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Contested landscapes: An exploration into street-based sex work and its implications for urban design in Christchurch, New Zealand

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Landscape Architecture

at Lincoln University

by Glenys I Drury

Lincoln University
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Abstract of a Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Landscape Architecture.

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by

Glenys I Drury

New Zealand’s legal framework decriminalising sex work is unique. It supports sex worker rights and allows multi-agency co-operation to develop and implement a range of ‘street safety’ initiatives. However, regardless of the prevailing legislation, issues amongst communities in which street-based sex workers operate are common worldwide including, public nuisance, anti-social behaviour, and risk of violence toward sex workers.

This study explores what changes to policy, planning and urban design guidelines are needed in New Zealand to help reduce tensions associated with street-based sex work, increase street safety, and grow more locally diverse communities. A desktop literature review of international experiences reveals three key themes: Urban Design, Governance and Enforcement, Tolerance and Diversity.

Using Christchurch as a case study, professional key informants active in the topic were interviewed to gain insight into local experiences which were compared with the key themes from the literature. Location based approaches dominated the discourse, reflecting predominate attitudes of the immorality of sex work, with spatial planning used as a tool to design-out sex work from areas and reinforce territorial boundaries.

No single clear solution was found, but a key insight is that multi-agency co-operation is vital and contributes to ‘street safety’ through development and implementation of initiatives to support all users of community and public space. The Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) in New Zealand in 2003 decriminalised sex work and having laws that protect sex workers rights enables relevant organisations to work together to help reduce community tensions and enhance local diversity while reducing the risk of violence and hardship of an already vulnerable group. Urban history and geography, density, functions, and demography are also key factors, and some types of street design can be helpful, such as mixed-use location, while others, zoning for example, are counterproductive.
**Keywords:** street-based sex work; street prostitution; prostitution reform act 2003; red-light district; landscape architecture; landscape planning; landscape design; urban design; spatial planning; public open space; policy and planning; Crime Prevention through Environmental Design; CPTED.

Maps contain data sourced from Christchurch City Council, Ōtākaro Ltd and Canterbury Maps under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 New Zealand License. Disclaimer: The data and maps have been produced for consultation purposes and do not represent any final decisions or positions. This information has been provided in good faith but its accuracy and completeness is not guaranteed and the author cannot be held liable for any costs, damages or loss resulting from reliance on any of the information provided.
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Thanks also to the Christchurch community and professional key informants for their participation in this project, without their local knowledge and contribution this report would not be successful.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the passing of The Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) in New Zealand in 2003, street-based sex workers are legally bringing their work practices into public and community space (Ministry of Justice, 2003). Crime issues are one consequence of this, and community tensions are another, as sex work moves further into residential streets impacting on a range of other legitimate users of these public spaces.

Historically, relationships between residents and sex workers have been strained, with tensions between users increasing since the 2003 reform. Bellamy (2012) found that while the PRA appears to be working for premises based sex work, it has not solved all the issues associated with street-based sex work. Health and safety, location, and the effects of street-based sex work on communities in which sex workers operate are remaining issues causing concern and controversies that have not been addressed by the Act. Issues facing these two diverse user groups, residents and street-based sex workers, are common worldwide. However, internationally many traditional red-light districts have become more integrated as the sex industry forms part of the fabric of inner city communities.

Indications of best practice examples have been documented in the city of Sydney. Steinmetz and Papadopoulos (2011) found that in Sydney commercial sex premises operate in mixed use urban areas with limited detrimental impact. A dedicated Sex Liaison Officer is employed by a local council to work with communities to educate them about the industry, and works with the industry and community members to formulate policy. This has encouraged harmony within the community, resulting in fewer complaints (Steinmetz & Papadopoulos, 2011). Learning from Sydney’s experience the question needs to be asked: what changes to policy and planning are needed in New Zealand to help reach a point where tensions are reduced, streets become safe and communities grow to be more accepting of different lifestyles.

This dissertation examined the development of red-light districts internationally and nationally to compare experiences of what has been done so far in terms of design and planning, in order to build up a basis of knowledge on how to make public space where street-based sex workers conduct their business safe for all users. This new knowledge was used to assess existing practices of urban design and their ability to adequately address the need for street design that is safe for all users, including street-based sex workers and local residents in particular. It will conclude by presenting key directions based on the evidence found that will enable all stakeholders involved in reducing risk and public nuisance, and increasing crime prevention, to create safer streets in areas affected by street-based sex work.
1.1 Research Aims and Objectives

The research aims to develop an improved understanding of the policy, planning and urban design issues related to red-light districts, and the actions needed to create safe and innovative solutions that suit the needs of street-based sex workers, their clients and the communities in which they operate.

The key question pursuant of the aims is: how can public streets be planned, designed and managed to accommodate the different needs of sex workers and local residents? A series of supplementary questions will be answered that will allow this research to meet its objective.

The objective is to gain greater insight and knowledge of the difficulties these two user groups face when sharing public streets. This will be achieved by comparing the experiences of New Zealand and international evidence, about what works and what does not, including comparisons of controlled closed, uncontrolled open and semi-controlled models of red-light district streetscapes. The insights gained will then be used to compare whether or not the existing New Zealand guidelines for urban design adequately address the need for street design of red-light district streetscapes, and does the Christchurch Central City Blueprint address the issues of safer street design, as experienced in North Central Christchurch.

Development of an understanding of the difficulties sex workers and communities face, and the actions needed to create safe and innovative street design, which suit the needs of different users, has the potential to make communities more accepting of different lifestyles. Deliverables include an improved understanding of urban design factors that will enable stakeholders, authorities, and communities to make better informed decisions regarding policy, design and planning of areas used for street-based sex work, making public streets safe for all.
Chapter 2: Research Methodology

It was considered from the outset that data collection for this study would be challenging. Due to the polarising nature of the topic and research questions, methods were carefully chosen and ethics approval sought prior to commencement of the study to minimise any emotional or physical harm to all participants including the researcher and her supervisors. This chapter outlines the approach and methods taken to ensure safety in collecting data without compromising the integrity of the study, and the challenges the researcher faced.

2.1 Research Approach

The research strategy used in this dissertation was interpretive and involved both literature review and key informant interviews with relevant professionals and functionaries. The literature review was carried out to gain a broad overview of the topic, becoming more focused as the research progressed. The reviewed literature indicated that research into street-based prostitution has not been focused solely on street-based issues, with current knowledge contained within literature researching prostitution reform as a whole. Therefore, a broad range of literature was reviewed to draw out and interpret knowledge on the street-based issues.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain knowledge and insights from key informants who have a professional role in relevant organisations concerned with the issues facing Christchurch communities affected by street-based sex work.

Literature and information insights were then analysed to identify key issues for urban design in Christchurch and potential ways forward.

2.2 Human Ethics Considerations and Health & Safety

Lincoln University Human Ethic Committee

Ethics approval was sought in accordance with Lincoln University Human Ethic Committee Policies and Procedures December 2010 and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (HEC 2014-20) prior to commencement of this research. All research undertaken for this dissertation complied with the terms of the ethics approval. A copy of the ethics approval is included in Appendix A.

Health & Safety

Field research and site observations were not conducted due to the potentially unsafe nature of the topic. The research was entirely desk based, and did not involve site work of any kind, nor any direct
interactions with subjects or communities other than the key informants. Therefore there was no foreseeable risk to physical well-being, or stress and emotional distress or possible cultural or moral offence to the participants. Literature was sourced through Lincoln University library databases and Government body websites to avoid potentially objectionable material that a public search engine may return.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a small number of key professional informants at their place of work and therefore covered under their own workplace Health & Safety policy.

2.3 Research Principles

Armstrong (2011) refers to four basic “research principles” derived from Hubbard (1999) that are typically expected by the sex industry and which are important to the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC) staff and volunteers:

1. that the research must be capable of producing knowledge which would reduce stigma surrounding sex work,
2. that the researcher has an understanding of the realities of sex work,
3. that sex work is understood by the researcher as a legitimate form of work, and;
4. that the researcher believes in the minimisation of health and safety risks for sex workers in their work. (pp. 52-53)

What these four principles do not acknowledge is the rights of other legitimate users of public open spaces. As an academic researcher my aim is to produce greater knowledge and understanding of the issues facing all people affected by red-light districts, and to develop potential solutions that will assist stakeholder’s in implementing positive change within a diverse multi-faceted community. A desired outcome of this research is to expand on the above principles to include other user’s needs, and to help produce a more balanced view.

2.4 Case Study

A diagnostic case study strategy was applied to interpret the knowledge gained through the literature review against descriptive evidence of local conditions and planning initiatives.

2.4.1 Christchurch, New Zealand

The investigation used Christchurch as a case study, with particular reference to the northern central city where it interfaces with the residential area of Peterborough Village Pita Kākā. Before the 2010/11 earthquakes, Manchester Street was the traditional location of street-based sex workers. Over a three-year period between 2005 and 2008 three sex workers were murdered, then a fourth
more recently in 2016, highlighting the dangers of the prevailing practices and street conditions. Following the earthquakes, Red Zone limitations and building demolitions meant sex workers relocated themselves into areas of north Manchester Street, causing tensions within the community of a once quiet wholly residential area. In 2014, two serious assaults occurred on the same night in this area. In 2014, the Christchurch City Council (CCC) worked with stakeholders to create a designated red-light district trial site to encourage sex workers back into the city centre, but the location had not yet been finalised (Dally, 2014). In the meantime the northern central city problems remain, illustrating the wider issues arising from the 2003 reform.

The unique characteristics of Peterborough Village Pita Kāik and its street life were familiar to the researcher, having worked over a two-year period for a Senior Landscape Architect located in this area. In doing so I have gained knowledge of the facilities, layout and character of the proposed red-light district trial site from which I drew insights to aid in interpreting the literature and key informant interviews.

2.5 Methods

A qualitative approach was adopted to gain insight into international and local experiences. The literature review provides the basis of knowledge for this research, identifying key themes and concepts, with international case studies providing further insights from which lessons for New Zealand can be learned. This knowledge subsequently helped guide the Christchurch based case study and key informant interviews. The qualitative key informant interviews were able to take a more focused yet flexible direction that suited the informant, while allowing for a greater comparison of the international and local experiences.

2.5.1 Literature Review

Due to the challenging nature of this topic, and to ensure online safety, a targeted literature search on street-based sex work was conducted through the Lincoln University library databases to establish a baseline of knowledge on the topic. Sources included theoretical literature, conference papers, journal articles, council reports, policy and planning documents, prostitution reform reviews and media. To enable identification of lessons learned and key factors the review inquired into:

**What is already known about design and planning for red-light districts?**

a) What is known internationally and locally?
b) What works? 
c) What doesn’t work? 
d) Describe existing models, their issues and opportunities that we could learn from 
e) Are there any successful models and if so how are they defined?
What are the issues facing Christchurch and how do they compare internationally?

a) What were the pre-quake issues as a result of The Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) passed in New Zealand in 2003?

b) Shifting geographies post-earthquake: tensions in north Manchester Street

c) Current debate over zoning – what is known internationally and locally?

d) Draft proposal regarding Manchester Street – what do the authorities propose to do and what do they hope to achieve?

Various field studies on street-based sex work have been carried out in New Zealand since the PRA (2003) was introduced. In particular, public health researchers from the University of Otago, Christchurch, in partnership with the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC), conducted community-based participatory research in 2006 (Abel et al., 2007), and a PhD researcher from Victoria University of Wellington conducted fieldwork in Christchurch in 2011 (Armstrong, 2011). Where appropriate, I have drawn on the findings of these two research papers.

The literature review was undertaken with the goal of identifying key factors, against which policy and planning of red-light districts could be measured. These key factors were used to evaluate the findings from the key informant interviews, current urban design guidelines, and the Christchurch City Blueprint, to develop ideas for improved street design of red-light districts.

2.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

Due to the inherently contested and potentially unsafe nature of the topic, and the resulting safety and ethical issues, I did not undertake site visits, field observations or interviews with the general public, sex workers or local residents. Instead, in September 2014, key informants were interviewed to gain insight and knowledge into the issues facing Christchurch communities affected by street-based sex workers and their work practices. All informants were professionally employed by organisations working with affected communities to find solutions to the adverse effects of street prostitution.

The interviews were digitally recorded and were transcribed verbatim where important messages relating to the topic were identified. The transcripts were analysed and evaluated against key factors derived from the literature review. Informants were given the opportunity after conclusion of the interview to request their interview transcript be sent back to allow them to correct any factual errors, none were requested. Their involvement was voluntary and no compensation was made to informants.

One hour, one-on-one interviews were limited to 12 key informants for feasibility reasons (time management). The interviews were conducted as semi-structured informal discussions between the key informant and the interviewer to allow the informant to answer questions as freely as they
wished. Open-ended questions for this project were designed with the intention of discovering new knowledge on the topic and formed part of the interview guide that was distributed to all informants. A copy of the interview guide can be found in Appendix B.1.

Transcripts from the interviews were processed and analysed to identify the main themes to emerge from each interview. The information gathered was classified based on topics discussed and the principle argument made by each informant. Processing and analysis of the data gathered, identified the main ideas expressed and the most important points, which were then compared against the findings from the literature review.

**Selection of key informants:**

Key informants were selected based on their professional role in organisations that are actively working with communities affected by street prostitution. If the informant selected was not able to participate in the project they were asked to suggest an alternative key informant. Informants derived from recent news articles on this topic were invited to participate in this research and included Design and Planning Professionals, Community Representatives, and Workers in Social Services.

There were 12 key informants interviewed in total, three of which are current or past residents of the Christchurch case study area. Two of those also have a professional role in a relevant organisation, and therefore they appear twice in the table of pseudonyms below (section 2.5.3).

Key informants were contacted via email and asked if they wished to participate in the research. In accordance with the Human Ethics Committee guidelines, a research information sheet, interview guide and consent form were supplied with the email. Time to read and consider it was provided to all informants. The research information sheet detailed the project's name and objectives, informants' rights, request for audio-recording of interviews, procedures to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of informants' information, and researcher's and her supervisors' contacts. A copy of the research information sheet can be found in Appendix B.1. The Interview guide with open questions was used to assist informants to reply as freely and extensively as they wished. A copy of the interview guide can be found in Appendix B.2. Consent was obtained by consent forms provided to all selected key informants prior to the interview. A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix B.3. With the key informants’ written approval, the interviews were digitally recorded to aid with transcription. The audio-recordings and interview transcripts are held in safe keeping, along with the consent forms, and will be destroyed six years post dissertation.
It was anticipated that key informants may have strong views around what should and should not be done. To avoid any potential difficulties and emotionally charged discussions, semi-structured interviews were conducted in an attempt to answer the following:

- How does street design for red-light districts form part of the urban design and planning process?
- What issues do urban street planners and designers face in addressing this topic?
- What has been done in design and planning so far to address the issues?
- What are the barriers to effective design outcomes?

2.5.3 Pseudonyms

The key informants were all known publically for their involvement in finding approaches to alleviate issues relating to this topic, including the issues highlighted in the Christchurch case study area. All except one informant waived their rights to anonymity. Though identification of individual informants may be possible, for publication purposes their anonymity has been maintained through the use of pseudonyms.

Codes and pseudonyms have been assigned to each key informant in accordance with the Research Information sheet supplied to each informant when the interview was requested. The decision to use pseudonyms was due to the sensitive nature of the topic and data collected. The assigned pseudonyms are listed in table 1 below.

**Key informant groups:**

As pseudonyms alone cannot guarantee anonymity, another layer of concealment was added by determining three broad groups of representatives, based on the organisational roles of the key informants. The broad groups are listed in table 1 below, with each broad group having equivalent representation.

**Method for selecting pseudonyms:**

Pseudonyms were selected using the online tool [www.babynamewizard.com](http://www.babynamewizard.com) Name Voyager. Entering the first letter of the informant's name generated names by decade for that letter, assigning a pseudonym with the same first letter for the decade in which the informant's actual name was popular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad Group</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Design and Planning Professionals</td>
<td>Sandy, Rebecca, Darcy and Andy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Representatives</td>
<td>Penny, Bill, Perry and Darcy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker in social services</td>
<td>Sarah, Ali and Terri, Dawn, Justin and Perry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.4 Analysis and Evaluation

A desk top analysis and evaluation of the transcripts, guidelines, blueprint and temporary facilities were carried out against the key themes as derived from the literature review and interviews, with the objective to determine what recommendations could be made that will help improve inner city public landscapes and street design.

During the literature review, the pros and cons of the key themes and approaches were grouped and recorded into a spreadsheet. This formed the basis of knowledge for assessing the transcripts of the Christchurch case study against. As the key informant interviews were transcribed verbatim, the local experiences were categorised according to the themes and approaches derived from the literature review and recorded in the spreadsheet. Notes were made as to whether or not there was a match with the literature, any similarities or differences, and what the contributing factors were. This spreadsheet of knowledge formed the basis for the comparative assessments.

The key factors which emerged from the research: urban history and geography, density, functions, demography and street design were assessed to determine the influences they have on the presence of street-based sex work, and their relative compatibility. They were used to evaluate a range of locations where street-based sex workers operate, and the implications they have for urban planning and design.
Chapter 3: Literature Review of International Approaches

Street-based sex work continues to be a hotly contested issue for urban designers and planners worldwide, with spatial organisation being the dominant focus of discussions. This dominant focus on location as a way of reducing conflict inevitably leads to displacement, social marginalisation and hardship of sex workers, regardless of the prevailing legal framework. As highlighted by Hubbard (1997) “legal change makes little impact on the existence of prostitution, but merely serves to change its spatial distribution” (p. 139). In New South Wales, Australia, where sex work is decriminalised, Harcourt et al. (2001) found that “the law has little effect on the presence of street prostitution” (p. 88). This is a common theme throughout the literature (Benson & Matthews, 1995, p. 409). Though no defining successful models emerged from the review, there is evidence to suggest that while multi-agency community based approaches that are supported by local authorities can help reduce the issues; they can’t eliminate them (Bell & Jayne, 2004; Benson & Matthews, 1995; Matthews, 2005; Poland et al., 2012). As I work though the various approaches I draw out who the key stakeholders are, who benefits and what approaches work best to address the needs of communities as a whole.

