 Primary Production; RU2 Rural Landscape; RU4 Primary Production; B1 Neighbourhood Centre; B2 Local Centre; B4 Mixed Use; IN2 Light Industrial; IN3 Heavy Industrial; E3 Environment Management; E4 Environmental Living	Council approval required	IN2

The requirements of consent are stipulated for all developments under the *Local Government Act 1993* and the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* where all development applications require public notification. Details such as location, subsequent use, and the applicant's personal information are provided to the community through letters, online information and public notices. As a consequence, private sex workers seeking approval of the HOSS are required to reveal their personal address and identity. This leaves them far more vulnerable and disadvantaged in the development-assessment process than their commercial counterparts. Such actions can be viewed as discriminatory, as others conducting a business from home, such as hairdressers, are not required to seek consent or to divulge their personal details. As Samios (2015, int.) highlights, "These are just people trying to make a living".

These zoning and development restrictions in the LEPs of many metropolitan Sydney councils are often based on community perceptions or external difficulties such as morality, drugs and crime, as described in milestone five and discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Describing the community influence and the desire to separate sex work from the neighbourhood, Maher, a planning officer in the inner west of metropolitan Sydney, states, "One of the main concerns from the community would be increasing crime, drugs, and alcohol, the devaluation in housing prices. And there's nothing there to back that up (2015, int.). In contrast, Wang (2015, int.) a former council planner in Sydney's East, highlights that familiarity and education can influence the community's perception. Wang (2015, int.) links Sydney's geography with the social acceptability of difference, particularly the identity of sex work, "I think sex work is contentious in that people who live towards the city are more accepting of different land-uses. People have just come to see it [the sex industry] as part of the landscape" (2015, int.).

Wang highlights that inner-city residents, in areas such as Surry Hills, Darlinghurst and Kings Cross, have a long-standing familiarity with sex work and have a more accepting attitude in comparison to suburban councils. These urbanised areas are more accepting of different identities existing in the neighbourhood, as the data revealed City of Sydney Council (CoSC) and the former SSC to be the only jurisdictions to permit private sex work at home (detailed in milestones two and eight).

In summary, this LEP review reveals a majority of surveyed councils contradict the recommendations of the Brothels Task Force (milestone three) and the SSPPAP (milestone four). This review found that current planning policies remain limited, as private workers risk identifying themselves and their home to the wider public in order to operate legitimately. As

a result, workers face a segmented regulatory framework, one that is difficult to navigate even when a decriminalised land use. Thus, as an activity, the HOSS experiences the locational politics of difference, restricted in its ability to exist legitimately in the neighbourhood.

5.9 Milestone seven: *Brothels Amendment Act 2007*

Building on the analysis of milestone six, this section reveals the impact of the Brothels Amendment Act on private sex-work policy. The Brothels Amendment Act was a legislative amendment implemented in 2007 to amend the definition of an SSP and the associated closure powers of councils stipulated under the Environment Planning and Assessment Act. As a result, today there are two legislative meanings for “brothel”: one is in the Restricted Premises Act, and the other resides in both the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act and the Brothels Amendment Act, as detailed in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: The legal definition of a “brothel” under NSW Legislation (adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).

Legislation	Term	Definition
Restricted Premises Act (formerly the Disorderly Houses Act)	Brothel	Means premises: (a) habitually used for the purposes of prostitution, or (b) that have been used for the purposes of prostitution and are likely to be used again for that purpose, or (c) that have been expressly or implicitly: (i) advertised (whether by advertisements in or on the premises, newspapers, directories or the internet or by other means), or (ii) represented, as being used for the purposes of prostitution, and that are likely to be used for the purposes of prostitution. Premises may constitute a brothel even though used by only one prostitute for the purposes of prostitution.
Environmental Planning and Assessment Act	Brothel meaning SSP in LEPs	Means a brothel within the meaning of the Restricted Premises Act, other than premises used or likely to be used for the purposes of prostitution by no more than one prostitute.
Brothels Amendment Act	Brothel	Means the same as the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act

Drawing on Table 5.8, the definitional inconsistencies of a brothel (now termed an SSP) are based on the number of sex workers operating in a venue. Ambiguity appears in the Restricted Premises Act, the current core legislation decriminalising sex work and associated venues. Under the Restricted Premises Act a “premises may constitute a brothel even though used by only one prostitute for the purposes of prostitution”. This generalised classification encompasses all types of operators, including the private sex workers operating from home. However, under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act through the amendments of the Brothels Amendment Act, the private individual worker is excluded from the SSP

definition by an additional statement: “other than premises used or likely to be used for the purposes of prostitution by no more than one prostitute”. Consequently, private sex work was identified as a separate activity to an SSP and omitted from the associated closure powers of councils. Yet, today, many councils continue to subject private sex work to the same controls as SSPs.

The legacy of the Brothels Amendment Act 2007

The Brothels Amendment Act reopened discussions and debates raised by the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP around the ambiguity of private sex work in law. Arguments advocating for sex worker rights centred on private sex work in the home being a low-impact activity, operating discreetly with minimal amenity impacts. In the NSW parliamentary debates of the subject bill, Sylvia Hale, a state member of the NSW Greens Party, reasoned:

Local councils do not receive complaints about private sex workers’ amenity impacts. These businesses, by their very nature, are discreet and cannot afford to be known widely as a brothel if they wish to keep their clients. It is the very discretion of their operation that attracts many of their clients. For this reason, they operate with low or no amenity impacts, and, in general, their neighbours do not know the nature of their business. Or, if they do, they generally have no objections. A number of councils have targeted home occupation (sex services) for routine compliance actions, actions that are not based on complaints about impacts on amenity (NSW Parliamentary Debates 2007, p. 2089).

Hale’s message to the NSW parliament is that, regardless of historical acknowledgement of private sex work, it remains classified as an SSP. This limits the rights of the individuals, forcing them to operate underground or to continually relocate, even though it is a decriminalised activity. Like the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP, Hale argued that the private workers’ venues are not commercial spaces, rather, homes in which autonomy and security is of utmost importance. She stressed the importance of the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP, whose reports had not been promoted or distributed in the public realm, indicating a hostile political climate.

The private workers’ protection extends to the councils’ closure powers in relation to unauthorised SSPs. Where there is ambiguity and misunderstanding between the SSP and the HOSS, there is a risk that private sex workers could face eviction. A review of parliamentary records revealed that Reverend Fred Nile supported amendments to the meaning of a

brothel: “To prevent the making of malicious vindictive complaints by one person against a single women or sole female parent who is living in a unit and has been accused of being a prostitute” (NSW Parliamentary Debates 2007, p. 2099).

Crofts (2007) deconstructs Nile’s comments, identifying them to promote the rights of the individual, to an extent. Nile is only concerned with the tenure rights of “lone” females, yet he still declares sex work a social deviance (Crofts 2010, 2007). In support of Croft’s comments, this analysis found that Nile’s amendments showcased elements of morality rather than equality regarding this legal land use. The interviews with members of the former SSC, the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP revealed that morality is irrelevant in a planning context, as Cirrillo articulates: “Some would have you believe that it is very complex and a very morally vexatious thing for people to have to deliberate over. I think there’s no place in this for a moral judgement by planners” (2015, int.).

Furthermore, Nile’s comments reveal the subject’s misunderstandings and generalisations in society, politics and law towards sex work in metropolitan Sydney. Nile assumes sex workers to be vulnerable females (possibly single parents), excluding consideration of other sex workers, including MWSS. The parliamentary debates also failed to recognise the possibility of up to two resident workers, as permitted in the general home-occupation classification. The push for reform did not originate from the recommendations of the Brothels Task Force or the SSPPAP, health agencies, or outreach programs. Rather, it was driven by the politics of difference, the objective to close down sex-work venues and to rescue the vulnerable worker. These amendments were aligned in favour of councils, and their ability to close down unauthorised venues of sex work, rather than the rights of the operators, particularly private sex workers.

5.10 Milestone eight: The HOSS—like any other home occupation in the City of Sydney Council (CoSC) today

The CoSC has had a long history with the sex industry, as the amalgamation with the former SSC in 2004 resulted in the council inheriting the sex “hot spots” and planning policies. In 2006, it adopted the Adult Entertainment and Sex Industry Premise Development Control Plan 2006. Today, it is often referred to as a base of best practice, nationally and internationally.

Sex work in the CoSC is just one of many land uses in the diverse locality, neither overly contentious nor resisted. Hence, the HOSS exists with limited social and political resistance, as Thomas, a CoSC planning manager, states:

It is a classic juxtaposition. I think if people are made aware of sex work, it becomes an issue. Working with sex-industry professionals, there were various estimates about how many home-occupation-based sex workers were active in the community. The fact that we have little to no genuine complaints about the operation of the HOSS shows it's a very low strike rate (2015, int.).

Often social resistance to private sex work is presumptive, arising when residents are made aware of the activity. When private sex workers have the capability to operate, they do so with little to no interference or awareness from the daily life of the community. In support, Scott, a CoSC councillor, describes the HOSS as a non-political land use:

The HOSS has absolutely not come up as an issue [within council], which I think is a testament to how well it's been handled in this area. I don't think in the time that I've been on council—two and a half years—I've had a single person complain about sex workers. I get twenty to thirty general complaints every single day about various council matters, and I've not had a single one about sex workers (2015, int.).

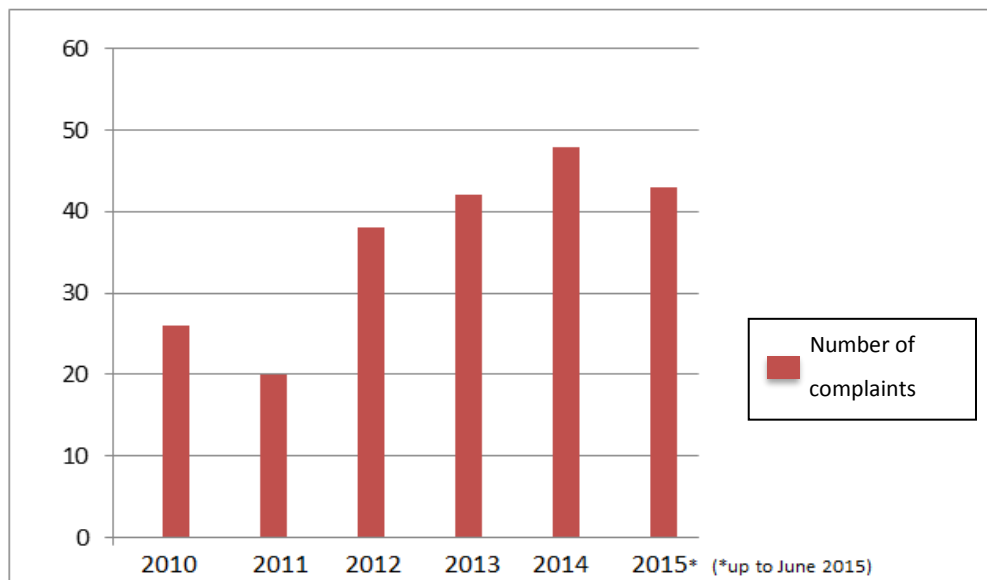
Reflecting on complaints of sex work, it was found that it was more likely that a complaint would arise from existing SSP operators attempting to close down their competition, as Thomas continued: "Now, where we might get a complaint is where a new operator comes in. It's an existing consent, so this is different to home occupation, and, instead of having five working girls, all of a sudden there's ten" (2015, int.).

However, there are complaints by residents in the CoSC of private sex workers in the residential setting. The recent media headline "Central Park residents furious at living with sex workers and shoddy workmanship" (Rolfe 2015) describes angry residents of the newly built Central Park development near Chippendale, Sydney, complaining of numerous problems, from construction issues to private sex workers. This conveys the sharp distinction between the operational activities of a HOSS and SSPs, as complaints towards private sex workers of a HOSS are rare and usually unwarranted.

Complaints of unauthorised uses: sex services premises in City of Sydney Council

To further distinguish the types of complaints of sex work in the CoSC, this section details the complaints relating to unauthorised SSPs in the last five years (shown in Figure 5.5). The empirical data was obtained from the CoSC in 2015 following subsequent interviews detailed in Chapter 4. These complaints are not specific to the HOSS; rather, they relate to unauthorised sites of sex work. The intent of this section is to contextualise the types of complaints of sex work received and clarify that private sex work (the HOSS) is not a contentious activity in the neighbourhood. Of the total complaints received between the years 2010 to 2015, only thirty-eight applied to commercial sex-work operators in a residential dwelling, meaning three or more sex workers conducting their activities without consent. To clarify there were no complaints received about private sex workers.

Figure 5.5: Sex services premises, unauthorised uses, years 2010–2015 (source: City of Sydney Council 2015; adapted by Papadopoulos 2016).



The CoSC is an example of how the HOSS can operate discreetly like other home-based operations within the community. It is a benchmark that continues the practical examples established by SSC, the Brothels Task Force and the SAPP. Further education to other councils is required to ensure that the HOSS is no longer a discriminated land use.

5.11 Milestone nine: Better Regulation Office 2012

A preliminary inquiry into the regulation of the sex industry held in 2012 by the NSW Government, invited stakeholders to comment on industry issues. In September 2012, the NSW Government published in the issues paper *The Regulation of Brothels*, stating:

The review uses the term “sex services premises”, rather than brothels, in order to capture all venues that habitually provide sex services—ranging from private dwellings where sex work is carried out by individual sex workers to large premises operating as commercial businesses (NSW Government Better Regulation Office 2012, p. 4).

This analysis identified that the government again applied the term “sex services premises” as a generic definition in the report, meaning that the terminology was not consistent with the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act or the Standard Instrument as the term HOSS was not utilised. This was a limitation, as HOSS-specific issues, such as tenure and privacy, were overlooked. Nor did the report take into account the history of sex-work reform, particularly the recommendations of the Brothels Task Force (milestone three) or the SSPPAP (milestone four). However, the government report did acknowledge the existence of MWSS, stating, “There are around 10,000 sex workers in NSW, with 60 per cent working in commercial sex services premises and the remainder (including most male sex workers) working privately or on the streets” (NSW Government Better Regulation Office 2012, p. 11).

This was the first government report in over a decade which provided updated details of sex-industry activities in New South Wales, and it was the first to specifically detail the activities of MWSS from a governance perspective. Yet, it still incorporated terminology that was outdated and made no reference to historical government inquiries. This milestone facilitated the next stage for a formal inquiry, commencing in June 2015, known as the Brothels Inquiry.

5.12 Milestone ten: NSW Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels, Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels (Brothels Inquiry)

The Brothels Inquiry commenced in June 2015 with the intent to gain stakeholder input to reform the regulation of sex work in New South Wales. The inquiry generated feedback from government agencies, health officials, sex worker organisations, religious affiliates and members of the public. The inquiry acknowledged the ambiguity of current policy, particularly the confusion in the multiple meanings of the SSP as detailed in milestone seven.

Although these arguments were similar to its government inquiry predecessors—the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP—no particular attention was paid to these panels and their work.

The Brothels Inquiry focused on the wider sex industry, particularly on premises operating without consent. Evidence and the submissions had minimal consideration of private sex work; instead, the HOSS as a land use was a minor concern, as detailed below in a transcript extract (Item 3.32) from the proceedings.

3.32: On Home occupation (sex services), Local Government NSW confirmed that councils have not raised concerns about their operation:

Chair: ... There does not seem to have been, to my knowledge, any instance of local councils seeking to enforce breaches of the planning law around home-based sex work ... Is that a fair summary of the position, or have I missed something?

Ms Dennis: That is actually probably a good observation ...

Mr Baum: I just add that in terms of feedback from our members, they seldom raise this as an issue the way they raise other things.

Chair: ... Would it be fair to say that your members would not be encouraging any particular change to the law in respect of that particular issue from the current position because it seems to be operating in a manner where people are not complaining one way or another?

Mr Baum: ... It is probably a fair observation (NSW Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels 2015., p. 30).

Although these proceedings considered private sex work as a minor issue, the inquiry revealed there was clear confusion of policy and the HOSS in governance. For example, I observed a representative from a local authority that prohibited the HOSS, who, when queried on the matter, stated that the HOSS was like any other home occupation in the LGA. This clearly demonstrates a misunderstanding by authorities of land-use planning and policy as well as ambiguities experienced by private workers. Consequently, there was no consideration of tenure and privacy issues that private sex workers face daily to operate legitimately.

Final Report: Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels

The *Final Report: Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels* was published in November 2015 with a series of measures of reform. One of these, Recommendation 10, relates specifically to the HOSS and its distinction from the SSP:

Recommendation 10: For the purposes of any future law, there should be a uniform definition of “brothel” across all legislation. The definition of “brothel” should be any premises where people are engaging in sex work except home occupation (sex services) as currently defined under the Standard Instrument Principal Local Environment Plan (NSW Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels 2015, p. 106).

In this case, the State Government has a clear awareness of the distinction between private sex work (the HOSS) and commercial sex work (an SSP). However, the recommendation fails to acknowledge the current discrepancies within the current LEPs described in milestone six which reveal that the HOSS is not permissible in majority of metropolitan Sydney councils. Rather, the recommendation conveys as a “business as usual” attitude towards private sex work, with minimal consideration as to how the current system impacts on the rights, privacy tenure and activities of HOSS operators. Thus, the inquiry failed to recognise that there is a need to educate local councils on sex-work policy.

5.13 Milestone eleven: NSW Government response to the NSW Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels, Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels (Brothels Inquiry)

In May 2016, it was announced that the subject reforms identified during the Brothels Inquiry were rejected by the State Government, formally issued in the report *New South Wales Government Response to the Legislative Assembly Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels* (NSW Government 2016). None of the matters discussed during the Brothels Inquiry were perused or enforced. Rather, the response was similar to the government’s reactions to the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP, which are viewed as tokenistic rather than proactive. As a consequence, the HOSS remains a land use that resides with ambiguously within multiple layers of contradictory policy. Private workers and planners are, therefore, subject to navigating their way through these controls to ensure legitimacy and equity.

5.14 Discussion

Investigations of law and sex work have been vague and generic in understanding the variety of businesses and their land-use allocations (Crofts & Prior 2012; Hubbard & Prior 2013; Prior & Crofts 2015; Prior & Gorman-Murray 2015). Historically, the concept of private sex work in the home has had little recognition—rather, it is encompassed within the broader category of the sex-industry premises. The literature and regulatory review in Chapter 3 notes sex work as a legitimate activity in Sydney, yet its existence in the home remains taboo as it threatens “domestic respectability” (Prior & Gorman-Murray 2015).

Although a defined land use in Sydney, the HOSS often remains in the broader category of the SSP, where such generalisations show little distinction between the various types of sex-work venues. This chapter reveals the extent of the ambiguity: the definitions, terminology, inappropriate land-use allocations, education and politics. These layers detail the limitation of governance and law in understanding private sex work as an identity of difference. Drawing on this chapter, the findings expose a lack of clarity and effectiveness of private sex-work policy. Milestones one through eleven detail a history of confusion between policy, private sex work in the home, and MWSS, as detailed by interviews and policy analysis.

Milestone one identifies through the 1986 NSW Parliamentary Inquiry that private sex workers, including MWSS, were known to sell sex from home in metropolitan Sydney. Yet even after decriminalisation, private sex work in the home remained a resisted land use by authorities and remained forgotten or categorised with other commercial sex-industry venues and, thus, subjected to the same controls as an SSP. Similarly early studies focusing on sex work rarely focused on private sex work, rather it was an ad hoc topic associated with street based sex work or indoor sex work. Interest in the subject of private sex work has only gained momentum in last decade as revealed by the studies of Donovan et al. (2012), Kingston and Sanders (2010), Maginn and Steinmetz (2015a) Perkins and Lovejoy (2007), Rowe (2011) and Weitzer (2012). All of these researchers have dedicated research to private sex work in terms of associated geographies, health, sociology and law. This indicates that historically at an international, national and Sydney based level there was minimal focus on activities on private sex work.”

In milestone two, the former SSC was one exception as it was the first council in Sydney to recognise private sex work as any other home occupation. The sexual geography in the SSC was long standing, where sex worker haunts were well known by authorities and the

community (Prestage 1994). The council understood private sex work and MWSS as an identity of difference that was accepted and permitted in the urban setting. Drawing on the concept of “domestic respectability”, Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard (2012), Prior and Crofts (2015) and Prior and Gorman-Murray (2015), argue that the moral geographies of cities, particularly the residential zone can often exclude identities outside of the heterosexual sphere. In line with these researchers’ arguments to broaden the characteristics of domestic life, the SSC is revealed to be one of the earliest examples to demonstrate the suitability of sex work in the neighbourhood, becoming the first local authority in Sydney and NSW to permit private sex work in the home.

The early attempts to allow private sex work, like other home occupations, were an effort to promote diversity and equality of land-use activities through governance. Yet, for years, the SSC remained the only council to clearly state the policy and permissibility of the suitability of private sex work within a residential setting, near families, children, schools and playgrounds. This draws on earlier discussions of patterns of difference where neighbourhood perceptions and family values are often described in conjunction with homogeneity. Yet the findings of this milestone relate to the “locational politics of difference”, as described by Fincher and Jacobs (1998) as there was still a strong community opposition to private sex work.

The Brothels Task Force, milestone three, and the SSPPAP, milestone four, demonstrated the State Government’s misunderstandings of sex work and the actions of response. The SSPPAP created guidelines—the SSPPG—which included the state’s first attempt to formally recognise private sex work, allowing up to two resident workers to operate from home without council approval. The SSPPAP and the SSPPG identified other smaller-scale venues of sex work, demonstrating that sex-work sites were diverse. The in-depth interviews with the panel members of the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP revealed the intent to create a relevant and responsive policy for sex workers. In spite of this, these guidelines were never implemented nor endorsed by the State Government due to political sensitivities. These sensitivities are driven by moral objections, perceptions that sex work is a deviant activity in the neighbourhood. Again, this can relate to the localised resistance towards sex work, where community perceptions and fears can create conflict often based on perception. This is similar to the spectrum of cohesion to conflict, discussed in Chapter 2, where Boyd et al. (2013) and Sandercock (2000) highlight that cities are about the shared use of space – meaning that there is sometimes a juxtaposition of space where planners must facilitate and manage cohesion starting with the next door neighbour and escalating all the way through to the wider urban setting.

The moral perceptions described above are displayed in milestone five in which the NSW LEC seeks to abolish sex work from “sensitive” areas. The Planning Principle advocates that sex work should be kept away from the home, children and the neighbourhood to protect society. For many, sex work is not seen as an identity of difference but, rather, a detrimental aspect of urban life (Crofts et al. 2013; Hubbard & Colosi 2013). On the other hand, the internet has allowed many sex workers to operate privately and covertly within the neighbourhood, changing perceptions about the industry’s location and impact. As the imagery of sex work creates anxiety for some in urban life, Crofts and Brents (2015) suggest that the sex industry’s minimal visual presence can limit localised opposition. Yet policy seeks to control and contain sex work with limited consideration for the industry’s workers and clients (Anderson et al. 2015; Harcourt et al. 2005; Harcourt et al. 2010; Sanders 2009). Additionally, the Planning Principle fails to differentiate between private and commercial sex work; thus, confusion reigns (Crofts 2007), creating another legal layer and further limiting the private sex worker’s rights.

Milestone six reveals a strong localised resistance to private sex work in local governance, particularly when other home-based sectors are permissible without any council consent. The data revealed that, at present, over 80 per cent of the forty-one metropolitan Sydney councils did not permit the HOSS as a land use. A further 17 per cent permitted the HOSS subject to consent and often not in residential zones, resulting in only one council, the CoSC, permitting the HOSS like any other home occupation to operate without consent. This evidence supports the earlier concepts raised by Prior and Crofts (2015), Crofts and Prior (2012), and Hubbard and Prior (2013) that there is a misunderstanding of private sex work within the domestic space. Prior and Crofts (2015) argue that current social and legal perceptions of sex-work venues are held as SSPs. Regulatory frameworks are perceived to protect the domestic space from sex work (Hubbard & Prior 2013; Prior & Crofts 2015). Such generalisations stem from undesirable externalities associated with this work, such as antisocial behaviour, violence and drugs (Crofts 2007, 2010; Prior & Crofts 2012; Prior, Crofts et al. 2013; Prior, Hubbard et al. 2013).

Milestone seven maintained that the HOSS was defined as two sex workers working from their home, whilst there were two definitions of an SSP. The first SSP definition, under the Restricted Premises Act, is any dwelling used for the purpose of selling sex, whether for one worker or ten. The second SSP definition, under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, is a premises used for the intention of sex work, however, it does not include the individual working from home. These current definitions result in confusion and ambiguity for

private sex workers. The intention of the Brothels Amendment Act was to exclude the individual worker from the SSP in the context of unauthorised premises and the closure powers of councils. The aim was to protect the individual's rights and tenure (Crofts 2007). However, in terms of understanding private sex work, this act failed, as its motivations were behind protecting the "female sex worker" as similarly described by Crofts (2007). Thus, there are ambiguities, as the amendments failed to truly understand the nature of private sex work.

Milestone eight is a present-day example of how the HOSS can operate like any other home-based occupation. Yet milestones nine, ten, and eleven convey the present-day context—one that is vague and political. The current governance investigations at a state level fail to undertake the same approach as CoSC, regardless of the evidence base. Milestones nine to eleven encourage the lack of education and awareness of private sex work. Rather than identifying the actual problems that private sex workers face, the response is always vague and broad "business as usual", thus, failing to identify the real confusion in policy. As a result, the concept of private sex work in current land-use planning approaches is limited. Councils often utilise policy to restrict sex work in the domestic space. There is little realisation of the number of sex workers operating from home and utilising technologies, similarly with other home-based industries. Hubbard and Lister (2015) stress these spatial controls are often in response to heteronormative preservation. These findings relate to Kofman (1998) and Murray (2016) who stress the impact of local isolation in the global city. Specifically the emergence of underprivileged identities in the neighbourhood ripples into a distinct and wider separation at a social and geographical scale in the urban environment. As such, private sex work and MWSS, as identities of difference, are marginalised.