The material was selected by identifying research into prostitution as a whole, then filtered to include the literature that addressed issues relating to street-based sex work and its effect on communities in which street-based sex workers operate.

Key concepts emerged from the reviewed literature of international approaches toward design and planning responses addressing the adverse effects of street-based sex work. From these concepts three broad key themes were derived; Urban Design, Governance and Enforcement, Tolerance and Diversity. The concepts for each key theme are listed in table 2 below and will be discussed under these headings in the following sections.

Table 2: Key themes and concepts from the literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad Theme</th>
<th>Key Concepts</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Design</td>
<td>Street-based sex worker ‘safety guidelines’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Safe house brothels</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drive-in sex boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traffic management – designing-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance and Enforcement</td>
<td>Multi-agency initiatives</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Enforcement and support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community liaison</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Crime Prevention through Environmental Design</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In this chapter, each of the three key themes are considered, shedding light on their success and failures, issues and opportunities and what could be learnt from them. It’s important to note that each approach has a varying level of involvement from different stakeholders, and as noted above that level of involvement has a strong bearing on the success and failure of an approach. In order to understand the relationship of the different concepts and themes with particular interests in the community, three groups of stakeholders have been identified: planners, residents and street-based sex workers and support staff. The stakeholders for each group are listed in table 3 below.

**Table 3: Stakeholder Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Group</th>
<th>Stakeholders</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planners</td>
<td>Planners</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Designers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>Residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Investors, developers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Workers &amp; support staff</td>
<td>Street-based sex workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support agencies and outreach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the themes and concepts are examined in greater detail below, the level of input and control of each stakeholder group and who benefits from each approach is clarified, to enable a balanced view of approaches and draw out those that could better serve communities and their diverse needs as a whole. Descriptions of well recognised international cases, and/or exemplars from which lessons can be learned, are included to provide more in-depth insights into each key concept.

### 3.1 Urban Design

In this section, four urban design concepts to emerged from the literature are discussed; street-based sex worker ‘safety guidelines’, safe house brothels, drive-in sex boxes and traffic management. Street-based sex worker ‘safety guidelines’ developed by sex workers themselves are a way to help reduce their own risk of harm. Safe house and drive-in brothels are off-street venues that support sex workers while helping reduce pressures on the community. Aspects of traffic management which aim to ‘design out’ sex workers and their clients’ altogether are also discussed as a way to exclude ‘undesirable’ groups from residential areas. The following section illustrates the four site specific
responses to demonstrate how the 3 stakeholder groups can work to better serve the needs of diverse communities.

3.1.1 Street-based Sex Worker ‘Safety Guidelines’

This approach is sex worker focused and sex worker driven as they aim to manage their own risk by taking control of their working environment through employing strategies to manage occupational hazards. It provides a greater understanding of how space is used by street-based sex workers, and what strategies they employ to keep themselves safe, from which urban planners can learn and use as guidance when developing criteria for evaluating design. In Amsterdam, for ease of accessibility, “red light districts are often located close to transportation hubs and terminals and other places that have a high number of transits, such as port areas, train and bus stations, and hotel and hostel areas. Many are found close to central business districts and more recently also around highway exits” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 114). Helping draw out the needs of sex workers and the spatial characteristic of the areas in which they operate, the following case study, conducted in Birmingham, UK, found that a sex worker focused approach was better for business when located near entertainment industries. It does not work in marginalised locations as this is where sex workers face their greatest risk of harm.

Case Study: Birmingham, UK 2003

In Birmingham, UK, Hubbard and Sanders (2003) found that street-based sex workers sought to maintain control of the space of the red-light district to reduce risk, prevent attacks and ensure transactions go without incident. Researcher, Teela Sanders, conducted ‘guided conversation’ interviews with 55 sex workers, accompanied by outreach project staff, on their nightly patrols of the streets. Interviews focused on strategies used by sex workers to manage occupational hazards. Prime locations near nightlife and entertainment strips were seen as safer and better for business.

The Birmingham case study found that movement of sex work from Balsall Heath to Rotton Park was in part because Rotton Park is now buzzing with nightlife. Following the development of the International Convention Centre, attracting tourists and business people, reinforced the spatial coexistence as complementary between the sex and entertainment industries (p. 84). This was reinforced by Steinmetz and Papadopoulos (2011) in Sydney, and is a common theme worldwide.

The on-street characteristics of ‘safe’ work include, standing under street lamps away from dead-ends that may hinder escape, and working close enough to residential houses that they may be called upon for assistance should something untoward happen. It was found that transactions negotiated on the street are usually administered in a nearby area or in clients’ cars, and that sex workers have stringent safety guidelines when choosing a location for the transaction to take place.
Insisting clients drove to a specific location, one that is known to the sex worker and within the red-light district limits the transaction time (1.5km). The space must be out of sight of passers-by and police, but not so secluded that assistance could not be obtained if necessary (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003, p. 85). According to NZPC this is typically car parks and “within 1.5 kilometres of the pickup point” (Ministry of Justice, 2009, p. 8). Car parks with closed-circuit television are prime locations for sex workers to take their clients. Sex workers could use CCTV as a deterrent if the customer decided to break the contract. Public and private spaces close to the road, which are uninhabited during the hours of darkness yet within earshot of other sex workers, include car parks and cemeteries. Yet in 2014 a serious assault occurred in a central Auckland cemetery. The perpetrator was caught and convicted with the help of CCTV (3News, 2014; Kidd, 2014).

Sex businesses benefit from some level of visibility, often utilising the liminal spaces between work space and public space, on the nexus between urban and residential. In contrast, businesses in red light districts benefit from a lack of urban visibility of sex work “there is probably not such a thing as a district friendly to red light activities, but there are exceptions. And certainly some locals and entrepreneurs, in particular those in the business of food, drinks, accommodation and parking, may benefit from such activities” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 115). By understanding the spatial characteristic of areas where sex workers operate, guidelines can then be developed to help assist planners in designing inner city streets that are attractive and safe, where sex workers want to go. Avoiding places that are deemed completely inappropriate such as industrial sites, planners can thus begin to create more accepting and diverse communities, safe for all users of public space.

3.1.2 Safe House Brothels

Safe house brothels provide an off-street venue for street-based sex workers to take their clients, should they chose to use them. They have the potential to help reduce sex workers risk of violence, associated with providing services in client vehicles, and reduce community pressure from public nuisance. They can offer a partial solution when access to support services is available, and are supported by police and residents. However, they require on-going management and investment by authorities to ensure their viability.

Case study: Sydney

In Sydney, a study carried out by Harcourt et al. (2001) suggests safe houses offer a partial solution. They provide an acceptable off-street venue and a focus point for outreach, health services and support (p. 88). Bearing in mind that in New South Wales only premises-based sex work is decriminalised; street-based sex work is not. Street-based sex work is “legal in certain areas only (including safe streets and safe houses) (Mossman, 2007, p. 18). In Sydney, ‘safe houses’ are privately run and not designed to help sex workers exit the industry (Justice, 2008, p. 128). Sex workers pay a
small fee to use the facility and to cover cleaning. They benefit the clients and brothel owners and have police and resident support as they are a method to remove sex workers from the street. Sex workers consider them to be inflexible reduced their autonomy, and their clients are reluctant to pay the extra cost. At the time of the study the cost was an extra $12 rental fee. The study found when it comes to where sex workers choose to operate, 42% of sex workers surveyed used ‘safe houses’ whenever possible (p. 87). The majority of sex workers choosing the streets as they have more flexibility, comparative autonomy, and more money irrespective of the greater exposure to violence, community intolerance or the prevailing legal framework.

Case study: Utrecht “living room”
In the Netherlands, where street-based sex work is illegal, there are tolerance zones where ‘Living Rooms’ successfully operate. Overseen by a board that includes sex workers, they provide facilities for sex workers including bathroom facilities, a place to relax while not working, food and drinks, condoms and needle exchange (Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 129). In contrast, it has been reported that a “safe house” once operated in Christchurch, though it “was not well managed and became a nexus for criminal behaviour” as informed by Youth & Cultural Development (YCD, 2006) in Ministry of Justice (2008, p. 128). In the Netherlands, it was found that “safe houses” can offer a partial solution when given the appropriate on-going support from both local authorities and support services. They provided an acceptable off-street venue, a focus point for outreach health services and support, as well as having a role to play in helping reduce both risk of violence and public nuisance.

3.1.3 Drive-in brothels - “sex boxes”
Drive-in brothels (garage-style structures) have been operating in the Netherlands since 1986, Germany 2001 and most recently Switzerland in 2013. They were introduced by local authorities to provide a place away from residents, where sex work can take place with the provision of increased security (Wikipedia, 2013).

Case study: Zurich 2013
Sex work has been legal in Switzerland since 1942, with street-based sex work limited to areas designated by local authorities. Even so, regardless of its legal status, the issues continue, with reports of public nuisance issues including defecation and urination in streets and gardens as well as sex in the open (The Guardian, 2013). The most recently opened drive-in was in Zurich in August 2013, in response to the lack of sanitation in other areas of the city, safety concerns and a way to move sex workers away from residential areas and the city centre (Rij, 2014, p. 51). The publically funded facility provides an off-street venue away from the city centre where sex workers can take
their clients. The facility includes bathrooms, lockers, small cafe tables, a laundry and shower (Guardian, 2013, p. 1).

While this approach goes some way towards reducing the issues it comes at great expense. Zurich voters approved the $3.5m initial setup and $1m a year operating expenses of the publically funded facility (Guardian, 2013). It is seen by Laing & Cook as an exclusionary approach “through the construction and maintenance of spatial boundaries” (Laing & Cook, 2014, p. 7) as sex workers are excluded from the city centre. This approach is contradictory to Sydney’s best practice model of inclusion and diversity. It has also been reported that though authorities say the sex-boxes are working, sex workers themselves report it isn’t for them, as they are located in an industrial area away from their client base, with the added cost impacting on their earnings (France-Presse, 2014).

3.1.4 Traffic Management - designing-out

In this section, traffic management schemes are discussed as a design-out approach to exclude unwanted traffic and people. The intension is to make an area as unattractive as possible to sex workers and their clients. Road closures, street lighting, increased surveillance including CCTV and increased police presence, designed to prevent kerb-crawling, continue to be used as a way of “designing out” street prostitution (COI, 2006; Justice, 2009; Kerkin, 2003; Matthews, 2005; Poland et al., 2012). This approach is typically driven by residents, with the support of local authorities and the police. An exclusionary approach, its purpose is to keep sex workers and kerb-crawlers away from residential areas, especially at night. This ‘design-out’ approach may reduce pressure on communities but as Hubbard found “the overwhelming consensus is that punitive policing and increased surveillance of red-light districts merely serves to displace prostitutes to other areas” (Hubbard, 1997, p. 9). It only serves to lead to displacement and social exclusion of sex workers as they are forced into unfamiliar and therefore more unsafe areas (COI, 2006; Hubbard, 1997). Any benefits to residents are at the expense of sex workers. When they are dispersed into other areas, local authority planning and outreach become more difficult as alternative locations are hard to find and issues are harder to manage. In NSW, police found enforcement largely ineffective against kerb-crawlers, when police installed signs in Kings Cross stating that “undercover police are targeting kerb-crawlers, ten offenders were caught in the week after the signs were installed” (Smith, 2003, p. 13) highlighting the difficulty of enforcement. Ultimately this approach shifts the same issues into different ‘patches’, with alternative city ‘patches’ potentially more unsafe than those workers themselves chose to operate.

Case study: Bristol, UK - zero tolerance policy toward kerb crawling

During the 1980s and 1990s in the United Kingdom, police gained greater powers to deal with kerb-crawlers as a shift in attitudes saw the male kerb-crawler as the ‘culprit’ and sex workers as less of an
offender and more as a victim, with street prostitution increasingly seen as an anti-social behaviour (Matthews, 2005). More than 20 years ago, in Bristol’s red-light district, traffic management measures were introduced to prevent kerb-crawling. Its purpose was to eliminate street-based sex work by targeting the clients so to remove demand and subsequently sex workers from the streets. Known as the ‘Nordic Model’ of prostitution, it was further implemented in Ipswich in 2007, then extended to Suffolk (Coleman, 2012), and more recently introduced in France (Osborne, 2014).

In Bristol, the presence of on-street sex work declined in the area and the activity shifted to off-street based premises or other locations. Hubbard (1997) also noted that in Bristol, when traffic management measures were introduced, other crimes rose, dispelling the stereotype that prostitution and other crimes go hand-in-hand, further suggesting that the presence of street-based sex workers “serves to heighten surveillance and lowers crime rate” (The Independent 4 January 1995)” (Hubbard, 1997).

**Case study: Greeves Street, St Kilda redevelopment 1997 – Gates erected closed at night**

Road closure schemes have been used to reinforce social and spatial segregation (Kerkin, 2003). Implemented in Australia as far back as the 1970s, such schemes were used to push sex workers into designated areas, the main streets of St Kilda being one of these areas. With the redevelopment of Greeves Street, St Kilda in 1997, as the area became gentrified, gates were erected and closed at night to keep out unwanted traffic including kerb-crawlers seeking services of on-street sex workers (Kerkin, 2004).

**Case study: Sutton Crescent, Hunters Corner, NZ 2009 – recommendation to close street at night**

Two areas in Manukau, Hunters Corner and Northcrest car park, experience significant issues associated with street sex work (Ministry of Justice, 2009). The 2009 Ministry of Justice review of the Manukau issues recommended implementing traffic management measures for both locations. The measures included directing non-residential vehicles away from Sutton Crescent and installing permanent barriers, chains or lockable gates on the car park to prevent through traffic. However, problems continue, with residents feeling like “prisoners in their own homes” (Mass, 2012).

Traffic management approaches are used as a way to ‘design out’ the other ‘undesirable’ groups, excluding sex workers and their clients, including kerb-crawlers, from residential areas. This strategy may be appropriate in certain areas, especially those which are wholly residential, and has a valid role in informing planners and urban designers of the importance of traffic movement. It has the potential to be used in conjunction with a comprehensive mix of approaches when improved upon to better suit the contrasting groups within the New Zealand context.
3.2 Governance and Enforcement

Policy and planning approaches to locational conflict have become increasingly more multi-faceted and multi-agency involving a range of initiatives that are supported by different agencies and organisation. The goal is to keep street-based sex workers safe from violence including verbal humiliation and physical and sexual assaults from their minders and clients, and residents safe from the adverse effects of street-based prostitution including noise, anti-social behaviour, offensive and dangerous litter, soliciting during non-traditional times, aggressive solicitation, underage prostitution and gang involvement. These reported effects would be more difficult to police if sex workers were forced into marginal areas. Police have raised concerns with prohibiting street prostitution in specific locations as sex workers are likely to relocate to more dangerous areas placing strain on Police resources (Bellamy, 2012). Therefore, it is important that solutions are developed that enable all stakeholders to create safe streets for areas where street-based sex workers operate.

3.2.1 Multi Agency Initiatives

Over the past few decades, government agencies have moved toward a more multi-faceted, multi-agency approach to resolving issues related to street-based sex work that involve a range of different agencies and organisations (Matthews, 2005). The defining characteristic of multi-agency initiative is the high level of consultation and co-operation needed across a broad range of the local community including politicians, local government policy and planning professionals, Police, outreach, sexual health services, residents, sex workers and youth outreach. Poland et al. (2012) found multi-agency strategies can help facilitate and co-ordinate efforts including crime prevention, and provisions that support sex workers, including access to a range of support services, health & welfare and exit strategies. Bell and Jayne (2004) found this approach requires ongoing management and consultation. While Benson and Matthews (1995) found it is effective when well-co-ordinated and driven by community groups, though ineffective when not multi agency enough. Matthews (2005) reported this approach is promoted by law-enforcement as an alternative to formal zoning, and as long as the activity was away from residential areas, it gained greater tolerance from police.

3.2.2 Enforcement and Support

In Ipswich 2007, the Suffolk/Ipswich Multi-agency Strategy no longer viewed sex workers as offenders but rather victims. Kerb-crawlers, who sort their services, were dealt with via anti-social behaviour legislation as offenders (Home Office, 2008; Poland et al., 2012; Sagar, 2009). The evaluation of the strategy found that targeting kerb-crawlers ‘comprehensively’ deterred that activity in the area as well as county-wide. The findings indicated that sex work continued in off-street premises and sporadically in public areas, re-affirming that the enforcement and support model can
lead to displacement of sex workers to other areas and to indoor venues where prostitution continues thrive.

More recently, France, Canada and Northern Ireland have adopted what is known as the ‘Nordic Model’. The Nordic Model is where selling sex is legal but paying for it is illegal. It targets the clients and kerb-crawlers who seek the services of sex workers (Cool, 2004; Osborne, 2014; Schwartz, 2014). Introduced in Sweden in 1999, followed by Norway and Iceland in 2009, the Nordic model decriminalises prostitution and punishes the clients (Oseen, 2013). This Nordic Model of prostitution was approved with a large majority by the European Parliament in February 2014. Opponents of this model claim that it causes more harm as sex workers are displaced into darker, less populated and therefore unsafe areas. They take greater risks with new or unknown clients and take less time to sufficiently screen potential clients, increasing their vulnerability to violence (Benson & Matthews, 1995; COI, 2006; Hubbard, 1997; Matthews, 1993; Osborne, 2014; Schwartz, 2014; Tenni, 2011). The UK is yet to adopt this model in legislation; both on-street clients and sex workers are criminalised. Regardless however, on the street at the ‘coal face’, policing appears to implement of the Nordic Model by punishing kerb-crawling clients only and not sex workers.

Shifting the issues from one place to another reinforces that this is an issue of spatial organisation, a battle for territory and public spaces, that legislation hasn’t solved (Benson & Matthews, 1995). In New Zealand the Prostitution Law Reform Committee (PLRC) considered the Ipswich/Suffolk Prostitution Strategy approach but did not go as far as to recommend it (Ministry of Justice, 2009). The PLRC found that criminalising sex workers would be a barrier for them when embarking on exiting the industry, impacting negatively on their ability the find alternative employment (Ministry of Justice, 2008; Justice, 2009).