The HOSS is a land-use activity that remains misunderstood by many of Sydney's councils. Firstly, there is limited differentiation between private sex work and commercial sex work. Also, the HOSS is not classified the same as other home-based occupations. Finally, the HOSS is not permitted in the majority of Sydney's councils—there is a clear resistance to sex work in the neighbourhood and the residential zone. Private sex workers are forced to navigate through a complex planning system, which does impact on their existence, even as a decriminalised activity. This phase of my research establishes a significant uncertainty in terms of the clarity of private sex-work policy. The councils' effectiveness of facilitating the objectives of decriminalisation is inadequate. In some sense, the impact can be described as unjust because private sex work is discriminated against in comparison to other home-based occupations. As an identity of difference, MWSS privately from home require autonomy, privacy and shelter as urban citizens.

5.15 Summary

Chapter 5, is presented as the first phase of the research results, combining both qualitative and quantitative data. Essentially, the data reveals the ambiguity around the regulation of private sex work in metropolitan Sydney. Through identifying eleven milestones of policy, this chapter chronologically informs how the HOSS has and continues to be misunderstood in governance and policy. Each milestone details the layers of ambiguity and how this is problematic for MWSS privately. The intent is to show how attempts to reform sex-work policy after it was decriminalised have been thwarted with political resistance driven by objections of morality.

The purpose of the discussion was to consider the milestones collectively, examining current studies with these policy findings. The HOSS is attaining researcher attention in recent years, where the consensus, including this data review, is that it remains a forgotten or generalised land use. As such, there is a clear confusion about the activities of private sex work in the home as the associated policies are vague. Thus, the permissibility of private sex work in metropolitan Sydney is ambiguous, unclear for planners, sex worker advocates, and sex workers themselves.

Chapter 6: Phase two results—geographies

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents phase two of the research findings, insights into the geographies of MWSS privately operating in metropolitan Sydney. The chapter begins with a quantitative analysis of data collated through a review of print and online media, specifically, the advertisements of men offering sexual services in metropolitan Sydney. Then, the chapter provides qualitative insight through in-depth interviews with private sex workers and industry representatives. Finally, the chapter discusses these findings to contextualise sites of sex work of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney with existing studies. This empirical research broadens the geographical scope, investigating the entire metropolitan Sydney at the local government level.

6.2 The distribution of MWSS: a quantitative view

Traditional mapping of sites of MWSS as identified by Bell and Valentine (1995) have included the vice district, fringe areas, and LGBTIQ spaces, with the neighbourhood and home emerging as new areas of interest. Previously, Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 detailed historical sites of MWSS in Sydney: Darlinghurst, Kings Cross and East Sydney (Leary & Minichiello 2007; Prestage 1994). This section seeks to identify the current locations for where men may sell sex in metropolitan Sydney.

Newspaper analysis: locations of MWSS privately

A twelve-week survey of newspaper advertisements circulating in the forty-one Sydney metropolitan councils from MWSS was collated. Twenty-five newspapers were surveyed between January 2015 and March 2015 (refer to Appendixes C and D for newspaper and distribution details). This extensive time period was undertaken to ensure a basis of certainty to the geographical patterns of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. As explained in Chapter 4, the findings identified two market types (or data sets) for this spatial analysis, the reasoning was to examine the diversity of sites of sex work outside of the female sex worker. Location review one is a broad review of all non-female private sex workers (meaning men, transgender and transsexual) selling direct and indirect services. Location review two points its attention to men who sell direct sexual services privately.

Location review one: the non-female sex worker market in metropolitan Sydney

This section focuses on the first market type described above, the non-female sex worker selling indirect and direct services. For the purpose of this research, the non-female sex worker is described as male, transgender, or transsexual. Of this non-female market, the survey collected 1010 personal advertisements offering both indirect and direct sexual services. The newspapers are listed in Table 6.1 alphabetically, including the average and total number of advertisements collected weekly over the twelve-week period. The *Penrith Gazette*, *The Star Observer* and *Q Magazine* did not offer any form of adult advertising during the collection period. When contacted to ask why, these publications provided no comment or advised in general they did not include a “Classifieds” section in any of their material.

The dataset reveals a trend for private non-female workers to advertise in publications circulating in the Sydney Central Business District (CBD) and surrounding localities to the east and inner west of metropolitan Sydney. The top five publications⁴² are highlighted in grey in Table 6.1, and Table 6.2 details their associated councils and suburbs. Figure 6.2 visually details the geographies.

Drawing on Tables 6.1 and 6.2 and Figure 6.2, *SX Magazine*, an LGBTIQ community publication distributed throughout the CBD, Paddington, Bondi, Darlinghurst, Newtown, Dulwich Hill, Marrickville and Woollahra, was the most prevalent, averaging sixteen personal advertisements per week. The *Inner West Courier* (both the Inner City Edition and Inner-West Edition publications) followed as the second most popular, with an average of eight personal advertisements per week circulating through the inner-city Sydney suburbs of Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Glebe, Kings Cross, Newtown, Potts Point, Surry Hills and Redfern, including the inner-west suburbs of Ashfield, Burwood, Concord, Dulwich Hill, Leichhardt, Marrickville and Strathfield. The third, the *Sydney Central Magazine*, with an average of six advertisements per week, circulates in the City of Sydney Council area to incorporate the suburbs of Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Glebe, Kings Cross, Newtown, Potts Point, Surry Hills and Redfern. The *Parramatta Advertiser* and *St George and Sutherland Leader* each averaged five notices published per week, conveying a market in the outer suburbs of Parramatta (western Sydney), Kogarah, Rockdale, Hurstville and the Sutherland Shire (southern Sydney).

⁴² Some publications tied in positions.

Some workers placed their notices in multiple newspapers in any given week. The advertisement “Tran Angel,” shown in Figure 6.1, was found in *Central Sydney Magazine*, *Inner West Courier* and *Parramatta Advertiser* in the same week. Some notices detailed specific locations (e.g. Parramatta) or the ability to travel to the client’s home with terms such as “Outcalls only” or “In/Out”.

Figure 6.1: Text sample of advertisements of the non-female sex worker market.

Words are colour coded to the follow themes:

Services

Location

THAI BOY in **Sydney** for a limited time. Professional massage qualifications. **Relaxing sensual massage and more**, please call (*SX Magazine* 23 February 2015., p. 78).

TRAN ANGEL. BACK in **Parramatta**. Treat yourself this Mardi Gras. All I need is you. **Active & Vers [Versatile]**. Final Day 01/03/15. **All men welcome** (*Central Sydney Magazine* 25 February 2015, p. 40; *Inner West Courier* 24 February 2015, p. 40; *Parramatta Advertiser* 25 February 2015, p. 30).

Particular phrasing is detailed in samples in Figure 6.1, where the text related to services offered and locations is colour coded in purple and red, respectively. The data revealed the CBD and inner-city areas, such as Chippendale, Surry Hills, Kings Cross and Potts Point, as locations specifically mentioned. Major hubs for commerce and transport, such as Parramatta, Hurstville and Bondi, were also detailed in some advertisements. Such sites demonstrate common characteristics, such as being close to commercial centres (with residential dwellings) and transport hubs. This suggests that both non-female sex workers and clients travel to each other for services in metropolitan Sydney.

Table 6.1: Newspaper advertisements of “non-female sex workers” (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

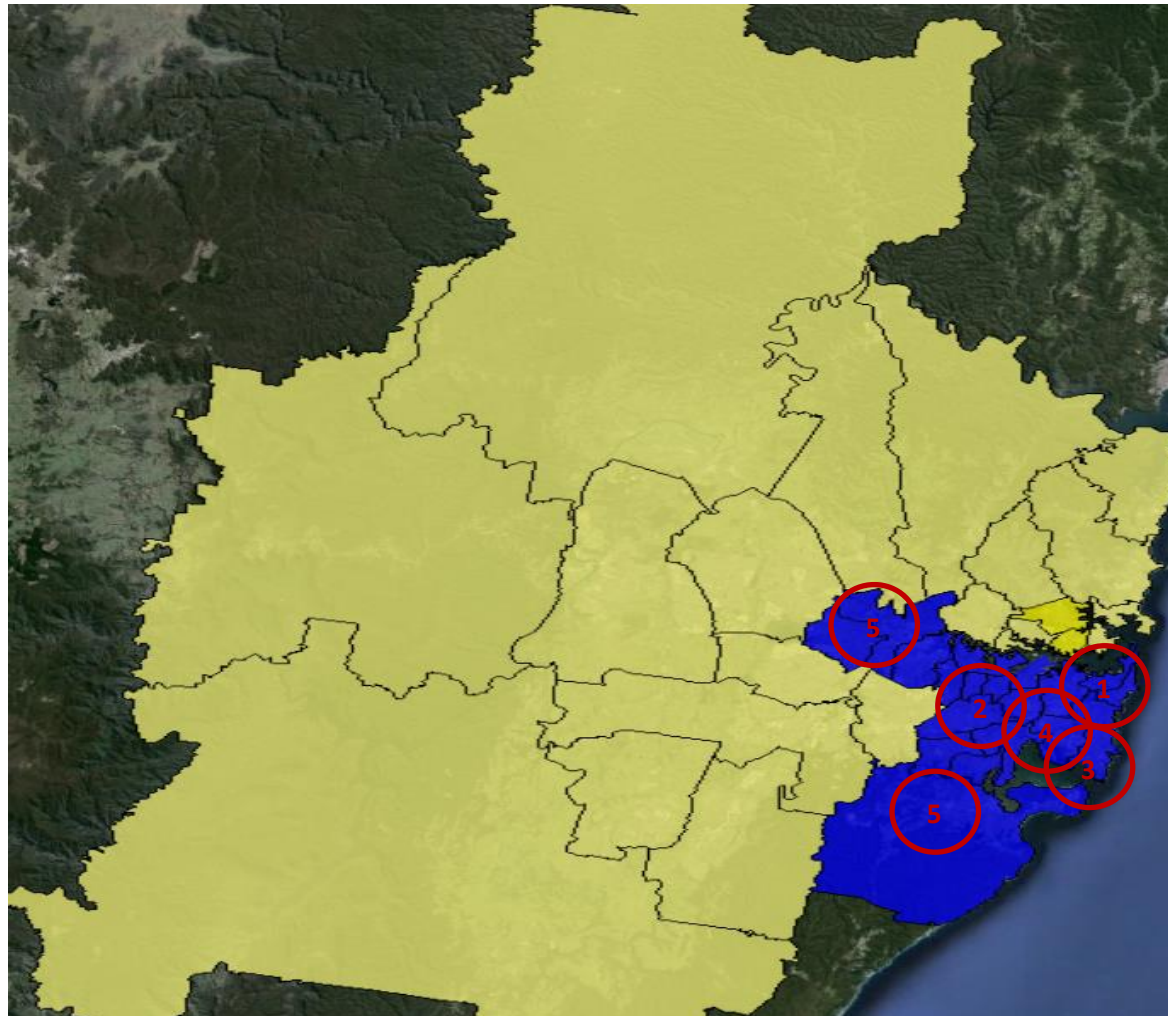
Newspaper name	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8	W9	W10	W11	W12	Total	Average
<i>Blacktown Advocate</i>	3	5	1	2	3	5	1	4	2	3	3	2	34	3
<i>Canterbury Bankstown Express</i>	5	4	4	5	4	3	3	5	3	4	2	4	46	4
<i>Central Sydney Magazine</i>	9	8	6	7	5	8	7	7	5	2	3	4	66	6
<i>Fairfield Advance</i>	2	4	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	1	4	31	3
<i>Hills Shire Times</i>	Nil	3	2	2	1	4	2	2	2	3	2	4	27	2
<i>Hornsby Advocate</i>	Nil	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	12	1
<i>Inner West Courier (Inner City Edition)</i> ⁴³	9	8	9	10	9	8	5	10	7	6	6	7	94	8
<i>Inner West Courier (Inner West Edition)</i>	9	8	9	10	9	8	5	10	7	6	6	7	94	8
<i>Liverpool Leader</i>	2	2	4	4	3	10	5	2	3	2	1	3	41	3
<i>Manly Daily</i>	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	5	3	2	1	3	40	3
<i>Macarthur Chronicle</i>	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	1	1	1	23	2
<i>Mosman Daily</i>	2	3	3	3	1	4	3	4	3	1	3	4	34	3
<i>North Shore Times</i>	4	6	6	5	4	6	4	4	3	2	3	5	52	4
<i>Northern District Times</i>	3	5	4	4	3	4	2	6	3	3	4	1	42	3
<i>Parramatta Advertiser</i>	5	7	5	6	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	6	65	5
<i>Penrith Press</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	12	1
<i>Rouse Hill Times</i>	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	16	1
<i>Southern Courier</i>	4	4	4	4	2	6	4	6	5	1	2	4	46	4
<i>Wentworth Courier</i>	10	10	7	8	7	6	8	6	7	4	4	6	83	7
<i>The Standard Mt Druitt—St Mary</i>	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	15	1
<i>The St George And Sutherland Shire leader</i>	6	6	5	5	3	5	5	5	3	6	4	6	59	5
<i>Penrith Gazette</i>	np ⁴⁴	Np	Np	Np	np	np	np	np	np	np	Np	np	np	np
Other LGBT magazines														
<i>SX Magazine</i>	14	16	15	15	16	17	17	16	15	15	15	15	186	16
<i>The Star Observer</i>	np	Np	Np	Np	np	np	np	np	np	np	Np	np	np	np
<i>Q Magazine</i>	np	Np	Np	Np	np	np	np	np	np	np	Np	np	np	np
Total advertisements per week ⁴⁵	72	83	72	79	78	116	90	105	85	72	68	90	-	-

⁴³ *Inner West Courier* has two editions based on distribution areas: 1. *Inner City Edition* and 2. *Inner West Edition*. The publications are the same (just published on two different days). Although counted separately in the table, they are discussed collectively, as one newspaper throughout the thesis and data analysis.

⁴⁴ The abbreviation “np” refers to no personal notices generally being published in the newspaper.

⁴⁵ Combined total of all advertisements in all the newspapers for each week.

Figure 6.2: Popular newspapers and their locations of non-female sex workers in metropolitan Sydney, marked by council boundaries (source: Google Earth 2015; adapted by Papadopoulos 2015).



Popular newspapers listed:

1. *SX Magazine*: City of Sydney Council, Leichhardt Council, Marrickville Council, Waverley Council and Woollahra Council.
2. *Inner West Courier (Inner City Edition and Inner West Edition)*: Ashfield Council, Burwood Council, City of Canada Bay Council, City of Sydney Council, Leichhardt Council, Marrickville Council.
3. *Wentworth Courier*: Randwick City Council, Waverley Council and Woollahra Council.
4. *Central Sydney Magazine*: City of Sydney Council.
5. *Parramatta Advertiser*: Auburn Council, Parramatta Council, and Holroyd Council; and *St George and Sutherland Leader*: Kogarah City Council, Rockdale City Council, Sutherland Shire Council. Given the *Parramatta Advertiser* circulates in the west of Sydney and the *St George and Sutherland Leader* circulates in the south, two circular labels of "5" have been used to show both locations.

Table 6.2: Top five newspapers for “non-female sex workers”, listed in order of popularity (Papadopoulos 2016).⁴⁶

Top newspaper	Associated councils	Suburbs ⁴⁷ (source: NSW Government Department of Planning & Environment 2015)
1. <i>SX Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Leichhardt Council Marrickville Council Waverley Council Woollahra Council	Alexandria, Annandale (part), Barangaroo, Beaconsfield, Camperdown (part), Centennial Park (part), Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Darlington, Dawes Point, Elizabeth Bay, Erskineville, Eveleigh, Forest Lodge, Glebe, Haymarket, Millers Point, Moore Park, Newtown, Paddington (part). Annandale, Balmain, Birchgrove, Leichhardt, Rozelle. Marrickville, Camperdown, Dulwich Hill, Enmore, Lewisham Bondi, Bondi Beach, Bondi Junction, Bronte, Dover Heights, North Bondi, Queens Park, Rose Bay (part), Tamarama, Vaucluse (part), Waverley.
2. <i>Inner West Courier</i> (both the <i>Inner City Edition</i> and <i>Inner West Edition</i>)	Ashfield Council Burwood Council City of Canada Bay Council City of Sydney Council Leichhardt Municipal Council Marrickville Council Strathfield Council	Ashfield, Haberfield, Summer Hill, Croydon, Croydon Park, Hurlstone Park. Burwood, Burwood Heights, Enfield, Enfield South Abbotsford, Breakfast Point, Cabarita, Canada Bay, Chiswick, Concord, Concord West, Drummoyne, Five Dock, Liberty Grove, Mortlake, North Strathfield, Rhodes, Rodd Point, Russell Lea, Strathfield, Wareemba. Alexandria, Annandale (part), Barangaroo, Beaconsfield, Camperdown (part), Centennial Park (part), Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Darlington, Dawes Point, Elizabeth Bay, Erskineville, Eveleigh, Forest Lodge, Glebe, Haymarket, Millers Point, Moore Park, Newtown, Paddington (part). Annandale, Balmain, Birchgrove, Leichhardt, Rozelle. Marrickville, Camperdown, Dulwich Hill, Enmore, Lewisham, Mascot, Petersham, St Peters, Stanmore, Sydenham, Tempe. Homebush, Homebush West, Flemington, Greenacre, Strathfield, Strathfield South, Chullora, Belfield.
3. <i>Wentworth Courier</i>	Randwick City Council Waverley Council Woollahra Municipal Council	Centennial Park (part), Chifley, Clovelly (part), Coogee, Coogee Beach, Kensington, Kingsford, La Perouse. Bondi, Bondi Beach, Bondi Junction, Bronte, Dover Heights, North Bondi, Queens Park, Rose Bay (part), Tamarama, Vaucluse (part), Waverley.
4. <i>Central Sydney Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Council	Alexandria, Annandale (part), Barangaroo, Beaconsfield, Camperdown (part), Centennial Park (part), Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Darlington, Dawes Point, Elizabeth Bay, Erskineville, Eveleigh, Forest Lodge, Glebe, Haymarket, Millers Point, Moore Park, Newtown, Paddington (part).
5. <i>Parramatta Advertiser</i>	Auburn Council Parramatta City council Holroyd Council	Auburn, Berala, Lidcombe, Newington, and Regents Park. Baulkham Hills (part), Camellia, Carlingford (part), Chester Hill (part), Clyde, Constitution Hill, Dundas, Dundas Valley, and Parramatta. Girraween, Granville (part), Greystanes, Guildford (part), Guildford West, Holroyd, Mays Hill, Merrylands (part), Merrylands West, Pemulwuy, Pendle Hill (part), Smithfield (part), South Wentworthville, Toongabbie (part), and Wentworth
5. <i>St George and Sutherland Shire Leader</i>	Hurstville City Council Kogarah City Council Rockdale City Council Sutherland Shire Council	Beverly Hills (part), Carlton (part), Hurstville: Kingsgrove (part), Lugarno, Mortdale (part), Narwee (part), Penshurst, Peakhurst, Peakhurst Heights, and Oatley. Allawah (part), Beverly Park, Blakehurst, Carlton (part), Carss Park, Connells Park, Hurstville, Hurstville Grove. Arncliffe, Banksia, Bardwell Park, Bardwell Valley, Bexley, Bexley North, Brighton Lee-Sands, Carlton (part), Dolls Point, and Kingsgrove (part), Kogarah (part), Kyeemagh, Mascot (part), Monterey, Ramsgate (part), Ramsgate Beach, Rockdale, Sandringham, Sans Souci (part), Turrella, and Wolli Creek. Alfords Point, Bangor, Barden Ridge, Bonnet Bay, Bundeena, Burraneer, Caringbah, Como, Cronulla, Dolans Bay, Engadine, Grays Point, Greenhills Beach, Gymea, Gymea Bay, Heathcote, Holsworthy (part), Illawong, Jannli, Kangaroo Point, Kareela, Kirrawee, Kurnell, Lilli Pilli, Loftus, Lucas Heights, Maianbar, Menai, Miranda, Oyster Bay, Port Hacking, Royal National Park, Sandy Point, Sutherland, Sylvania, Sylvania Waters, Taren Point, Waterfall, Woollooware, Woronora, Woronora Dam (part), Woronora Heights, Yarrowarra and Yowie Bay.

⁴⁶ Both *Parramatta Advertiser* and *St George and Sutherland Leader* had the same number of newspaper advertisements and share the fifth position for popularity.

⁴⁷ Listed in alphabetical order per council cluster.

Location review two: the MWSS market in metropolitan Sydney

Of the 1010 advertisements collected from the non-female sex worker market, an analysis revealed that 659 of them were from MWSS, defined as males selling direct sexual services (explained in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). Although a smaller number, this data subset uncovers that men selling direct sexual services (MWSS) accounted for 65 per cent of the total advertisements collected. This suggests that MWSS make up a significant proportion of the non-female sex worker market in metropolitan Sydney.

Table 6.3 details the total advertisements by newspaper explicitly from MWSS, whilst Table 6.4 details the five most popular newspapers, and Figure 6.2 visualises the spatial placement. The most prevalent publication, *SX Magazine*, averaged sixteen notices per week; second was the *Inner West Courier*, averaging five notices per week; third, the *Wentworth Courier*, with an average of four notices per week; and fourth, the *Central Sydney Magazine*, averaging three notices per week. Tables 6.1 and 6.3 found that there were the same top four publications for MWSS and the non-female sex market, conveying similar geographies. Of difference in this data subset, *The North Shore Times* listed fifth with an average of two to three notices per week from men selling sex. Other popular publications, outside of the top five listed, included *The Canterbury Bankstown*, *Liverpool Leader*, *Manly Daily*, and *Parramatta Advertiser*, all with an average of two notices a week.

Table 6.3: Newspapers advertisements of MWSS (direct services) (Papadopoulos 2016).

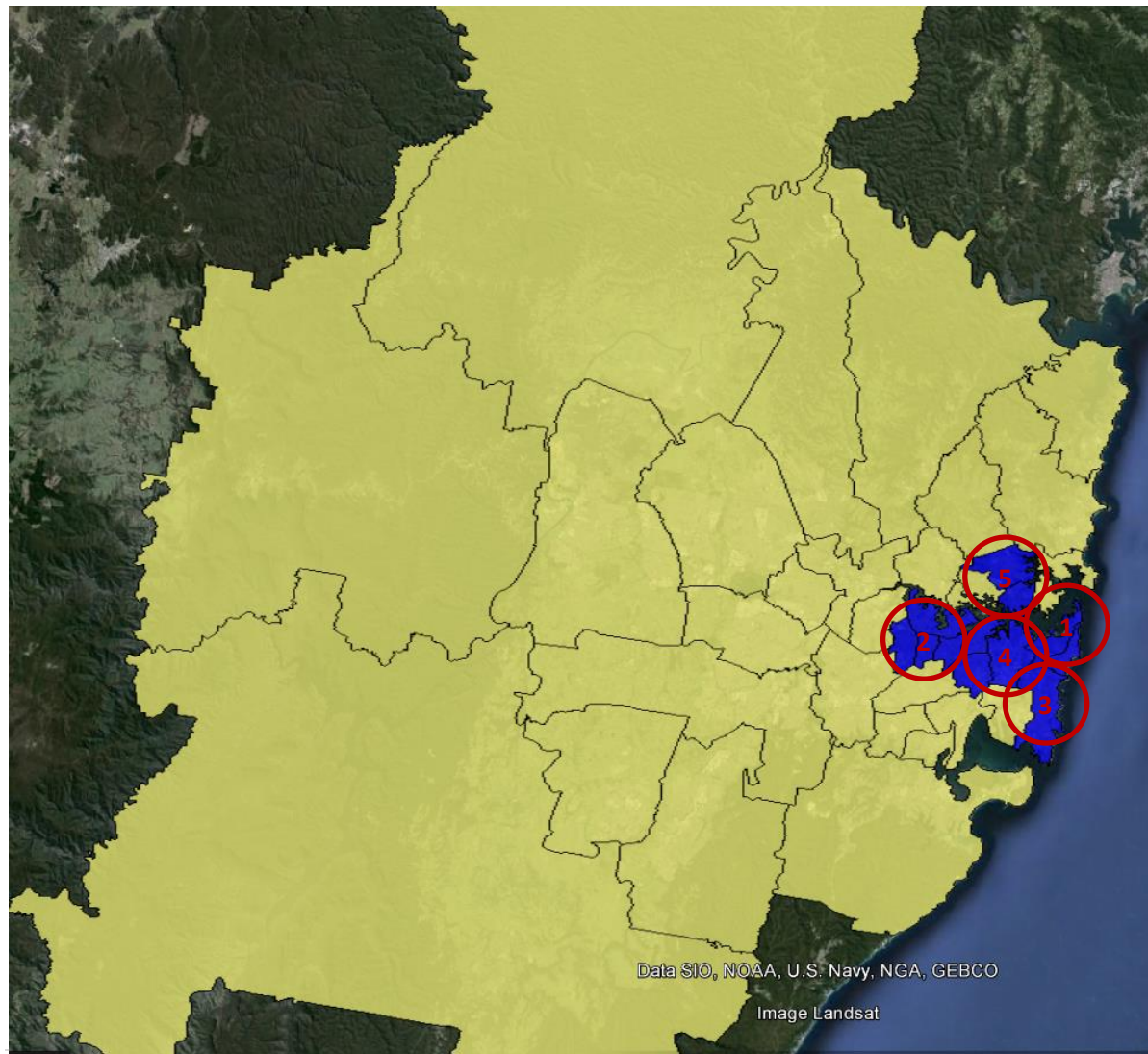
Newspaper name	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8	W9	W10	W11	W12	Total	Average total ⁴⁸
<i>Blacktown Advocate</i>	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	0-1
<i>Canterbury Bankstown Express</i>	1	1	2	3	2	5	2	2	2	2	1	1	24	2
<i>Central Sydney Magazine</i>	5	4	4	5	3	2	5	2	1	1	2	1	35	3
<i>Fairfield Advance</i>	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	19	1-2
<i>Hills Shire Times</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	0-1
<i>Hornsby Advocate</i>	Nil	Nil	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	1
<i>Inner West Courier (Inner City Edition)</i> ⁴⁹	5	5	6	8	8	2	3	6	8	4	4	5	64	5
<i>Inner West Courier (Inner West Edition)</i>	5	5	6	8	8	2	3	6	8	4	4	5	64	5
<i>Liverpool Leader</i>	1	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	24	2
<i>Manly Daily</i>	2	2	4	3	2	1	2	4	2	2	1	2	27	2
<i>Macarthur Chronicle</i>	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	15	1
<i>Mosman Daily</i>	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	20	1-2
<i>North Shore Times</i>	4	4	1	5	4	5	3	4	2	2	3	3	39	2-3
<i>Northern District Times</i>	Nil	Nil	5	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	20	1-2
<i>Parramatta Advertiser</i>	2	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	23	2
<i>Penrith Press</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	0-1
<i>Rouse Hill Times</i>	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	0-1
<i>Southern Courier</i>	3	2	3	2	1	3	2	3	1	nil	1	1	22	1-2
<i>Wentworth Courier</i>	7	5	6	6	4	4	2	3	3	2	3	2	47	4
<i>The Standard Mt Druitt-St Mary</i>	Nil	Nil	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	11	1
<i>The St George and Sutherland Shire leader</i>	2	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	2	nil	1	22	1-2
<i>Penrith Gazette</i>	np ⁵⁰	np	Np	np	np	np	np	Np	np	np	np	np	np	Np
Other LGBT magazines														
<i>SX Magazine</i>	14	16	15	15	16	17	17	16	15	15	15	15	186	16
<i>The Star Observer</i>	np	np	Np	np	np	np	np	Np	np	np	np	np	np	Np
<i>Q Magazine</i>	np	np	Np	np	np	np	np	Np	np	np	np	np	np	Np
Total	41	31	53	59	70	68	57	67	57	59	46	51	-	-

⁴⁸ Average number of advertisements a week, per newspaper and sourced to the nearest whole number.

⁴⁹ *Inner West Courier* has two editions based on distribution areas: 1. *Inner City Edition* and 2. *Inner West Edition*. The publications are the same (just published on two different days) and although counted separately in the table, they are discussed collectively, as one newspaper through the thesis and data analysis

⁵⁰ The abbreviation “np” refers to no personal notices generally being published in the newspaper.

Figure 6.3: Popular newspapers and their locations of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney, marked by council boundaries
(source: Google Earth 2015 and adapted by Papadopoulos 2015).



Popular newspapers and locations:

1. *SX Magazine*: City of Sydney Council, Leichhardt Council, Marrickville Council, Waverley Council and Woollahra Council.
2. *Inner West Courier (Inner City Edition and Inner West Edition)*: Ashfield Council, Burwood Council, City of Canada Bay Council, City of Sydney Council, Leichhardt Council, Marrickville Council.
3. *Wentworth Courier*: Randwick City Council, Waverley Council and Woollahra Council.
4. *Central Sydney Magazine*: City of Sydney Council.
5. *North Shore Times*: Lane Cove Council, North Sydney Council, and Warringah Council.

Table 6.4: Popular newspapers for MWSS (direct sexual services) (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

Top newspaper	Associated councils	Suburbs (source: NSW Government Department of Planning & Environment 2015)
1. <i>SX Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Leichhardt Council Marrickville Council Woollahra Council Waverley Council	Alexandria, Annandale (part), Barangaroo, Beaconsfield, Camperdown (part), Centennial Park (part), Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Darlington, Dawes Point, Elizabeth Bay, Erskineville, Eveleigh, Forest Lodge, Glebe, Haymarket, Millers Point, Moore Park, Newtown, Paddington (part). Annandale, Balmain, Birchgrove, Leichhardt, Rozelle. Marrickville, Camperdown, Dulwich Hill, Enmore, Lewisham Bondi, Bondi Beach, Bondi Junction, Bronte, Dover Heights, North Bondi, Queens Park, Rose Bay (part), Tamarama, Vaucluse (part), Waverley.
2. <i>Inner West Courier</i> (both the <i>Inner City Edition</i> and <i>Inner West Edition</i>).)	Ashfield Council Burwood Council City of Canada Bay Council Strathfield Council City of Sydney Council Leichhardt Municipal Council Marrickville Council	Ashfield, Haberfield, Summer Hill, Croydon, Croydon Park, Hurlstone Park. Burwood, Burwood Heights, Enfield, Enfield South Abbotsford, Breakfast Point, Cabarita, Canada Bay, Chiswick, Concord, Concord West, Drummoyne, Five Dock, Liberty Grove, Mortlake, North Strathfield, Rhodes, Rodd Point, Russell Lea, Strathfield, Wareemba. Alexandria, Annandale (part), Barangaroo, Beaconsfield, Camperdown (part), Centennial Park (part), Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Darlington, Dawes Point, Elizabeth Bay, Erskineville, Eveleigh, Forest Lodge, Glebe, Haymarket, Millers Point, Moore Park, Newtown, Paddington (part). Annandale, Balmain, Birchgrove, Leichhardt, Rozelle. Marrickville, Camperdown, Dulwich Hill, Enmore, Lewisham, Mascot, Petersham, St Peters, Stanmore, Sydenham, Tempe. Homebush, Homebush West, Flemington, Greenacre, Strathfield, Strathfield South, Chullora, Belfield.
3. <i>Wentworth Courier</i>	Randwick City Council Waverley Council Woollahra Municipal Council	Centennial Park (part), Chifley, Clovelly (part), Coogee, Coogee Beach, Kensington, Kingsford, La Perouse. Bondi, Bondi Beach, Bondi Junction, Bronte, Dover Heights, North Bondi, Queens Park, Rose Bay (part), Tamarama, Vaucluse (part), Waverley.
4. <i>Central Sydney Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Council	Alexandria, Annandale (part), Barangaroo, Beaconsfield, Camperdown (part), Centennial Park (part), Chippendale, Darlinghurst, Darlington, Dawes Point, Elizabeth Bay, Erskineville, Eveleigh, Forest Lodge, Glebe, Haymarket, Millers Point, Moore Park, Newtown, Paddington (part).
5. <i>North Shore Times</i>	North Sydney Council Warringah Council Lane Cove Council	North Sydney, Kirribilli Warringah, Chatswood, Gordon, Lindfield Land Cove.

The wording of the advertisements⁵¹ from MWSS provided insight into services (coded **purple**), locations (coded **red**), hours of work (coded **green**), access (coded **orange**), dwellings (coded **blue**), and clientele (coded **grey**).

Example one: ACTIVE IN/OUT. MAN ON MAN. Handsome muscular, rugged, chiselled features, 32 AUSSIE SENSATION THICK 9", uncut, **24/7 Eastern Suburbs. Parking Available** (SX Magazine 11 January 2015).

⁵¹ Wording is detailed the same as in the advertisements.

Example two: A DARK JOCK for **Erotic Massage + More! Surry Hills. In/out,** (published in *The Central Sydney Magazine, Wentworth Courier, Inner West Courier, Southern Courier, North Shore Times*, and *SX Magazine* in week three of the data set, 18 January 2015 through 24 January 2015).

Example three: M2M. **Extra erotic touch** for Str8/Bi/1st timers. **Discreet** 40s, 11am-11pm in **Camperdown** (*Sydney Central Magazine* 21 January 2015).

Example four: TOMS TOUCH. Athletic, 24 year old Australia born & bred. **Professional & Private. Erotic Massage & More Marrickville Studio** (*SX Magazine* 19 January 2015).

Example five: EXPERIENCED BDSM MASTER. 33 y/o 6ft. Handsome, muscular. Call me sir, CP TT, CBT, TOYS, FUN etc. **Discreet Apartment Points Point** (*SX Magazine* 16 March 2015).

Example six: ANDREW *26 year old, slim and sexy Indian guy*. Tall, friendly with toned body and **offers full body, sensual and naked erotic massage**. **Escorting service also available. In calls at my private studio in Potts Point, or outcalls to your place.** Call Andrew **anytime** (*SX Magazine* 16 March 2015).

Example seven: M2M. Bi.Euro, 49yr. Relax. **Disabled/Mature ok. Earlwood.** No private no#s (*Inner West Courier* 24 February 2015).

A visual comparison of Figures 6.1 and 6.2 shows that MWSS are clustered close to the CBD and surrounding area. Spatially, the newspaper advertisements wording revealed a trend to mention specific locations, such as Potts Point, Kings Cross (the eastern suburbs), Surry Hills, Camperdown, Chippendale (the inner city), and Alexandria and Earlwood (the inner west). As previously described, some advertisements detailed the venues such as “private apartment” or “studio”. This indicates the possibility of men operating from home in medium- to high-density dwellings. Drawing on these mentioned areas and dwelling types, it could be considered that MWSS are likely to operate in high-density residential and mixed-use areas, such as commercial centres or transport hubs.

Some advertisements also provided insight into hours of operation, (e.g. “Call anytime”) or stated specific hours (e.g. “11 am–11 pm”). This evidence suggests that privacy, discretion and amenity were a concern, as words such as “discreet” and “parking available” were used in the advertisements. Some advertisements provided the ages of MWSS, ranging from twenty-four to forty-nine years old. Finally, similarly to the data from locational review one,

locational review two found many of the advertisements were placed weekly in multiple newspapers. Wording such as “In/Out”, or “escorting services available” indicated possible travel to the client’s home or other locations, such as hotels.

The online market: locations of MWSS

The internet has been revealed as a key media platform for the sex industry and for private male sex workers (Jenkins 2010; MacPhail et al. 2014). This section examines the available websites advertising male sex services online in Sydney to support the newspaper findings. To capture the wider market, the search was directed at men offering direct sexual services from different operations, including sex services premises, escort services, and networking websites from hosts’ sites for individuals to individual web pages (refer to Chapter 4 for methodology). The intention was to highlight the diversity of the market and men’s preference to work privately in metropolitan Sydney, as noted by Berg et al. (2010) and Donovan et al. (2012).

A key finding from the internet search revealed a three-tier business typology for the Sydney male sex-work market:

Tier One: Commercial operations (sex services premises or escort agency) advertising their business/services/workers/location and prices online.

Tier Two: Networking websites for individual workers, run by a third party where the worker may pay a fee to advertise their services (e.g. rentboy.com).

Tier Three: Personal webpages created by the individual, detailing services, looks, locations and prices. These are more personal, commonly including an “about me” section with erotic imagery.

The search revealed that MWSS use a multitude of media platforms to advertise their services. Some may have an individual homepage (Tier Three) but may also promote themselves through a popular networking site such as “rentboy.com” (Tier Two). Others were found to be advertising both through print and online media. Table 6.5 details metropolitan

Sydney MWSS websites: the empirical data is modelled on the three-tier business typology. This analysis mainly focuses on Tier Two and Tier Three as they relate to private sex work.

The websites, as well as print advertising, revealed common MWSS locations: Surry Hills, Potts Point, and the Sydney CBD. Interestingly, the print and online media of heterosexual male workers often portray a fantasy lifestyle, detailing an exclusive experience and price for their female clients. Figure 6.4 is the website homepage for a Tier One website, My Male Companion; the black, red and white imagery portray a classical romance. Additionally, the imagery for MWSS to women is often of a handsome, strong male, shown in Figure 6.5 in the *Good Weekend* article, "The Escort", describing male escorts in Sydney who sell sex to women. Thus, it appears that there is less stigma and secrecy for heterosexual male sex workers operating in metropolitan Sydney.



Figure 6.4: Website homepage from Tier One website, *My Male Companion* (source: <http://www.mymalecompanion.com.au>, 2016).

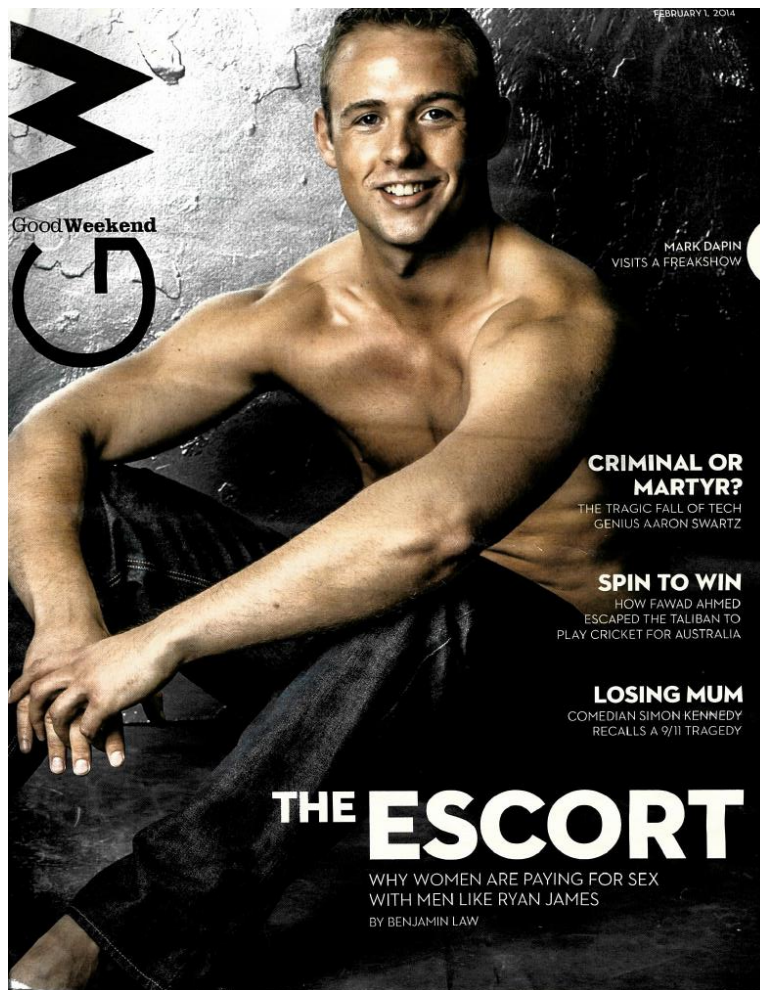


Figure 6.5: *Good Weekend* cover story “The Escort: Why Women Are Paying for Sex with Men like Ryan James” (Bauer 2014; Law 2014, p. 1).

Table 6.5: The three tiers of business types of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney today (source: Papadopoulos 2016).

Name and website	Business type	Workers	Services	Clients	Location
Tier One: Sex services premises and escort agencies (not independent workers)					
Knight Call escorts http://www.knightcall.com.au/joining_us.htm	Escort agency and SSP Commercial indoor sex work In/out calls	20 profiles advertised Referred to as “rent boys” Sexual orientation varies—bisexual or homosexual	Sexual services	Men (possibly women)	Woolloomooloo, Sydney. Trading from 1 p.m. till late, 7 days a week
Delivery Boys—male escorts and rent boys http://www.deliveryboys.com.au	Escort agency and SSP Commercial indoor sex work In/Out calls	14 profiles advertised Sexual orientation not stated but assumed to be homosexual or bisexual	Sexual services ranging from passive, active and versatile	Men: “Servicing Sydney’s gay, transgender, bisexual and swinger community since 2000”	Surry Hills, Sydney
Mystique Men—straight male escorts for couples and women http://www.mystiquemen.com/	Escort agency, no independent workers Commercial indoor sex work In/out calls not stated	24 workers referred to as “Straight male escorts” Sexual orientation: heterosexual Age:18–45	Sexual services. dates, companionship for women or couples. States “no male to male, transsexual or gay services”	Women and couples	Sydney area
My Male Companion http://www.mymalecompanion.com.au/	Escort agency	5 male escorts and 1 female. Sexual orientation: heterosexual Age: varies	Tailored package from companionship, a luxury date, or a full service, including all of the above.	Female and couples only (no male-to-male intercourse)	Sydney area (however, provide services across Australia)
Tier Two: Networking websites (sites operated by a third party; their individual workers can advertise for a fee)					
Black Tie Affairs http://www.blacktieaffairs.com/guys-list/sydney	Website advertising independent escorts Private indoor sex worker In/out calls not stated	2 Independent workers advertising as “escort” or “masseur” Sexual orientation: one “bisexual”; one states “gay”	Sexual services	Men and women	Sydney area
Backpage.com www.sydneybackpage.com.au	Online classifieds advertising a range of services including MSW	For the months of January to March, only 3 notices from MWSS were posted. For the months from April to mid-June, the following numbers of advertisements were posted: April: 33 total notices; May 88 total notices; up to mid-June: 63 total notices.	Sexual services	Men and women	Sydney
Sydney Male Escorts http://www.sydney-male-escorts.com/	Website advertising independent male escorts. In/out calls not stated Private indoor sex work	Independent workers 19 independent workers advertising as “straight” or “heterosexual”	Advertising as “Straight male escort”, “Gentleman”, “Escort” services: “Sensual Massage”, “Dinner and Dessert”, “The Boyfriend Experience”, The 50 Shades Experience”, “Luxury Date”, and “Dinner Date/Companionship”	Women & couples	Sydney area
Rentboy.com (Sydney profiles only) http://www.rentboy.com.au	Networking websites for MWSS around the world. Can search on a site by city	15 Individual workers advertising their services/ profiles Age: varies	A range of services for a range of prices. Services will state in/out calls, “bare backing”, versatile, active/passive. Services and costs are profile specific.	Men	Sydney area
Daddy’s M4M Reviews http://www.daddysreview.com/venue/ocenia/Australia	Networking/review site for MSW around the world. Clients post reviews of workers based on their experience and service provided	6 MSW profiles/reviews were posted for Sydney. Reviews date from 20 April 2015 to 17 June 2015	A range of services for a range of prices. Services will state in/out calls, “bare backing”, versatile, active/passive.	Men	Sydney area
Aussie Rent Boys http://aussierentboys.au	Networking sites for MSW within Australia	33 profiles advertised for Sydney workers “escorts”.	A range of services for a range of prices. Services will state in/out calls, “bare backing”, versatile, active/passive. Services	Men	Sydney area

Name and website	Business type	Workers	Services	Clients	Location
		Age: varies	and costs are profile specific.		
Tier 3: Independent websites – Individual websites for MSW					
Sydney Escort for Women http://www.sydneyescortforladies.com/about.html	Independent site for “Tom” and “Andrew” Out calls only Private indoor sex work	Two Independent workers advertising as “escorts” Sexual orientation: Heterosexual Age: n/a	Advertising as escort services “Dinner Date” “Sensual massage (no sex)”, “Erotic massage including sex”, “Escort”, “Hens or girls parties”. Outcalls only.	Women and couples	Sydney (Sydney metro, Blue Mountains, Wollongong, Central coast (Tom also available in the Gold Coast)) Available weeknights and all weekend
Ryan James—male escort Sydney http://www.ryan-james.com.au/	Independent worker (also advertises on Sydney Male Escorts) In/out calls not stated Private indoor work	Independent worker advertising as “male escort” Sexual orientation: Heterosexual Age: 25–35	Advertising as “male escort” services: “The Boyfriend Experience”, “Your First Time”, “50 Shades”, “Luxury Date Night”, “Ménage à trois”, “ménage à quatre”, “Partner swapping”, “Cuckolds”, and “BDSM”.	Women and couples	Sydney and tours Australia wide
Pedro www.pedrolatinguy.com	Independent worker In calls stated Private indoor work	Independent worker advertising as a male escort Sexual orientation: not stated Age: n/a	“Full erotic massage” “Natural French” “Full top only intercourse”	Men/married men/bisexual couples	North Sydney, “6 p.m. to 11 p.m. weekdays or most times on a Saturday. Sunday availability upon request”.
Adria—Sydney male escort http://www.sydneymaleescort.com/	Independent worker Private indoor sex work In/out calls not stated	Independent worker Refers to self as “escort” Sexual orientation: not stated Age: n/a	Services: “Full Escort Services”, “Full body erotic massage”, “Companionship”, “Naughty Dinner and Dessert”, “Couples”.	Women and couples	Sydney CBD (assumes works from home as gives parking instructions).
John—male escort Sydney http://john-oh-Sescort.com/about/	Independent worker Private indoor work In/out calls	Independent indoor worker Sexual orientation: heterosexual Age: 42	Sexual services to companionship	Women Couples Disabled women	Sydney area (but travels around Australia).

The online search revealed that within metropolitan Sydney there is a significant population of MWSS. It is a diverse industry in terms of built form and locations, from commercial premises (SSPs and escort agencies) to private venues. In Tier One, the four commercial operations offered escort services (off-site services), with two also advertising as SSPs (providing on-site services) located in Woolloomooloo and Surry Hills. The two escort agencies listed their location as “Sydney”, with one also stating “travel all over Australia”, possibly suggesting travel to homes or other private venues. All offered direct and indirect sexual services to men, and the two escort agencies also offered services to women.

In Tier Two, six networking webpages were found, all referring to “Sydney” as their location. Some profiles used terms such as “private” and “meet up”, suggesting venues to be in clients’ homes, the worker’s home or hotels. All advertised direct and indirect services, three exclusively to male clients, two to both male and female clientele, and one to females and couples only.

In Tier Three, five independent websites were found, four servicing female and couples clients only, whilst the fifth website indicated services to men, married men, and bisexual couples. All indicated that they operated in the Sydney area, where the webpage “Sydney Escort for Women,” also mentioned Wollongong, Central Coast and the Gold Coast as locations of interest. The webpages of “Ryan James” and “John” also mentioned touring around Australia to major cities such as Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth and Adelaide. Only two workers gave specific locations: “Pedro” referred to North Sydney and “Adria” referred to the Sydney CBD. Both indicated a preference for working at home, providing information such as “parking available” and “apartment in the CBD”. Pedro stated specific hours of availability, “6pm to 11pm weekdays or most times on a Saturday. Sunday availability upon request”, meanwhile, Tom and Andrew (Sydney Escorts for Women) stated availability on most weeknights and all day most weekends.

Collectively, the internet data indicated a diverse client base of MWSS: men, women and couples identifying as heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual. Of significance, nine of the total fifteen websites advertised services to women and couples only, more so than in newspaper advertisements. These services for women referred to popular culture and client demand, such as “The Dinner Date”, “The Boyfriend Experience”, “Your First Time”, “50 Shades”, and the “Luxury Date Night”. Other services advertised were *Ménage à trois*, *Ménage à quatre* “Companionship” and “Naughty Dinner and Dessert”. Services for male clients were commonly described as “active”, “passive”, “versatile”, and “bare backing”. Prices ranged

from \$250 to \$500 per hour and \$3000 to \$4000 for an overnight experience. The online data uncovered that workers can operate from home, clients' venues, hotels or a sex services premises. These webpages reveal the diversity of the industry in terms of locations, services, clients and prices, and the online media communications suggest that MWSS prefer to work privately rather than in a commercial venue.

The internet and newspaper review established that MWSS is an existing occupation within metropolitan Sydney. Drawing on this empirical data, the locations for MWSS seemed to circulate around commercial centres and transport hubs. Both quantitative methods point to the Sydney CBD and inner-city areas as popular sites for MWSS preferring to operate from home in medium- to high-density dwellings. Both data sets complement each other in terms of the spatiality of sites of MWSS. The online media perhaps provides greater insight in terms of services, prices and activities, whilst the newspapers indicate patterns of demand within certain Sydney locations.

6.3 The distribution of MWSS: personal views

This section presents interviewee commentary on the geographies of MWSS from an industry perspective. Key focus areas include spatiality, privacy and tenure as well as the resistance to the HOSS. In-depth interviews were conducted with key sex-industry stakeholders, private sex workers (three male and one female), sex worker organisations and key activists. The interview with a private female sex worker was included only in reference to sex work in the home activities, given the limitations of accessing MWSS, as detailed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The spatiality of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney

The interviews, just as the newspaper and internet searches, reveal a preference for workers to operate from home in localities close to the Sydney CBD, commercial centres, and transport hubs, supporting the conclusions of the newspaper data set. All the private sex worker interviewees operated in the CoSC jurisdiction and indicated extensive knowledge of the permissibility of the HOSS. Each operated independently from his own property, varying from semi-attached to medium-density housing. In describing the popular locations of work, Male Sex Worker A stated:

I think that, in Sydney, as far as I know, when I go to the website to see where people advertise for male sex workers, the geography, it's predominantly in the city area.

Some [workers are] in Bondi Junction; in Kings Cross, quite a few; Oxford Street close

to Central Station; Town Hall; Newtown; and Parramatta (Male Sex Worker A 2015, int.).

Further describing the importance of such locations in terms of accessibility to clients and autonomy in their work, Male Sex Worker A continued:

[These areas are] close to transport and close to people. It's where the clients are. [Workers] can't go to Sutherland and expect some people during lunch breaks; [the clients] work in the city. So, this is where all the people are. [These areas are also] close to [the] gay community where [the workers] live (Male Sex Worker A).

The interviewees also revealed they would travel to their clients' venues, such as aged care facilities or hotels. Whilst all worked individually, one stated he had previously worked with another male sex worker in a home they both lived in, sharing security and everyday operational tasks.

Workers revealed the critical importance of locations as their venues served as "home" and "work". Autonomy and privacy for themselves and their clients are vital, thus, there is a preference for locations just off the "Main Street" in commercial and transport hubs. Premises with multiple entrances were also preferred as they provided discretion and autonomy when entering or exiting. From an organisational perspective, Cox, the CEO of SWOP stated:

Sex workers go to a lot of trouble to pick the right apartment, [one] where there's not too much distance between the front door and their door, so not to have to pass too many other doors—so they can get a client in and out easily. They'll pick an apartment, sometimes the ground floor apartments that have a little garden and that sort of thing, so there's a separate entrance. Two entrances are good if you can get them, then an ensuite to the room you are going to work in is preferable too (2015, int.).

Drawing on the insights to working from home, Female Sex Worker A revealed she provided clients with specific access instructions prior to arrival:

I tell clients prior to arrival to park up the road. [There] is the supermarket, It's free parking up there for one hour or two hours or something. If you can't find a spot in my street, pop up to the car park (Female Sex Worker A 2015, int.).

Further to this, Male Sex Worker B, indicated that locations which did not provide such accessibility or discretion could lead to client loss:

I lost three or four clients because they would not come into the street—and two more. They would call me, and they would walk up the back lane and slip through the carpark door [which I would leave] open, and they'd slip through there. Before, I lived in a tower block behind—up in the second top floor—and that was great for a long, long time because there were only four units to a floor, and there were two lifts and so people got up and down without too much problem. [This was until] two very social gay boys bought the unit next door, who happened to go to the same gym that I did, and all of a sudden, again, I lost a large number of clients because they would not come to my place in case [they were seen] (Male Sex Worker B 2015, int.).

Overall, these revelations indicate that men sell sex in the Sydney region. Popular locations are those near transport or commercial hubs as they are accessible for clients. Workers also revealed a preference for residential buildings that provide discrete and multiple access points.

Privacy/security of tenure

Privacy and the security of tenure were raised as critical concerns for sex workers during the interviews. These findings supported the studies of Donovan et al. (2012) by showing men were more likely to operate privately, as Male Sex Worker A indicated:

[Men selling sex], they're more private—people [men] operate in private, and they would be seasonal. A lot of people [men selling sex and clients] go online these days, and maybe, since the last five years, most are online (2015, int.).