**3.2.3 Sex Worker Liaison Project**

Governance initiatives established in New South Wales include the Sex Worker Outreach Project and the NSW Ministry of Health founded Sex Worker Liaison Project. They provide a supportive, non-judgemental environment for sex workers to report acts of violence against them to law enforcement. Sex worker liaison officers are Police Officers specifically trained to deal with issues raised by sex workers (Bridgett & Robinson, 1999; Harcourt et al., 2001). Harcourt et al. (2001) reported policing was difficult and identified the project as having limited scope as at the time it was only operating in Kings Cross. Sex work in NSW is not a criminal offence. The sex worker liaison officers, aware of the issues, currently operate from a few police stations helping sex workers in their dealing with police (SWOP, 2016).
Steinmetz and Papadopoulos (2011) identified The City of Sydney Council as a “model for best practice” having a “comprehensive planning framework that attempts to address commercial sex premises as legitimate developments” (p. 2). The local council employs a Sex Liaison Officer to educate the community about the sex industry. The Officer works with the community and sex workers to help formulate policy. In Sydney there is a high level of sexual health in comparison to studies in other industrialised countries, validating the appropriateness of health promotion programs (Steinmetz & Papadopoulos, 2011).

In Wellington, a street ambassador scheme called ‘Walk Wise’ was initiated in 2001. Walk Wise officers were contracted by the Council to keep an eye on street activities and build relationships in the community. They have made strong links with local authorities, NGOs, streetwalkers and other street-based people (Ministry of Justice, 2008).

Through such projects local government authorities, police and support agencies are able to assist sex workers and other legitimate users by building relationships within the community through education and consultation. These relationships can help foster a sense of inclusion, supports diversity and reduces complaints, but does require ongoing management and investment for their continued success.

### 3.2.4 CPTED Project Plan

“Crime Prevention through Environmental Design is a crime prevention philosophy based on proper design and effective use of the built environment. The use of CPTED is intended to reduce crime and fear of crime by reducing criminal opportunity and fostering positive social interaction among legitimate users of space” (Ministry of Justice, 2005, p. 3).

The Ministry of Justice produced the NZ national guidelines and implementation guide for CPTED in the NZ Urban Design Protocol. It is primarily for the use of local authorities, police and community members involved in crime prevention activity, as well as professionals involved in planning, designing and managing publicly accessible places. When applied to street sex work the emphasis is on making the environment safer for communities as a whole, and achieved through addressing issues of nuisance, traffic, noise, litter and intimidation, not the elimination or displacement of street sex workers (Tenni, 2011).

Tenni (2011) succinctly reviewed CPTED practice in Australia reporting that “CPTED related initiatives should include street cleaning, lighting, and city ambassador schemes, the provision of adequate rubbish bins and toilet facilities in and around street sex work areas” (p. 29). The City of Sydney’s “Safe City Strategy 2007-2012” and The City of Port Phillips’ Approach to Street Sex Work both
include ‘considerable’ focus on CPTED to improve safety and minimise the negative impact of street-based sex work on residents in areas where sex workers operate.

**Case Study: Sydney, NSW**

In Sydney, the NSW police critique development applications against crime prevention strategies for relevant settings including public spaces and convenience stores. They work with City planners and other staff to deliver ‘Safer by Design’ training, disseminating CPTED checklist with the aim to create environments that discourage criminal or anti-social behaviour. Local police in Kings Cross were the first to trialled road closures in Australia, installing temporary road barriers in 2002 throughout East Sydney to disrupt known circuits to engage sex workers. The barriers were evaluated by CPTED practitioners who developed implementation recommendations. The police reported a significant reduction in crime, an increase in safety with minimal displacement of street sex workers and an increase in street life day and night. With aesthetic improvements, the strategy is being replicated in NSW (Tenni, 2011).

**Case study: East Sydney, NSW**

In East Sydney, Tenni (2011) reported the streets of residential areas that were once seen as unsafe at night became more active with the local community when traffic was channelled away from residential areas into nearby industrial/commercial areas through the use of road closure schemes with minimal displacement of sex workers. The road closure schemes were seen as a success and extended further across New South Wales. Groves (2005) found an important factor in the success of these road closure schemes is that road closures were not implemented in isolation; various other approaches were implemented in conjunction. Other approaches included CPTED program, street cleaning, lighting, access to support service and safe houses involving a multi-agency approach.

In New Zealand, the PLRC recommends Territorial Authorities adopt CPTED guidelines and evaluate areas affected by street prostitution against CPTED principles to create safer places for all street users, reporting that when used in conjunction with other urban design initiatives this “will enhance sex workers’ safety, and ameliorate any social nuisance being experienced” (Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 131). However, opponents of CPTED claim that as safety is ‘designed-in’ street-based sex workers are ‘designed-out’, with this approach inevitably leading to displacement of sex workers (Kerkin, 2003; Matthews, 2005; Meek, 2005), and through safety work excluding the ‘Other’, such as the homeless, prostitutes, vendors, skateboarders, etc. (Listerborn, 2005, p. 381).

As development proposals are critiqued against the safety design guidelines of CPTED, there is potential for increased community safety and cohesiveness but there needs to be an awareness of the potential for excluding the ‘other’ from public space and in doing so designing-out potential for increased tolerance and diversity of difference.
3.3 Tolerance and Diversity

The ideal of difference is an integral part of increasingly diverse and multicultural cities, but diversity between the values of social groups’ present challenges for authorities on how to incorporate prostitution as a form of difference into planning rather than planning out prostitution. Emerging from the literature is a pattern of managing difference through marginalisation of sex work into, low socioeconomic or industrial areas by the establishment of tolerance zones. Tolerance zones are managed areas that seek to locate sex workers into areas of tolerance or sites of least opposition. Such areas are generally located away from residential or vulnerable business areas, into specific zones where support efforts and policing can be consolidated. Hubbard (1998b) argues, “the contemporary social marginalisation of female street prostitutes is reproduced through their placement in particular sites on the margins of the social and geographical imagination” (p. 56).

When used in isolation, the zoning model is one of oppression and exclusion that supports social marginalisation of sex workers. Bellis et al. (2007) found more sophisticated models include better security to protect sex workers and their clients, better health and social service to assist sex workers, and restricted operating hours to when businesses are open, as open businesses provide a greater perception of safety. Steinmetz and Papadopoulos (2011) suggest with support from local territorial authorities, planning for tolerance of difference encourages and supports community diversity through the inclusion of diverse subcultures sharing space.

3.3.1 Tolerance Zones

Tolerance zones are a predecessor to what is more recently referred to as managed areas or ‘safety’ zones. They attempt to provide some protection and support to sex workers and the communities in which they operate and reduce prostitution elsewhere (Bellis et al., 2007). Hubbard (1997) found zones are frequently located in areas where there is less opposition and low social economic status, contiguous with economic marginalisation, socially disadvantaged, mixed residential/industrial inner city areas that are policed to ‘keep a lid on public order’. Matthews (2005) found informal zoning can help consolidate support efforts, and are easier for police to manage when the activity is located in one area (but not in mine); the difficulty is finding agreement on location. He found that the police are “completely opposed to a toleration zone. One, because they wouldn’t work in it anyway. They would just work where they want”, alternatively, police “promote a ‘responsibilization’ strategy in which street prostitution is managed less and less by the police themselves and responsibility is increasingly devolved on to the outreach workers, other agencies and, most importantly, to the women themselves” (p. 886).

Hubbard (1998a) found when coexisting with premises-based sex work, visibility that is formalised through tolerance zones can lead to notoriety as a red-light district and notoriety attracts clients
bringing with it kerb-crawling, complaints of public nuisance and a sense of neighbourhood decline and reduced property values, creating more problems than it solves. The visibility of street prostitution can signal to the wider community that an area is vulnerable to crime and is a neighbourhood in decline.

On the other hand, there is also a counter effect. When these marginal areas affected by street-based sex work are redeveloped and affluent gentrifiers move in, the increase in property ownership sees a decrease in tolerance toward sex workers. The following series of well-recognised case found well-organised anti-prostitution campaigners successfully lobby police and local politicians to protect their principal asset; property values, to prevent “location labelling anxiety” from the stigma of prostitution; location reflecting the ability of social groups to exclude the ‘other’. Community led activism can result in the social exclusion as sex workers are displaced to more vulnerable locations.

Hubbard (1998b) argues that when sex workers are located into marginal, residential districts of the working poor, eventual displacement or changing spatial distribution will eventually occur through gentrification. This gentrification process is a reflection of the general social prejudices, resulting in the social exclusion of prostitute women. As sex workers move into more vulnerable areas, violent crime against sex workers and exploitation remains unresolved, marginal status has not improved and stigmatisation is reinforced by spatial exclusion. Hubbard states “it is the placement of female sex workers in specific sites where they operate as commercial sex workers that unites them as immoral and marginal Others” (p. 61). This reaffirms location decisions as a reflection of the social position of prostitute women, with their placement in marginalised sites mirroring predominant assumptions about the immorality of sex work (Hubbard, 1998b; Sagar & Croxall, 2012).

Hubbard (1997) found deep-rooted moral anxiety appears to provoke complaints of nuisance to police and local authorities. Dominant voices successfully lobby for increased punitive policing and designing-out prostitution through increased lighting and traffic management schemes to make an area unattractive to streetwalkers. However, Tenni (2011) reported, “increasing the light level causes overspill into private properties and can interfere with sleeping and is a common source of some complaints in residential areas” (p. 36). Therefore consideration needs to be given to the effects of lighting on residents as well. Groves (2005) reported sensor lighting as part of the CPTED capable guardian approach is a better alternative to increasing street light levels, finding that increased street lighting created more problems.

**Case Study: Leith Docks, Edinburgh 1980’s - 2001**

During the 1980s Leith Docks became the unofficial tolerance zone for street prostitution in Edinburgh through informal agreement with Police, Health Projects and sex workers themselves. Once seen as a good practice example (Bindel & Kelly, 2004) the ‘zone’ operated for more than a
decade with Police and Health agencies providing protection and support service to sex workers. The docks were then an industrial area with notoriety as a red-light district. During the late 1990s the docks were redeveloped into residential areas which lead to nuisance/noise complaints to Police as residents moved in and the area became gentrified. As a result of the gentrification, the Leith Docks tolerance zone was closed in 2001. No relocation was possible. Sex workers became widely spread across the city making outreach difficult for health projects and support agencies (Hubbard, 2011). The gentrification of unofficial ‘tolerance zones’ and subsequent displacement of sex workers is a dominant theme throughout the literature.

**Case Study: Balsall Heath, Birmingham and Manningham, Bradford, UK**

Balsall Heaths notoriety as a red-light district of Birmingham extends to the pre-1950s. The visibility of ‘streetwalkers’ and ‘window workers’ was magnified when redevelopment in the 1970’s opened properties used for prostitution to a park and children’s playground. Consequently, there was a decline of property prices in the area which was attributed to the visibility of the sex industry operating there, both on and off street. In 1994, residents groups lobbied local councillors and police to take greater punitive action against streetwalkers and kerb-crawlers. Arguing they were not being protected from the ‘public nuisance’ associated with the activity, residents organised community protests. Organised as a peaceful protest, the resulting community activism in the form of lengthy pickets did occasionally result in acts of harassment and confrontation claimed by pickets and sex workers. However, the community activism successfully removed street prostitutes from the area. The demand or supply did not reduce but displaced the existing street trade, a reflection of the dominant discourse of gentrification leading to displacement and social exclusion, or as Hubbard puts it changing spatial distribution to reflect general social prejudices (Hubbard, 1998a).

**Case Studies: International experiences**

Social prejudices against sex workers were reflected in Canada where street prostitution did not become an issue until middle-class residents made it a priority (Larsen, 1992 in Hubbard (1998a)). Hubbard found evidence from other cities including London, King’s Cross, Soho and Victoria, to suggest that spill-over from inner city to suburban locations is temporary as motivated residents’ succeed in lobbying police and authorities to take action against sex workers and sex workers return to traditional inner city beats where there is less opposition and low social economic status. It is when the more affluent gentrifiers move to these marginal areas that anti-prostitution campaigners successfully lobby local authorities. This was the case in Wentworth Street, Port Kembla, New South Wales. Sex workers were displaced by planners as they were not part of the idealised vision for that area. Instead, they were considered a redundant social group whose fate was of no concern (Barnes et al., 2006). In the Netherlands, Amsterdam City Council closed down the street tolerance zone in 2003, as they found it impossible to create a safe and controllable zone (Bindel & Kelly, 2004). The
gentrification process was also evident in Amsterdam with the introduction of the Red-light District Plan 1012. Aalbers and Sabat (2012) report that the Red-light Art project is seen as a state-sponsored gentrifier, as artists displace sex workers pre-empting gentrification.

Bindel and Kelly (2004) therefore argue that tolerance zones, in both the legalised and regulatory regimes, have failed to deliver the hoped for benefits and have no long-term sustainability. They do not address nuisance, violence or exploitation. (Howell, 2000) reaffirms, they are a way of regulating for oppression and exclusion and increase links between prostitution and the criminal underworld. Restricting location to marginal areas has profound implications for sex workers as it heightens their vulnerability to violence and exploitation as acts of violence mostly occur on the street.

Rather than legal regulation, the above cases demonstrate how street-based sex work had in the past been ‘tolerated’ or managed through zoning. However, when used as a strategy to address issues, caution needs to be taken to prevent marginalising an already vulnerable group and increasing their risk to violence and exploitation. Therefore, urban design needs to consider the effects of gentrification on street-based sex workers and include appropriate strategies in the planning process to prevent displacement of sex workers to even more inappropriate locations.

3.3.2 Tolerance of Difference

Tolerance of social difference is an approach used in urban planning to enhance local urban diversity. This is evident in Australian cities as planners encourage diverse subcultures to share space through their territorial framework. For example, Kerkin (2003, 2004) claimed that in Australian cities planners have become more sensitive to difference as cities become increasingly diverse and multicultural. By approaching prostitution as a form of difference, community discourse and local government planning enhances local diversity by incorporating different social groups into the planning process rather than planning prostitution out (Kerkin, 2003, 2004). Nevertheless, as highlighted by Kerkin in the following St Kilda case study, when tasked with planning for difference local authorities struggle to match policy with practice, as planning can become an instrument of the dominant majority to oppress certain groups.

Case Studies: St Kilda, Malbourne

St Kilda, a notorious red-light district in Melbourne, Australia, has been linked to prostitution since European settlement. Though tolerance of difference was evident in the planning documents, Kerkin (2003) found “rather than act as a procedural technique for ensuring the participation of different social groups, planning regulations have a long history of use as a tool for controlling prostitution as a different social activity that threatens the moral values of the rest of the community” (p. 142). In the 1970’s, planning regulations were used by the local council to reinforce moral anxieties of the
dominant social groups when they “attempted to use planning regulations to enforce moral and spatial controls” (p. 142). Traffic Management schemes were enforced displacing sex workers to the docks. During the 1990s’, a renewed approach saw prostitution as a form of difference. Tolerance of diversity evident in local governance discourse at City of Port Phillip defined there is a link between the social identity of street prostitution and place identification of St Kilda. This acceptance of prostitution as part of the identity of St Kilda was challenged in 1997 with the redevelopment and gentrification of the depot once designated for the activity. New discourse developed contradicting policy and practice. Contravening the tolerance of difference promoted by council, sex workers who were considered to be part of the social identity of the area were designed-out.

For example, Greeves Street, known beyond the borders of St Kilda for street prostitution is a street discreetly tucked away between two main roads making it useful for street work. In the 1980s’ a one way system was introduced reinforcing the amenity of the street for sex work and enabling sex workers to watch for police vehicles driving the wrong way. With the redevelopment of Greeves Street in the 1990’s, gates were erected to direct traffic to the main streets, breaking traffic circulation, successfully pushing sex workers away from residential streets. Kerkin concluded that the discourse of normal practices feed back into policy and planning decisions that marginalise and exclude certain social groups. However, as previously mentioned, there is an inherent land-use conflict between street-based sex work and wholly residential areas, therefore traffic management could be considered appropriate when planning for wholly residential areas.

With the cycle of development and redevelopment, history illustrates that despite phases of ‘tolerance’ the dominant voice wins, as affluent, articulate, organised gentrifiers lobby authorities to take action against sex workers. Peng (2003) claimed if planning is an instrument of the dominant majority, adopting one groups perspective directly or indirectly oppresses another groups ‘rights’, and therefore planners need to be reflective and cautious about the values they favour before drafting practical ordinances (p. 210).

Non-legislative measures were reaffirmed by the PRA Committee in December 2015 as recommended approaches to reducing issues in Manukau. These included a mix of approaches from the three broad themes identified in this literature review, and without the need for legislative change. There was a strong focus on collaborative inter-agency responses and location or ‘zone’ based initiatives (New Zealand Parliament, 2014). However, the literature revealed too much focus on location or ‘zones’ can be counterproductive for sex workers and the local community. Drawing on the Australian experience, a comprehensive mix of approaches implemented in conjunction with appropriate location based initiative can help improve the chance of successfully reducing issues.
associated with street-based sex work with little displacement (Tenni, 2011), while supporting tolerance and diversity within the local community.

3.3.3 Mixed Use Location

Sydney, Australia, is widely recognised worldwide for its vibrant sex industry. Steinmetz and Papadopoulos (2011) found land-use planning by the local authority provides a model of best practice for premises-based sex work through its territorial planning framework. The framework allows for a variety of land uses to coexist encouraging diverse subcultures to share space within the urban environment (Steinmetz & Papadopoulos, 2011, p. 12). They also found that commercial sex premises operate in mixed use urban areas with limited detrimental impact and were generally located around entertainment hubs, commercial centres and industrial areas, but discouraged from residential areas (p. 11).