The interviews revealed that workers had a preference to operate in the domestic space because of benefits to their wellbeing and safety, such as control of work space, client interactions and general business activities. Female Sex Worker A explained:

This is a home-based sex business right here, and what happens here is anything from a bit of cross-dressing to a massage with a bit of a hand job to full service to a bit of shaving. So, it's whatever [services] they ring me [for], and I can provide what I feel like. I negotiate these services, but I can negotiate safely (Female Sex Worker A 2015, int.).

Both SWOP and Touching Base raised their concerns and anxieties about security of tenure for private sex workers. SWOP highlighted that the workers often sought advice on this matter: “Basically, being comfortable and not being sprung, nor identified and put in a potentially embarrassing, threatening or home-losing type situation” (Cox 2015, int.). Specific advice was sought on the permissibility of the HOSS in councils, suggesting private workers were not comfortable contacting the councils directly to discuss the planning permissibility. The preference to use SWOP or Touching Base as a third party indicates how discreet private sex workers are in their activities, even when seeking consent with authorities.

Drawing on phase one results, these stakeholder insights provide further detail around those found councils that permit the HOSS, subject to development consent. This requires public notification in local newspapers, letters to neighbours, and public signage at the premises during the development-assessment period, which only create more personal risks for private sex workers, as their privacy is potentially violated in such circumstances. Isbister, president of Touching Base, commented: “There are no advantages to requiring consent; there are only disadvantages” (Isbister 2015, int.).

Reported disadvantages included social stigma, as workers are forced to publicly identify themselves, their home, their work and personal details. For those working in apartments, development consent also includes approval from the strata committee, whereas Cox highlights: “[This means] you have to front up to the body corporate and say, “I’m a sex worker, and I’m doing it in the bedroom downstairs ...” (Cox 2015, int.). Sex workers themselves revealed just how disastrous the consequences are as Male Sex Worker C articulated:

The irony is there is no home occupation, which needs more discretion than home-based sex work. For God’s sake, it is essential for us and our clients. Particularly in regards to male sex workers, because half our clients are closeted anyway, so they certainly don’t want to be known as, and they would not [want be exposed publicly] (Male Sex Worker C 2015, int.).

Demonstrating the danger that public identification has to the sex workers’ privacy and safety, Figure 6.6 is an example of the opposition that workers face in their homes. The image is from a Sydney strata building, a note posted at the entrance to a building, a threat to the male private sex workers operating within, demonstrating the hostility experienced when identified to the wider community. Obviously, these threats are dangerous and valid where workers are victimised in terms of their work, tenure, privacy and personal safety.

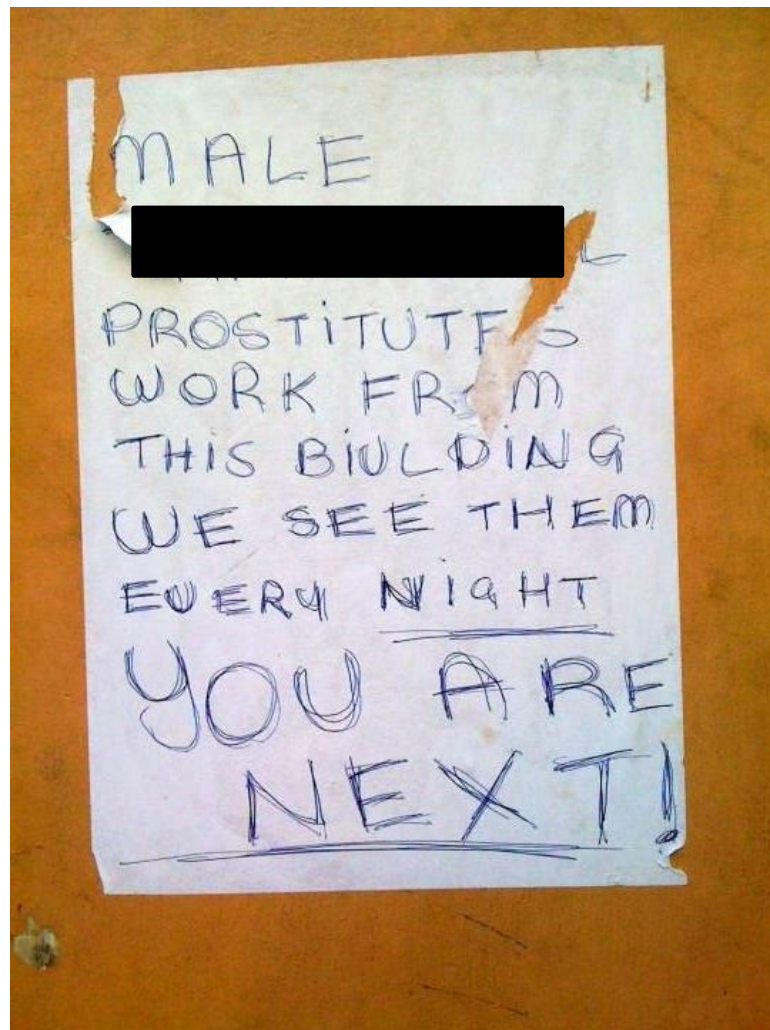


Figure 6.6: Warning sign to male sex workers posted in a doorway of a residential building in inner Sydney (source: Cox 2015).

Resistance to the HOSS in metropolitan Sydney

This section draws on the perspective of sex industry stakeholders considering the acceptance of the HOSS. Consequently, workers are subject to localised conflict in the form of complaints to councils. The findings suggest that complaints can arise from neighbours with amenity concerns, as Male Sex Worker B reported:

Most sex workers know that if ... an old lady next door or the body corporate or the nosey guy downstairs or whatever find out they're a sex worker, they'll do their best to get them out of the block, because they will think that every bad thing that happens in the block [is because of them] (Male Sex Worker B 2015, int.).

Complaints present risks for private workers from security of tenure to the privacy aspect. Interviewees indicated that once residents or authorities became aware of their work, action

was immediate to cease their operations. From an organisational perspective, Cox reinforces these concerns:

We warn them [sex workers] that it's not been unknown for little old ladies who've got no concept of time and drug dealing to think that you're a drug dealer because lots of people come and go from your apartment, and sometimes you'll have the police turn up because of that (Cox 2015, int.).

The nuisances raised by neighbours are unwarranted and contrary to the empirical evidence of geographers, sociologists and health researchers (Hubbard and Lister 2015). Rather, stigma is a huge issue for workers, where the label "sex worker" can result in a range of reactions from fear and resistance to intolerance. Parts of society believe the sex industry should cease to exist, particularly in the domestic context, as Male Sex Worker B said:

There are people out there also who believe that the law should be difficult and onerous for sex workers and say, "Well go and get a decent job or disappear". Some laws are put in place by some people actually to get rid of us because we're an inconvenience (Male Sex Worker B 2015, int.).

Angry clients or competitors are known to raise alarms to authorities in an attempt to remove competition in their neighbourhood. Male Sex Worker A alluded:

It will only be [that] you get a complaint from neighbours, and then City Council will enforce [on you]. Or someone complaining about [you existing], namely, either a bad client or some other sex workers know you're doing that and maybe take their business away (Male Sex Worker A 2015, int.).

Interviewees explained that the sex worker identity and activities were often generalised and scapegoated for wider unrelated community issues. Workers revealed that they were conscious of community impact, as Male Sex Worker B described: "We take a lot of care in trying to find somewhere where we're going to be really unobtrusive" (Male Sex Worker B 2015, int.). This was supported by Female Sex Worker A, who stated: "We maintain the amenity of our neighbourhood like nobody else does" (Female Sex Worker A 2015, int.). Barriers to their acceptance include ambiguity in policy and social attitudes towards their work. These findings reveal the intent of workers to maintain good neighbourhood relationships and to abide by the law where possible.

6.4 Discussion

Interest in the spatiality of sex work has have emerged as a field of interest for geographers (Aggleton 1999; Aggleton & Parker 2015; Leary & Minichiello 2007; Maginn & Steinmetz 2015b; Minichiello 2014; Scott & Minichiello 2014; Scott, Minichiello et al. 2015). Chapters 2 and 3 detail that sex-work spaces create disputes, from acceptance and tolerance to nuisance or resistance. As an identity of difference, MWSS in the city can challenge the homogenous characteristics of the neighbourhood identity (Bell & Valentine 1995)

The three research approaches of print media, internet searches and stakeholder interviews indicate that men sell sex privately from their homes in metropolitan Sydney. Of the newspaper data, 65 per cent of the advertisements were from men who sold direct sexual services (defined in Chapter 3 and Appendix E). In this instance, these findings revealed that MWSS make up a significant portion of the non-female sex worker market. In terms of private operations, all of the websites and interviews revealed a preference for men to work independently. Twelve of the sixteen websites which were investigated were comprised of private workers advertising either through a networking site (Tier Two) or through their own personal website (Tier Three). Additionally, all sex worker interviewees in this study worked privately from home. These findings and methodologies are consistent with the earlier studies of Berg et al. (2011) and Donovan et al. (2012), which indicated it is more common for men to sell sex privately in the Sydney metropolitan area.

The empirical data revealed that, in the Sydney region, MWSS tend to populate near accessible locations close to transport and commercial hubs. Popular locations include the Sydney CBD and surrounding areas as well as suburban and mini commercial hubs, such as Parramatta, Sutherland and North Sydney. Interviewees also reported that these locations were popular as they were mixed-use zones (commercial and residential) and close to transport hubs, providing discrete access for clients. Drawing on earlier studies by Leary and Minichiello (2007), Perkins (1991), Perkins & Bennett (1985), and Prestage (1994), inner Sydney city locations such as Darlinghurst, Kings Cross and East Sydney were identified as popular spaces for MWSS. Particular traits were that these suburbs were close to the city and established sites for industrial uses, social housing and marginalised groups (for example the LGBTIQ community). Empirical data reveal these spaces today remain popular for MWSS even though the community profiles have altered through gentrification, becoming some of Sydney's most sought after suburbs. Doan (2015) and Doan and Higgins (2011) highlight the impact of gentrification on the sex workers and the LGBTIQ community where as already

marginalised groups they can experience further isolation and sometimes eviction from their neighbourhood as it assimilates to heteronormative structures. Conversely, the subject data indicates that MWSS remain in the neighbourhood regardless of the described potential impacts of gentrification. Furthermore the present data expands to other commercial hubs around Sydney such as Parramatta and North Sydney. This indicates that sex work in Sydney remains located close to CBD yet it has expanded and adapted to changing community settings.”

From newspapers surveyed, it was difficult to confirm whether the associated sex workers operated from home. Some advertisements specified venue information such as, “studio” or “apartment”, indicating that men probably sold sex from residential dwellings. The websites strongly supported that MWSS operated from home or possibly from hotel rooms. Undoubtedly, the locations of MWSS in Sydney exist from commercial areas to the suburban street. The data is consistent with the findings of Maginn and Steinmetz (2015a), that high-density urban living creates much-needed autonomy for sex work.

Although a small data sample, all the interviewees sold sex privately and independently in their homes in the CoSC area. They reported knowledge and understanding of the CoSC policy, meaning they could clearly work from home without council approval, assuring them the desired legitimacy and security. Their activities, compared to other home-occupation activities, were usually undertaken with greater discretion. As the empirical evidence suggests, the sex workers interviewed want to operate discreetly, to keep their activities hidden from their neighbours and free from stigma. These findings support the studies of the CoSC jurisdiction undertaken by Crofts and Prior (2012), Hubbard and Prior (2015) and Prior and Crofts (2015) revealing that private sex work is an appropriate activity in the residential landscape. Combined, these studies reveal that the CoSC accounts for a significant proportion of private sex-work activities in metropolitan Sydney. Yet there is a crucial need for legitimacy in other councils to promote discretion and legitimacy for private sex workers in residential zones.

As evidence shows, sex workers are sympathetic to the preservation of neighbourhood amenity such as noise levels, building access and parking. Interviewees provided access and parking information to clients prior to arrival. However, both sex workers and organisational representatives noted that stigma in the community remained. More often than not, when their activities were identified, regardless of their permissibility, there was some form of localised resistance from neighbours. This supports the assertions of Boyd et al. (2013) and

Sandercock (2000) who stress that conflict can begin when difference occurs across the neighbourhood. This also relays to the “locational politics of difference” and the rights to the city where urban politics can limit the true existence of the multicultural city as described by Fincher (2003), Fincher and Iveson (2012) and Fincher et al. (2014). Although all participants relayed current positive neighbourhood relationships, none had disclosed their work to their neighbours. The majority had revealed negative experiences when their work became public knowledge in the neighbourhood. This further supports the notion that there are identities of difference within the city that remain marginalised based on their perceived impacts.

These findings support the discussion in Chapter 5, where private sex work is a growing occupation within the sex industry. Each of the three methods in this chapter reveals that the activities of MWSS occur beyond the street to inside the homes of well-informed operators and entrepreneurs. This challenges the study of Leary and Minichiello (2007), who detail a complex and harsh Sydney-based street life for MWSS. It also disputes the community’s assumptions that sex work is only associated with vice districts and unsavoury places. This draws on earlier discussions of sex in suburbia from Bell and Valentine (1995), Crofts et al. (2013), Fincher and Jacobs (1998), Hubbard (2012), Prior, Crofts et al. (2013), Prior and Gorman-Murray (2015), and Prior and Crofts (2015). Each stresses that private sex work is perceived as a social nuisance, where, in reality, it can operate discretely and often unknowingly in the neighbourhood. The consensus of these studies (from a geographical or legal perspective) is that private sex work from home is not well understood in governance.

The qualitative findings support new discussions in private sex-work regulation as raised by Amnesty International (Murphy 2015). The interviews highlight the risk of eviction that many independent workers face on a global scale when operating from a private dwelling. This is a human-rights matter, where sex workers’ security of tenure can be violated on the basis of wanting to work from home. As discussed in Chapter 3, new studies reveal that workers benefit from legitimacy, where illegal settings can have dire impacts on their working conditions. Therefore, legitimacy of the industry of private sex work has been stressed as a key area for improving worker experience (Anderson et al. 2015; Donovan et al. 2012; Harcourt et al. 2010; Harcourt et al. 2005).

Although a decriminalised profession, sex work, as practiced in the Sydney domestic setting, is not commercial but similar to other home-based activities and, thus, should be classified the same as other home occupations. Chapter 5’s extensive evidence pertaining to the restrictive zoning provisions of the HOSS hinders private sex work. From eight of the forty-

one councils permitting the HOSS, only five allowed the activity in mixed-use residential and commercial zones, such as neighbourhood centres and local business areas. Regardless of these resistive policies, Figures 6.1 and 6.2 reveal geographically that MWSS privately advertise in locations where the HOSS is not permissible. Additionally the revelations of the three tier business typology indicate diversity in the operational styles of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. Clearly, there is a misconception about the geographies of MWSS between the assumptions and the realities of where private sex work takes place.

Finally, all the participants of this study had all participated in formal education (high school and above), were financially established, and displayed long-term tenure, such as home ownership or a signed lease agreement. As reported in this chapter, homes of participants ranged from semi-attached to high-density dwellings, all furnished with utilities and security. These private workers were not forced into the labour market of sex work, and they selected locations and premises of work of their own choosing. The interviews are consistent with contemporary Australian research, which depicts educated males in cities, operating privately in an entrepreneurial capacity, enjoying secure tenure and finances (Aggleton & Parker 2015; Donovan et al. 2012; Rowe 2011).

6.5 Summary

These findings reveal that there is a significant non-female sex worker population in metropolitan Sydney, revealing that men who sell direct sexual services account for a majority of this market. These men are more likely to work privately and covertly, utilising print and online media. Although the spatial distribution is broad, there are popular locations, such as the inner city and suburban hubs.

The data shows insight into how private sex workers operate, including premises, hours and clients. The interviewees convey that sex workers are legitimate citizens, carrying out their activities autonomously in the urban setting. Good amenities and positive relationships with neighbours are revealed as areas of interest for the workers interviewed. Consequently, this challenges perceptions of sex work as an undesirable activity in the community.

In conclusion, these findings reveal that conflict can arise within the neighbourhood where private sex workers, although citizens of the city, are treated with resistance when identified. From a spatial perspective, there is an evidential politic of difference in response to MWSS as an identity of difference.

Chapter 7: Phase three results—stakeholder insights

7.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the final phase of the research findings, presenting a series of reflections and commentary surrounding policy of the HOSS and geographies of MWSS. In-depth interviews were undertaken with industry stakeholders, who played a key role in the formation of Sydney's sex-industry policy from 1995 until present day. These individuals come from a diverse background of sex work, planning, policy and governance and distil the complexity of the HOSS and MWSS. The analysis revealed three key themes emerging from their reflections: (1) legitimacy of sex work is still in question, (2) limited level of understanding of MWSS and HOSS by practicing planners, and (3) limitations of the "city of difference" image in Sydney.

7.2 Reflection one: Legitimacy of sex work is still in question

In many regulatory contexts, sex work has been considered an undesired identity of difference in the city. Despite twenty years of decriminalisation in metropolitan Sydney, it has remained highly political, debatable and undoubtedly viewed as a sensitive land use. This, in turn, means that the regulation of sex work has historically been superseded by social outcry, a desire to "control", rather than to legitimise, in line with the original objectives of the 1995 reforms.

In theory, the sex industry and its counterparts, including private sex work, were to be categorised similarly to other commercial or home-based activities. However, the response from local councils was very different, as is detailed in Chapter 5 and as Samios, an SSPPAP panel member, articulates: "Most of the councils went into meltdown because they didn't really want to be controlling these sex-industry venues. Then you get public backlash, and it's always the vocal minority that ends up causing problems" (Samios 2015, int.).

The shift from criminality to legitimacy was to create safer environments for sex workers whilst improving community amenity. Yet, many councils twenty years on continue to use policy as a control measure, limiting sex work through zoning and planning policy. Sex work and its related activities often remain generalised and allocated to industrial zones. Those operating privately from home are often situated in the abyss of uncertainty that can exist in residential zones and neighbourhoods.

Advocates Isbister and Cox both claim authorities are being misguided in understanding the diversity of the sex worker, which leads to questions of their legitimacy.

I think we can safely say there is a differentiation in the way society views female sex workers from male sex workers, and that ties into patriarchal-type control functions. Male sex workers are less likely to experience ridicule. I think there's more likely to be a sense of "Aren't you lucky?" (Isbister 2015, int.).

Cox describes the combined impact of generalisations of those who sell sex and their associated operations:

At the moment, sex workers have the choice of being a single, stand-alone operator or working for someone. There's sort of no middle ground where you can do other stuff, and lots of people want to do stuff sort of in that middle ground, especially female sex workers. Male sex workers are a little bit more competitive, and they don't, but they want to operate as two, three, or four working from a house. There might only be two of them working at once, and the other two are doing household things or whatever. It's a good system; they support each other (Cox 2015, int.).

Sex work continues to be viewed as a problematic land use as Bates, planner and advocate for the sex industry and former SILO at SCC, stressed, "It's like in the old days—it's no different. Sex workers have not been able to benefit in any way from decriminalisation" (Bates 2015, int.). Similarly, from a policy and governance perspective, Smith, the former Brothels Task Force chair and mayor of SSC, highlighted:

I think it's an industry where the government hopes that the problem will just go away. But there are so many people out there affected by the decisions that local and state governments make, and that's the big issue. And then, obviously, the courts are relying on those decisions that governments make, because if you don't have this situation controlled in your LEP, then the courts make their own judgement rather than having something to make a judgement on (Smith 2015, int.).

The long-term vagueness in directives and policy from authorities relating to sex work has created a disorientated planning system. In particular, the absence of private sex work as a land use in LEPs has led to some contradictory decisions resulting in fragmented layers of policies, as discussed in Chapter 5. Examples include the Planning Principle's locational requirements (distance from sensitive-uses) and the multiple definitions of an SSP from the Restricted Premises Act, Brothel Amendment Act and the Environmental Planning and

Assessment Act, meaning it is nearly impossible for private workers to be a compliant land use in the residential zone.

Policy has long ignored the evidence base around sex work. Several key stakeholders—Bates (2015, int.), Isbister (2015, int.), Samios (2015, int.) and Smith (2015, int.) reflect a continual lack of support of sex-work reforms from local and state governance. Isbister (2015, int.) summarises; “There’s been no compelling reason for planning—for councils to make evidence-based decisions. They haven’t been supported in a way to do that by the State Government”. Smith also draws on the lack of governance, reasoning that sex work in general is political and, thus, not endorsed. “A politician used to make the comment, ‘Well, there are no votes in brothels’. It’s a poor way to look at it, but that was the wording of the day” (Smith 2015, int.).

Drawing on the guidelines developed by the SSPPAP, Samios, like Isbister and Smith, reveals evidence-based findings are withdrawn in favour of policy that minimises the existence of sex work in the neighbourhood:

The guidelines worked out really well. However, the government got cold feet. In fact, there was some push to—at the same time—to get some legislative change about allowing councils to [if someone is working illegally] throw them out on the street, bar their doors, and turn off the electricity and gas (Samios 2015, int.).

Bates concludes that much is still to be done by governance in the improvement of policies relating to private sex work: “From my perspective, and I’ve been around a long time, I’ve been banging on about better treatment for sex workers for over thirty years” (Bates 2015, int.). These above reflections, although from different disciplines and perspectives, all point out that the intent of law is outweighed by perceptions of morality and the desire to control sex work. Samios and Smith direct the cause to be the political instability that surrounds the regulation of sex work, as factual details and recommendations are rejected by politicians for fear in sway of public votes. Cox, Bates and Isbister note a general ignorance by authorities that sex work is a legitimate land use in Sydney.

Today, such attitudes remain, where the sex-work policy agenda is reactive rather than proactive, as a current planning manager in the NSW DoP directed:

The way the sex industry comes up is [that] the government might actively want to do something about it. Or issues might arise which bring it to the government’s attention. And feels it needs to respond (Planning Manager, NSW DoP, 2015, int.).

Changes to sex-work policy often occur in response to a specific, often problematic, situation rather than seeking to ensure a more lasting legitimacy of the industry. Recent examples include the Brothels Inquiry in 2015, which arose after an SSP located near a school in Hornsby Shire Council was found to be operating in the guise of a massage parlour (NSW Government Department of Finance, Services & Innovation 2015). The response from the community, council and media was volatile, with outrage expressed from state and local politicians resulting in a public inquiry into sex-industry regulation (refer to Chapter 5). The ministerial media release at the time from Victor Dominello, the Minister for Innovation and Better Regulation, stated, “The inquiry is in response to the need for a more targeted approach, so the community can have confidence in the regulation of brothels, and authorities have the ability to crack down on illegal activity” (NSW Government Department of Finance, Services & Innovation 2015).

In contrast, two interviewees reflected on politics and governance as driving advocates for sex-work legitimacy. Macken, former councillor of SSC, and Thomas, planning manager at CoSC, refer to the SSC policy as being a case study of best practice. Macken’s insight revealed that sex work has long existed in cities, and thus, it is not an activity which can be eliminated. Rather, laws should be utilised to legitimise the activity:

It just goes to show what, with proper leadership and consensus, what you can do in politics. Because we achieved something that Napoleon couldn’t do with his guns: he couldn’t stop his soldiers from having sex with all those prostitutes and camp followers. And the Nazis can’t do it, and Kim Jong-un in North Korea still has a sex industry. You cannot regulate it out of existence, so don’t make it illegal (Macken 2015, int.).

Thomas points out that policy promoting legitimacy of sex work can create an accepting and educated community, as “the planning controls are fairly supportive; there’s a general permissibility and acceptance of private sex work” (Thomas 2015, int.). It is clear that legitimacy of sex work is critical for private sex workers operating from home. Resistance to sex work in the home resonates a myriad of issues for private workers, driven by anticipated community uproar, where, in response, local authorities restrict the existence of the activity. Key stakeholders narrate a circumstance where governments fail to realise that overly restrictive policy does not “control” sex work at home. Rather, it drives it further underground. Clearly, in the past twenty years of decriminalisation, the path for sex work towards legitimacy is weary, delicate and contentious.

7.3 Reflection two: Limited level of understanding of MWSS and HOSS by practising planners

Analysing the interview data revealed an historical misunderstanding of the HOSS and MWSS by authorities and planners. All the planners interviewed in this study worked in inner city areas of Sydney and demonstrated their own sound understanding of this topical land use. Yet all maintain that the HOSS and MWSS are not well understood by a significant number of practising planners or authorities in wider Sydney. Some participants attribute the circumstance to a discriminatory culture, a resistance often driven by the presumption that sex work creates negative externalities to the neighbourhood, as Bates summarised: “They think all sex workers walk a path of criminality and all associates are sort of involved in drug dealing and trafficking and drug running” (Bates 2015, int.).

Contrary to these perceptions, interviewees stressed that evidence-based research conducted by the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP revealed private sex work to be no different to other occupations in the home. Yet as detailed in Chapter 5 there were no changes to planning policy in majority of Sydney’s local governance to improve the legitimacy of sex work in the home. Smith (2015) draws on sex as a normal part of suburban life, where residents have the right to privacy:

In a home or a unit, why are private sex workers being treated any differently to ordinary, everyday couples? Why have they got to lodge a development application to continue their own occupation when the State Government already says prostitution is legal? Why does [the] council want to prohibit them? If you want to do something, then introduce a policy that gives them protection and allows them to get on with their lives (Smith 2015, int.).

Cirrillo also draws on the normativity of sex, highlighting it as a private act when between two consenting adults. When sex occurs indoors, it requires respect and privacy from authorities and neighbours:

Two private individuals engaging in sex ... largely involves those two people and no one else, particularly where you have a regulatory regime where it takes it off the street. It does affect you if they’re doing it in a car or doing it in a street, but if you’re doing it in premises, then really it should be no one else’s business as long as health and safety is addressed (Cirrillo 2015, int.).

Combined the investigations of the Brothels Taskforce, and SSPPAP, the policy of SSC and CoSC as well as the commentary of Smith and Cirrillo indicate that there were some initiatives from some authorities to educate practising planners in the diversity of sex work as a land use. Yet Smith, Cirrillo and Samios note that education remains limited proven by the lack of governance endorsement for the SSPPG; thus, a lack of differentiation between sex-work activities remains. Commercial sex work is more widely accepted in industrial and commercial zones in comparison to the lone worker in the neighbourhood. Smith articulates, “the word, ‘discrimination’, came up in terms of, you’re saying no to one worker but you can say yes to five workers in a brothel” (2015, int.). Similarly, Samios stressed that these misunderstandings can cause confusion for planners when implementing policy:

There has always been confusion between running brothels and working as a sex worker from home ... At the time [before decriminalisation], there were a number of illegal brothels being established in residential areas, and this was causing a backlash in many communities as it seemed to be difficult for local councils to close them down. So, any proposed legislation had to be very carefully drafted so that it could not also be used on home sex workers (Samios 2015, int.).

Samios describes a situation where private sex workers can often be scapegoated with the same externalities as SSPs by authorities. This conclusion can also be drawn through the policy reviews indicating that many of the councils which provided local planning controls specifically for sex work often categorised it within the broad category of the commercial sex industry and the SSP. This all-encompassing approach fails to understand the diversity of sex work venue types such as the HOSS. Of interest in terms of general commercial activities planners can clearly understand and differentiate between a variety of business operations in terms of premises size, number of employees, customers visiting and production of goods. For example the standard instrument discussed in Chapter 5 provides multiple definitions for commercial activities such as the ‘home occupation’, ‘home business’, ‘business premises’, ‘garden centre’ and ‘heavy industry’. Yet often all forms of sex work remain generically categorised as an SSP. This indicates that within governance and planning practise there is a limited understanding of how sex work is conducted as land use and activity within the community.

In stark contrast, the CoSC and the SSC were both referred to as examples in having a clear understanding of private sex work and its difference to an SSP. Commenting on the policies of some councils to restrict all forms of sex work to only industrial zones, including the HOSS,

Scott, a CoSC councillor, responded, “I think it’s completely wrong to have these kinds of people working in an industrial area” (Scott 2015, int.). Thomas, a CoSC planning manager, accounts their planners’ knowledge of sex work to be of equal importance in the implementation of well-informed, coherent and relevant policy: “[It does] the heavy lifting in terms of getting a policy framework that generally strikes that balance between community expectations and industry expectations” (Thomas 2015, int.).

Narrowing in on planners’ understandings of MWSS privately, the interviews revealed that men have long been dissociated with the identity of a sex worker, as Smith stated: “There’s no relation to the male sex worker” (2015, int.). Though Samios recollects early acknowledgements and attempts to educate councils about MWSS as there was a male sex worker as a panel member of the SSPPAP:

We actually had a male sex worker, and his stories were very similar as women sex workers. His, in a lot of ways, were about more privacy, because often the men, his clients, were men who were not portraying their sexuality in their public lives (Samios 2015, int.).

The understanding of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney still requires unveiling, particularly, as MWSS are more likely to operate privately (Berg et al. 2011; Donovan et al. 2012). Not only is the HOSS misunderstood, males within the identity of sex worker are often overlooked by planners. Participants demonstrated their own knowledge in the diversity of sex work and the need to recognise the HOSS. Yet they stress that planners who are responsible for this land use continue to fail to understand the activity of private sex work in the home to be the same as any other any other home occupation.

7.4 Reflection three: Limitations of the “city of difference” image in Sydney

This last section considers Sydney as a “city of difference” and its acceptance of the identity of difference, such as MWSS privately working from home. Ethically, planners must account for the diversity of land uses in the city. The reflections draw on the “locational politics of difference” described in Chapter 2, where social attitudes can isolate the urban “other”.

Macken (2015, int.), Maher, a planning officer in Sydney’s inner west (2015, int.), and Samios (2015, int.) all agree that private sex work is an undesired identity of difference in Sydney. Macken refers to religion and morality: “There’s a moral, religious, overtone to it which

comes in, which is unfortunate” (Macken 2015, int.). Maher reveals the perception that sex work in the neighbourhood can threaten the normality of everyday life:

One of the main concerns [from the community] would be increasing crime, drugs, and alcohol, devaluation in housing prices, and there’s nothing there to back that up. We [council] haven’t found anything to ascertain whether or not there are such grounds there to reduce home values (Maher 2015, int.).

Whilst Samios visualises the immediate fear from the community that sex work can attract undesirable characters:

Someone said to me, “It’s the idea of a man walking around with one hand on his hundred-dollar note in his pocket and the other hand on his private member”. It’s that image in their head that people don’t like (Samios 2015, int.).

Referring to present attitudes in Sydney’s suburban localities and drawing on the spectrum of contention in Chapter 2; Maher highlights that private sex work is beyond the nimby and in the “not in anybody’s backyard” (NIABY) category, as there is a strong geographical and social resistance to sex work in the home:

You could relate it to a nimby, “not in my backyard”. However, with a lot of high-rise developments, you normally get the objectors suggesting within their submissions where we should be building rather than not. But I find, with a lot of submissions objecting to sex services, there’s no suggestions as to where they should go (Maher 2015, int.).

In contrast, some interviewees detailed examples of community acceptance and tolerance of private sex work. Areas closer to the Sydney CBD or sub-commercial centres were noted as having a more understanding residential population, as Wang, a former planner in Sydney’s eastern suburbs, reflects:

I think it was a very flat, generic approach that we took, because I suspect that the council did recognise the sensitive nature of the use—as well as the residents that we catered for. I think it’s not as dynamic as, say, a place like City of Sydney Council, where there’s various controls to address the different tiers of that same land use (Wang 2015, int.).

Wang attributes geography in the acceptance of difference. The homogeneity of Sydney suburban life is limited in comparison to the urbanised Sydney CBD. Such comments draw on

Maginn and Steinmetz's (2015b) description of sex work in urban areas—high density and high patronage create the desired autonomy for sex work. The concentration of urban life creates cosmopolitan centres. Conversely, there are number of conflicting land uses forced to coexist. For MWSS privately, this means they are just one of many identities of difference, in comparison to being the only (or few) identities of difference in the suburban setting.

Drawing on the CoSC, Scott highlights acceptance towards minorities of difference is driven by the community's global and progressive culture:

I also think, now in the community, [it] has absolutely changed attitudes. People are just much more accepting of these kinds of things. I remember when one development application came before council: There was a floor plan, and there was discussion about what would happen in each of the rooms. And one of the rooms was designed in a particular way to be wheelchair accessible. And council saw that was great, that [it] was really important to make sure there was a diversity of use and that it was meeting the needs of the community, however diverse those needs might be (Scott 2015, int.).

Scott reveals not only is sex work is an accepted activity in the CoSC, it is one which is understood to operate diversely. That is, sex work can operate in a variety of venue types and cater to a variety of clients, including the elderly and the less abled. Cirillo attributes a community that generally accepts difference in the neighbourhood, strengthened through local policy:

In the inner city, I think we were fortunate in the sense that the community didn't actively seek to undermine the policy position of the council, and were, if not coming out in support of it, weren't also advocating against it, and were just, I think, fairly accepting of the fact that they existed and would continue to exist, and so we may as well get them regulated (Cirillo 2015, int.).

Although the CoSC is an example of where multiple identities can exist cohesively, these reflections demonstrate that, twenty years since decriminalisation, limitations to Sydney as a global city in celebrating difference remain. In terms of the locational politics of difference, there remains a significant resistance to diversity. At times, reforms which seek to promote inclusion can also be counterproductive, as Macken concludes:

Maybe the state should have another crack at it [the sex industry reforms]. But at the moment, if you push, you've always got to be careful with this issue. Because if

you're trying to push issues forward as progressive as sex workers, you run the risk of having raised the issue. You get a big push back (Macken 2015, int.).

In conclusion, politics and policy continue to restrict the acceptance of multiple identities of difference in Sydney.

7.5 Discussion

The three main themes emerging from interviewee reflections present key areas for consideration since sex work was decriminalised. The first theme emerged as many of the interviewees revealed that the legitimacy of sex work remains questioned today, even as a decriminalised activity. For many, morality was raised as an influential factor, resonating with Harcourt's article "Who's Morality? Brothel Planning in Sydney" (Harcourt 1999), published nearly two decades ago. The legitimacy of sex work remains under question, where private sex workers, in this context being MWSS, are forced to navigate within a complex planning system, one that is nearly impossible to comply with. These insights of legitimacy reveal that the concept of private sex work and the domestic space in policy remain ambiguous and fragmented.

These reflections reveal that policy fails to focus on the evidence; rather, it is influenced by these described misconstrued perceptions of sex work and MWSS. This resonates with the studies of Prior and Crofts (2012), Prior and Gorman-Murray (2015) and Prior, Crofts et al. (2013), who argue that private sex work is resisted as it remains viewed as a disturbance to the homogeneity of the neighbourhood. These authors and the subject findings consistently indicate a localised resistance to sex work that is often indirectly supported through governance. Thus sex work in any form is often seen as an undesirable activity in the residential zone, where sex workers can become what Crofts (2010) describes as outlaws rather than citizens. The findings also echo the study of Crofts and Prior (2012) who identify in Sydney a common misrepresentation in policy and governance that home occupations are brothels. Twenty years since the industry has been decriminalised, the legitimacy of sex work remains debatable".

On the second reflection, the planners interviewed noted that there has been a historical misunderstanding of the HOSS and MWSS by planners themselves. These participants were involved in reform or advocated for reform, which provided well-rounded, evidence-based strategic policies for sex work in the home. However, the implementation of these strategies, policies, and advisory bodies has been partial, as governance has continually limited the

possibility of change. This was most recently evident through the lack of governance response to the Brothels Inquiry, presented in Chapter 5.

Although these interviewees reveal their own in-depth understanding of private sex work, they revealed that many practising planners fail to view private sex work similarly to other home occupations. Many planners cannot differentiate between commercial and private sex work, thus generalising all forms of sex work to occur in the context of an SSP. This means that many planners continue to isolate private sex work from the residential zone, favouring industrial zones. This resistance towards private sex work in neighbourhoods is driven by “moral panics”—the view of sex work as a “social problem”—harnessing sexual diseases, safety of local children, trafficking, exploitation, drug use and criminal activity (Hubbard & Prior 2013, p. 141; Hubbard 2009; Hubbard & Whowell 2008). However it must be noted that there is a geographical interest in sex work as revealed by the studies of Hubbard (2012), Hubbard and Sanders (2003), Hubbard and Whowell (2008). Specifically there are emerging studies in Sydney addressing these complications. Maginn and Steinmetz (2015a) refer to Sydney as “Cosmo- sexual” and build on the governance as a base case for international comparison. There is also Crofts and Prior (2012) and Prior and Crofts (2015) whom have for the past few years explored the current planning controls relating to the HOSS in Sydney.

Focusing on MWSS, interviewees agreed that there was an acknowledgment of this identity of difference by planners in metropolitan Sydney. This was demonstrated by the male sex worker representative on the Brothels Taskforce and the SSPPAP, yet all agree the understanding of this stakeholder remains limited. This lack of acknowledgement of MWSS as identity of difference was of particular concern raised by sex industry stakeholders interviewed. Furthermore the topic of MWSS is gaining momentum as revealed by the multiple contemporary studies presented in Chapter 4, as Minichello et al. (2014) note that men (along with those of transgender identity) account for up to 15 per cent of the international sex worker population. Specifically, planners need to be better educated in understanding the diversity of sex work and the identity of the sex worker in order to implement more appropriate policy.

Finally, the limitations of the “city of difference” image in Sydney found that the interviewees’ reflections corresponded with literature in Chapter 2, the policy findings in Chapter 5, as well as the geographical findings presented in Chapter 6. Interviewees indicated that the councils closer to the Sydney CBD, with a more cosmopolitan nature, were further accepting of the HOSS. They also revealed that outer suburban areas had a long-standing

resistance to private sex work as an identity of difference in Sydney. Specifically, they reported that the rights of MWSS privately are limited in the city, driven by a premediated fear of sex work as an undesirable activity. A locational politics of difference emerges as described by Jacobs and Fincher (1998), where sex work is a highly topical and debatable land use when proposed within the neighbourhood.

7.6 Summary

This chapter provides key stakeholder insight into the MWSS and the HOSS over the twenty years since sex work has been decriminalised in Sydney, New South Wales. It is evident that the legitimacy of sex work remains under question from communities and governments. This is evident by the resistive controls imposed on private sex work by many councils in Sydney. Clearly, it is important that the sex industry is accounted for but not on the basis of misconstrued community fears. Additionally, the reflections reveal that the HOSS can operate the same as any other home occupation, yet the majority of Sydney's councils continue to misunderstand the nature of the activity. Finally, despite global Sydney's reputation as a sophisticated, pluralistic community, there is still failure to recognise MWSS privately as an identity of difference.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the investigative approach adopted in this study of MWSS and the HOSS. The summary is followed by my reflections on the strengths and constraints of the research, concluding with a short discussion of potential opportunities for future research.

8.2 Research approach

The aim of this research was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the HOSS and private sex work with MWSS in metropolitan Sydney from a planning perspective. As a decriminalised activity, the sex industry in New South Wales is a diverse entity in terms of business operations, activities and premises types, where private sex work accounts for a significant proportion of the industry (NSW Government 2001). Given that metropolitan Sydney is the most populated city in New South Wales and that new technologies are advancing, private sex-work operations are estimated to be evermore on the rise. However, issues emerge as current policies in Sydney fail to recognise the HOSS and MWSS, and so continue to isolate what is a legitimate industry and activity. Subsequently, the research proposed the following thesis statement:

In metropolitan Sydney, current policy response from local governments relating to private sex work continues to encourage a legitimate occupation to remain underground and experience disadvantage compared to other home-based work activities.

Three main research questions guiding the investigations were:

1. In the context of key stakeholders, to what extent are sex-work policies clearly evident?
2. What are the geographies of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney?
3. Twenty years since decriminalisation of the sex industry, what are the industry and government perspectives of private sex work?

Based on these research questions, the following research objectives were established:

- Review the planning approach relating to private sex work in metropolitan Sydney.
- Identify spatial locations of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney.
- Investigate the understandings of private sex work from an industry and a planning perspective, twenty years since decriminalisation.

The framework for the research was based on the theoretical concept of cities of difference and the multiple identities that inhabit them (Jacobs & Fincher 1998). Identities of difference are interchangeable and vary, where planners are required to manage the inclusion of each in the built form on a daily basis. When certain identities are isolated over others, the result is a fragmented city of difference, and marginalised groups can emerge. “Men who sell sex” privately from home is one identity of difference, which exists globally and locally, that can experience resistance.

Question one: In the context of key stakeholders, to what extent are sex-work policies clearly evident?

Chapter 5, phase one results, identified eleven key milestones relating to private sex-work policy. The results indicated that since decriminalisation there has been a historical resistance to private sex work and a clear misunderstanding of the activity from governance and society. Key findings included these points: (1) there is a lack of differentiation between commercial and private sex work, (2) the HOSS is not classified the same as other home-based occupations, and (3) the HOSS remains a prohibited activity in majority of metropolitan Sydney’s councils.

There is a resistance to sex work in the residential zone; consequently, there are multiple layers of policy from the NSW LEC, State Government, and councils relating to the activity. Most councils incorporate the SSP to account for all venue and operation types associated with sex work. This is encouraged by the conflicting definitions of the SSP, namely, the difference between commercial and private sex work, where the confusion circulates around the number of sex workers. As a reminder, the Restricted Premises Act defines the SSP as any premises selling sexual services, including the individual worker. The Brothels Amendment Act excludes the individual worker from the SSP to protect their rights of tenure, whilst the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act recognises the HOSS as an activity to occur within the home with up to two residential workers. Such occurrences have contributed to

multiple land-use definitions and planning provisions, creating additional layers and jurisdictions to sex-work law.

Secondly, policy is discriminatory towards the HOSS; although the activity is undertaken similarly to other home-based occupations—providing a service to customers—it remains to be defined separately. Other home-based activities enjoy the freedom of working from home without council approval, whilst sex workers are subject to LEP controls, such as development consent.

Thirdly, the LEP review found that 81 per cent of metropolitan Sydney councils did not permit the HOSS anywhere within their jurisdiction. Thus, private sex workers are given limited opportunities and forced to operate covertly within their own homes.

In contrast, the analysis of the former SSC and CoSC indicated the HOSS and MWSS to be long-standing and legitimate activities. These two jurisdictions are the only councils which have permitted private sex work to operate the same as other home occupations. In the early stages of decriminalisation, the State Government attempted to follow suit of the SSC, and it established the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP. Although both panels understood the activities of private sex work, their research and guidelines have never been endorsed by the State Government.

This research concludes that policy seeks to “control” private sex work, rather than to recognise it as an activity in its own right, suitable in the residential zone. There is anxiety around the selling of sex in the neighbourhood, even if it is sold discreetly and privately. These milestones reveal that there has been a continual misinterpretation of private sex work. As such, the clarity and effectiveness of sex-work policy in metropolitan Sydney were found to be ambiguous, vague and fragmented. Private workers, although conducting legitimate work, are faced with a political and sensitive environment.

Question two: What are the geographies of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney?

Chapter 6, phase two results, sought to answer the second research question through a spatial analysis of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney. The newspaper and website reviews provided quantitative insights, whilst in-depth interviews with industry stakeholders, including sex workers, provided qualitative insight into an elusive industry. The results conveyed that men sell sex privately from home in the Sydney region, regardless of the permissibility of the HOSS. These methods correlate that men operate from home in areas close to transport and commercial hubs, particularly, in the central business district and

surrounding inner-city areas. These areas historically have had strong ties with sex work, proving to be popular locations of choice. However, the research reveals that private sex work occurs in the hubs of suburbia, not just the city.

The newspaper and website review revealed that MWSS are an identity of difference to be recognised in Sydney, accounting for a significant proportion of the non-female sex worker market. The print advertisements gave an indication that men advertise services in areas where the HOSS is not a permissible land use. The website review revealed that men have the capability to work and advertise across three mediums of work: commercial venues (Tier One), networking websites (Tier Two), and personal websites (Tier Three). The data revealed that it was more common for men to work individually in the capacity of Tier Two and Tier Three. This indicates that the exact of locations and venues of MWSS in metropolitan Sydney are variable, given the lack of clarity in the permissibility of the HOSS.

All of the sex workers interviewed operated in the CoSC jurisdiction with knowledge of the policy and reported the benefits to their work when legitimatised. These workers reported that they operated discretely, with good relationships with their unsuspecting neighbours. These workers also highlighted that privacy and autonomy were critical in their work, as they provided safety and security for themselves and their clients. Interviewees expressed that there are huge risks of safety when a sex worker's location is revealed. In summary, the empirical data reveals that men sell sex throughout metropolitan Sydney, in regions or suburbs rather than specific locations.

Question three: Twenty years since decriminalisation of the sex industry, what are the industry and government understandings of private sex work?

Chapter 7, the third and final stage of results, presented stakeholder commentary of policy since the decriminalisation of the industry in 1995. The interviews with key policymakers, planners and industry organisations revealed that many of the issues raised in the early years of decriminalisations remain. As such, the objectives for legitimising the industry remain displaced where private workers are forced to operate within a series of policies that are difficult to comply with. Workers, thus, because they sell sex, do not experience the same rights to exist in the neighbourhood as other home-based operations. Three key themes emerged from the stakeholder reflections:

- The legitimacy of sex work remains questioned

- Practising planners have a vague and ambiguous understanding of the HOSS and MWSS
- There are limitations of the “city of difference” image in Sydney

The insights revealed that Sydney prides itself as a cosmopolitan city, yet it still resists some identities of difference, such as MWSS privately from home. The extent of the diversity in terms of sex workers, their operations and venue types remains relatively unknown by authorities. Although educational and evidence-based attempts for reform by the State Government were made in the early stages of decriminalisation (the Brothels Task Force and the SSPPAP), the impact of such initiatives is limited. Sex work, particularly private sex work, continues to be categorised by many councils as a noxious land use, where regulation often intends to control its proximity to the neighbourhood. Additionally, the understandings of MWSS remain limited, not only in metropolitan Sydney but globally. These revelations inform us that even though sex work is decriminalised, planning approaches need to be reacquainted with the reform objectives, proposed more than twenty years ago, to ensure that MWSS privately are accounted for in metropolitan Sydney.

8.3 Empirical research contribution

This thesis contributes to the emerging field of research around MWSS and private sex work, building on existing understandings of the land use HOSS in metropolitan Sydney from a planning perspective. Relating to the research questions and objectives, this research has contributed the following:

1. There is a lack of clarity in relation to the current policies pertaining to the HOSS as a land use in metropolitan Sydney. Policy fails to clearly differentiate between private sex work and commercial sex work. There is a general resistance to these activities within the residential zone. As such, the HOSS as a land use is fragmented and establishes itself within a scene of legitimacy and resistance. Thus, many private workers remain “underground”. This occurs whilst other home occupations are allowed to operate within the local neighbourhood without council permission.
2. Men sell sex in metropolitan Sydney, where spatial trends indicate that the restrictions of the HOSS do not stop the activity from occurring. Popular locations include areas close to the central business district, commercial areas and transport hubs. Workers and clients operate discreetly in the everyday context of the city, maintaining good community relationships. The internet reveals that MWSS have

capability to work and advertise across three mediums of work: commercial venues (Tier One), networking websites (Tier Two), and personal websites (Tier Three).

3. Private sex work remains a resisted activity, limiting the objectives of decriminalisation even after twenty years. Practising planners fail to differentiate between private sex work and commercial sex work and are limited in understanding the diversity of sex workers—meaning that men can also sell sex. This limits the cosmopolitan nature of Sydney as a “city of difference” as certain identities remain restricted from mainstream society for being the urban “other”.

As such, in consideration of the above, the research supports the hypothesis that:

Within metropolitan Sydney, current policy response from local governments relating to private sex work continues to encourage a legitimate occupation to remain underground and experience disadvantage compared to other home-based work activities.

8.4 Limitations of the research

The research focused on metropolitan Sydney, a “city of difference” in which sex work is decriminalised. The emphasis was on MWSS privately from home within the Sydney region from a planning policy perspective. The investigation was conducted through a combination of qualitative and quantitative data: newspaper advertisements and websites analysis, review of planning policies, and in-depth interviews. These combined methods created the opportunity to delve into a private and relatively under-investigated topic.

The study of sex work through the geographical lens is relatively new as researchers attempt to understand the behaviours of sex workers in the built environment. This is challenging and topical as it creates a greater vulnerability for potential sex worker participants. A total of seventeen key stakeholders were interviewed for this thesis. Understandably, the selection could be viewed as a limitation for two reasons: 1) as described, difficulties to engage sex workers and 2) only a few key experts and planners had knowledge of sex-work policy in Sydney. However, this research undertook a broader expert review, seeking insights from planners, policymakers, and sex-work organisations as well as advocates.

On the other hand, my in-depth interviews included visiting the homes of private sex workers, where I was invited into the most private parts of their lives. Thus, a mutual trust and respect was formed with my participants. However, this took considerable time to

develop, and, as such, only a few private sex workers could be engaged into this study. Fields of interest, such as periodic daily accounts of selling sex from home, could not be achieved as such access was not granted by participants.

Additionally, the wording of proposed questions to sex-industry stakeholders was subject to a rigorous ethical review through ACON in 2015. This itself was a limitation as questions were somewhat controlled by a third party. In contrast, this ensured that the questions were relevant and appropriate for participants to answer comfortably.

The use of print and online media through newspaper and online searches was a complimentary method to delve into the locations of MWSS. Of those interviewed, even though access to their homes was granted, no detailed information of the locations could be provided. In response, I utilised public sources, such as advertisements, to map and identify popular locations for MWSS. Given that many sex workers operate under aliases and provide limited information to the public, the data could not be considered as one true, reliant source. Thus, the print and online media were collectively utilised to provide consistency to the interview findings.

The policy review did provide certainty to the investigation—the HOSS is not a permissible land use in many of Sydney’s council’s. My skills as a practising planner allowed me to analyse legislation and policy for private sex work within the planning context. The result is a detailed map of the gaps and misunderstandings in policy relating to the HOSS as a land use and sex work as a decriminalised activity. The research findings, although in-depth, cannot provide absolute certainty to the subject. Rather, these are insights into the activities of MWSS and the HOSS, which are clearly misunderstood.

8.5 Implications for future research

This study contributes to understanding of sex work in two parts: that men sell sex and that sex work can be conducted in the home as a discrete activity, similarly to other home-based work. The diversity of the sex worker identity needs to be recognised, as many laws for sex work are continually based on the assumption that only women sell sex—often focusing on their protection. Thus, the diversity of sex workers and their operations are misrepresented, compromising the needs and rights of this stakeholder. Recognition of MWSS indicates that sex work is a multifaceted and interchangeable occupation, one that needs to be further investigated as it evolves with our cities.

Relating to private sex work in the home, this study demonstrates that new discussions need to focus further on the impacts that restrictive policy can have on workers and their civic rights. Those selling sex from home risk eviction when confused for an SSP, which can have dire consequences for the individual. The HOSS is an activity which should be categorised similarly to other home occupations, not be differentiated. Rather than seeking to include and account for sex work in local planning, majority of Sydney's councils continually control the existence of private sex work. This is driven by the perception that it has undesirable impacts to the neighbourhood when in close proximity. This research, along with existing geographical studies, details that sex work can occur in the residential zone without the feared external negativities long associated by some in the community. There is a failure to realise that sex is a private activity when occurring in one's home, and the planner's role is not to question morality. Rather, planners should facilitate the inclusion and acceptance of this decriminalised identity of difference.

Additionally, the revelation of the three-tier business typology of MWSS in Sydney establishes a new framework in which to explore their spatial placement in the city. The geographies of sex are often categorised as "public" (street-based sex work) or "indoors" (commercial venues or private premises). There is potential to identify geographical trends in line with technological changes associated with sex work and link them with their urban surroundings. Future researchers have the opportunity to apply this model internationally to investigate whether it exists in other contemporary global cities. Potential research questions could focus on the relationships between urban density and the three-tier model—for example, does the three-tier typological exist in global cities, or are certain tiers more popular in specific built environments? Future studies can also utilise this new typology to examine the market of MWSS from a broad perspective: the business models, sexualities, clients, services and locations. This is a new research lens in which to understand MWSS as an identity of difference.

This study indicates that sex work is a land use that requires the attention of planners, particularly when we are tasked with managing cities of difference. This is an example of where minority identities are isolated through planning controls and their legitimacy questioned. In ignoring the implications of current policy, planners in Sydney are failing in their role to encourage the growth of this dynamic global city. This research contributes to much-needed understanding of MWSS and private sex work in the home.

Glossary

Adult entertainment: Entertainment of an adult nature (R 18+), such as erotic dancing or pornography, but does not include sexual services.