Nevertheless, as commercial sex premises are discouraged from residential areas, an analysis of survey data carried out by Searle et al. (2011) revealed that there was a “significant lack of awareness of nearby sex premises” amongst residents. They found that most participants surveyed were unaware they lived near a sex premises. They were more likely to be aware of “cafes/restaurants and pubs/bars or clubs, both of which also have potentially significant negative impacts on local residents” (p. 10). This suggests that off-street venues can operate within a mixed urban environment that includes residential land use as premises-based sex work can potentially have little to no impact on neighbouring land users. However, they also found “though attitude surveys indicate that the public is becoming more liberal in its opinion of commercial sex, when confronted with commercial sex in their own neighbourhood, many residents display a strong “Not in My Back Yard” attitude” (p. 3). Their study found sex premises to be unsuitable “near a wide range of “sensitive land uses” - including religious institutions, schools, colleges, homeless hostels, hospitals, and residential homes” (Searle et al., 2011, p. 4). Findings suggest that some forms of off-street venues are appropriate when they are part of mixed use urban locations. It’s the nature of the mix, density and function, which planners need to carefully consider when planning for greater diversity.

In the UK, Matthews (2005) found there was a correlation between factors of density and function when street-based sex workers operate in areas of residential and business/commercial. Police received greater complaints from residential areas and fewer complaints from mixed use locations. Matthews (2005) states there is “recognition among its many support agencies that street prostitution can have a negative impact on the quality of life of local residents in certain locations - particularly young females” (Matthews, 2005, p. 880). Indications from the above examples suggest the nature of the mix impacts on successfully planning for sex work.
### 3.4 Literature summary

Regardless of the legal framework surrounding street-based sex work, communities worldwide continue to struggle with the complexities of how to plan and design safer streets for all. Location dominates the discourse, often resulting in the displacement of sex workers into more marginal unsafe locations. Enforcing legislation that criminalises sex workers is problematic; it leads to increased hardship of sex workers, as ultimately they are displaced into other areas, making local authority planning and outreach more difficult.

In the UK where sex work is criminalised there has been a shift in attitude toward sex workers as victims, rather than offenders, with kerb-crawling being dealt with via anti-social behaviour legislation. This shift in attitude toward the Nordic model demonstrates a mismatch between national legislation and local governance. The Nordic model of punishing kerb-crawling clients only and not the sex worker contradicts the legislation and merely shifts the issues from one place to another, reinforcing that this is an issue of spatial organisation, a battle for territory and public spaces that legislation won’t solve.

Prominent areas in Europe that were once known for their notoriety as a red-light district and tolerance toward sex workers have since become gentrified, increasing tensions between residents and sex workers. Even in Amsterdam, a world city notorious for its sex industry, authorities are designing-out sex workers through the introduction of the Red-Light District Plan 1012, seen as a state-sponsored gentrifier.

Urban design initiatives including traffic management schemes, police patrols and CPTED have been used to design-out sex workers and their clients through safety work to exclude the ‘Other’. However, in Sydney through a territorial framework, multi-agencies and local communities work together to help reduce the issues. They have implemented a mix of strategies including mixed-use locations, community education and sex worker support systems, and CPTED initiatives. Rather than designing out the ‘other’, the model is one of inclusion and diversity.

The case studies suggest that legislation won’t solve issues of territorial spatial organisation; enforcement is difficult and leads to further hardship of sex workers making outreach more challenging, putting sex workers and outreach staff at greater risk. An appropriate mix of urban design initiatives, that include multi-agency and community driven approaches, can assist in crime prevention and help deliver better outcomes for the community as a whole, while supporting both tolerance and diversity.
Chapter 4: Key Informant Findings Christchurch

In this chapter, the findings of the key informant interviews are presented. Experience and insights of 12 key informants from different sectors in Christchurch is presented under four headings: The Christchurch Case: Manchester Street as a focus of street-based sex work; Urban Street Design; Governance and Enforcement; and Tolerance and Diversity.

Overall, the findings indicate that since the passing of The Prostitution Reform Act 2003, little has changed to improve the safety of street-based sex workers and the communities in which they operate. While there has been some acceptance by residents that the activity is part of the fabric of the inner city community, spatial planning of responses envisaged to ease the tensions and improve safety is contentious. In Christchurch these two diverse user groups; residents and street-based sex workers, go head to head in the battle for space.

Christchurch stakeholders include multiple agencies who work together to help reduce violence against sex workers and improve community cohesion. Nevertheless, at the street level the stumbling block for improvement appears to be community anxiety relating to location labelling. Property owners fear that property values will be adversely affected with the introduction of sex worker focused initiatives in their neighbourhood. It seems that the location focused initiatives that dominate the discourse surrounding street-based sex work are certain to fail as inevitably gentrification is followed by displacement and hardship of sex workers.

4.1 The Christchurch Case: Manchester Street as a focus of street-based sex work

Manchester Street is well known nationally and internationally as the unofficial ‘red-light’ district of Christchurch, New Zealand (WikiSexGuide.com, 2017). It is the traditional beat for sex workers in Christchurch. Historically the street-based sex work occurred on the southern section of Manchester Street between the Avon River and Moorhouse Avenue, where it crosses the eastern part of the central business district (CBD). It also occurred around Latimer Square, a park setting east of the city centre. In the past few decades it has crept further along Manchester Street, north of the Avon River toward Bealey Avenue, where it became more entrenched. A locator map of street-based sex work in Christchurch is shown in figure 1 below.
Figure 1: Street-based sex work locator map, Central Christchurch
Sandy, a Design and Planning Professional, along with other key informants acknowledged Manchester Street as being well known for street-based sex work in New Zealand.

Sandy: “Manchester Street works for them, it’s become iconic, it’s become known amongst the clientele, everybody in New Zealand knows that Manchester Street is the place you go and that’s like branding in a marketing sense... very hard to change that pattern.”

Where Manchester Street crosses the Avon River, the inner city commercial district between Moorhouse Avenue and the Avon River merges into a blend of mixed use residential/business between the Avon River and Bealey Avenue, forming part of a distinct community of Peterborough Village Pita Kāik and Moa residents’ community groups. Street-based sex work has continued along this stretch of Manchester Street over several decades and has been tolerated if not accepted as part of the fabric of the community. Bill, a resident and Community Representative, explains:

Bill: “Although they would rather not have the prostitutes, they’d probably come to accept this was part of the community and prior to the earthquakes it was mentioned at our meetings that it wasn’t ever really a big deal”

The mix use environment has contributed to the area being less sensitive about sex workers, but it is not without issue, as Andy, a Design and Planning Professional, stated:

Andy: “it’s more of a mix use of residential and business down through there. That tends to make it a little less sensitive. But you still get complaints and issues from residents and businesses.”

Complaints and issues were found to be common across informants with the two main issues being late night noise and rubbish. Darcy, a resident and Design and Planning Professional explains:

Darcy: “The issue is really disturbance of people’s sleep, and the rubbish with the needles and condoms, used condoms around and stuff. People find that pretty upsetting, the needles fairly upsetting.”

However there was genuine concern for the sex workers as well. Bill felt strongly that the reported issues were ‘superficial’ in comparison to the harm the workers faced not only from the inherent risk of violence but also from their ‘minders’:

Bill: “You get this definitely stereotyping, shaving hair tattooed with a dog chap walking in front scowling and the prostitutes comes steps behind. It’s not with him to be protected they appear more like as chattels. Though we’re worried about the pimps, the real physical psychological danger is to the prostitutes themselves.”
Hence there is a degree of tolerance towards and concern for sex workers by the Peterborough/Moa community even though the negative issues associated with the activity continue.

### 4.1.1 Mixed-use location

There are several factors that have contributed to the progression of this stretch of Manchester Street, the Peterborough/Moa area, becoming the preferred location for street-based sex work in Christchurch. In the past, sex workers carried out their activity along the southern end of Manchester Street which was primarily a commercial area pre-quake. The New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC) support staff in Christchurch and have observed their movements north along Manchester Street over time. Ali, a worker in social services and active in supporting sex-workers provided an account of street-based sex work distribution over the years:

Ali: “we’ve been doing street outreach for about 20 years and there were a few on Manchester Street from probably Litchfield Street down to Armagh Street and the bridge.”

Sex workers were able to spread out along the street and occupy their own corners when businesses closed for the evening. As Christchurch’s late night economy developed, competing businesses including bars and restaurants began occupying those same corners:

Ali: “people had their own corners and then so those corners became businesses like bars and places like that and they didn’t want to have those people outside their doors and those people didn’t necessarily want to be standing outside their doors.”

To avoid confrontation, street-based sex workers moved into the liminal spaces on the edge of the inner city where business and residential merge:

Ali: “one or two massage parlours started up around the corners, Litchfield, Worcester, they didn’t want street workers in their close proximity. Water filled condoms were thrown out the window from a little place called Secrets that was opposite Dick Smith Electronic. That’s when they started moving back down towards Bealey Avenue.”

Sandy also observed this shift in distribution and offers several reasons why the Peterborough/Moa community has become the place for street-based sex work in Christchurch:

Sandy: “in the section between the river and Bealey Ave, I observed that that’s where they chose to be. It was relatively close to a busy nightlife area, so they had a source of customers or potential customers that they need, the lighting was adequate, there was good access and egress on both sides of the road for their potential customers, there were plenty of areas around where either on foot or in a car they could do business with their customers.”
To avoid harassment and confrontation with the active late night economy, sex workers moved north along Manchester Street toward Bealey Avenue, into the mixed land use areas of the Peterborough/Moa communities where they have since become more entrenched.

4.1.2 Bond, History and Tradition

The emotional bond sex workers have with the area, and the feelings of safety, are the two main reasons sex workers choose the Peterborough/Moa area. They feel safe as there are people around and if something goes wrong their screams will be heard, as reinforced by Justin, a worker in social services and law-enforcement professional:

Justin: “the fact that street workers are doing it there [Manchester Street] cause they feel safe cause there are other people around.”

The bond they have is acknowledged by all informants with Andy reiterating:

Andy: “it’s got a lot of history and tradition. When you talk to the collective, they say there’s a sort of emotional attachment for the workers in Manchester Street.”

It’s this mixed use environment of residential and business on a street steeped in history and tradition for sex workers and their cliental that has seen Manchester Street become known as the unofficial red-light district in Christchurch. Over the years sex workers have developed a bond with ‘Manny’ and most informants agreed that breaking this bond would be challenging. Sarah, a worker in social services, explains:

Sarah: “there’s a bond to it and so to shift the girls from Manchester for some of them they just wouldn’t actually want to work anywhere else because they have always worked on Manny they’ve grown up on Manny... any shift away could be a challenge.”

Overall, most informants agreed on that if it wasn’t for the earthquakes the issues would have been contained within the Peterborough/Moa community which afforded a degree of tolerance toward sex workers. Perry, a former resident and law-enforcement official, “went around and casually talked to people that lived in the area”, he found that “some were absolutely appalled by it and wanted the police to step in there and throw them in a cage”, but he also found there was some acceptance, recalling “there was a professional couple in there and they said well actually we don’t mind it, we see it as a form of security...she said I think it’s wonderful, it’s such vibrancy out there seeing these people come and meet these girls”. 

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Steeped in history and tradition for sex workers the Peterborough/Moa area of Manchester Street provides a feeling of safety and a degree of tolerance toward sex workers, making any shift in geographies through urban planning challenging.

4.1.3 Sex workers move to north Manchester St post-quake

Issues escalated post quakes when the inner city was red-zoned and sex workers disbursed into the nearby residential area of Edgeware, north Manchester Street (refer locator map Appendix C.1). Edgeware is located just up the road from their traditional beat of the Peterborough/Moa community making it easy for the clients to find them. Andy explains:

Andy: “when the key parts of the city were closed after the earthquake, it moved north of Bealey Avenue into wholly residential area and [there was a] big spike in issues.”

North Manchester Street residents who had not had to worry about sex workers before became involved:

Bill: “what has raised it was when the prostitutes moved out of where they were to areas where they hadn’t had to worry about them... so this was a new group of people who had never had to worry about this before and they became very vocal you know in terms of the noise, the rubbish... the odd bit of damage and lowering the tone of their neighbourhood.”

Informants agreed the problems had escalated post-earthsquakes with several reporting it was due to the vacant derelict buildings and the movement of sex workers into north Manchester Street. Perry, a former resident, worker in social services, and law-enforcement explains, then confirmed by Justin and Darcy:

Perry: “the associated behaviour I gather has got a lot worse since the earthquakes because of the derelict sort of buildings. There’s more rubbish, condoms, disorder, and dodgy looking people hanging about... it’s a mixture of, it could be associated with the girls and other people who live in the general, who are wandering through the general area.”

Justin: “a lot of these problems aren’t new though they’ve been with us prior to the earthquakes so it’s yeah houses been empty while they’re not tenanted and things it’s just probably on a bigger scale now.”

Darcy: “the big fuss is really been because it went north of Bealey. They went up Manchester Street in Edgeware. We were red zoned, that pushed them up, and they got familiar with the territory.”
This was a concern for law-enforcement as movement away from the mixed-use Peterborough/Moa area into other wholly residential areas could become habit forming for the sex workers:

Justin: “with the earthquakes we went from the majority of our street workers between Bealey Ave and Moorhouse Ave on Manchester Street. With all the traffic disruptions, etc. they obviously moved to other locations. That could be habit forming for people.”

Characteristics of the Edgeware locality which encouraged sex workers into the area included a feeling of safety as there are people around, lighting, roading for cars to circuit and toilet facilities at the local petrol station.

4.1.4 Safety concerns in the extended zone

New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective (NZPC) were concerned for the safety of sex workers if they remained in north Manchester as crime prevention cameras are not installed in the wholly residential area:

Ali: “we always promoted the fact that it was safer to go back over the other side of Bealey Avenue because there are crime cameras there, they’re actually traffic cameras but they get used for crime surveillance whereas on the residential end there aren’t any.”

Their usual beat now felt unsafe as the area had become dark and deserted. The characteristics and facilities that once encouraged sex workers into the Peterborough/Moa mixed use zone on the edge of the inner city were no longer accessible. Ali described the area as “pretty spook. If you go down Manchester Street probably after the bridge or even after Peterborough Street it’s dark and there are no businesses open there’s nothing open”. Business, people, lighting, toilets and the drop-in centre that once provide support and feelings of safety had closed.

4.1.5 Loss of the drop-in centre

Pre-quake there was also a little known Oaklands drop-in centre based on Manchester Street and run by support staff. Sex Workers could call into the centre for support, hot drinks, and a chat and to use the bathroom facilities. With the loss of the drop-in centre support agencies were dispersed elsewhere away from the inner city:

Darcy: “when the collective was setup, they were probably closer to where all the action was but now they’re mile away.”
There were no longer any services or facilities available to patrons of late night economy, including toilets, as the public toilets on the corner of Manchester and Gloucester Street had also closed. There were no rubbish bins, no needle exchange, no toilets and no support service in the vicinity.

Darcy: [one night at the van] “one chap came and said ‘where’s the needle exchange?’ and the collective staff told him where the needle exchange is in the central city. He came over from Sydney he couldn’t believe in Sydney there’s needle exchanges, lots of them, but in Christchurch there was just one and they didn’t think that was very well serviced.”

Informants were asked if they were aware of the drop-in centre. Most, other than support staff, were unaware of the drop-in centre and it operating out of a commercial building on Manchester Street. Research findings show that off-street premises are often not visible or known and informants supported the idea of having a similar drop-in centre reinstated as part of the Christchurch inner city rebuild.

After the traditional location was disrupted, the rebuild itself also meant that the demand increased:

Darcy: “The rebuild, it’s a major. Christchurch is booming with tradespeople so sex and drug are a major part of it. They need to start putting facilities to allow for it to accommodate it and make sure they design places to be able to cope with it you know new playgrounds and all these things they need to be able to be resilient to this commercial activity.”

Hence the 2010-11 earthquakes have clearly been a major factor in sharpening the tensions around street-based sex work within the largely residential sections of Manchester Street.

4.1.6 Multi-agency initiatives

With the post-earthquake spike in issues and complaints from the affected residents and the heightened safety concerns for sex workers, multiple agencies including Christchurch City Council, NZPC, Police, support services and the Peterborough/Moa community worked together on strategies to encourage sex workers back into the mixed use zone closer to the inner city and away from the wholly residential area.

Approaches included installing temporary facilities, an Accord seeking better behaviours from sex workers in exchange for those facilities, and a dedicated law-enforcement hot-line for the community to report anything unusual. The temporary facilities were to include port-a-loos, rubbish bins and sharps disposal. The dedicated hot-line was for reporting not only sex worker related issues but any public nuisance and unlawful activity including trespass and sexual activity in a public place.
The process to get temporary facilities installed in lower Manchester Street was challenging and faced opposition from residents. Ali explains:

Ali: “it was the culmination of many many meetings identifying what would be useful to encourage the street workers to be away from the northern end of Manchester Street making things are more accessible for their needs and it was basically putting in a port-a-loo with sharps container and enhancing the lighting a bit and I mean it was only a temporary measure... The Press reported it very very wrongly and I think talked to one of the new city councillors who was quite keen on doing things to appease the residents and came out as though the council were organising this new red-light area and it was more damaging... it wasn’t really a trial site but the media sort of put it out as though it was and I think it was very damaging.”

These discussions highlighted the difficulties of negotiating spatial organisation with diverse user groups, and signal a wider tension over the reallocation of space in the inner city. Even though Agencies were able to find a site for the proposed temporary facilities, after consulting with the community, neighbours would not agree on the location.

Andy: “The difficulty was finding a land owner who was prepared to lease us the land to do that which ultimately we overcame then it was the neighbours and so property values came out as a significant issue.”

Location became the primary focus of discussions with attempts to help reduce the issues by installing much needed facilities being opposed by property owners and their neighbours fearing location labelling could potentially affect their property values.

Andy: “when you started talking to neighbours particularly in the current environment, cause quite a few of them are not intending to stay, so they’re intending to sell their properties or they’re wanting to develop, so property values came up very much as an issues for those people.”

Though recommended by the Ministry of Justice as a partial solution and having support from parts of the community and multi-agencies, the proposed temporary facilities were unable to be implemented, symbolising the challenges facing urban planners tasked with the role of negotiating spatial organisation.