Brothel: Can also mean a sex services premises (SSP). This is a commercial sex-industry venue where sex is sold and purchased on site.

Commercial sex premises: A brothel or an SSP.

Direct sex services: Sexual services (known as penetrative sex) for remuneration. Direct sex workers engage in full-time or part-time work and can be employed by a third party or can work independently (see Appendix E).

Indirect sex services: Sexual services ranging from limited to nil genital contact, such as erotic massage, body slide, virtual sex, phone sex or lap dancing (see Appendix E).

Men who sell sex (MWSS): A contemporary term for male sex workers applied to these stakeholders as they do not always identify as sex workers

Nimbyism: “Not in my backyard” syndrome.

Non-female sex workers: Sex workers who are not female (i.e. transgender, transsexual or male).

Sex on premises (SoP): A sex-industry venue where sex occurs on site but is not exclusively organised by the venue operator. Examples include swingers or gentleman’s clubs where an entry fee into the venue is chargeable but the commercial exchange of the sexual service (if applicable) is separate.

References

- Aggleton, P. (Ed.). (1999). *Men Who Sell Sex: International perspectives on Male prostitution and AIDs*. London: UCL Press.
- Aggleton, P., & Parker, R. G. (2015). Male sex work: current characteristics and recent transformations. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex. Global perspectives* (pp. 1–15). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ahlfeldt, G., & Maennig, W. (2012). Voting on a NIMBY Facility: Proximity Cost of an "Iconic" Stadium. *Urban Affairs Review*, 48(2), 205–237. doi:10.1177/1078087411423644
- Alizadeh, T. (2013). Planning implications of telework: A policy analysis of the Sydney metropolitan strategy. *Australian Planner*, 50(4), 304–315. doi:10.1080/07293682.2013.764906
- Amnesty International (2016). *Amnesty International Policy on state obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of sex workers* (Report no. 30/4062/2016). Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol30/4062/2016/en/>
- Anderson, S., Jia, J. X., Liu, V., Chatter, J., Krüsi, A., Allan, S., ... Shannon, K. (2015). Violence prevention and municipal licensing of indoor sex work venues in the Greater Vancouver Area: narratives of migrant sex workers, managers and business owners. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 17(7), 825–841. doi:10.1080/13691058.2015.1008046
- Armstrong, L. (2010). Out of the Shadows (and Into a Bit of Light): Decriminalisation, Human Rights and Street Based Sex Work in New Zealand. In K. Hardy, S. Kingston, & T. Sanders (Eds.), *New sociologies of sex work* (pp. 39–57). Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- AT Kearney. (2015). *Global Cities 2015: The Race Accelerates*. Retrieved from <https://www.atkearney.com/documents/10192/5911137/Global+Cities+201+-+The+Race+Accelerates.pdf/7b239156-86ac-4bc6-8f30-048925997ac4>
- Atkins, M., & Laing, M. (2012). Walking the beat and doing business: Exploring spaces of male sex work and public sex. *Sexualities*, 15(5-6), 622–643.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *Greater Sydney (GCCSA): People*. 2010-2014. Australia. Retrieved from Commonwealth of Australia website: stat.abs.gov.au
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2009, May). *Media Release - Catching up on work' the main reason for working at home: ABS (Media Release)*. Retrieved from

<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mediareleasesbytitle/E37EAC07100B63B5CA2575AF007DCDDA?OpenDocument>

- Australian Government. (2016). *Australian values statement*. Retrieved from <https://www.border.gov.au/Trav/Life/Aust/Values-statement/living-in-australia-values-statement-long>
- Babbie, E. R. (2013). *The practice of social research* (13th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Baker, D., & Freestone, R. (2012). Land Use Planning for Privatized Airports. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 78(3), 328–341. doi:10.1080/01944363.2012.716315
- Bar-Johnson, M., & Weiss, P. (2014). A Comparison of Male Sex Workers in Prague: Internet Escorts versus Men Who Work in Specialized Bars and Clubs. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 52(3), 338–346. doi:10.1080/00224499.2013.848256
- Barlow, C (1994) A Brothel Owners View. In Perkins. R, Prestage. G, Sharp. R, & Lovejoy, F (Eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* pp.123-140. Sydney, University of New South Wales Press.
- Batty, M., & Marshall, S. (2009). Centenary paper: The evolution of cities: Geddes, Abercrombie and the new physicalism. *Town Planning Review*, 80(6), 551–574. doi:10.3828/tpr.2009.12
- Bauer, T (2014, February 1) Business of Pleasure (photographs) *Sydney morning Herald, Good Weekend* p. 1, 11-13.
- BBC News (2014, December 14). Human Trafficking Bill: Paying for sex to become a crime in Northern Ireland. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-30404275>
- Begum, S., Hocking, J. S., Groves, J., Fairley, C. K., & Keogh, L. A. (2012). Sex workers talk about sex work: six contradictory characteristics of legalised sex work in Melbourne, Australia. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 15(1), 85–100. doi:10.1080/13691058.2012.743187
- Bell, D., & Valentine, G. (1995). Introduction: Orientations. In D. Bell & G. Valentine (Eds.), *Mapping Desire. Geographies of sexualities* (pp. 1–30). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Berg, R., Bates, J., & Harcourt, C. (2011). *South Eastern Sydney and Illawarra Health Region Gap Analysis 'At Risk' Sex Workers Report*. Retrieved from NSW Government Health: South Eastern Sydney Local Health District website:

<http://www.seslhd.health.nsw.gov.au/HARP/Documents/SexWorkersGapAnalysisReport.pdf>

- Bimbi, D., & Koken, J. (2014). Public Health Policy and Practice with Male Sex Workers. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 198–221). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.008
- Bimbi, D. S. (2007). Male prostitution: pathology, paradigms and progress in research. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 53(1-2), 7–35. doi:10.1300/J082v53n01_02
- Binnie, J. (1995). Trading Places: Consumption, Sexuality and the Production of Queer Space. In D. Bell & G. Valentine (Eds.), *Mapping Desire. Geographies of sexualities* (pp. 182–199). USA and Canada: Routledge.
- Bondi, L. (1998). Sexing the City. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 177–200). New York: New York: Guilford Press.
- BOP Consulting Editorial Team. (2015). *World Cities Culture Report 2015*. London. Retrieved from World Cities Culture Forum website: <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/arts-and-culture/arts-and-culture-publications/world-cities-culture-report-2015>
- Boyd, W., Exter, K., Whitehead, R., Howton, K., & Boyd, P. (2013). Evaluating progress towards land use conflict program outcome targets. *Australian Planner*, 50(1), 13–34. doi:10.1080/07293682.2012.688840
- Brents, B. G., & Sanders, T. (2010). Mainstreaming the Sex Industry: Economic Inclusion and Social Ambivalence. *Journal of Law & Society*, 37(1), 40–60.
- Bugg, L., & Gurran, N. (2011). Urban planning process and discourses in the refusal of Islamic Schools in Sydney, Australia. *Australian Planner*, 48(4), 281–291. doi:10.1080/07293682.2011.593531
- Campbell, S. (1996). Green cities, growing cities, just cities? *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 62(3), 296.
- Chapman, P. (Producer) & Midwinter Pitt, V. (Director). (2007) Rampant: How an unlikely gang of gays, prostitutes and junkies thwarted an AIDS catastrophe in Australia [Documentary]. Australia: ABC TV.
- City of Sydney Council (2016). *About us*. Retrieved from <http://www.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/about-us>
- City of Sydney Council (2017). Historical photos and maps [South Sydney Council boundary map]. Retrieved from <http://www.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/learn/search-our-collections/historical-photographs-and-maps>.

- Commonwealth of Australia. (2016). *Smart Cities Plan: Cities*. Canberra. Retrieved from Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet website: <https://cities.dpmc.gov.au/smart-cities-plan>
- Comte, J. (2014). Decriminalization of Sex Work: Feminist Discourses in Light of Research. *Sexuality & Culture*, 18(1), 196–217. doi:10.1007/s12119-013-9174-5
- Crines, S.C., Spicer, A., Durodie, B., Spencer, D., Cairney, P., Taylor-Goodby, P., ... Dhingra, S. (2016, June). Brexit is on: Britain votes to leave the EU experts respond. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from the conversation website: <http://theconversation.com/brexit-is-on-britain-votes-to-leave-the-eu-experts-respond-61576>
- Crofts, P. (2007). Sex in the Dark: The *Brothels Legislation Amendment Act 2007* (NSW). *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 19(2), 183–196.
- Crofts, P. (2010). Brothels: Outlaws or citizens? *International Journal of Law in Context*, 6(02), 151–166. doi:10.1017/S1744552310000054
- Crofts, P., & Brents, B. G. (2015). Legal landscapes of erotic cities: comparing legal “prostitution” in New South Wales and Nevada. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 219–240). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Crofts, P., Hubbard, P., & Prior, J. (2013). Policing, planning and sex: Governing bodies, spatially. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 46(1), 51–69. doi:10.1177/0004865812469974
- Crofts, P., & Prior, J. (2012). Home Occupation or Brothel?: Selling Sex from Home in New South Wales. *Urban Policy and Research*, 30(2), 127–143. doi:10.1080/08111146.2012.679923
- Crofts, T. (2014). Regulation of the Male Sex Industry. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 178–197). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msws.007
- Devine-Wright, P. (2013). Explaining “NIMBY” Objections to a Power Line: The Role of Personal, Place Attachment and Project-Related Factors. *Environment and Behavior*, 45(6), 761–781. doi:10.1177/0013916512440435
- Doan, P. L. (2007). Queers in the American City: Transgendered perceptions of urban space. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 14(1), 57–74. doi:10.1080/09663690601122309
- Doan, P. L. (2015). Regulating adulting businesses to make spaces safe for heterosexual families in Atlanta. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology*.

- (Sub)urban sexscapes. *Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 197–218). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Doan, P.L. & Higgins, H. (2011). The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 31(1), 6–25. doi:10.1177/0739456X10391266
- Doel, M., & Hubbard, P. (2002). Taking world cities literally: Marketing the city in a global space of flows. *City*, 6(3), 351–368. doi:10.1080/1360481022000037779
- Donovan, B., Harcourt, C., Egger, S., Schnieder, K., O’Conner, J., Marshall, L., Chen, M.Y., & Fairley, C.K. (2010) The Sex Industry in Western Australian Government. Sydney: National Centre in HIV Epidemiology and Clinical Research, University of New South Wales.
- Donovan, B., Harcourt, C., Egger, S., Watchirs Smith, L., Schneider, K., Wand, H. and Tabrizi, S. (2012). *The sex industry in New South Wales: A report to the NSW Ministry of Health*. Sydney. Retrieved from the Kirby Institute, Faculty of Medicine University of New South Wales website:
<http://kirby.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/hiv/attachment/NSWSexIndustryReportV4.pdf>
- Dowling, R. (1998). Suburban Stories, Gendered Lives; Thinking through Difference. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 69–88). New York: New York: Guilford Press.
- Dunk, A., Grêt-Regamey, A., Dalang, T., & Hersperger, A. M. (2011). Defining a typology of peri-urban land-use conflicts – A case study from Switzerland. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 101(2), 149–156. doi:10.1016/j.landurbplan.2011.02.007
- Eng, W., Moore, S., Grunberg, L., Greenberg, E., & Sikora, P. (2010). What Influences Work-Family Conflict? The Function of Work Support and Working from Home. *Current Psychology*, 29(2), 104–120. doi:10.1007/s12144-010-9075-9
- European Union. (2009). *Europa- The EU in brief*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/about/index_en.htm
- Farley, M. (2004). "Bad for the Body, Bad for the Heart": Prostitution Harms Women Even if Legalized or Decriminalized. *Violence Against Women*, 10(10), 1087–1125. doi:10.1177/1077801204268607
- Farley, M., Baral, I., Kiremire, M., & Sezgin, U. (1998). Prostitution in Five Countries: Violence and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. *Feminism & Psychology*, 8(4), 405–426. doi:10.1177/0959353598084002

- Fetters, M. D., Curry, L. A., & Creswell, J. W. (2013). Achieving integration in mixed methods designs-principles and practices. *Health services research, 48*(6 Pt 2), 2134–2156. doi:10.1111/1475-6773.12117
- Fincher, R. (1998). In the right place at the right time? Life Stages and Urban Spaces. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 49–68). New York: New York: Guilford Press.
- Fincher, R. (2003). Planning for cities of diversity, difference and encounter. *Australian Planner, 40*(1), 55–58. doi:10.1080/07293682.2003.9995252
- Fincher, R. (2007). Seeing Cities and their planning diversity in mind (key note address). *Proceedings of the State of Australian Cities National Conference 2007*, Adelaide. Retrieved from <http://soac.fbe.unsw.edu.au/2007/SOAC/seingcitiesandtheirplanningwithdiversityinmind.pdf>
- Fincher, R., & Iveson, K. (2008). *Planning and diversity in the city: Redistribution, recognition and encounter. Planning, environment, cities*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fincher, R., & Iveson, K. (2012). Justice and Injustice in the City. *Geographical Research, 50*(3), 231–241. doi:10.1111/j.1745-5871.2011.00742.x
- Fincher, R., Iveson, K., Leitner, H., & Preston, V. (2014). Planning in the multicultural city: Celebrating diversity or reinforcing difference? *Progress in Planning, 92*, 1–55. doi:10.1016/j.progress.2013.04.001
- R. Fincher, R & J. M. Jacobs, J.M. (Eds.), *Cities of difference* New York: New York: Guilford Press.
- Flick, u. (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research* (Edition 5). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Ford, J. M., & Beveridge, A. A. (2004). "Bad" Neighborhoods, Fast Food, "Sleazy" Businesses, and Drug Dealers: Relations between the Location of Licit and Illicit Businesses in the Urban Environment. *Journal of Drug Issues, 34*(1), 51–76. doi:10.1177/002204260403400103
- Fox, J. (2016, June). Is it racist to complain about EU migration? *The Conversation*. Retrieved from the conversation website: <http://theconversation.com/is-it-racist-to-complain-about-eu-migration-61340>

- Friedman, M. (2014). Male Sex Work from Ancient Times to the Near Present. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 2–33). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.001
- Frances, R. (1994). The History of Female Prostitution in Australia. In Perkins, R, Prestage, G, Sharp, R, & Lovejoy, F (Eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* pp.27-52. Sydney, University of New South Wales Press.
- Friedmann, J. (1986). The World City Hypothesis. *Development and Change*, 17(1), 69–83. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660.1986.tb00231.x
- Fysh, G (1994). Outreach as a Support Strategy. In Perkins, R, Prestage, G, Sharp, R, & Lovejoy, F (Eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* pp.301-308. Sydney, University of New South Wales Press.
- Grov, C., & Smith, M. (2014). Gay Subcultures. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 240–259). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.010
- Grov, C., Wolff, M., Smith, M. D., Koken, J., & Parsons, J. T. (2013). Male Clients of Male Escorts: Satisfaction, Sexual Behavior, and Demographic Characteristics. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 51(7), 827–837. doi:10.1080/00224499.2013.789821
- Gunder, M. (2005). Obscuring difference through shaping debate: A Lacanian view of planning for diversity. *International Planning Studies*, 10(2), 83–103. doi:10.1080/13563470500258774
- Hall, P. (1966). *The World Cities*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Harcourt, C. (1999). Who's morality? Brothel Planning in South Sydney. *Social Alternatives*, 18(3), 32–37.
- Harcourt, C., & Donovan, B. (2005). The many faces of sex work. *Sexually transmitted infections*, 81(3), 201–206. doi:10.1136/sti.2004.012468
- Harcourt, C., Egger, S., & Donovan, B. (2005). Sex work and the law. *Sexual Health*, 2(3), 121-148. doi:10.1071/SH04042
- Harcourt, C., O'Connor, J., Egger, S., Fairley, C. K., Wand, H., Chen, M. Y., Donovan, B. (2010). The decriminalization of prostitution is associated with better coverage of health promotion programs for sex workers. *Australian and New Zealand journal of public health*, 34(5), 482–486. doi:10.1111/j.1753-6405.2010.00594.x
- Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies (Planning, environment, cities)*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.

- Healey, P. (2002). On Creating the 'City' as a Collective Resource. *Urban Studies*, 39(10), 1777–1792. doi:10.1080/0042098022000002957
- Healey, P. (2007). *Urban complexity and spatial strategies: towards a relational planning for our times*. London: Routledge.
- Healey, P. (2013). Circuits of Knowledge and Techniques: The Transnational Flow of Planning Ideas and Practices. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), 1510–1526. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12044
- Healey, P. (2015). Civil society enterprise and local development. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 16(1), 11–27. doi:10.1080/14649357.2014.995212
- Howe, B. (2003). Planning for diversity. *Australian Planner*, 40(1), 59–63. doi:10.1080/07293682.2003.9995253
- Hubbard, P. (2009). NIMBY. In N. J. Thrift & R. Kitchin (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of human geography* (pp. 444–449). Amsterdam, London, Oxford: Elsevier. doi:10.1016/B978-008044910-4.01068-3
- Hubbard, P. (2012). *Cities and Sexualities. Routledge critical introductions to urbanism and the city*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Hubbard, P., & Colosi, R. (2013). Sex, Crime and the City: Municipal Law and the Regulation of Sexual Entertainment. *Social & Legal Studies*, 22(1), 67–86. doi:10.1177/0964663912459292
- Hubbard, P., & Lister, B. (2015). Sexual entertainment, dread risks and the heterosexualisation of community space. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (141-159). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hubbard, P., & Prior, J. (2013). Out of sight, out of mind?: Prostitution policy and the health, well-being and safety of home-based sex workers. *Critical Social Policy*, 33(1), 140–159. doi:10.1177/0261018312449807
- Hubbard, P., & Sanders, T. (2003). Making space for sex work: female street prostitution and the production of urban space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00432
- Hubbard, P., & Whowell, M. (2008). Revisiting the red light district: Still neglected, immoral and marginal? *Geoforum*, 39(5), 1743–1755. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.05.003

- Infante, C., Sosa-Rubi, S. G., & Cuadra, S. M. (2009). Sex work in Mexico: vulnerability of male, travesti, transgender and transsexual sex workers. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 11(2), 125–137. doi:10.1080/13691050802431314
- Jacobs, J. M., & Fincher, R. (1998). Introduction. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 1–25). New York: New York: Guilford Press.
- Jakubowicz, A. (2016, July). Why multicultural policy looms as a Senate bargaining chip. The Conversation. Retrieved from the conversation website:
<https://theconversation.com/why-multicultural-policy-looms-as-a-senate-bargaining-chip-62696>
- Jenkins, S. (2010). New Technologies, New Territories: Using the internet to Connect with Sex Workers and Sex Industry Organsiers. In K. Hardy, S. Kingston, & T. Sanders (Eds.), *New sociologies of sex work* (pp. 91–107). Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Jenks, M., Kozak, D., & Takkanon, P. (2008). *World cities and urban form: Fragmented, polycentric, sustainable?* Abingdon, Oxon, New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, R. J., & Scicchitano, M. J. (2012). Don't Call Me NIMBY: Public Attitudes Toward Solid Waste Facilities. *Environment and Behavior*, 44(3), 410–426.
doi:10.1177/0013916511435354
- Kaliampakos, D., Mavrikos, A., & Menegaki, M. (2011). Construction industry and archaeology: A land-use conflict on the island of Andros, Greece. *International Journal of Mining, Reclamation and Environment*, 25(2), 152–160.
doi:10.1080/17480930.2010.538546
- Karibo, H. (2010). Detroit's Border Brothel: Sex Tourism in Windsor, Ontario, 1945–1960. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 40(3), 362–378.
doi:10.1080/02722011.2010.496905
- Kaye, K. (2004). Male Prostitution in the Twentieth Century. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 46(1-2), 1–77. doi:10.1300/J082v46n01_01
- Kaye, K. (2007). Sex and the unspoken in male street prostitution. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 53(1-2), 37–73. doi:10.1300/J082v53n01_03
- Kaye, K. (2014). Male Sex Work in Modern Times. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 34–48). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.002

- Keil, R., & Ronneberger, K. (1994). Going up the Country: Internationalization and Urbanization on Frankfurt's Northern Fringe. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12(2), 137–166. doi:10.1068/d120137
- Kelly, E. D., & Cooper, C. (2015). From perception to reality: Negative secondary effects and effective regulation of sex businesses in the United States. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 241–260). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kingston, S. (2010). Intent to Criminalize: Men who Buy Sex and Prostitution Policy in the UK. In K. Hardy, S. Kingston, & T. Sanders (Eds.), *New sociologies of sex work* (pp. 23–38). Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Kingston, S., & Sanders, T. (2010). Introduction: New Sociologies of Sex Work in Perspective. In K. Hardy, S. Kingston, & T. Sanders (Eds.), *New sociologies of sex work* (pp. 1–10). Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Knopp, L. (1998). Sexuality and Urban Space: Gay Male Identity Politics in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 149–176). New York: Guilford Press.
- Kofman, E. (1998). Whos City? Gender, Class, and Immigration in Globalizing European Cities. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 279–300). New York: New York: Guilford Press.
- Koken, J., & Bimbi, D. (2014). Mental Health Aspects of Male Sex Work. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 222–239). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.009
- Kolar, K, Atchison, C & Bungay, V. (2014) "Sexual safety practices of massage parlour-based sex workers and their clients", *AIDS Care*, 26:9, 1100-1104
- Kotiswaran, P. (2014). Beyond the allures of Criminalization: Rethinking the regulation of sex work in India. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 14(5), 565–579. doi:10.1177/1748895814542533
- Laing, M., & Gaffney, J. (2014). Health and Wellness Services for Male Sex Workers. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 260–284). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.011
- Lake, R. W. (1993). Planners' Alchemy Transforming NIMBY to YIMBY: Rethinking NIMBY. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 59(1), 87–93. doi:10.1080/01944369308975847

- Law, B. (2014, February 1) Business of Pleasure. *Sydney morning Herald, Good Weekend* pp. 11-13.
- Leary, D., & Minichiello, V. (2007). Exploring the Interpersonal Relationships in Street-Based Male Sex Work: Results from an Australian Qualitative Study. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 53(1-2), 75–110. doi:10.1300/J082v53n01_04
- Legislative Assembly of New South Wales. (2015, November). *Inquiry into the regulation of Brothels*. NSW. Retrieved from Parliament NSW website:
<https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/committees/DBAssets/InquiryReport/ReportAcrobat/5198/Final%20Report%20-%20Inquiry%20into%20the%20Regulation%20of%20Brot.pdf>
- Levy, J., & Jakobsson, P. (2014). Sweden’s abolitionist discourse and law: Effects on the dynamics of Swedish sex work and on the lives of Sweden’s sex workers. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 14(5), 593–607. doi:10.1177/1748895814528926
- MacPhail, C., Scott, J., & Minichiello, V. (2014). Technology, normalisation and male sex work. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 17(4), 483–495. doi:10.1080/13691058.2014.951396
- Maginn, P., & Ellison, G. (2014). Male Sex Work in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 426–461). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
- Maginn, P., & Steinmetz, C. (2015a). Cosmo-sexual Sydney: global city status, urban cosmopolitanism and the (sub)urban sexscape. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 19–43). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Maginn, P., & Steinmetz, C. (2015b). Spatial and regulatory contours of the (sub)urban sexscape. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 1–16). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Martin v. Hornsby Shire Council, NSW LEC 614 at 18-21 (2004).
- Mashima, T., & Kawakami, M. (2014). Planning Review: Developments and Planning Issues of Land Use Control in Suburban Areas by Local Government’s Ordinances in Japan. *International Review for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development*, 2(2), 1–13. doi:10.14246/irspsd.2.2_1
- McGrath, M. M. (2015). Conflict or coexistence?: Strip Clubs and neighbours in “Pornland”, Oregon. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban*

- sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 60–80). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- McKewon, E. (2003). The historical geography of prostitution in Perth, Western Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 34(3), 297–310.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (Third edition). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Minichiello, V. (2014). Future Directions in Male Sex Work Research. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 462–469). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
- Minichiello, V., Callander, D., & Scott, J. (2014). *Recruiting, Sampling and Data Collection with Difficult Populations: Clients of Male Sex Workers. SAGE Research Methods Cases. SAGE Publications, Ltd.* London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, Ltd. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/978144627305014529496>
- Minichiello, V., Dune, T., Disogra, C., & Mariño, R. (2014). Male Sex Work from Latin American Perspectives. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 362–394). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
- Minichiello, V., Marino, R., & Browne, J. (2001). Knowledge, risk and condom usage in male sex workers from three Australian cities. *AIDS care*, 12(3), 387–402.
- Minichiello, V., Marino, R., Browne, J., Jamieson, M., Peterson, K., Reuter, B., & Robinson, K. (2002). Male Sex Workers in Three Australian Cities. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42(1), 29–51. doi:10.1300/J082v42n01_02
- Minichiello, V., & Scott, J. G. (Eds.). (2014). *Male sex work and society*. New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
- Minichiello, V., Scott, J., & Callander, D. (2013). New Pleasures and Old Dangers: Reinventing Male Sex Work. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50(3-4), 263–275. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.760189
- Mitchell, G. (2015). Economics of Masculinity: male sex work in urban Brazil. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 68–80). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Murphey, C. (2015). Sex Workers' Rights are Human Rights. Retrieved from Amnesty International website <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/08/sex-workers-rights-are-human-rights/>

- Murray, P. (2016, July). Nice attack brings a difficult question into sharp focus: why France? *The Conversation*. Retrieved from the conversation website:
<http://theconversation.com/nice-attack-brings-a-difficult-question-into-sharp-focus-why-france-62556>
- Murtagh, B., & Ellis, G. (2010). The skills agenda and the competencies for managing diversity and space. *Town Planning Review*, 81(5), 563–583.
- Nagar, R., & Helga, L. (1998). Contesting Social Relations in Communal Places: Identity politics among Asian communities in Dar es Salaam. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 226–256). New York, New York: Guilford Press.
- Newtown, J. (1997, May, 5). Coming clean the new Kings Cross. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from Proquest
- Niccolai, L. (2014). Male Sex Work in Post-Soviet Russia. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 342–361). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.014
- New South Wales Department of Planning. (2006). *Sex Services Premises: Planning Guidelines December 2004* (No. 06_017). Sydney: Crown Copyright.
- New South Wales Government (2001). *Report of the Brothels Taskforce*. Sydney: Crown Copyright
- New South Wales Government. (2016). *NSW Government Response to the Legislative Assembly Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels*. NSW. Retrieved from Parliament of New South Wales website
<https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/committees/DBAssets/InquiryReport/GovernmentResponse/5198/Government%20Response%20-%20Inquiry%20into%20the%20Regulation%20of%20Brothels.pdf>
- New South Wales Government. Better Regulation Office (2012). *Regulation of Brothels in NSW: Issues Paper*. NSW. Retrieved from NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet website:
http://www.dpc.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/145077/Issues_Paper_Regulation_of_Brothels.pdf
- New South Wales Government. Department of Finance, Services & Innovation (2015). *NSW Government Announces Inquiry into the Regulation Of Brothels*. Retrieved from
<https://www.finance.nsw.gov.au/about-us/media-releases/nsw-government-announces-inquiry-regulation-brothels>.

- New South Wales Government. Department of Planning & Environment (2015) *Local Planning and Zoning* retrieved from <http://www.planning.nsw.gov.au/Plans-for-your-area/Local-Planning-and-Zoning>
- New South Wales, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Council, 28 June 2007, 2086-2088.
Retrieved from Parliament of New South Wales website:
<https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/hansard/Pages/home.aspx?s=1>
- New South Wales Parliament Legislative Assembly Committees (1986) *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly upon Prostitution* (No. 363.44). New South Wales: Parliament of New South Wales
- New South Wales Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels (2015). *Inquiry into the regulation of Brothels* (Report 1/56). Retrieved from <https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/committees/DBAssets/InquiryReport/ReportAcrobat/5198/Final%20Report%20-%20Inquiry%20into%20the%20Regulation%20of%20Brot.pdf>
- NSW, see New South Wales.
- O'Rourke, C., & Nicholl, S. (2003 January, 25). The girl next door. *Sydney Morning Herald*, pp. 1–6. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/01/24/1042911552197.html>
- Ozbay, C. (2015). 'Straight' rent boys and gays who sell sex in Istanbul. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 54–67). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Padilla, M. (2015). Between the casa and calle: Dominican male sex workers serving a tourist clientele. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 82–94). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Perkins, R. (1991). *Working Girls: Prostitutes, their life and social control*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Perkins, R. (1994). Female Prostitution. In Perkins. R, Prestage. G, Sharp. R, & Lovejoy, F (Eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* pp.143-172. Sydney, University of New South Wales Press.
- Perkins, R., & Bennett, G. (1985). *Being a prostitute: Prostitute women and prostitute men*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Perkins, R., & Lovejoy, F. (2007). *Call girls: Private sex workers in Australia*. Crawley, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press.

- Pitcher, J., & Wijers, M. (2014). The impact of different regulatory models on the labour conditions, safety and welfare of indoor-based sex workers. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 14(5), 549–564. doi:10.1177/1748895814531967
- Pratt, G. (1998). Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation. In R. Fincher & J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of difference* (pp. 26–48). New York, New York: Guilford Press.
- Prestage, G. (1994). Male and Transsexual Prostitution. In Perkins. R, Prestage. G, Sharp. R, & Lovejoy, F (Eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* pp.174-190. Sydney, University of New South Wales Press.
- Prior, J., & Crofts, P. (2012). Effects of sex premises on neighbourhoods: Residents, local planning and the geographies of a controversial land use. *New Zealand Geographer*, 68(2), 130–140. doi:10.1111/j.1745-7939.2012.01228.x
- Prior, J., & Crofts, P. (2015). Is Your House a Brothel?: Prostitution Policy, Provision of Sex Services from Home, and the Maintenance of Respectable Domesticity. *Social Policy and Society*, 14(01), 125–134. doi:10.1017/S1474746414000335
- Prior, J., Crofts, P., & Hubbard, P. (2013). Planning, Law, and Sexuality: Hiding Immorality in Plain View. *Geographical Research*, n/a-n/a. doi:10.1111/1745-5871.12033
- Prior, J., & Gorman-Murray, A. (2015). Housing sex within the city: the placement of sex services beyond respectable domesticity? In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 101–116). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Prior, J., Hubbard, P., & Birch, P. (2012). Sex Worker Victimization, Modes of Working, and Location in New South Wales, Australia: A Geography of Victimization. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50(6), 574–586. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.668975
- Prior, J., Hubbard, P., & Birch, P. (2013). Sex worker victimization, modes of working, and location in New South Wales, Australia: a geography of victimization. *Journal of sex research*, 50(6), 574–586. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.668975
- Prior, J., & Lederwasch, A. (2010). *Home Occupation (Sex Services) Premise Report*. Sydney.
- Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, 58(2/3), 99–108. doi:10.1023/B:GEJO.0000010829.62237.8f
- Read, K. W. (2013). Queering the brothel: Identity construction and performance in Carson City, Nevada. *Sexualities*, 16(3-4), 467–486. doi:10.1177/1363460713481744
- Rich, F. (2001, May 20). Naked Capitalists. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/05/20/magazine/naked-capitalists.html?pagewanted=all>

- Richter, M., & Isaacs, G. (2015). 'Cape town is free': Reflections on male sex work in Cape Town, South Africa. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 120–130). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ridder-Wiskerke, M., & Aggleton, P. (2015). Lifestyle, work or easy money? Male sex work in the Netherlands today. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 15–26). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Roberts, R., Jones, A., & Sanders, T. (2012). Students and sex work in the UK: providers and purchasers. *Sex Education*, 13(3), 349–363. doi:10.1080/14681811.2012.744304
- Rolfe, J. (2015, February, 2015). Central Park residents furious at living with sex workers and shoddy workmanship. *Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from dailytelegraph.com.au
- Rowe, J. (2011). *SHANTUSI: Surveying HIV and Need In The Unregulated Sex Industry*. South Melbourne: RMIT University.
- Ruming, K. (2014). "It wasn't about public housing, it was about the way it was done": Challenging planning not people in resisting the Nation Building Economic Stimulus Plan, Australia. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 29(1), 39–60. doi:10.1007/s10901-013-9339-4
- Ruming, K., & Gurran, N. (2014). Australian planning system reform. *Australian Planner*, 51(2), 102–107. doi:10.1080/07293682.2014.896065
- Ruming, K., Gurran, N., Maginn, P. J., & Goodman, R. (2014). A national planning agenda?: Unpacking the influence of federal urban policy on state planning reform. *Australian Planner*, 51(2), 108–121. doi:10.1080/07293682.2014.894105
- Russell, M. (1998, May 21). Council reject plan for gay brothel. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from Proquest
- Sánchez, M., Yuste, M., Botton, L. d., & Kostic, R. (2013). Communicative Methodology of Research with Minority Groups. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 6(2), 226–238. doi:10.1525/irqr.2013.6.2.226
- Sandercock, L. (2000). When Strangers Become Neighbours: Managing Cities of Difference. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 1(1), 13–30. doi:10.1080/14649350050135176
- Sanders, L. (1999). The Politics of Sex: Prostitution and Pornography in Australia since 1945 (Book). *American Journal of Sociology*, 104(4), 1254.

- Sanders, T. (2009). Controlling the 'anti sexual' city Sexual citizenship and the disciplining of female street sex workers. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 9(4), 507–525.
doi:10.1177/1748895809343403
- Sanders, T., & Campbell, R. (2007). Designing out vulnerability, building in respect: violence, safety and sex work policy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58(1), 1–19.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2007.00136.x
- Sanders, T., O'Neill, M., & Pitcher, J. (2009). *Prostitution: Sex work, policy and politics*. London, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.
- Sassen, S. (2001). *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo* (2nd ed.). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Scarlet Alliance. (2014). *The Principles for model sex work legislation*. Sydney. Retrieved from Scarlet Alliance website: http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/library/principles_2014
- Scott, J., Hunter, J. T., Hunter, V. H., & Ragusa, A. T. (2006). Sex outside the city: sex work in rural and regional NSW. *Rural Society*, 16, 151–167.
- Scott, J., MacPhail, C., & Minichiello, V. (2015). Telecommunications impacts on the structure and organisation of the male sex industry. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 81–100). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Scott, J., & Minichiello, V. (2014). Reframing Male Sex Work. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. XII–XXVII). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.00a
- Scott, J., Minichiello, V., & Meenagh, J. (2015). Male escorts in Australia. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 173–187). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Scoular, J., & O'Neill, M. (2007). Regulating Prostitution: Social Inclusion, Responsibilization and the Politics of Prostitution Reform. *British Journal of Criminology*, 47(5), 764–778.
doi:10.1093/bjc/azm014
- Scoular, J. (2010). What's Law Got To Do With it? How and Why Law Matters in the Regulation of Sex Work. *Journal of Law & Society*, 37(1), 12–39. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=tsh&AN=48243916&site=ehost-live>

- Scoular, J., & Carline, A. (2014). A critical account of a 'creeping neo-abolitionism': Regulating prostitution in England and Wales. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 14(5), 608–626.
doi:10.1177/1748895814543534
- Sheaffer, R. (2014). Representations of Male Sex Work in Film. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 50–79). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC.
doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.003
- Shergold, P. (2015, November). Australia's multicultural future is a story in three parts. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from the conversation website:
<http://theconversation.com/australias-multicultural-future-is-a-story-in-three-parts-51041>
- Smith, M. D., Grov, C., Seal, D. W., & McCall, P. (2012). A Social-Cognitive Analysis of How Young Men Become Involved in Male Escorting. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50(1), 1–10.
doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.681402
- Smith, S (1999) *The regulation of Prostitution: A Review of Recent Developments. Briefing Paper* (No. 21/99) New South Wales: NSW: Parliamentary Library Research Service
- South Sydney Council. (2000). *South Sydney Council Sex Industry Policy 2000*.
- Steinmetz, C., & Maginn, P. (2015). The landscape of BDSM venues: A view from down under. In P. Maginn & C. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Routledge advances in sociology. (Sub)urban sexscapes. Geographies and regulation of the sex industry* (pp. 117–138). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stokes, D. L., Hanson, M. F., Oaks, D. D., Straub, J. E., & Ponio, A. V. (2010). Local land-use planning to conserve biodiversity: planners' perspectives on what works. *Conservation biology: the journal of the Society for Conservation Biology*, 24(2), 450–460.
doi:10.1111/j.1523-1739.2009.01356.x
- Sullivan, B. (2008). Working in the Sex Industry in Australia: The Reorganisation of Sex Work in Queensland in the Wake of Law Reform. *Labour & Industry: a journal of the social and economic relations of work*, 18(3), 73–92. doi:10.1080/10301763.2008.10669375
- Sullivan, B. (2010). When (Some) Prostitution is Legal: The Impact of Law Reform on Sex Work in Australia. *Journal of Law & Society*, 37(1), 85–104.
- The Crown Prosecution Service. (2016). *Prostitution and Exploitation of Prostitution: Legal Guidance: The Crown Prosecution Service*. Retrieved from
http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/prostitution_and_exploitation_of_prostitution/

- Thomas, I. G. (2010). Environmental policy and local government in Australia. *Local Environment*, 15(2), 121–136. doi:10.1080/13549830903527647
- Thorns, D. C. (2002). *The transformation of cities: Urban theory and urban life*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave.
- Timeout. (2016). Chinatown NYC. Retrieved from <https://www.timeout.com/newyork>
- Touching Base. (2016). Welcome - Touching Base. Retrieved from <http://www.touchingbase.org/>
- Turner, G. (2008). The cosmopolitan city and its other: the ethicising of the Australian suburb. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 9(4), 568–582. doi:10.1080/14649370802386487
- Tyler, A. (2014). Advertising Male Sexual Services. In V. Minichiello & J. G. Scott (Eds.), *Male sex work and society* (pp. 82–105). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, LLC. doi:10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2014.09.msww.004
- Tyler, A. (2015). The cash nexus: money, worth and price for men who sell sex to men in the UK. In P. Aggleton & R. G. Parker (Eds.), *Sexuality, culture and health series. Men who sell sex: Global perspectives* (pp. 202–214). Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ullestad, A., & Berrod, F. (2016). View from France: Brexit would be us -and the future of Europe. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/view-from-france-brexit-would-be-good-for-us-and-the-future-of-europe-61311>
- UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2017) *World Heritage*. Retrieved from UNESCO website: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>
- Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2001). Another Decade of Social Scientific Work on Sex Work: A Review of Research 1990–2000. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 12(1), 242–289. doi:10.1080/10532528.2001.10559799
- Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2012). Prostitution Push and Pull: Male and Female Perspectives. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50(1), 11–16. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.696285
- Villaroman, N. G. (2012). ‘Not in My Backyard’: The Local Planning Process in Australia and its Impact on Minority Places of Worship. *Religion & Human Rights*, 7(3), 215–239. doi:10.1163/18710328-12341237
- Warnock, C., & Wheen, N. (2012). Sex Work in New Zealand: The Re-Importation of Moral Majoritarianism in Regulating a Decriminalized Industry. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, 24(2), 414–438. doi:10.3138/cjwl.24.2.414
- Weitzer 2014. The Social Ecology of Red-Light Districts: A Comparison of Antwerp and Brussels. *Urban Affairs Review*, v.50: 702-730

- Weitzer 2011. "Sex Trafficking and the Sex Industry: The Need for Evidence-Based Theory and Legislation," *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology* 101, 1337-1370
- Weitzer, R. (2010). The Movement to Criminalize Sex Work in the United States. *Journal of Law & Society*, 37(1), 61–84.
- Weitzer, R. (2012). *Legalizing prostitution: From illicit vice to lawful business*. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Howell, M. (2010a). Male Sex Work: Exploring Regulation in England and Wales. *Journal of Law & Society*, 37(1), 122–140.
- Howell, M. (2010b). Walking the Beat: Doing Outreach with Male Sex Workers. In K. Hardy, S. Kingston, & T. Sanders (Eds.), *New sociologies of sex work* (pp. 75–90). Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Williams, P., & Maginn, P. (2012). Planning and governance. In S. Thompson & P. J. Maginn (Eds.), *Planning Australia. An overview of urban and regional planning* (2nd ed., pp. 35–55). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolf, C. (1987). The NIMBY Syndrome: Its cause and cure. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 502(1), 216–229. doi:10.1111/j.1749-6632.1987.tb37654.x
- World Bank Group. (2015). *Urban Development: Overview*. Retrieved from World Bank website: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/urbandevelopment>
- Wosick-Correa, K.R., & Joseph, J.L. (2008). Sexy Ladies Sexing Ladies: Women as Consumers in Strip Clubs. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 45(3), 201–216. doi:10.1080/0022449080198743

Legislation

Brothels Amendment Act 2007

Brothels Legislation Amendment Act 2007

Crimes Act 1900

Disorderly Houses Act 1943

Disorderly Houses Amendment Act 1995

Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979

Factories, Shops and Industries Act 1962

Local government Act 1993

National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974

Police Offences (Amendment) Act 1908

Prostitution Reform Act 2003

Public Health Act 2010

Restricted Premises Act 1943

Strata Schemes Management Act 1996

Summary Offences Act 1988

Vagrancy Act 1902

Work Health and Safety Act 2011 (WHS Act)

Appendix A: Councils and LEPs

Council ⁵²	Local Planning Instrument (LEP)	Name Since Amalgamation (if applicable)
Ashfield Council	Ashfield LEP 2013	Inner West Council
Auburn City Council	Auburn LEP 2010	Cumberland Council (part ⁵³)
Bankstown City Council	Bankstown LEP 2015	The New City of Canterbury Bankstown
Blacktown City Council	DRAFT Blacktown LEP 2013	
Blue Mountains City Council	Blue Mountains Draft LEP 2013	
City of Botany Bay Council	Botany Bay LEP 2013	Bayside Council
Burwood Council	Burwood LEP 2012	
Campbelltown City council	Draft Campbelltown LEP 2014;	
Camden Council	Camden LEP 2010	
City of Canada Bay Council	Canada Bay 2013	
Canterbury City Council	Canterbury LEP 2012	The New City of Canterbury Bankstown
City of Sydney Council	Sydney LEP 2012	
Fairfield City Council	Fairfield LEP 2013	
Hawkesbury City Council	Hawkesbury LEP 2012	
Holroyd City Council	Holroyd LEP 2013	Cumberland Council (part)
Hornsby Shire Council	Hornsby LEP 2013	
Hunters Hill Council	Hunters Hill LEP 2012	
Hurstville City Council	Draft LEP (Hurstville City Centre) 2014 and Hurstville LEP 2012	Georges River Council
Kogarah City Council	Kogarah LEP 2012	Georges River Council
Ku-ring-gai Council	Ku-ring-gai LEP 2015	
Lane Cove Council	Lane Cove LEP 2009	
Leichhardt Municipal Council	Leichhardt LEP 2013	Inner West Council
Liverpool City Council	Liverpool LEP 2008	
Manly Council	Manly LEP 2013	Northern Beaches Council
Marrickville Council	Marrickville LEP 2011	Inner West Council
Mosman Council	Mosman LEP 2012	
North Sydney Council	North Sydney LEP 2013	
City of Parramatta Council	Parramatta LEP 2011	
Penrith City Council	Penrith LEP 2010	
Pittwater Council	Pittwater LEP 2014	Northern Beaches Council
Randwick City Council	Randwick LEP 2013	
Rockdale City Council	Rockdale LEP 2011	Bayside Council
City of Ryde Council	Ryde LEP 2014	
Strathfield Council	Strathfield LEP 2012	
Sutherland Shire Council	Sutherland LEP 2015)	
The Hills Shire Council	The Hills LEP 2012	
Warringah Council	Warringah LEP 2011	Northern Beaches Council
Waverley Council	Waverley LEP 2012	
Willoughby Council	Willoughby LEP 2012	
Woollahra Municipal Council	Woollahra LEP 2014 (commences as of May 2015)	
Wollondilly Shire Council	Wollondilly Shire LEP 2011	

⁵² Council and LEP listed as of date of assessment (May through June 2015) prior to NSW council amalgamations in 2016. New council names are only provided as a reference point. Any new policy relating to new councils is not part of this analysis.

⁵³ Part of the LGA is in this new council.

Appendix B: The permissibility of the HOSS

Local Planning Instrument	Permitted in Residential Zone	Other Zones permitted in	Other zones in Council where prohibited
Ashfield LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, B1, B2, B4, B6, IN2, SP2, RE1, RE2
Auburn LEP 2010	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, RE1, RE2, W1
Bankstown LEP 2015	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU4, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, W1
DRAFT Blacktown LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU4, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2, E3, W1
Blue Mountains Draft LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU2, RU4, R1, R2, R3, R6, B1, B2, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1
Botany Bay LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS not permitted in any zones	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, W3
Burwood LEP 2012	No.	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R1, R2, R3, B1, B2, B4, B6, IN2, SP2, RE1, RE2
Draft Campbelltown LEP 2014	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU2, RU5, R2, R3, R4, R5, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2, E3, E4, W1
Camden LEP 2010	No	IN1, IN2 with consent	RU1, RU2, RU4, R1, R2, R3, R5, B1, B2, B4, B5, SP1, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E4
Canada Bay LEP2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R1, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B6, B7, IN1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2
Canterbury LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, W1
Sydney LEP 2012	LEP Lists R1, R2, B1, B2, B4 subject to consent. However, Schedule 2 of the LEP states that HOSS is exempt development in all zones subject it occurs in habitual dwelling. Recent changes in 2012 to exempt development.	LEP lists B5, B6, B8 subject to consent. However, Schedule 2 of the LEP states that HOSS is exempt development in all zones subject it occurs in a habitual dwelling. Recent changes in 2012 to exempt development.	B3, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1. However, Schedule 2 of the LEP states that HOSS is exempt development in all zones subject it occurs in a habitual dwelling. Recent changes in 2012 to exempt development.
Fairfield LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU1, RU2, RU4, RU5, R1, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E2, E3, W2
Hawksbury LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU1, RU2, RU4, RU5, R1, R2, R3, R5, B1, B2, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1, W2
Holroyd LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2
Hornsby LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU1, RU2, RU4, RU5, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, IN4, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E2, E3, E4, W1, W2
Hunters Hill LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, B1, B4, IN4, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2
Draft LEP (Hurstville City Centre) 2014	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	B3, B4, SP2
Hurstville LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, B1, B2, IN2, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, W2
Kogarah LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, B1, B2, B4, IN2, SP2, RE1, RE2, E4, W2
Ku-ring-gai LEP 2015	No	B2 with consent.	R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, B1, B4, B7, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1.
Lane Cove LEP 2009	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, IN2, IN4, SP2, RE1, E2, E4
Leichhardt LEP 2013	N0	B2 with consent.	R1, R3, B1, B4, B7, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2
Liverpool LEP 2008	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU1, RU2, RU4, R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, W1
Manly LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R1, R2, R3, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, IN2, SP1, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1
Marrickville LEP 2011	No. HOSS is only permitted under existing-use rights.	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone. HOSS is only permitted under existing-use rights.	R1, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, W1, W2.
Mosman LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RE2, RE3, B1, B2, B6, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2
North Sydney LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RE2, RE3, R4, B1, B3, B4, IN2, IN4, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2, E4
Parramatta LEP 2011	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R1, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, IN1, IN2, IN3, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2, E3, W1, W2
Penrith LEP 2010	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU1, RU2, RU4, RU5, R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1, W2
Pittwater LEP 2014	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU2, R2, R3, R5, B1, B2, B4, B6, B7, IN2, IN4, SP1, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1, W2

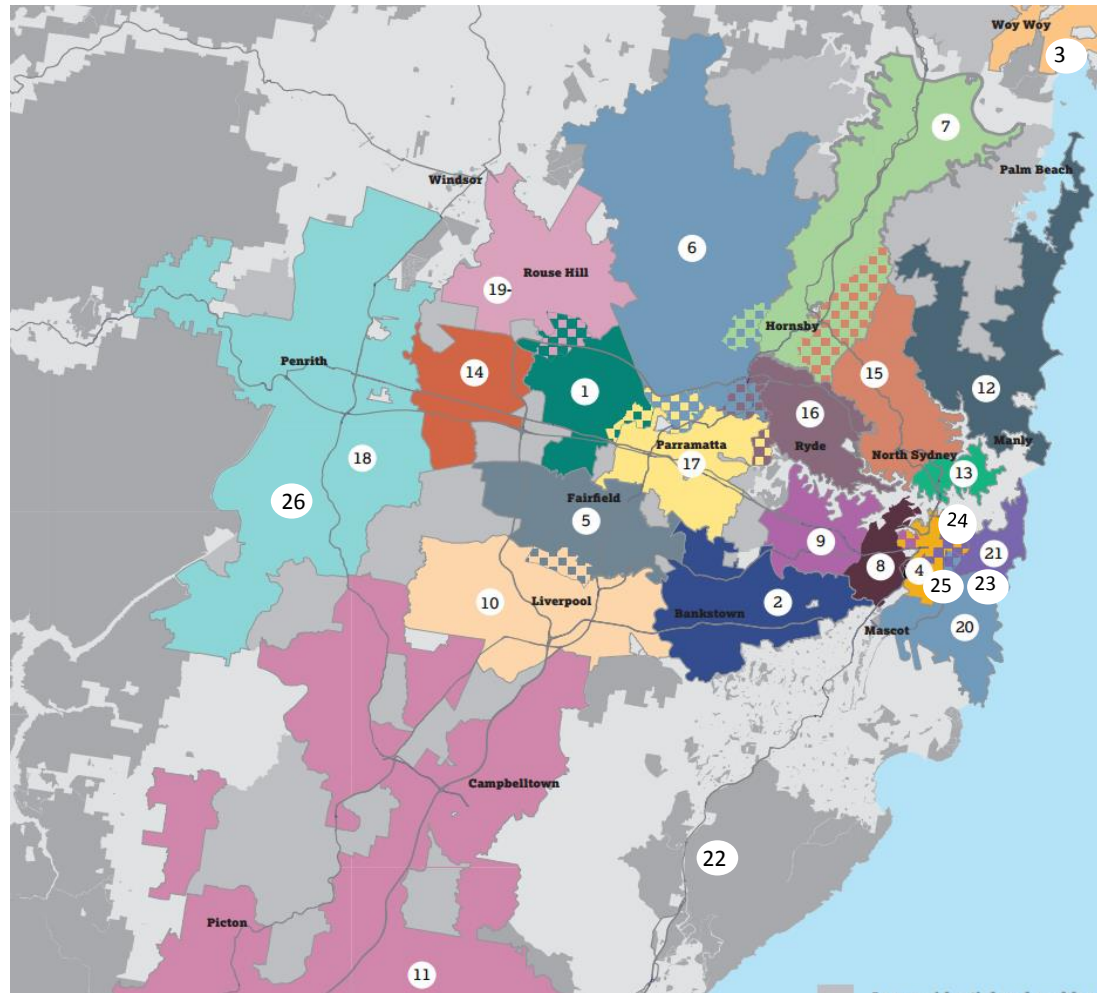
Randwick LEP 2013	No	IN2 with consent	RU4, R1, R2, R3, B1, B2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2
Rockdale LEP 2011	No	Hoss is not permitted in any zone	RU4, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B6, IN2, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2
Ryde LEP 2014	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R1, R2, R3, R4, B1, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, IN2, IN4, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2
Strathfield LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2
Sutherland draft LEP 2013	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, IN3, IN4, SP1, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1, W2,
The Hills LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU1, RU2, RU3, RU6, R1, R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, B7, IN1, IN2, SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W2
Warringah LEP 2011	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	RU4, R2, R3, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E3, E4, W1
Waverley LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B3, B4, SP2, RE1, RE2, E2
Willoughby LEP 2012	No	No. HOSS is not permitted in any zone.	R2, R3, R4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B7, IN1, IN2, SP1, SP2, RE1, RE2, E1, E2, E4
Woollahra LEP 2014 (commences May 2015)	R2, R3 with consent	B1, B2, B3, B4 with consent	SP2, SP3, RE1, RE2, E1, E2
Wollondilly Shire LEP 2011	R2, R3, R5 with consent	RU1, RU2, RU4, B1, B2, B3, B4, IN2, IN3, E3, E4 with consent.	B5, IN1, RE1, RE2, E2

Appendix C: Newspapers and associated councils

Newspaper name	Council within the distribution area
<i>Blacktown Advocate</i>	Blacktown City Council
<i>Canterbury Bankstown Express</i>	Canterbury City Council Bankstown City Council
<i>Central Sydney Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Council
<i>Fairfield Advance</i>	Fairfield Council
<i>Hills Shire Times</i>	The Hills Shire Council
<i>Hornsby Advocate</i>	Hornsby Shire Council Hawkesbury Shire Council Ku-ring-gai Council
<i>Inner West Courier (Inner West Edition)</i>	Ashfield Council Leichhardt Municipal Council Marrickville Council Strathfield Council Burwood Council City of Canada Bay Council
<i>Inner West Courier (Inner City Edition)</i>	City of Sydney Council
<i>Liverpool Leader</i>	Liverpool City Council
<i>Macarthur Chronicle</i>	Campbelltown City Council Camden Council Wollondilly Shire Council
<i>Manly Daily</i>	Manly Council Pittwater Council Warringah Council
<i>Mosman Daily</i>	Mosman Council
<i>The Standard Mt Druitt -St Mary</i>	Blacktown City Council
<i>North Shore Times</i>	North Sydney Council Warringah Council Lane Cove Council
<i>Northern District Times</i>	Ryde City Council
<i>Parramatta Advertiser</i>	Parramatta City council Auburn Council Holroyd Council
<i>Penrith Press</i>	Penrith City Council
<i>Rouse Hill Times</i>	Blacktown City Council
<i>Southern Courier</i>	Botany Bay City Council
<i>Wentworth Courier</i>	Randwick City Council Waverley Council Woollahra Municipal Council
<i>The St George And Sutherland Shire leader</i>	Hurstville City Council Kogarah City Council Rockdale City Council Sutherland Shire Council
<i>Penrith Gazette</i>	Blue Mountains City Council Penrith City Council

Other LGBT magazines	
<i>SX Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Council Leichhardt Council Marrickville Council Waverley Council Woollahra Municipal Council
<i>The Star Observer</i>	City of Sydney Council Waverley Council Woollahra Municipal Council
<i>Q Magazine</i>	City of Sydney Council Waverley Council Woollahra Municipal Council

Appendix D: Distribution of newspapers in Sydney metropolitan area.