4.1.7 The Accord

Agencies worked together to develop a voluntary Accord, an agreement between the Christchurch City Council and representatives of the sex workers and Prostitutes Collective, to encourage sex
workers to move away from the upper part of Manchester Street or other residential areas and temper their behaviour in exchange for temporary facilities.

Andy: “we’d come up with an accord which both we and the Prostitutes Collective and others thought the majority of the workers would sign up but sort of quid pro quo and to make enable them to behave in better way. We were to provide some facilities so that was some temporary toilets and somewhere to dispose of needles and rubbish.”

Key informants, including planning and a law-enforcement professional, agreed that the proposed Accord would be difficult to enforce.

Andy: “it’s one thing having an Accord and getting people to sign a piece of paper, it’s another to see whether you actually get better behaviour.”

Justin: “it’s not really enforceable by the police; it’s more of an agreement.”

None of the approaches identified were implemented. However, as the commercial centre began to reopen and the late night economy became more active, on their own initiative the majority of sex workers have moved away from the wholly residential area of Edgeware back into their traditional beat of Manchester Street, between Bealey Ave and the city centre. Relative harmony has since been restored to pre-quake equilibrium without any interference from Government agencies or law-enforcement. This indicates that in conjunction with the tight bond sex workers have for Manchester Street, the preferred environmental characteristic will encourage sex workers into an area of least resistance, or that is less sensitive, such as the mixed-use location of Peterborough Village Pita Kāik and Moa communities.

4.1.8 Diversity of Difference

Even though the community representatives acknowledged sex workers are part of the wider community and operate a legal business, Darcy felt people’s attitude didn’t reflect this:

Darcy: “people’s attitudes need to accommodate that but they haven’t necessarily and there’s a lot of people that just think it’s wrong and they take a sort of puritanical view so that is a problem.”

There was no evidence to support the idea that diversity of difference existed in the Peterborough/Moa area to any large degree, Bill claims:

Bill: “I think if you took a vote in our groups the majority would say let’s get rid of them send them off somewhere else.”
Most informants, including the NZPC, agreed that the activity was not compatible with residential living; Darcy recalls a conversation with NZPC:

Darcy: “the collective agrees they shouldn’t really be in a residential area, they should be moved down into the commercial part, now everybody kind of agrees with that.”

This will most likely be the cause of continued tension as the inner city becomes more diverse, and the experiences of northern Manchester Street post-earthquake have potential implications for the longer term development of the inner city.

4.1.9 “Blueprint” changing the make-up of the inner city

The Christchurch rebuild “blueprint” is implementing changes to the character and make-up of the inner city. Manchester Street borders the ‘eastern frame’ which is designated as future residential. There is a new iconic children’s playground now located on the nexus of residential commercial where sex workers traditionally operated. Several informants questioned the logic behind this decision, and thought that the Christchurch Central Development Unit (CCDU) hadn’t taken the activity into consideration at all when designing the ‘blueprint’ precincts, Bill recalls:

Bill: “The council have tried to be helpful; they have tried to do something about it. The CCDU has pretended it doesn’t exist but I think they now realise they have to take this into account for the development of that part of the city.”

However, Andy had heard CCDU had recognised the issue but chose to ignore these legitimate users of the space:

Andy : “I’ve heard anecdotally when they were doing the Avon River Precinct they recognised that that was running through that area but they specifically deliberately avoided talking to anyone involved in street prostitution.... Sort of deliberately closing their eyes and covering their ears and pretending the activity doesn’t exist... we’ve now a bit further up have the Margaret Mahy Playground right in the area and [I’m] thinking hmm that’s not very compatible not very compatible at all.”

Other informants suggested a different interpretation, arguing that residents and business including sex work will create greater diversity of difference within the inner city and with it the opportunity for all, including children, to learn about the sex industry. Darcy suggested:

Darcy: “there are some people that find it a bad if children see that this is happening, that people are soliciting for sex or to buy sex, well you know that’s life, they’re central city residents, they have to learn about it.”
In other words, for some people, the nature of a city is diverse and people who choose to live in the central city may have limited choice other than tolerance as sex work is part of inner city life, as is the case worldwide.

Post implementation of the Margaret Mahy Playground in the pre-quake red-light district, CCDU became interested in the activity, attending community meetings and talking with other concerned parties and planners. They were unavailable for interview as a key informant at the time this investigation was conducted but advised they were looking into the subject of street-base sex work. This was also confirmed by a planner who was developing a multi-criteria assessment of the sex industries compatibility with other activities in the area.

Andy: “we plan to do that with CCDU, sit down and have a workshop with CCDU, ourselves and Prostitutes Collective, YCD, Salvation Army and the Police so we’ll do that [multi criteria assessment] as a collective group.”

Darcy confirming when asked, how does Street design for red-light districts form part of the urban design and planning process?

Darcy: “At the moment they’re not, I don’t think they allow for it at all but they should be yes.”

It was clear that street design for red-light districts did not form part of the urban design and planning process pre-or post-quake, but all stakeholder groups agreed that it should.

### 4.2 Urban Street Design

Street design for ‘red-light’ districts has not formed part of the urban design and planning process in Christchurch, either pre-quakes or as part of the post-quake rebuild. Questions remain around whether they should or not. Location orientated discourse has done little to ease the pressure felt by residents in affected areas and location as a means to establishing territorial boundaries remain the primary focus of authorities.

Andy: “you can’t really get into the design process till you decide where that area is and then you’re looking at how you design to encourage the activity in that space and to minimise the problems that activity will inevitably cause to other things that are around.”

However, people cannot be forced into areas they do not want to go, and marginalising an already vulnerable group will only cause greater hardship. Ali has found through her work with the community:
Ali: “a lot of people think oh well we know we can’t get rid of them but you know, they can go down in some industrial area somewhere out of the way, now that’s a very unsafe environment.”

Providing a safer environment through urban design that encourages the activity to continue in the area to which sex workers are already bonded makes a lot of sense to some informants. Planning and Design Professionals were already considering what this might entail and were developing a multi-criteria assessment. Andy explains:

Andy: “we’ve developed a multi criteria assessment... what it does it say’s what is the criteria that we want to assess sites against so you know things like does it have the right roading... can people pull over, what’s it compatibility with other activities around in that area... you might say well actually compatibility with those other activities is the most important factor and you’d give that a higher rating to some of the others... then you take all the different areas that potential you could rate them all ... give them a private score at the end and say well ok which is the best option that’s the sort of process we go through.”

One community representative, which suggested that instead of using this process to design-out sex workers, it could be used to improve the outcome for all street users within the traditional beat of Peterborough/Moa. This was due to the Peterborough/Moa community potentially having less sensitively and a degree of understanding and acceptance toward sex workers.

Bill: “If you talk to both the Moa and Peterborough committees I think [Darcy] and I would be in a minority in terms of saying look this is part of the colourful nature of our community sending them somewhere else is not going to solve it for the city.”

It is clear that tolerance of diversity must also recognise difference of ideas about what a city should be.

4.2.1 Street-based Sex Worker ‘Safety Guidelines’

While authorities struggle with how to address street-based sex work through an urban design and planning process, other stakeholders were already proactive in developing and enhancing their own initiative outside the formal planning processes of local authorities.

Sex worker guidelines covering all aspects of safety have been developed and implemented by support services in conjunction with a sexual health network, which meets monthly, and law-enforcement. The guidelines include a ‘Street Safety’ Pack on New Zealand laws and sex workers’ rights, a text alert system, and police training on how to manage reports of violence against sex workers. The ‘Street Safety’ Pack, photographed in Appendix C.3, spells out New Zealand laws and
sex worker rights. It is distributed to sex workers and their clients by support staff when they meet new people on the street. Ali explains:

Ali: “sex work is decriminalised in New Zealand, and the laws protect sex workers rights for such things as always using condoms, the right to say no to any sexual act the right to report any acts of violence to the police. This can include thefts, non-payments, harassment, removing a condom and other breaches of the law, if you would like more information…”

This has been especially important during the Christchurch rebuild. With the influx of overseas tradespeople coming from countries, where sex work is illegal, they may be unaware of New Zealand laws. Hence there was a concern that new people coming to Christchurch may think they can get away with harming sex workers as Terri, a worker in social services explains:

Terri: “if you did something against a sex worker, the chances of her reporting it to the police would be quite low cause they’d be committing a crime themselves so people who come into the country have no reason to know all the ins and outs of our laws but you know it’s good to spell it out.”

Support services in Christchurch are actively engaged in finding ways to reduce violence against sex workers. This is carried out through working with health and law-enforcement agencies as well as talking with sex workers and their clients directly when they meet with them on the street.

Ali: “We’re part of a sexual health network that meets monthly and there’s been discussion around you know these people coming in from other countries… Tell them where they can get free condom and hepatitis C community clinic and the Aids Foundation and all that stuff.”

With the ebb and flow of sex workers entering and exiting the sex industry in Christchurch, any new sex workers to the scene are given advice by support staff about all aspects of safety. This includes advice on controlling the transaction to reduce the risk of violence and what to do should anything go wrong.

Ali: “If we meet new workers on the streets we always… say just don’t go with him, you make out that you’re in control even if you’re not, you say no this is where I go you know and he might think ha somebodies watching that space and he’s not going to get up to anything [and that] when you get in a car just put your fingers somewhere… Probably nothing will happen to you, but you know should anything just make sure you’ve left yourself somewhere you know in a place that he is not likely to rub down.”

The text alert system was developed by NZPC as an initiative to help reduce the risk of violence against sex workers by alerting sex workers and police to potential dangerous clients or situations.
Ali: “everyone gets that same information at the same time we share that with certain police officers.”

NZPC also works closely with police; they run a police training sessions around how to approach reports of violence from sex workers:

Ali: “we had a situation when somebody called the police... the police officer puts her through the system and discovers there’s a warrant out for outstanding fines, that’s all he saw now take her down to the cells for the night... I always bring this up at police training as what we would consider doesn’t work... look at the violence at that point, deal to that cause. She’s actually called them and for someone to call the police its big cause a lot of violence goes unreported.”

It was widely accepted between informants that the risk of violence was not necessarily on Manchester Street. Approaches toward safety were used as a deterrent against crime and an identification strategy should crime be committed, Sandy explains:

Sandy: “the risks aren’t necessarily there for these girls in the physical environment of Manchester Street... when things go badly wrong for these girls, they’re generally somewhere else. If you improve lighting and cameras and all the rest of it, you may be able to identify more easily the person who did it.”

Police-co-operation, NZPC street safety packs, text alert system and the sexual health network all contribute to ‘street safety’ initiatives continually being developed and implemented by enforcement and support services. This co-operation and support strongly indicated that decriminalising sex work and having laws that protect sex workers rights enables organisations to work together to help reduce violence against women.

4.2.2 Off Street Premises

Brothels, sex-boxes and safe house brothels were 3 options identified in the literature to help reduce the issues. These 3 options were also suggested by informants as alternatives to street work. In Christchurch, the brothel bylaw 2013 allows premises to locate largely within the south frame of the ‘blueprint’, close to the entertainment and business and innovation precincts (Christchurch CityCouncil, 2013). Other areas within the inner city include the CBD on the western side of Manchester Street, opposite the residential area of One Central (formerly known as East Frame), and areas located near the existing casino and the proposed convention centre. A locator map showing the Brothels allowed areas is shown in figure 2 below:
Christchurch City Council
Brothels (Location and Commercial Sexual Services Signage) Bylaw 2013, p. 13.
Most informants were unaware of sex premises operating in the area as Dawn, a worker in social services explains:

Dawn: “There’s always been little brothels in Christchurch, you wouldn’t even know they were happening mostly you know and the workers don’t want to be drawn attention to themselves and neither do their clients cause they want to slip in quietly and discreetly and do their thing and go.”

However, street-based sex workers were unlikely to venture into the areas with high profile entertainment venues as the activities were seen as incompatible. Sex workers like to work within a mix use environment including business and residential, as it provides a degree of safety. On the other hand too much street activity with patrons moving between bars and other late night venues can create potential conflict. Street-based sex workers tend not to venture into the busy late night environment, instead choosing to remain on the fringe to avoid conflict, as observed by Sandy and confirmed by Ali and Terri:

Sandy: “I saw a girl working on the corner Worcester/Manchester Street she lasted about half an hour, she got such a hard time she vanished. They didn’t actually interact with the late night economy, and I don’t see that that’s going to happen, it’s not where they get there customers from and it’s not comfortable for the girls to operate, it’s not where they operate, too close to very congested footpaths. [If] they don’t stand out, they don’t get hassled.”

Ali: “it’s not conducive to you know happy peaceful harmony having street workers and the businesses [sex industry] sex in close proximity.”

Terri: “because the businesses think that the girls are going to snaffle their clients.”

The potential for conflict in the late night environment and residential areas was raised by Sandy with CCDU during the rebuild process. Sandy had lobbied CCDU for design and planning strategies to address the potential for conflict between these very different user groups:

Sandy: “there’s certain things you can do in the built environment to manage that and mitigate the effects. I lobbied very hard for quite a long time for a solution to that, and it wasn’t accepted.”

The lobbying attempts by a local Design and Planning Professional highlighting the discord between the local and national government agencies during the rebuild planning process.

Sex-boxes and safe-house brothels were also dismissed as possible design solutions for Christchurch. Both options were dismissed as inappropriate as they are expensive to operate and they weren’t favoured by sex workers, noting that if sex workers were organised enough to use premises based venues then they would be more likely to work in a brothel.
Ali: “they always have sort of support agencies related to them and they cost a lot of money, a lot of money, and we don’t have the population base able to sustain something like that”

As noted in the literature review, so called ‘sex-boxes’ have been operating in Zurich since August 2013. In Zurich, sex work is a legal taxable business activity for which sex workers are required to be registered or have a permit to operate. Reports from Zurich indicate that the sex-box facility is working for both governance and communities, but not the sex workers themselves. Sex workers don’t like them due to location incompatibility, away from their clients, and a reduction in their income. This design solution had been floated between various stakeholders as an option for Christchurch but gained no support by most including the NZPC, law-enforcement, local authorities and planners. Darcy provides a potential reason why:

Darcy: “The surveillance put them off. It’s that balance and how much surveillance. You know you don’t want a bloody spectators sport you know, so it’s quite tricky so no I haven’t got the design solution no”

With the high overheads of such a facility and a limited population base to support it, there would be little likelihood of it being successful in Christchurch as Terri advocates:

Terri: “my feelings would be somebody who was organised enough that they wanted to use one of the sex boxes or whatever might be the sort of person that would prefer just to work in a brothel... they just sort of want to be more fluid with where they can go and what they can do.”

NZPC have researched both options and concluded that neither sex-boxes nor Safe-house brothels would be appropriate for Christchurch. Ali had in the past visited a Safe-house brothel in Sydney and found that it was not working partly due to running cost, Ali explains:

Ali: “know a lot of people came and went you know the few hours that I was there but he said you know he’s barely surviving with the you know rental and the running costs... a lot of workers wouldn’t use them.”

Though there was no support for providing off-street venues for street-based sex workers to take their clients, there was support amongst key informants for some sort of support service based drop-in centre, as long as it remained discreet, as was the case with the Oaklands drop-in centre pre-quake.

4.2.3 Drop-in Centre

The Oaklands drop-in centre discreetly operated on Manchester Street before the earthquakes. The centre provided support and toilet facilities several nights a week until around 2.30 in the morning.
Run by support services, it meant sex workers were able to come in and use the toilets, sit down, have a drink, use the computer, freshen up their makeup and have a chat to the volunteers there. Contributing factors to the centres success were that, it was close to where the sex workers operated, provided support services and basic facility, and was discreet, as Sarah confirms:

Sarah: “the beauty of the previous drop-in centre was that it was an upstairs thing so you didn’t know no one knew that it was a drop in centre for sex workers unless you were in the know. My hope is that we can find somewhere that we can re-establish.”

The loss of services provided by the Oaklands drop-in centre contributed to the escalation of issues post-quake as observed by Darcy:

Darcy: “but that went with the earthquake so it’s been a problem since then really.”

Based on the pre-quake experiences of all stakeholder groups, the drop-in centre was considered to be a key approach to help reduce pressure on the community while enabling support services to provide much needed outreach and exit strategies for sex workers should they be requested, Sarah explains:

Sarah: “a drop-in centre, it would be so good to be able to have facilities in the heart of it all. For the [support service] as long as they’re there wherever they are we will do our part to help them in the midst of it but then when and if they say they want to get out you know we’re there.”

Re-establishing a drop-in centre similar to Oaklands had the support of all informants, including long-time residents, who were unaware the facility had even existed pre-quake. The centre helped reduce pressure on the community by providing the much needed social support and bathroom facilities as Dawn explains:

Dawn: “the Salvation Army had a drop in centre in Manchester Street, and that was excellent, it was upstairs it was sort of, it was discreet you know it wasn’t bothering anybody and the workers could go there and go the toilet, have a hot drink... that was a place where you could also give them safe sex information, condoms and all that sort of thing.”

All informants agreed that having a drop-in centre located “in the heart of it all” that is run by support staff can help reduce pressure on the community by providing facilities and support service for sex workers themselves.

4.2.4 Traffic Management

Roading design was also considered by the Christchurch planners and support services as a potential approach to encouraging the activity in a particular location, reiterating the dominant discourse
focused around ‘location’ and the battle for space. It was considered as a way to ‘design-in’ rather than ‘design-out’ the activity by allowing for circuits and space for vehicles to pull to the side of the road. Andy recalls potential attribute to encourage the activity into a certain area:

Andy: “one of the things we hear from the collective is one of the attributes of the right location is somewhere where people can drive around in a circuit and can drive past without been obvious that they are going out and checking out the prostitutes. They need to be able to pull over easily so you know there are attributes to a suitable area from a making the trade work point of view as well the compatibility with other things so we’ve got to look at all of those and weight those things up.”