Newspaper as per listed numbers (source: News Limited (2015); adopted by Papadopoulos 2016).

1. *Blacktown Advocate*
2. *Canterbury – Bankstown Express*
3. *Central Coast Express* (note: not included in the study as outside of Sydney metropolitan area)
4. *Central Sydney*
5. *Fairfield Advance*
6. *Hills Shire Times*
7. *Hornsby & Upper North Shore Advocate*
8. *Inner West Courier (Inner City Edition)*
9. *Inner West Courier (Inner West Edition)*
10. *Liverpool Leader*
11. *Macarthur Chronicle*
12. *Manly Daily*
13. *Mosman Daily*
14. *Mt Druitt-St Marys Standard*
15. *North Shore Times*
16. *Northern District Times*
17. *Parramatta Advertiser*
18. *Penrith Press*
19. *Rouse Hill Times*
20. *Southern Courier*
21. *Wentworth Courier*
22. *St George and Sutherland Shire Leader*
23. *SX Magazine;*
24. *The Star Observer*
25. *Q Magazine*
26. *The Penrith Gazette*

Appendix E: Types of sexual services

List of sexual services an industry perspective (source: Touching Base 2017):

- **Erotic massage:** Both the client and the sex worker are naked, and he or she will massage your whole body, including your genitals, with their hands
- **Body rub:** An erotic massage
- **Body slide:** Usually a part of an erotic massage service. When the client is naked, face down, the sex worker will slide his or her naked body along the client's body
- **Hand job/hand relief:** The sex worker masturbates you; this usually happens towards the end of an erotic massage or body rub
- **Spanish:** The penis is masturbated by rubbing it between the breasts
- **Oral sex:** Also known as **French** or **fellatio** (oral on a male) or cunnilingus (oral on a female). This is where a person uses their mouth to stimulate another person's genitals
- **Full service/fully inclusive:** Can include an erotic massage and oral before having sex
- **Sex/intercourse:** Penetration of a penis into a vagina (when seeing a female sex worker) or a penis into a bottom (when seeing a male sex worker (see **anal sex**))
- **Anal sex** (also known as **Greek**): Penetrating the anus with a penis or penis-like object
- **Active/top:** A male sex worker who **offers** penetrative anal sex but does not receive anal sex from the client
- **Passive/bottom:** A male sex worker who **receives** penetrative anal sex but does not penetrate the client
- **Fully versatile:** Term for a male sex worker who offers both active and passive services
- **Tie and tease:** The sex worker gently ties your hands and feet to the bed or to the massage table and touches your whole body without you being able to touch him or her. Can also incorporate the client being blindfolded for extra sensory pleasure. May also include a hand job, French and/or full service
- **Fantasy:** Can include the sex worker dressing up in a particular costume or uniform (i.e. nurse/schoolgirl/army fatigues/sportswear) and/or role-play
- **Role-play:** Happens in a fantasy session where the client and sex worker agree on a particular scenario and play a certain role (i.e. the client is a headmaster and the sex worker is a naughty schoolgirl and is spanked when she gets the answers wrong in class).
- **B/D or bondage and discipline:** includes being whipped, flogged, caned, tied up, told what to do when in restraints, etc. Most trained sex workers who offer these services are known as professional mistresses or masters. There are also special brothels just set up for these services with all of the unique equipment needed, i.e. ropes, whips, blindfolds, manacles (handcuffs), canes, crops, suspension racks, A-frames etc. These services are sometimes of a sexual nature and sometimes not

- **S/M or sadism and masochism:** A more extreme form of B/D. Can include superficial piercing, cuttings, extreme sensory deprivation, humiliation, medical scenarios, etc. Most trained sex workers who offer these services are known as professional mistresses or masters. There are also special brothels just set up for these kinds of services with all of the unique equipment needed, i.e. ropes, whips, canes, crops, suspension racks, A-frames, medical equipment, piercing equipment, etc. These services are sometimes of a sexual nature and sometimes not. Note: BDSM is often used interchangeably to describe the B/D and S/M scene as a whole.

Table 2: A typology of direct sex services (source: Harcourt and Donovan 2005, pp. 202).

Type	Geographic distribution
Street: Clients solicited on the street, park or other public places. Serviced in side streets, vehicles, or short stay premises	Widespread, particularly if alternative work sites are unavailable (United States, Europe, United Kingdom, Australasia) and/or there is socioeconomic breakdown (eastern Europe, parts of Africa, south and South-East Asia, and Latin America)
Brothel: Premises explicitly dedicated to providing sex. Better security than street. Often licensed by authorities	Preferred where sex work is decriminalised or brothels are “tolerated” (Australia, New Zealand, Southeast Asia, India, Europe, Latin America)
Escort: Client contacts sex worker by phone or via hotel staff. Most covert form of sex work. Relatively expensive because of low client turnover. Service provided at client’s home or hotel room	Ubiquitous. In the United States, escorts and private workers are contacted by phone and working from a “call book” are known as “call girls” or “call men”
Private: Client contacts sex worker by phone. Similar to escorts except services are provided in sex worker’s premises. A variant in London and other big cities is “flat” prostitution—high-cost services in rented, serviced, inner-city units	United Kingdom, Europe, United States, and Australia. Sometimes doorway (see below) and street sex workers bring clients home
Window or doorway: Brothels with sex workers on public display. Windows preferred in cold climates, doorways in warmer places	Window prostitution almost unique to Amsterdam and Hamburg. Doorway prostitution found in less affluent areas of European cities and in Africa and other developing countries
Club, pub, bar, karaoke bar, dance hall: Clients solicited in alcohol vending venues and serviced on site or elsewhere	In alcohol-vending venues and serviced on site or elsewhere. Ubiquitous depending on types of male club available
Other all-male venues: Clients solicited in all-male venues such as barbershops, bathhouses, saunas, and mining camps. Serviced on site or elsewhere	Ubiquitous
Door knock or hotel: Unattached males are approached in their hotel rooms or boarding houses	Hotels worldwide and wherever large numbers of unaccompanied males reside
Transport (ship, truck, train): Sex workers may board vehicles to service the crew or passengers or pick up clients at stations and terminals	Ubiquitous
CB radio: Sex workers drive along highways using CB radio to exchange (jargon) messages with potential truck-driver clients. Serviced at truck stops or parking areas	United States
Other methods of solicitation: Through various media including noticeboard and newspaper advertisements, “sex worker catalogues” with mobile phone numbers, the internet via virtual brothels, etc. Services are delivered mostly in brothels and other indoor venues	Ubiquitous, but internet and mobile phone services are mostly confined to large cities in developed countries—particularly the United Kingdom and Sweden where legislation limits other forms of advertising.

Table 3: Typology of indirect sex work (source: Harcourt and Donovan 2005, pp. 202).

Type	Geographic Distribution
Bondage and discipline: sexual fantasy through role play. May involve the inflicting of pain, but genital contact is not routine	Apparently unique to wealthier countries
Lap dancing ... involving erotic dancing at close quarters without sexual contact	Predominantly in wealthier countries. Often takes place in hotels and clubs
Massage parlour: Premises ostensibly dedicated to providing massage, but a range of sexual services may be provided. In South-East Asia, similar arrangements may apply in barbershop	Europe, South-East Asia, and Australia
Travelling entertainers: Actors, dancers and others involved in entertainment may also provide sexual services	South-East Asia
Beer girls: Young women hired by major companies to promote and sell products in bars and clubs. Sexual services sold to supplement income	Cambodia, Uganda, other developing countries
Street vendors and traders: Ostensibly marketing rural produce or other goods but supplementing income with sexual services	Widespread in developing countries
Opportunistic: A person approached in a social venue may occasionally choose to charge for sexual favours if the client appears wealthy enough	Ubiquitous
Femme libre: Women, usually single or divorced, who exchange sexual services for gifts. The gifts are then converted to cash	Central Africa
Individual arrangements: The single mother who may have sex with her landlord in place of rent. Older sex workers who only deal with a small number of regular clients, by appointment. "Kept" women or men. Concubines. The number of possible arrangements is vast	Ubiquitous
Swingers clubs: Some swingers or couples sex clubs employ (undisclosed) sex workers if there is a shortage of female guests	Predominantly in wealthier countries
Geisha: Women engaged primarily to provide social company, but sex may ensue	Japanese cities
"Sex for drugs": Women providing fellatio for crack cocaine in crack houses. Young homosexual men in Western countries may provide opportunistic sexual services paid with drugs	Crack houses are unique to the United State
Beach boys, bumsters, and gigolos: Men and boys engaged by women ostensibly for social purposes but sex is often involved. Some beach boys are under-aged and many also service male clients	Resorts, particularly in developing countries
Survival sex: A matter of degree, where starvation or other serious deprivation is imminent, particularly for dependants. Food or security may be the currency, rather than money	Refugee camps anywhere

Appendix F: Ethics approvals/letters of support

Item 1: Ethics approval from the Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel



Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel

Date: 5 June 2014

Applicant Name: *Christina Papadopoulos*

Faculty of Built Environment

Re: *Contentious land-uses; Home Occupation (Sex services) and the male sex worker*

Reference Number: 145052

Investigator: Christina Papadopoulos

At its meeting of 4/6/2014 the Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel was satisfied that this project, is of minimal ethical impact and meets the requirements as set out in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. Please see the accompanying minutes from the panels meeting for notes regarding your research.

Having taken into account the advice of the Panel, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research) has approved the project to proceed.

This approval is valid for 5 years from the date of the meeting.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lowe".

Russell Lowe
Panel Convenor
Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel

Item 2: Approval of revised interview questions



Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel

Date: 1 April 2015

Applicant Name: Christina Papadopoulos

Faculty of Built Environment

Re: *Contentious land-uses; Home Occupation (Sex services) and the male sex worker*

Reference Number: 145052

Investigator: Christina Papadopoulos

Thank you for providing additional information for your HREAP application. It will be placed on your file.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Lowe'.

Russell Lowe
Panel Convenor
Built Environment Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel

* <http://www.nhmrc.gov.au>

Item 3: Ethics approval from ACON on behalf of SWOP

24 June 2015

Ms Christina Papadopoulos
Faculty of the Built
Environment, University of New South
Wales, Kensington Campus.



RERC Reference Number
2015/09

Dear Ms Papadopoulos,

I am writing in regard to your recent application to the ACON Research Ethics Review Committee (RERC) titled: *Difference within the City: The Home Occupation and the male sex worker*.

The committee has met and discussed your application and has granted approval to your study.

We wish you all the best in your research.

Kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Johann Kolstee'.

Johann Kolstee
Chair
ACON Research Ethics Review Committee



23rd August 2015

To: Christina Papadopoulos
Masters by Research Candidate
UNSW Built Environment

Dear Christina,

Our Committee of Management has authorised me to advise you that Touching Base Inc is pleased to support your important research titled, ***Difference within the City: The Home Occupation (sex services) and the male sex worker.***

We consent to participating and having our organisation identified in the research study and related publications.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Saul Isbister".

Saul Isbister

President/Public Officer
Touching Base Inc

Appendix G: Interview questions and consent forms

Item 1: Interview questions for planners and policymakers



In-depth Interview Questions

The following is a series of Questions proposed for an in-depth interview with planners/ representatives from government agencies and organisations whom are dealing with Home Occupation Sex Services or have had experience in this area from a planning and or regulatory perspective. The questions are semi structured and the interview is anticipated to take 20-30 minutes.

Background Context

1. What is the name of your agency that you work in/ worked in at the time?
2. What position did/ do you hold within this organisation?
3. Please briefly describe your role and the context that you worked within in relation to the planning regulation of the HOSS?

Issues/ influences

4. What do you think are the key issues relating to HOSS work within a planning context?
5. In a planning sense is HOSS a contentious land use? And why?
6. Would you describe the sex industry and HOSS as a NIMBY land use? Why?
7. Do you think the HOSS is different to other undesired developments? Why?
8. What were the main contributing factors to the contentiousness of the HOSS? E.g. social context, politics, community pressure.
9. Why do you think the sex industry appears as a political issue from time to time or a constant debatable area of reform within NSW?
10. What would you describe to be a common community response to the sex industry and the HOSS?
11. Do you think that the sex industry as a legitimate land use is outweighed by social perceptions?
12. Is there a popular area in which the HOSS is a predominate land use within Metropolitan Sydney? If so why?

Regulations

13. Regarding the previously discussed issues are there common regulatory responses? If so what are they?
14. Do you think that planners and planning regulatory authorities currently have an appropriate understanding of the sex industry?
15. Do you think the current planning controls are relevant, particularly in regards to the HOSS? Are there any issues from a regulatory perspective that need to be resolved? How?
16. Do you think regulation appropriately understands the various land uses within the sex industry and appropriately defines them?
17. Why do you think that within a significant number of current LEPS (Sydney Metro) that the HOSS is listed as a non-prohibited use? Is this a form of resistance?

Item 2: Interview questions for sex industry advocates and sex workers



BUILT ENVIRONMENT

In-depth Interview Questions

The following is a series of Questions proposed for an in-depth interview with representatives from sex worker agencies and organisations such as SWOP. The questions are semi structured and the interview is anticipated to take 20-30 minutes.

1. What is the name of your agency?
2. What position do you hold within this organisation?
3. How many years have you worked in this position?
4. Please describe your role?
5. How would your organisation describe sex work within the home?
6. Do you think the current definition of sex work within the home within the regulatory sense (specifically planning) is an appropriate definition?
7. Is your organisation aware of the regulatory planning provisions that specifically relate to male sex work (MSW) sex work from home? Including land use zoning, definitions, permissible use, etc.?
8. Are there many male sex workers working from home within NSW?
9. What are the reasons/ benefits for MSW working at home within NSW?
10. What are the negatives of MSW for working from home?
11. Within metropolitan Sydney are you aware of common areas or regions where MSWs work from home?
12. What are the main issues/ concerns that male sex workers deal with within the domestic space?
13. What kind of support does your organisation provide to MSWs, working from home?
14. What are your organisations views regarding the current stance of policies relating to the regulation of the sex industry within NSW? Particularly in regards to the sex work within the home?
15. Are there current issues that your organisation is dealing with specifically in relation to sex work within the home? If so, what are they?
16. Are there specific key areas for reform regarding the current regulation of the sex industry, MSW, and the home occupation?
17. Is there any engagement between your organisation, local governments, state governments, and other agencies? Please describe
18. What have been the successes of the engagement with government agencies?
19. If no engagement with government agencies please describe why?
20. Does your organisation have any specific policies/ guidelines that it endorses relating to sex work within the home?
21. Nearing 20 years since the legalisation of sex industry premises within NSW, why do you think there is still ambiguity in current planning practice?

Item 3: Project consent form

BE HREAP FORM 4 – PROJECT CONSENT FORM September 2013

PROJECT CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Contentious land uses; Home Occupation (Sex services)
and the male sex worker



BUILT ENVIRONMENT

You are making a decision whether or not to participate in a research project.

This PROJECT CONSENT FORM enables you to indicate your preparedness to participate in the project. By signing this form, your signature indicates that you have decided to participate.

You will be given a PROJECT INFORMATION STATEMENT that explains the project in detail, and that statement includes a revocation clause for you to use if you decide to withdraw your consent at some later stage. The PROJECT INFORMATION STATEMENT is your record of participation in the project.

This PROJECT CONSENT FORM will be retained by the researcher as evidence of your agreement to participate in this project.

Please complete the information in this box.

Please indicate which of the following options you agree to by ticking one of the following options:

- ☐ I consent to being quoted and identified
- ☐ I consent to being quoted but I do not want to be identified

.....
Signature of Research Participant

.....
Please PRINT name

.....
Date

Name of researcher: Christina Papadopoulos

Item 4: Project information statement

PROJECT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Date: 1st April 2015

Project Title: Contentious land-uses; Home Occupation (Sex services) and the male sex worker

Approval No.: 145052



BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Participant selection and purpose of study

You are invited to participate in a study of Home Occupation (sex services) and the male sex worker within the State of New South Wales. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your role and experience within a relevant stakeholder agency or authority.

Description of study

If you decide to participate, we will undertake a semi structured interview which is estimated to take no more than forty five minutes to one hour. This interview will focus on the background of the agency, the experience of the agency and the current policies relating to the sex industry, with particular focus on the Home Occupation (sex services) within New South Wales. We cannot and do not guarantee or promise that you will receive any benefits from this study.

Confidentiality and disclosure of information

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission, or except as required by law. If you give us your permission, we plan to discuss the results within thesis for the purpose of a Masters by Research within the Faculty of the Built Environment, The University of New South Wales.

Recompense to participants

There is no remuneration.

Your consent

Your decision whether or not to participate will not prejudice your future relations with The University of New South Wales or other participating organisations. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation at any time without prejudice by completing the statement below and returning this entire form to Dr Christine Steinmetz, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of New South Wales, Kensington Campus.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask Christina Papadopoulos at christina.papadopoulos@unsw.edu.au. If you have any additional questions later, Dr Christine Steinmetz, ph.: (02) 9385 7417, email: c.steinmetz@unsw.edu.au will be happy to answer them.

Kind regards
Christina Papadopoulos

REVOCATION OF CONSENT. Project Title: Contentious land-uses; Home Occupation (Sex services) and the male sex worker

(Please send this entire form to the above address.)

I hereby wish to withdraw my consent to participate in this research project. I understand that such withdrawal will not jeopardise my relationship with The University of New South Wales, other participating organisations or other professionals.

.....
Signature

.....
Please PRINT name

.....
Date

Complaints may be directed to the Ethics Secretariat, The University of New South Wales, SYDNEY 2052 AUSTRALIA
(phone 9385 4234, fax 9385 6648, email: ethics.sec@unsw.edu.au).

Appendix H: Zoning characteristics⁵⁴

Zone	Characteristics and objectives
RU1 Primary Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To encourage sustainable primary industry production by maintaining and enhancing the natural resource base. • To encourage diversity in primary industry enterprises and systems appropriate for the area. • To minimise the fragmentation and alienation of resource lands. • To minimise conflict between land uses within this zone and land uses within adjoining zones.
RU2 Rural Landscape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To encourage sustainable primary industry production by maintaining and enhancing the natural resource base. • To maintain the rural landscape character of the land. • To provide for a range of compatible land uses, including extensive agriculture.
RU3 Forestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable development for forestry purposes • To enable other development that is compatible with forestry land uses.
RU4 Primary Production Small Lots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable sustainable primary industry and other compatible land uses. • To encourage and promote diversity and employment opportunities in relation to primary industry enterprises, particularly those that require smaller lots or that are more intensive in nature. • To minimise conflict between land uses within this zone and land uses within adjoining zones.
RU5 Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for a range of land uses, services and facilities that are associated with a rural village.
RU6 Transition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To protect and maintain land that provides a transition between rural and other land uses of varying intensities or environmental sensitivities. • To minimise conflict between land uses within this zone and land uses within adjoining zones
R1 General Residential	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for the housing needs of the community. • To provide for a variety of housing types and densities. • To enable other land uses that provide facilities or services to meet the day-to-day needs of residents
R2 Low Density Residential	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for the housing needs of the community within a low-density residential environment. • To enable other land uses that provide facilities or services to meet the day-to-day needs of residents.
R3 Medium Density Residential	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for the housing needs of the community within a medium-density residential environment. • To provide a variety of housing types within a medium-density residential environment. • To enable other land uses that provide facilities or services to meet the day to day needs of residents.
R4 High Density Residential	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for the housing needs of the community within a high-density residential environment. • To provide a variety of housing types within a high-density residential environment. • To enable other land uses that provide facilities or services to meet the day-to-day needs of residents.
R5 Large Lot Residential	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide residential housing in a rural setting while preserving, and minimising impacts on, environmentally sensitive locations and scenic quality. • To ensure that large residential lots do not hinder the proper and orderly development of urban areas in the future. • To ensure that development in the area does not unreasonably increase the demand for public services or public facilities. • To minimise conflict between land uses within this zone and land uses within adjoining zones.
B1 Neighbourhood Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a range of small-scale retail, business and community uses that serve the needs of people who live or work in the surrounding neighbourhood.
B2 Local Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a range of retail, business, entertainment and community uses that serve the needs of people who live in, work in and visit the local area. • To encourage employment opportunities in accessible locations. • To maximise public transport patronage and encourage walking and cycling.
B3 Commercial Core	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a wide range of retail, business, office, entertainment, community and other suitable

⁵⁴ The Standard Instrument—Principle Local Environmental Plan.

	<p>land uses that serve the needs of the local and wider community.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To encourage appropriate employment opportunities in accessible locations. • To maximise public transport patronage and encourage walking and cycling.
B4 Mixed Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a mixture of compatible land uses. • To integrate suitable business, office, residential, retail and other development in accessible locations to maximise public transport patronage and encourage walking and cycling.
B5 Business Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable a mix of business and warehouse uses and bulk-goods premises that require a large floor area, in locations that are close to, and that support the viability of, centres.
B6 Enterprise Corridor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To promote businesses along main roads and to encourage a mix of compatible uses. • To provide a range of employment uses (including business, office, retail and light-industrial uses). • To maintain the economic strength of centres by limiting retailing activity.
B7 Business Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a range of office and light-industrial uses. • To encourage employment opportunities. • To enable other land uses that provide facilities or services to meet the day-to-day needs of workers in the area.
B8 Metropolitan Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To recognise and provide for the pre-eminent role of business, office, retail, entertainment and tourist premises in Australia's participation in the global economy. • To provide opportunities for an intensity of land uses commensurate with Sydney's global status. • To permit a diversity of compatible land uses characteristic of Sydney's global status and that serve the workforce, visitors and wider community.
IN1 General Industrial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a wide range of industrial and warehouse land uses. • To encourage employment opportunities. • To minimise any adverse effects of industry on other land uses. • To support and protect industrial land for industrial uses.
IN2 Light Industrial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide a wide range of light-industrial, warehouse and related land uses. • To encourage employment opportunities and to support the viability of centres. • To minimise any adverse effects of industry on other land uses. • To enable other land uses that provide facilities or services to meet the day-to-day needs of workers in the area. • To support and protect industrial land for industrial uses.
IN3 Heavy Industrial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide suitable areas for those industries that need to be separated from other land uses. • To encourage employment opportunities. • To minimise any adverse effects of heavy industry on other land uses. • To support and protect industrial land for industrial uses.
IN4 Working Waterfront	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To retain and encourage waterfront industrial and maritime activities. • To identify sites for maritime purposes and for activities that require direct waterfront access. • To ensure that development does not have an adverse impact on the environmental and visual qualities of the foreshore. • To encourage employment opportunities. • To minimise any adverse effect of development on land uses in other zones.
SP1 Special Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for special land uses that are not provided for in other zones. • To provide for sites with special natural characteristics that are not provided for in other zones. • To facilitate development that is in keeping with the special characteristics of the site or its existing or intended special use and that minimises any adverse impacts on surrounding land.
SP2 Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for infrastructure and related uses. • To prevent development that is not compatible with or that may detract from the provision of infrastructure.
SP3 Tourist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for a variety of tourist-oriented developments and related uses.
RE1 Public Recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable land to be used for public open space or recreational purposes. • To provide a range of recreational settings and activities and compatible land uses. • To protect and enhance the natural environment for recreational purposes.
RE2 Private Recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable land to be used for private open space or recreational purposes. • To provide a range of recreational settings and activities and compatible land uses. • To protect and enhance the natural environment for recreational purposes.
E1 National Parks and Nature Reserves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable the management and appropriate use of land that is reserved under the <i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974</i> or that is acquired under Part 11 of that Act. • To enable uses authorised under the <i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974</i>. • To identify land that is to be reserved under the <i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974</i> and to protect the environmental significance of that land.

E2 Environmental Conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To protect, manage and restore areas of high ecological, scientific, cultural or aesthetic values. • To prevent development that could destroy, damage or otherwise have an adverse effect on those values.
E3 Environmental Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To protect, manage and restore areas with special ecological, scientific, cultural or aesthetic values. • To provide for a limited range of development that does not have an adverse effect on those values.
E4 Environmental Living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for low-impact residential development in areas with special ecological, scientific or aesthetic values. • To ensure that residential development does not have an adverse effect on those values.
W1 Natural Waterways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To protect the ecological and scenic values of natural waterways. • To prevent development that would have an adverse effect on the natural values of waterways in this zone. • To provide for sustainable fishing industries and recreational fishing.
W2 Recreational Waterways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To protect the ecological, scenic and recreation values of recreational waterways. • To allow for water-based recreation and related uses. • To provide for sustainable fishing industries and recreational fishing.
W3 Working Waterways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enable the efficient movement and operation of commercial shipping, water-based transport and maritime industries. • To promote the equitable use of waterways, including appropriate recreational uses. • To minimise impacts on ecological values arising from the active use of waterways. • To provide for sustainable fishing industries.