However, noise from traffic was identified as a major concern for residents. Bill explains:

Bill: “To put it into perspective the boy racer issue had a bigger impact on whether people wanted to stay within the area than the prostitute issue. The noise, some people became ultra-sensitive to it, really drove quite a few residents to distraction. Whereas those same people would like prostitutes to go but definitely would not [be] thinking I should move out”

Once a location had been decided on, it was hoped that by designing-in the right character to facilitate the activity, sex workers would be encouraged to move away from the more inappropriate areas, including those that are wholly residential. Once again the discussions steered toward finding a ‘suitable’ or less sensitive location that stakeholders could agree on. Attributes of the trade and their compatibility with other legitimate users of space would result in the affected community ‘paying the price’ of accommodating the activity as explained by Andy:

Andy: “People know Manchester Street around the country; no one ever says this is the official for street prostitution, it’s labelled as that anyway. But clearly, that kind of labelling, that reputation for the area, will be a concern to businesses, residents’, landowners who are in the selected area. That’s one of the things we will have to overcome in some way. Ultimately it does, as so often happens with these things, it’s going to be a question of potentially some people, a number of people, subsequently paying a price for the wider good of the city.”

It was widely accepted that the activity would continue to happen. Helping to facilitate it in a particular location may help reduce the associated issues, Andy explains:

Andy: “we’re going to have to accept it’s going to happen it’s just a question of how we make it happen, how we enable it to happen and reduce the issues as much as we can. We’re not going to get rid of them all, we’ve just got to try and reduce them as much as we can and that’s the best that we can achieve.”
Once a location was agreed upon other attributes along with road design would be considered as a way to help facilitate the activity in the designated area and reduce the issues. Andy explains:

Andy: “finding an area and then you know potentially set about providing the right lighting the right CCTV coverage the facilities so again can we provide public toilets in the area that avoid prostitutes using inappropriate areas for toilets and those sorts of things. Those are the sorts of things that could help, providing the right facilities, the right design of the area, to try and minimise those.”

Darcy expanded on the use of lighting as a way of designing-in or designing-out attributes of the trade:

Darcy: “they’ve got to be visible to pick up their clientele but then they need to be able to go to somewhere discreet, so it’s too completely different requirements.”

Just as lighting could be used as part of the street design, it can also be used to prevent people from entering inappropriate places. Darcy explains:

Darcy: “you don’t want them going round behind the, into the courtyard behind the apartments to undertake the activity [transaction] it’s just the actual street space can be for the pickup. They’ve always been around behind all the commercial places anyway but lighting manages all that.”

Designing-in included the re-establishment of the discreet drop-in centre, a house and/or hub to integrate with the street environment as confirmed by Andy:

Andy: “Yep absolutely yeah, yeah again that’s the sort of thing when we talk about putting in the right facilities around the space that could be one of the things.”

Deciding on a location for the activity to operate was above all the biggest hurdle for stakeholders. Even though all key informant agreed trade will continue, reducing the issues would be challenging as not all issues can be attributed to sex workers themselves and identifying offenders was fraught with difficulties. Authorities were working hard with the community to negotiate a solution and seemed committed to dedicating a location, as Andy explains:

Andy: “Ultimately the council may you know ideally the council will, going to have to bite the bullet and say well yeah you don’t like it but actually it’s for the greater good this is for cause we won’t find an area anywhere in the city where the landowners are all going to say oh yeah great we’re happy to have it.”

Even so, if authorities do put their support into a particular area, there is no guarantee that all sex workers will locate to the preferred location. It has been noted that sex workers have a bond with
Manchester Street, and it is known as the ‘red-light’ district in Christchurch with favourable characteristics for sex workers, close to the late-night economy and the source of clientele it offers. There are people around, it’s a mixed-use location with sites away from residential but close enough to be heard should trouble arise. It may seem logical to some that Manchester Street south of Bealey Avenue would continue as Christchurch’s unofficial location. However, not all agree:

Andy: “we need to look at a number of different areas and look at what might work best there’s always going to be some issues it’s a matter of where the issues might be less ... but it may not be in Manchester Street at all.”

Not specifying a particular area, and implying that there could be an alternative, may have the effect of appeasing affected residents. Should authorities allow the activity to continue in its current location, where it has done for years, without officially labelling the location as Christchurch’s red-light ‘precinct’, could potential be a way to limit location labelling anxiety, as Andy explains:

Andy: “it’s labelled now, not officially but it’s labelled anyway I mean people know Manchester Street around the country no one ever says this is the official for street prostitution it’s labelled as that anyway.”

Authorities were beginning to develop a multi-criteria assessment with which to assess potential sites against. Criteria would include whether the area allows for circuits, can vehicles pull over and whether or not there is compatibility with other activities around the area. They planned to have a workshop with all stakeholder representatives as a collective group to discuss potential criteria. At the time Andy said “we’re just trying to find a date where we can get all the right people in the room to do that”.

Design and planning for a red-light area in Christchurch had not been undertaken by local authorities. The reason given was that a location had not been identified. However, they were planning to sit down with stakeholders, including NZPC to decide on criteria and the weighting of the various attributes as Andy explains:

Andy: “as I say you can’t really get into the design process till you decide where that area is and then you’re looking at how you design to encourage the activity in that space and to minimise the problems that activity will inevitably cause to other things that are around it, so it’s sort of what we are going through currently.”

Issues surrounding street-based prostitution have been bought to a head post-quake, most noticeably by people who had not been previously affected. One of the defining features of the Christchurch experience was that all informants were actively involved with trying to find
constructive approaches to reducing the issues. Though some efforts were being directed by existing laws, authorities considered legislative change would be needed to help curb behaviours, but any change at either a local or national level would take political fortitude.

4.3 Governance and Enforcement

The Prostitution Law Reform Committee (PLRC) released their report on prostitution in New Zealand in 2009. They recommended that practical solutions to street-based issues be implemented by Territorial Authorities (TAs) through adopting CPTED guidelines to address safety, investing in street cleaning, lighting and city ambassador schemes, and provide extra rubbish bins, lighting and toilets in street prostitution areas (Justice, 2009). Since then, there has been plenty of discussion but no comprehensive policy mix implemented in New Zealand to address issues associated with street-based sex work. This is in line with international findings by Bindel & Kelly. They found that “virtually no evaluation of overall approaches has been undertaken, and until recently relatively little was done on localised experiments and pilots. As a consequence, much discussion and debate reverts to rhetoric and anecdote, rather than being informed by a strong evidence base” (Bindel & Kelly, 2004, p. 30). This also proved to be the case in Christchurch as local authorities struggled to gain stakeholder consensus and implement even the more basic of the PLRC recommendations.

One point of reference for informants was the experience of other NZ cities. In particular, the Manukau City Council (Regulation of Prostitution in Specified Places) Bill was an attempt to exclude sex workers from certain areas. The bill was not passed. The Parliamentary select committee concluded that street prostitution can be regulated under bylaws controlling street trading or hawking as sex work provides a service. Such a bylaw would specify that street-based sex workers meet the definition of hawkers and so require an operating licence under the Trading in Public Places Bylaw. They also suggested “other non-legislative measures could also help limit and reduce the behaviour associated with street-based prostitution, such as drug and alcohol abuse. Such measures include increasing the number of public rubbish bins, keeping public toilets open for 24 hours, adequate lighting, and making available disposal kits for needles” (Govt, 2014). These are all measures for which the Christchurch support agencies have lobbied, either as temporary or permanent facilities, but haven’t been able to implement due to location based fears.

Christchurch Design and Planning professionals along with community representatives had a number of concerns with the approach the Manukau Bill took, that it was focused on the wrong end of the trade, where the activity was not allowed and provided no change to enforcement laws. They would rather have a law that enable them to stipulate where the activity could take place and better enforcement tools, as Andy explains:
Andy: “we have a number of concerns about the Manukau Bill. So our concern, one that the bill as with prostitution as it’s defined in the prostitution law reform, that it’s the servicing client end of the issue not the soliciting bit of the issue, so it won’t help us deal with the soliciting issues so we think it’s focused on the wrong bit of the of the trade and the other current key concern for us is oh a couple of key concerns one is that it allows you to create a bylaw to say where the activity can’t happen and think people what are they going to do is chase it around the city from one unsuitable location to another unsuitable location so we’d much rather have a bylaw that say where we can say it can happen, the rest of the city it’s not allowed to happen so and then we just need much better enforcement tools so whether that’s instant fines and be infringements notices those sorts of things. Basically, you make that bylaw and still have the same enforcement tools it’s a waste of time”

Others agreed that there is no regulatory ability to control the activity and that any change in legislation would be hard to enforce, as identifying who is soliciting on the streets and who is just waiting for a friend is very hard to determine and costly to prove:

Andy: “saying please don’t solicit, don’t trade on my on the street here, we can ask them after that recourse is prosecution and that involves a collection of a massive amount of evidence and huge cost.”

Even with the proposed legislative changes, local authorities tasked with the challenge of implementing such measures would struggle to find a location that all stakeholders could agree upon, and even if they did enforcement would be difficult.

4.3.1 Enforcement and Support

One of the challenges in enforcement of both guidelines and bylaws is that much marginal and illegal behaviour associated with street-based sex work is undertaken by associates or others with no known association, but drawn by the activity. Perry, a former Manchester Street resident and senior law-enforcement official that included being involved in issues relating to prostitution found:

Perry: “when we were doing this review, the role of Police Officers what is it the role of Politicians what is it you know prostitution together with drugs and crime, so one of the things I was keen to do was establish to what extent was prostitution and crime linked, and really had difficulty finding any. Other than individualists, they might have had a history of criminal behaviour or whatever, but as an industry and some of the women that are working in the industry would be miles away from any criminal behaviour”
All informants agreed it was difficult to determine who the offenders are yet sex workers get the blame, and disorderly behaviour cannot necessarily be attributed to sex workers. Sarah explains and Justin agrees:

Sarah: “sex workers get blamed for everything that happens on the street, as opposed to drunk people just wandering around the street back to their motel on Bealey Ave. The noise is blamed on sex workers so no actually these are just a bunch of guys who have decided to wander off into town, cause we see that a lot in the other van, people who are wandering around town, have been drinking and that kind of stuff and there is no sex worker in sight but they’ll get the blame.”

Justin: “if someone is down there being disorderly or being offensive then that’s the person we need to be targeting and it’s not always the workers it could be someone just walking through the area.”

Law-enforcement is active in building-up profiles of offenders for which they can then put crime prevention strategies around, working closely with community members and the New Zealand Prostitutes’ Collective to implement measures intended to reduce crime, or the fear of crime, and to support sex workers should they report offences against them to police. Residents can report any unusual behaviour directly to police via a hotline that was set up as an outcome of a community meeting:

Justin: “the residents are normally quite good at telling us, the street workers as well, and we can build-up a better picture and a better response.”

Reports to police helps support accurate profile building of offenders, enabling police to implement appropriate strategies to prevent future offending as Justine explains:

Justine: “it may just be they haven’t actually committed a crime, they’re just acting unusual or inappropriately in that area. We can actually go and talk to them and often you know put strategies around them to try and stop them becoming potential offenders.”

Locational discussions resulted in authorities agreeing that in the best scenario to encourage the activity go to a particular area, it’s going to be a question of whether or not they can create the right environment which sex workers voluntarily favour over others:

Justine: “the fact that it’s not illegal, so we can’t actually force people into the area. I guess we can only make it as safe as possible and as attractive as possible for them to use it.”

An area can also be made unattractive to ‘hangers on’ through higher police visibility including increased street patrols, as Justin explains:
Justin: “higher visibility make it unattractive place... not so much for the workers, more the people that are hanging around.”

However, Sandy supported the activity remaining in the existing Peterborough/Moa environment. Moving the activity to a different location could potentially be counterproductive:

Sandy: “I can’t see any need for it to change unless it’s driven by legislation and enforcement. I think that potentially [it] could change, but unless you go that far I think that they’ll select the place they feel they can do the best business in and has been the least risk if a very large risk”

A Walk Wise initiative was introduced in Wellington in 2001. The Wellington City Council engaged a private security firm and employed street-wise officers to walk around the city streets 24/7 keeping an eye on not just street-based sex workers but other marginal groups as well. Informants had not heard of the scheme but thought there could be an opportunity to implement something similar here:

Darcy: “Oh, I think it’s a great idea yeah, they’d be the right sort of people or it could go horribly wrong. Yeah if it’s the right sort of people, you’d see where the pressure points were, it would be good yeah.”

Multiple agencies have worked closely with the Christchurch community located around Manchester Street where historically sex workers operate. Resources and discussions have been focused on the area south of Bealey Avenue, and as a result security measures including CCTV, community hotline, police patrols, outreach and community awareness have been improved, helping facilitate greater tolerance and acceptance toward sex workers in the mixed use environment of the Peterborough/Moa area.

### 4.3.2 Multi Agency Initiatives

As noted previously, in Christchurch multiple agencies worked together developing initiatives to address the issues including a voluntary Accord that requested better behaviour in exchange for temporary facilities, outreach support, and an array of enforcement approaches to not only prevent crime, but also support sex workers should they themselves become victims of crime.

The Accord was seen as a way to alleviate some of the issues, and an alternative to the Manukau Bill, as Penny explains when asked what the fall back plan was should the bill fail:

Penny: “The accord, keep asking them to behave themselves, keep asking them to toe the line, offering them you know facilities and helping them, but everything thing we try and do we come up against objections from the locals so it’s really hard, really hard but that meeting was good, they
came along and they realised that there where people from right around the area and nobody wanted it and yet it was happening so perhaps they might come around to thinking well look maybe some facilities might actually ease the problem. I don’t know.”

A change in legislation, as provided in the Manukau City Council (Regulation of Prostitution in Specified Places) Bill, would give authorities the ability to stipulate where sex workers were not allowed to operate and was seen as a potential way forward:

Penny: “Manukau have got a bill going through parliament now. So what some people are pinning their hopes on here is that if they get that bill through, we should be able to sort of tag onto that bylaw and that’s the spade work done and can get one passed through for Christchurch relatively easily that’s the plan.”

As previously mentioned, others were not convinced that the legislative changes would make the slightest bit of difference. Not only would any change be difficult to enforce, but there were concerns with the bills focus on prohibiting the activity in certain areas and focused on the wrong end of the trade. Regardless of any legislative changes, finding a suitable location would remain a significant barrier:

Andy: “but even then you’ve got to find an area for it to go.”

Penny: “whether anyone will actually be able to force them to go anywhere else or not, that’s the question.”

At a local level, agencies work directly with the community and support services to negotiate initiatives designed and implemented by all stakeholder groups. Noticeably the Peterborough/Moa communities have taken ownership of their space to improve outcomes for all concerned. Bill provided an example:

Bill: “things like burglaries we will note in the minutes of our meetings, we have notes and minutes, there have been two burglaries in Ely Street in the last month you know. When there was a stage were the activities relating to the prostitutes, and a prostitute and her family were living in a house in Ely St you know, and we sent out as part of our information - this is the community constables number the lead - contact them, the community constable. Through him more drive through from the police. But again it sort of, was part of, that’s part of our community and we’re part of it. Not just hand it over to the police. I think we have been doing quite a few of those things.”
A key characteristic that distinguished pre-quake experiences from post-quake experiences was the loss of the drop-in centre. There was multi-agency support for the re-establishment of the drop-in centre, as described by Dawn who also reflects the views of other informants:

Dawn: “Thinking back to that drop in centre I’m sort of hoping once the city rebuilds you could have something like that again cause you just went up the stairs you didn’t even know [it was there]. There wasn’t a big sign saying you know street worker drop-in centre - it was very subtle. They all knew where it was and they could just go up there and relax and as I said have a cup and a hot drink use the toilets it was a very nice place. I’m just hoping something like that could come back again cause I think that could deal to it, would certainly deal with the toilet problem. “

The tolerance of the Peterborough/Moa community toward sex workers operating in ‘their patch’ is evident through their organisation, involvement and willingness to work with multiple agencies to help find ‘better solutions’ through being active participants in their own community outcomes.

4.3.3 Crime Prevention through Environment Design (CPTED)

In Christchurch, a CPTED professional is employed by the local council to help facilitate ‘safe growth’ strategies and facilitate ‘capable guardianship’ within local communities through 2nd generation CPTED, as Sandy explains:

Sandy: “what we’re doing in Christchurch now is something called Safe Growth and this is very much about second generation CPTED and transferring the skills, the CPTED and other skills, to the residents and supporting them through identifying and solving those safety issues.”

The CPTED practitioner in Christchurch trains local residents in Safe Growth and getting people to be capable guardians and to take responsibility and care and interest in their own public space. Two day workshops on Safe Growth are run for all those interested, followed up with another two day workshop two months later – introductory and advanced – the people at the workshops are put into teams of 4-5 to plan a project before attending the advanced workshop, then after the second workshop they are supported to go on to try and make it a reality within their own neighbourhood.

The aim is to give communities the skills, support and knowledge to get what they need in terms of resources for their own benefit and that’s what makes safe communities, says Sandy:

Sandy: “The safest places we know of are places that are well connected, and they have a genuinely active positive community culture, that’s a safe place so that’s what Safe Growth is about trying to create just that and that’s why when we talk about a design of a front yard or a street design in Manchester Street that will be a part of it but for me it’s going to be one part of a more comprehensive approach and I don’t mean to be difficult but I’m being honest with you about it.”
Residents felt they were already ‘capable guardians’ doing their own community ‘safe growth’ and are well organised and connected with Police, CCC and support services in relation all issues/criminal activity, not only sex worker related issues. The community has a support network actively involved in looking after others in the community and knowing what to do if something comes up rather than ignoring it, as Bill explains:

Bill: “The Moa group is a sort of grass roots residents group and the reason we meet really is to talk to each other and support each other about these sorts of activities you know and we get community constables in if something like this arises. We do as part of our discussions work out who we need to contact so the next notes from our meetings will go out to a mailing list of a couple of hundred people saying that such n such [happened] contact these people so it’s actually an integral part of what we do.”

The Christchurch rebuild process brought with it the opportunity for CPTED practitioners to work with design professionals post-quake to influence the way that building comes into existence. There was an opportunity to implement crime prevention techniques and strategies at the drawing board, more cost effectively than modifying the existing environment as Sandy explains:

Sandy: “if you come from an existing environment your opportunities are much more limited because anything you do is going to cost. While we’re still drawing lines on paper, there is very little cost involved”

Challenges during the rebuild process included policy and practice mismatch as CPTED is voluntary, there are limited resources and a limited understanding of CPTED by design professionals, Sandy explains:

Sandy: “Part of the battle is getting the disciplines that we work with to understand that this isn’t what they think it is, that the understanding that is general amongst Landscape Architects, Architects, urban designers ... perhaps Engineers... all of those design professionals, that we can do CPTED and these are the four principals, and so really, it’s really important that we try and engage with those people, as I said before we’re sort of conquering one architect at a time. When we get to work with an architect, they start to see what it is we really add to the process and you know they’re surprised by that and they understand that really what we are doing is quite specialised and valuable to the project”

When CPTED practitioners did have the opportunity to work with design teams throughout the design process, starting from the pre-concept designs, and at each iteration of the design, there was positive response with most recommendations being accepted:
Sandy: “the reality is that we find most of our recommendations are accepted which is really really positive.”

Post rebuild evaluation to see what has worked and what hasn’t was seen by Sandy as important as other disciplines are becoming interested including criminologists and part of the battle is getting disciplines to understand CPTED beyond first generation, beyond the physical environment:

Sandy: “Trying to evaluate what we are doing here is really important. What we’re doing here in Christchurch is not happening anywhere else in the world. No specialists are working in CPTED, there’s no one rebuilding so extensively and very few people practice CPTED at the level of complexity that we do”.

Sandy confirmed that CPTED was used to evaluate the city plan at a local government level but not the CUDU rebuild ‘blueprint’. She also applied first generation CPTED, assessing the physical environment, to evaluate a proposed site for the temporary facilities on Manchester Street. Second generation CPTED has not been employed in the Manchester Street sex worker environment.

The NZ Urban Design Protocol specifies four key CPTED principles: “Surveillance – people are present and can see what is going on, Access management – methods are used to attract people and vehicles to some places and restrict them from others, Territorial reinforcement – clear boundaries encourage community ‘ownership’ of the space, and Quality environments – good quality, well maintained places attract people and support surveillance” (Ministry of Justice, 2005).

Though the expertise and resources were available in Christchurch, community representatives felt they were already well connected and guardians of their own space. This was backed up by law enforcement who confirmed that residents were well engaged and with the enforcement and support available to them as both resident groups and sex workers themselves were ‘quite good’ at reporting any unusual behaviour to police as previously mentioned by Justin. Stakeholders were clearly working together to prevent crime and disruptive behaviour, suggesting an existing a level of tolerance toward street-based sex workers by the Peterborough/Moa community.

4.4 Tolerance and Diversity

Arguments for tolerance are well represented in the literature review. The Peterborough/Moa community provided a qualified example of tolerance, the challenges stakeholder face, and the multi-faceted community based approaches sought to address the issues. When taking into account the strength of the bond sex workers have with Manchester Street, its history, tradition and iconic branding, there is some acceptance among informants that the activity would likely continue in its current location within the Peterborough/Moa community. The mixed use environment means this
stretch of Manchester Street is less sensitive to the associated issues and even though most don’t want it, there has been a degree of tolerance and acceptance that it is part of the fabric of the community. The feeling among informants was that if behaviours were not disruptive, the activity could potentially gain greater acceptance within the Peterborough/Moa community as Penny and Bill explain:

Penny: “if they didn’t bother anybody else, they could just get on with it, it’s the disturbing the peace, interrupting peoples sleep, disrupting families lives, causing the stress to the residents that’s the big part of it, otherwise nobody would even know it was going on, it’s like they’re shitting in the own nest.”

Bill: “For us we went into that area knowing that prostitutes were part of the area and unless they are being actually aggressive to people or making an unnecessary mess we also accept that they are part of that neighbourhood, and also acknowledging that there’s also been prostitutes virtually forever, they’re not going to go away. People seem to think somehow if they shooed them out of their area they will miraculously disappear, but they won’t, they will go somewhere else.”

An example of late night noise disrupting residents is sex workers yelling. Darcy explains her experience with this particular issue and how it was overcome:

Darcy: “sex workers yelling, some of them were really yelling a lot, yelling at each other... or yelling at the people that come by and throw bottles at them or whatever. If they weren’t drugged up and yelling and all that, well there’s no problem.”

With assistance from the local support service, this particular complaint was resolved, demonstrating how discussion can be help solve some issues

Darcy: “I was asked by the Prostitutes Collective to join them that same week in the van... one girl came into the van and said ‘I’m the yeller’... because the other girls that were there told her that the yelling she did was not good for her business or theirs and that they would like her to cease yelling. When I talked to the prostitutes collectives rep sometime months later they said the girls were really impressed that somebody wanted to come and talk to them have a discussion, that’s good, that’s constructive.”

Darcy would like to see more of this type of local community and peer support along with other initiatives to help reduce issues and pressure on the community.

Darcy: “my wonderful experience in the van - productive outcome - I would like to see more of that.”
Community leaders and authorities, who spoke with many people during the process of locating temporary facilities, agreed that there were only a small number of residents that accepted sex workers as part of the makeup of the community. However, indications suggest that even though residents would rather not have sex workers in their area, there appears to be a level of acceptance. This is expressed through their willingness to work together with representatives from all stakeholder groups and to become actively involved in preventing crime and nuisance of the spaces they share with this diverse inner city community. As mentioned in the previous section, the four CPTED principles have not officially been applied in the area but arguably at least two of the key overlapping principles of CPTED, Surveillance and Territorial reinforcement, are being employed by the community as they take ownership of their own space to help create better outcomes for all.

4.5 Summary

The main outcomes from the key informant interviews indicated that there is wide recognition of the issues associated with street-based sex work across a range of informants. Along with the inherent dangerous risk of this type of work to sex workers themselves, the two main issues for residents are the late night noise, and rubbish left lying around, which can be a potential danger to other street users. Post-earthquakes there was a big spike in issues due to the relocation of sex workers into areas that hadn’t had to deal with the effects of street-based sex work before. When key parts of the city were closed (red zoned) after the 2011 earthquake, which including the loss of sex worker support facilities, sex workers moved north of Bealey Avenue into a wholly residential area causing issues to escalate for not only the residents but all the stakeholder groups.

Acceptance that the activity is part of inner city life has been limited to a few, with consultation efforts failing to overcome or mitigate the concerns expressed by residents. During the rebuild period when the inner city was closed, attempts to encourage sex workers back toward the city and away from the wholly residential area was met with opposition from sex workers due to safety reasons and lack of facilities. At that time, sex workers felt vulnerable closer to the city as the usual characteristic that once provided a feeling of security was no longer present, it was dark, there were no people around and the drop-in centre that once provided support service and basic facilities had closed. Once the commercial centre began to reopen and the late night economy became more active, sex workers moved away from the wholly residential area of Edgeware back into their traditional beat of Manchester Street, between Bealey Ave and the Avon River.

Location based management approaches dominated ways of addressing the issues resulting in initiatives including the temporary facilities and Accord failing to be implemented. The discourse around location proved too difficult to overcome as the community would not agree to install even the most basic temporary public facilities in their patch. There was opposition from some factions of
the Peterborough/Moa community who didn’t want them there due to fear of location labelling and potential loss of property values.

Even if a preferred location was found and authorities developed a bylaw on where sex workers can operate, it would not be enforceable by police under the current legislation. Law enforcement can’t actually force people into an area, although authorities do have the ability to make an area as safe as possible and as attractive as possible for both sex workers and their clients to go. Conversely, in conjunction with other agencies, an area can be made as unattractive as possible, discouraging its use by sex workers and their clients. This can be achieved through the combination of urban design and crime prevention strategies to assist in designing-out or designing-in desired outcomes as street design for red-light districts begins to form part of the urban design and planning process. In Christchurch, local authorities were in the process of developing a multi-criteria assessment to determining the attributes that influence choice of location for sex workers. Attributes include road design that allows circuits, lighting for shadow and visibility, toilet facilities and access to health and support services. Traffic management, as highlighted in NSW, can be used to discourage sex workers and kerb-crawlers though care needs to be taken to not disrupt legitimate users or lock sex work in.

The multi-agency discussions and consultations failed to implement initiatives to alleviate the problems, finding that many of the initiatives including residence only parking, bylaws on where they can operate and the voluntary Accord were not enforceable by the police or other authorities. While authorities seek solutions through governance and enforcement, in practice the ingenuity and action by support staff continued to provide an essential and positive service for sex workers themselves. This was expressed through helping facilitate better behaviour from sex workers through discussion in a neutral and non-threatening environment.

With the loss of the drop-in centre that once provided a late night refuge for sex workers, pressure went on the community to deal with the rubbish, including human effluent and noise. Support staff helped alleviate this pressure by continuing to provide emotional support to the late night sex workers via a campervan that acted as a mobile drop-in centre. No bathroom facilities were available, but the girls could call in for a chat and support which facilitated improved behaviour from sex workers. Law-enforcement also worked directly with the community by providing a crime prevention hotline for residents to report anything unusual, unlawful activity, trespass, and sexual activity in a public space, suspicious vehicles and people, to help build-up a profile of offenders so that police can put in place really accurate crime prevention strategies. The most effective strategy to come from both the literature review and the Christchurch experience pre-quake is on the ground monitoring, guidance and support. So far this strategy has not been fully adopted, only partially,
through community and support service driven initiatives. Local authorities are yet to implement initiatives.

Not all these issues are quake related, as the same problems from noise and rubbish to enforcement and gentrification also occurs in Auckland and internationally. However it is clear that the disruption of the earthquakes has amplified the issues experienced in Christchurch. Furthermore, there is no indication that the rebuild strategy, which is reshaping Manchester Street as it crosses the inner city, has taken account of the implications of the PRA (2003) or the recent issues in Christchurch. Finding a way forward from here will be a challenging task as the literature and history shows that cyclic effects of gentrification of existing residential areas, or of the inner city mixed use areas through redevelopment, ultimately leads to displacement and further hardship for street-based sex workers.
Chapter 5: Discussion

A review of literature indicates that spatial organisation and a contest over urban territory continue to be the dominant focus of discussions for addressing street-based sex work by urban designers and planners. Planning has been criticised by some academics as being an instrument of a vocal and effective lobby of developers and gentrifiers who lobby authorities to take action against sex workers. Facing ongoing issues relating to the policy, design and planning of public landscapes, communities struggle to accommodate diversity of difference including the different needs of sex workers and residents. This research found that the Christchurch context is no different.

5.1 Comparison of literature and interviews

Key informants in Christchurch identified similar issues as the academic literature internationally. Community representative report concerns about public nuisance, late night noise, rubbish and anti-social actions including violence toward sex workers from their clients and ‘minders’. The 2003 PRA has not resolved the issues of street-based sex work, and local authorities seek to resolve the issue through further legislative change, enabling local bylaws to enforce territorial boundaries.

Enforcement and support staff strive to create safer streets through community engagement and crime prevention strategies. Some initiatives designed to reduce pressure on communities affected by street-based sex work including temporary facilities are thwarted by NIMBYism. The literature suggests that countries which seem progressive in their approach are in practice merely locating the activity to a site of least resistance, excluding the ‘other’ from the inner city via design-out strategies. These location based approaches inevitably lead to displacement and hardship of sex workers as they move into more marginal unsafe areas, making outreach difficult and issues harder to manage.

Local authorities, therefore, struggle to match national level legislation with local policy and practice. Multi-agency, community based approaches that are implied by the legislation and supported by local authorities, have failed to get off the ground in Christchurch. Community consultation resulted in the failure to find a location for the proposed temporary facilities, suggesting a correlation between the findings in the literature and the attitudes in Christchurch toward sex workers as ‘other’.

There was some acknowledgement of sex workers being part of the fabric of the community pre earthquakes within the Peterborough/Moa community suggesting a degree of tolerance of difference, but the northward spread, into predominantly residential areas, following the red zoning of the inner city has heightened tensions. Reporting most residents would rather not have it at all.
reflects the predominant attitudes of Christchurch communities towards sex workers as ‘other’ corresponding with international findings.

However, regardless of the challenges, Christchurch authorities in conjunction with multiple agencies have been active in exploring new ‘solutions’ toward incorporating street-based sex work into the planning and design process. Even though the Accord and temporary facilities failed to be implemented, progress was being made toward developing a multi-criteria assessment that could be used to evaluate sites. Nonetheless, this is still an attempt to zone the activity. The international experiences of tolerance or managed zones have not had the hoped for benefit and have not been sustainable long term. Both the Edinburgh and Port Kembra examples are a demonstration of gentrification dispersing sex workers into other areas. Also, and more compellingly, Amsterdam closed down their tolerance zone as they found it impossible to create a safe and controllable zone.

The international experience reported in the literature as well as by local key informants suggest that spatial (re)organisation per se won’t solve issues surrounding street prostitution. Legislation is difficult to enforce. A number of researchers and local key informants, therefore, argue that multi-agency, community based approaches supported by local authorities can be an aid in crime prevention and remain the best hope to create a more tolerant and diverse community for all.

In the following, the findings from the literature review and the case study investigation are discussed under the three main headings used in previous chapters: Urban Design, Governance and enforcement, and tolerance and diversity. The final section considers ways forward.

5.1.1 Urban Design

While New Zealand’s decriminalised framework is unique in that it supports sex worker rights, allowing authorities, police and support agencies to work together to develop ‘better solutions’, urban design approaches reported in the literature and observed in the case study were similar in nature regardless of the prevailing legal status. There is co-operation between law enforcement and support agencies with street-based ‘safety guidelines’ designed to reduce harm to sex workers an ongoing priority for enforcement and support workers without fear of penalty. Yet on the street stigmatisation is reinforced by spatial exclusion. Authorities are unable to implement even the most basic of facilities as recommended by the PLRC, reflecting the attitudes of the dominant majority about street-based sex work. In Christchurch, the red-zoning of the inner city saw sex workers move into wholly residential areas that had not previously been concerned with the activity. The resulting escalation of complaints highlighted that in the minds of Christchurch residents, families, especially young families, are not compatible with sex work.

Temporary vs Permanent facilities
Pre-quake there was a drop-in centre discreetly operating on lower [inner city] Manchester Street. It supported sex workers by providing basic facilities and support services. In post-earthquake Christchurch, with the closure of the drop-in centre, the lack of facilities for sex workers was a major cause of tension for all stakeholders. The provision of temporary facilities was seen as a way to encourage sex workers back toward the inner city and away from the wholly residential area of Edgeware. All agreed the facilities would help reduce pressure on the community, yet after consultation with the community no location could be agreed upon, due to continuing location labelling anxiety and stigmatisation of sex work. These attitudes and experiences are consistent with international experiences. It was found that off-street premise based venues including brothels and support service can operate discreetly and help reduce pressure on the community. Even so, the problem with proposed temporary facilities was that they were too visible. Visibility encourages notoriety, and notoriety signals a community in decline, which created anxiety for owners and residents.

A more helpful approach would be to include a premises-based support service ‘in the heart of it all’. The literature indicates multi-agency approaches with the support of local authorities can help reduce the issue for all user groups. Post-earthquake Christchurch has the opportunity to become a ‘best practice’ leader in addressing the needs of residents and street-based sex workers if they choose to address the challenges, learn from international examples and start implementing fundamental changes, including a drop-in centre.

**Christchurch Central Recovery Plan (CCRP) Blueprint**

Earthquake related issues unique to Christchurch provided an opportunity for street-based prostitution to be addressed as part of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)/CCDU ‘blueprint’ plan. However, local authorities, support agencies, planners and designers unsuccessfully lobbied CERA/CCDU to address street-based sex work as part of the CCRP Blueprint process.

The CERA/CCDU rebuild process of zoning functions has been counterproductive to implementing ‘better solutions’. It does not incorporate diversity of both function and difference. Their approach is one of gentrification of the inner city without anticipating alternative locations for street-based sex work. The ‘blueprint’ aim of encouraging families into the inner city has failed to address potential effects of sex work in an area notorious for street-based sex work. Key informants agreed the ‘blueprint’ had not responded to the conflicting needs of these two user groups, and in hindsight they should have thought about it from the start and addressed it as part of the inner city redevelopment.
CERA were not available to be interviewed at the time this study was undertaken and the interviews were conducted. CCDU was approached requesting their participation in the research, but they were unable to contribute at the time, advising that the CCDU General Manager of Design and Planning was “becoming involved in the area of interest [but] not in a position at the moment to give informed answers to questions (B. Morris, personal communication, September 15, 2014).

Mixed-Use Location

Essential to the urban design policy mix is mixed land use and the nature of the urban functions around the sites of street-based sex work. The preceding chapters have identified four points; street-based sex workers avoid the very busy entertainment streets, the activity is incompatible with primarily residential areas, to protect property values gentrifiers oppose tangible signals of the presence of sex workers, and sex work is most compatible with inner urban areas with a mix of commercial and ‘tolerant’ residential.

Historically in Christchurch sex workers operated in lower Manchester Street. When the inner city late night environment developed along this stretch, bars and restaurants began to open on street corners usually frequented by sex workers. To avoid confrontation sex workers moved further north along Manchester Street toward Bealey Avenue and into the liminal spaces on the edge of the inner city where business and residential merge – Peterborough Village Pita Kāik and Moa communities.

Post-earthquake when the inner city was red zoned sex workers moved to northern Manchester Street, into the wholly residential area of Edgeware. Here is where the issues escalated, residents who had not had to deal with the issue before strongly opposed the presence of sex workers in their street. The move was partly due to the loss of the drop-in centre that once provided essential facilities and support for sex workers. Edgeware was seen as a safer option to their traditional beat, as there was good lighting, the road allowed for circuits and there was access to bathroom facilities at the local service station. Edgeware provided the characteristic they needed that was close to their traditional beat and access to clients. However, there is agreement among informants that sex work is not compatible with a wholly residential area.

In an attempt to encourage sex workers away for the wholly residential area of Edgeware and back into the Peterborough/Moa stretch of Manchester Street, temporary facilities were proposed. However, the gentrification of Peterborough/Moa had already begun, residential properties were being upgraded for sale or rent, and property owners and investors opposed the proposal due to fears of depressed values.
Historically in Christchurch, and in other cases identified in the literature, street-based sex work appears most compatible with inner urban areas where there is a mix of commercial, and ‘tolerant’ residential, such as was formerly around lower Manchester Street and Poplar lane. However, the nature of the mixed use is a critical variable.

Historically street-based sex work has been most associated with two types of settings, either ‘dedicated’ areas, ‘red-light’ districts, or liminal-edge areas around mixed use areas where there are a lot of potential clients and fewer sensitivities. The literature revealed that ‘dedicated’ areas, including managed or ‘safety’ zones are not sustainable long-term due to the notoriety they attract and consequential feeling of a neighbourhood in decline. On the other hand, liminal-edge areas around mixed-use locations which have an appropriate mix of residential and commercial are viable.

When characteristics that support crime prevention, including attractive and well cared for streets with good lighting, surveillance and people around are included in the design mix, a feeling of safety for all street users can be created.

The evidence points to diversity of function and diversity of difference as key variables when planning and designing urban streets. Consideration should be given to which functions are more or less compatible with different behaviours and values. In the case of Peterborough/Moa, the mix includes businesses that close for the night and ‘tolerant’ well-organised residents. There is good evidence to suggest that the re-establishment of a drop-in centre would also be appropriate, though discretion would be a key factor to its success. Further design considerations could include traffic management schemes, but care should be taken when allowing for circuits as noise from traffic can have a bigger negative impact on residents than the presence of sex workers alone. As highlighted in the literature, traffic management schemes can help prevent unwanted activity as well as encourage street safety.

5.1.2 Governance and Enforcement

New Zealand’s legal framework decriminalised prostitution, but did not adequately anticipate the issues associated with street-based sex work. Local authorities differ in their views on how to reduce tensions and improve community cohesion. Christchurch authorities attempted to introduce an Accord that sought better behaviour from sex workers in exchange for temporary facilities, based on the view that issues were sex worker related. However, community representatives, support services and law enforcement reported anti-social behaviours were often people passing through the area, hangers on and people abusing sex workers, but identifying offenders is difficult. This is consistent with international experience.
A defining feature of the Christchurch experience is that multiple agencies, including law enforcement support services and authorities, do work together to support both sex workers and the community in which they operate. Together they have developed and implemented ‘better solutions’ including profile building of offenders, community hot-line, and sex worker support initiatives. However, these initiatives are not visual cues in the landscape that increase the visibility of street prostitution and notoriety of a community in decline. Instead, they are indications that the community is taking ownership of their own space through implementing key CPTED principles to improve outcomes for all users these public spaces.

Christchurch has been active in exploring ‘better solutions’ incorporating community consultation and multiple agency approaches. Seen as effective when well-co-ordinated and driven by community groups and ineffective when not multi-agency enough, they need the support from local authorities to ensure continued success. Though Christchurch authorities are actively involved in trying to develop a way forward, buy in from owners and residents is still an outstanding issue and obstacle to implementation of more tangible solutions.

5.1.3 Tolerance and Diversity

Innovative approaches to management of sex work in public landscapes have been developed in Australia through a territorial policy and planning framework. The framework facilitates tolerance of difference and enhances local diversity by incorporating different social groups into the planning process rather than planning prostitution out. Considered the ‘best practice’ approach, it includes multi-agency and community consultation and education. Sex Liaison Officers are employed to help educate the community about the sex industry and develop policy.

The Christchurch case has focused primarily on governance and enforcement, and urban design principles including surveillance and territorial reinforcement, rather than building inclusive communities. Though there was community acceptance that the activity was part of the fabric of the inner city, the gentrification of Peterborough/Moa communities’ post-earthquake brought with it greater intolerance from residents concerned about their lifestyle and safety, and owners and developers concerns for property values.

5.2 Contests over urban territory

The contests over urban territory or spatial (re)organisation of inner city Christchurch was expressed in both discourse and governance of street-based sex work. Profoundly territorial, location based approaches dominate efforts to reduce tensions by attempting to locate everything in its place (but not here). Competition over spatial practices, whose place it is, what happens where and when, was evident in the attempt to implement even the most basic of facilities. The ‘better behaviour’ Accord
for ‘basic facilities’ failed to come to fruition as opponents feared location labelling and decline in property values. The contest over space translated into urban management, reinforced by the local authority, property owners/residents/occupiers. However locating street-based sex work ‘in its place’ has been an inappropriate strategy in a number of international cases as it is unsustainable long-term. Amsterdam, for example, closed their street tolerance zone as they found it impossible to create a safe and controllable zone. Labelling an area as a ‘tolerance’ zone for street-based sex work formalises the activity ‘in its place’ and as identified in the literature can lead to notoriety as a ‘red-light’ district, signalling to the wider community a neighbourhood in decline.

However, in the Peterborough/Moa community, known unofficially as the traditional beat in the last few decades for street-based sex work in Christchurch, residents have taken ownership of their own space to improve outcomes through implementing key CPTED principles. This suggests a degree of tolerance and a potential way forward for the Christchurch community as a whole.

Indications from Sydney suggest that through a policy and planning framework, local authorities can facilitate a strategy that enhances local diversity by incorporating street-based sex work into the planning process. Traffic management measures have been used to ‘design-out’ sex workers from inappropriate locations whereas in Christchurch key informants identified circuits as a way to allow the soliciting side of the activity to occur. This may be appropriate in a commercial zone where businesses have closed for the night, but it is not appropriate in family areas, especially young families. The disruption of late night traffic and noise to family life is considered a significant issue identified in the literature and by key informants.

Location labelling anxiety remains a key issue for all stakeholders. Labelling a zone for street-based sex work is not seen as a way forward, it has proven to be unenforceable, creates notoriety and lead to marginalising of sex workers. The urban design and planning process can use these experiences to help deliver the appropriate mix of characteristics, approaches and initiatives to allow street-based sex work to occur in areas least sensitive to the effects it brings without the need for official zones.

### 5.3 Key Directions

Managing the contest for inner city space has proven to be challenging worldwide. The Christchurch experience is no exception. The conventional pathway is to use existing legislation to create new bylaws as suggested by the prostitution select committee. The problem with convention is it’s hard to enforce. The ‘better behaviour’ for facilities Accord promoted by the council inappropriately targeted sex workers as offender reinforcing attitudes about the immorality of sex work and contradicting ‘best practice’ principles. It will be difficult to agree on a location, and it will not work if it is not in the inner city as demonstrated in Zurich and confirmed by the NZPC. A mixed use location
close to the inner city will have less sensitivity and better access to clients. CCDU need to recognise sex work as part of inner city life and plan for it appropriately. Reinstating a permanent drop-in centre will provide the much needed facilities along with peer support and help with exit strategies should sex workers decide to leave the industry. Local community driven approaches such as residents’ group meetings and mailing lists that keep people informed is pivotal to the safety of the local community as a whole. Together with multi-agency initiatives that incorporate community consultation and with the support from CCC, NZPC and Police, capable guardianship of their own space is reinforced. An example includes the community hot-line to report unusual behaviour. The reporting of any unusual behaviour helps Police build-up profiles of potential offenders and ultimately the prevention of criminal activity. Multi-agency and community driven strategies approached quietly and discreetly can improve the feeling of safety for all users of public space and build diversity of difference into inner city life.

5.4 Summary

Despite all approaches, old and new, street-based sex work remains a fundamental point of tension worldwide and in the Christchurch city context. Even with New Zealand’s progressive laws, there are still significant and challenging issues facing all stakeholders. This research found that location based approaches with an appropriate mix of uses and street design in an inner urban setting can accommodate the facilities needed to help reduce the tensions. However, formal identification of a location or zone for street-based sex work can be counterproductive as it has been found that enforcement is difficult and labelling a zone creates notoriety and greater anxiety for the communities affected. The lesson is that both location and governance are vital.

In Christchurch, multiple agencies including a sexual health network, NZPC, police, outreach and local authorities work together with local community groups to develop ‘better solutions’ aimed at preventing public nuisance and crime. They are doing this without the need for legislative change or spatial (re)organisation. This gave the clearest indication of a way forward that supports greater tolerance and local diversity of both function and difference.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

The aim of this research was to build up greater knowledge on the topic and how to improve design of public landscapes to accommodate diversity in street users including the different needs of sex workers and local residents. Policy, planning and urban design issues related to red-light districts is challenging regardless of the prevailing legislation. World cities once seen as progressive in their approach continue to struggle with spatial organisation that includes street-based sex work. Multi-agencies, stakeholders, authorities and local communities work together to create places where sex workers and their clients as well as the greater community feel comfortable and safe, yet street-based sex work remains a fundamental point of tension worldwide. Changing attitudes through territorial frameworks, policy, planning, urban design and enforcement is met with opposition from property owners, resident and occupiers, reflecting the predominant attitudes of communities locally and internationally toward sex work as the unwanted ‘other’.

Decriminalisation of sex work in New Zealand has done little to reduce the stigmatisation of sex work, the risks of violence toward prostituted women or to improve community tensions. However, it does facilitate co-operation between multiple agencies active in the topic, enabling more resourceful communities and local diversity. Researching local and international experience found no clear solution to this ‘wicked problem’. Three main themes emerged: Urban Design, Governance and Enforcement and Tolerance and Diversity. There has been a focus by local authorities on location and imposing spatial territory, but internationally managed or ‘safety zones’ have not delivered the hoped for results and are not a long-term solution. Redevelopment and gentrification leads to displacement and hardship of an already marginalised group, and in Christchurch this process is now embedded in the central city blueprint.

Strategies involving multiple agencies and local community working together with the support of local authorities can be effective in addressing the issues where there is a willing host community, but ineffective when not multi-agency enough.

The main conclusion is that street-based sex work is part of urban life and should form part of inner city policy, planning and design. Christchurch has the opportunity to become ‘best practice’ leaders in designing-in sex work by developing a comprehensive policy mix integrating key themes and approaches identified in this research. Local authorities need to take the lead on implementing attributes accredited to reducing issues. The best way to plan for this ‘wicked problem’ using Christchurch as a generic case is to include sex workers as legitimate users of public space in the local policy and planning framework. A good first step in reducing local community tensions and hardship of sex workers is to the re-instate the support services drop-in centre, and locate it close to the
traditional beat of central to lower Manchester Street, between Bealey and Moorhouse Avenues. Informants all agreed this would help relieve pressure on the community while supporting sex workers. Longer term, provision of appropriate mixed use inner urban areas where the types of residential provisions are less sensitive to street-based sex work, combined with CPTED approaches to urban safety, and active multi agency on street support appear to be the most promising pathway.
Appendix A

Ethics Approval

Application No: 2014-20 6 August 2014

Title: Contested landscapes of urban design: An exploration into integrating community and red-light districts.

Applicant: Glenys Drury

The Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee has reviewed the above noted application.

Thank you for your response to the questions which were forwarded to you on the Committee’s behalf.

I am satisfied on the Committee’s behalf that the issues of concern have been satisfactorily addressed.

I am pleased to give final approval to your project subject to some minor changes to the Research Information Sheet you have provided:
- Please include full titles and contact details for your supervisors (as in the template provided)

Please advise Alison Hind when you have completed your research and confirming that you have complied with the terms of the ethical approval.

May I, on behalf of the Committee, wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Caitriona Cameron
Acting Chair, Human Ethics Committee

PLEASE NOTE: The Human Ethics Committee has an audit process in place for applications. Please see 7.3 of the Human Ethics Committee Operating Procedures (ACHE) in the Lincoln University Policies and Procedures Manual for more information.
Appendix B

Key Informant Guides

B.1  Research Information Sheet

Lincoln University: Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, School of Landscape Architecture

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled: Contested landscapes of urban design. An exploration into integrating community and red-light districts.

The aim of this project is to develop an improved understanding of the policy, planning and urban design issues related to red-light districts and the actions needed to create safe and innovative solutions that suit the needs of street-based sex workers, their clients and the communities in which they operate. The aim is to build up greater knowledge of what is known locally and internationally that will enable stakeholders, authorities and communities to create places where workers and their clients as well as the greater community feel comfortable and safe.

Your participation in this project will involve a 1 hour one on one semi-structured interview. To ensure accuracy, the interview will either be audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim or written notes will be taken.

The summary results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of your anonymity in this investigation unless you waive your right to anonymity. The identity of any participant will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the researcher, his or her supervisors and the Human Ethics Committee, without the participant’s consent. To ensure anonymity the following steps will be taken:

Names or individual identifying information including participant’s role within their organisation will not be used or presented as part of the data or reports without your permission. Consent forms, audio-recordings, written notes and interview transcripts will be kept separately in secure storage with key or passwords, only accessible by the researcher, supervisors and Human Ethics Committee. Collected data will correspond to a code number or pseudonym, which is attributed to each participant. For publication purposes a pseudonym may also be used as well as the organisation’s name and department.

The project is being carried out by:

**Principal researcher:** Glenys Drury

_Contact details:_ Email [glenys.drury@lincolnuni.co.nz](mailto:glenys.drury@lincolnuni.co.nz), Telephone (03) 325 1970 or 021 106 8122

She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

**Supervisors:**

Professor Simon Swaffield, Professor of Landscape Architecture, School of Landscape Architecture  
_Contact Details:_ Email [simon.swaffield@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:simon.swaffield@lincoln.ac.nz), Telephone+64 3 423 0476 x30476

Dr Andreas Wesener, Lecturer in Urban Design, School of Landscape Architecture  
_Contact Details:_ Email [andreas.wesener@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:andreas.wesener@lincoln.ac.nz), Telephone+64 3 423 0476 x30460

The project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.
B.2 Interview Guide

Contested landscapes of urban design: An exploration into integrating community and red-light districts:

You are invited to participate in a project called Contested landscapes of urban design: An exploration into integrating community and red-light districts by participating in a 1 hr semi-structured interview. The aim of the project is to develop an improved understanding of the policy, planning and urban design issues related to red-light districts and the actions needed to create safe and innovative solutions that suit the needs of street-based sex workers, their clients and the communities in which they operate. During the interview, I would like to discuss the following topics:

- Planning and design processes for areas affected by street prostitution
- Issues facing urban street planners and designers in addressing the effects of street prostitution including crime and the perception of safety
- Initiatives addressing the issues
- Barriers to effective design outcomes

With these topics in mind...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Question</th>
<th>Additional Questions</th>
<th>Clarifying Questions</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me about the issues in your area?</td>
<td>Which places are most affected by the problems, when does it usually occur and who are the main victims?</td>
<td>Can you expand a little on this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In your experience, which problems bother people the most?</td>
<td>Why?</td>
<td>Can you tell me anything else?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In your opinion what are the most significant problems in your area?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Can you give me some examples?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What has been done so far to address the problems?</td>
<td>Have you noticed any changes in the situation?</td>
<td>Tell me more about that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me how street design for red-light districts form part of the urban design and planning process?</td>
<td>What are the barriers to effective design outcomes?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion of Interview**

Do you want to add anything on safety and crime prevention?

The interview is anonymous, and you will not be identified as a respondent without your consent. You may at any time refuse to answer certain questions and discuss certain topics. You may also withdraw your participation, including withdrawal of any information within 7 working days of conclusion of the interview. Correction of any factual errors you have provided can be made up to 10 working days after conclusion of the interview.
B.3 Consent Form

Contested landscapes of urban design: An exploration into integrating community and red-light districts:

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that:

(Please tick whichever is applicable)

☐ Anonymity will be preserved
☐ Anonymity is waived
☐ Organisation and position identified

I understand that to ensure accuracy, the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim or written notes will be taken and that I may at any time refuse to answer certain questions and discuss certain topics. On this basis I consent to:

(Please tick whichever is applicable)

☐ Audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim
☐ Written notes will be taken

I may also withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information within 7 working days of conclusion of the interview. I understand also that up to 10 working days after conclusion of the interview I can correct any factual errors I have provided.

Respondent’s name: ________________________________________________________________

Respondent’s signature: _____________________________ Date: ________________

Interviewer’s name: ______________________________________________________________

Interviewer’s signature: _____________________________ Date: ________________
Appendix C

The Christchurch Case

C.1 Street-based sex work locator map

Street-based sex work locator map

Central Christchurch

Street-based sex work activity

- Post-earthquake (2010-2011)
- Pre-earthquake
- Historically
- East Frame (One Central)

Christchurch Planning Zones:

- Open Space Zone
- Residential Zone
- Special Purpose Zone
- Commercial Zone
- Transport Zone
- Industrial Zone
- Mixed Use Zone
C.2 Brothels allowed areas locator map

Christchurch City Council
Brothels (Location and Commercial Sexual Services Signage) Bylaw 2013, p. 13.
C.3 NZPC ‘Street Safety’ Pack

Your ‘Street Safety’ Pack

1. Use PROTXT to report any dangerous clients or situations. PH or TXT 027 2814114. Remember to always work with your phone charged.
2. Don’t let people drive past and abuse you! Ring *555 to complain.
3. Be considerate, don’t work outside peoples houses.
4. Try not to work alone: use a friend, a minder or work in pairs.
5. Check the car out, note down details.
6. If it looks dodgy DON’T DO IT! It’s not worth the cash, your safety is more important.
7. Set your limits, remain in control. Don’t do anything you don’t want to. The law is on your side.
8. Always use condoms and lube.

*If you want to know what the NZPC can do for you please contact us*

Street Work Laws

- You can work
- It is your
- You can work
- You can work

NZPC

157 Waltham Road
(Next to Brougham Pub)
P: (03) 365 2595 Fax: (03) 374 4100
nzpcch@xtra.co.nz
Facebook: nzpc chch

Free Sexual Health Clinic

Every Wednesday Night
6:00pm – 9:00pm
Free and Counsellor
No appointment needed

Free Alcohol & Drug Clinic

Every Thursday Afternoon
1:00pm – 5:00pm
@ NZPC with Lauren
No Appointment needed

We have fantastic clinic staff who are all non judgemental and worker friendly
References


Govt. (2014). Manukau City Council (Regulation of Prostitution in Specified Places) Bill, 197-1, Report of the Local Government and Environment Committee (197-1). Wellington: House of


