

PART II

THE DEMAND SIDE OF TRAFFICKING? A MULTI COUNTRY PILOT STUDY

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1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

This paper reports some of the findings of multi-country pilot research on the demand side of two sectors in which it is known that the labour/services of trafficked persons are sometimes exploited: prostitution and domestic work. The Terms of Reference identified the project's three main aims as:

- a) To explore various factors shaping patterns of demand for domestic labour and sexual services in some selected countries in Asia and Europe, paying particular attention to the demand for especially vulnerable workers;
- b) To pilot methodologies which can be applied in future research on the demand aspects of trafficking;
- c) To contribute to network- and capacity building among researchers, officials and activists involved in anti-trafficking work.

The study initially set out to explore the demand for migrant sex and domestic workers in four countries: Sweden, Italy, Thailand, and India. Once under way, we were asked to extend the research on demand for commercial sex to include Japan, and because problems were encountered in recruiting Swedish clients for interview, Danish men with experience of prostitute-use were interviewed in their place. From the start, time represented a major constraint on this project. We had only eight months to put together a research team in each country, design research and develop research instruments that could be used in a number of different countries, co-ordinate data collection in several different research sites, conduct preliminary data analysis, and write up findings. The research was thus limited and exploratory in nature, and its findings should be taken as at best suggestive, rather than conclusive.

Research Design

Although the research set out to explore the “demand-side of trafficking” into sex and domestic work, we started from the assumption that there is no demand from sex workers' clients or employers of domestic workers for trafficked persons as such. However, we wished to address the argument that it is profitable to traffic persons into domestic work and sex work because there is a demand for migrant and/or youthful and/or cheap and vulnerable labour from clients/employers. We were therefore primarily concerned with questions about the general markets for sex and domestic workers, and whether it is possible to identify specific patterns of demand within these markets that could potentially act as a stimulus for trafficking. These concerns were framed within broader questions about gender and race/ethnic relations in any given social context.

The standardization of data gathering was viewed as especially important, since one of the problems with the existing body of evidence on both prostitution and domestic work is that data from different studies are rarely comparable. Key terms have not been defined in a uniform manner, techniques of data collection have not been standardised, and researchers have set out to address very different research questions. However, whilst we were concerned to design the research in such a way that it would yield a basic set of cross-nationally comparable, standard data, we also wished to explore various different data gathering techniques and allow each country research team the flexibility to pursue interesting and potentially fruitful lines of enquiry should they be presented with such opportunities. For this reason, the pilot study included both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The study involved semi-structured interviews with employers of domestic worker and clients of sex workers. Studies on sensitive topics (and on commercial sex in particular) have often been criticised for their failure to make use of matched control samples, and we were therefore keen to include interviews with a control group in our pilot work. Indeed, control interviews with people who do not employ domestic workers and who do not use prostitutes were viewed as vitally important given that we were asking our sample of employers and clients general attitudinal questions as well as specific questions about their practices and choices as employers/clients. Without such a control group, there was a danger that the data could appear to suggest causal relationships between attitudes and practices where no such relationship existed.

Recruiting a sample for research on the demand for either commercial sex or domestic work invariably presents great methodological challenges. There is no sampling frame listing everyone who uses prostitutes or employs domestic workers, and it is therefore impossible to obtain a random, or probability sample of these particular subpopulations. Accessing clients or employers who break the law or engage in practices that are viewed as socially undesirable (for instance, buying sexual services where it is illegal to do so, or breaking legislation regulating the employment of domestic or sex workers) is an even more difficult task. Because it takes time to find people who are willing to be interviewed about personal and sensitive topics, and because there was very little time available to us, we recognised from the outset that it was unrealistic to aim for more than ten employer and ten client interviews in each country. This meant that the interview research was not, and could not have been, undertaken with a representative cross section of clients or employers. Because we were keen to generate comparable, cross-national data, the research design also included two small surveys, one exploring demand for commercial sex and one on the demand for domestic work, to be undertaken in each country. Ultimately, it proved impossible to standardize the sampling techniques used in each country in the time available to us. Though the ‘sex survey’ and the ‘domestic work survey’ in each country produced some very interesting data, these data are, unfortunately, not fully comparable. (Details of the samples are provided in Appendix 1 and 2.)

Limitations of the Research

Even when adequate time has been allowed for the design and preparation of a research project, it is invariably the case that difficulties arise in the course of actually executing the research. It takes time to address and remedy the problems that emerge once research is underway, and because we were working to an extremely tight deadline, we were necessarily guided more by what was possible and practical in the time available than by what was methodologically ideal. So far as future research on the demand side of trafficking is concerned, there are important lessons to be learned from the obstacles that we faced in the course of undertaking the pilot research, and these are discussed in Section 4. In the meantime, we wish to draw attention to some key limitations of the research that need to be borne in mind when reading the findings presented below.

- Although the pilot study spans six countries, it cannot properly be described as a six *country* study. Instead, research took place in particular cities in each of the countries concerned. Demand for both sex and domestic work can take very localized forms, and there may be significant regional variation within a particular country. It is therefore important to recognise that the findings from

each of our ‘country’ studies are not necessarily generalisable to the country as a whole.

- The markets for both domestic work and commercial sex are extremely diverse. This means that there is no one, single ‘type’ of employer or client. The findings from interview research with a small and non-random sample of employers and clients in each given location cannot therefore be read as providing a ‘snapshot’ of *all* forms of demand in that location.
- Although we aimed to standardise research on clients and employers in the countries involved so that data sets from each country would be comparable, it proved impossible to achieve standardisation in the timeframe and budget we had to work with. Instead of a cross-national comparative study then, what we have is a series of small pilot studies in different countries, elements of which are comparable. This means that the data need to be treated with great caution.
- In view of the small scale of this pilot study, and the sampling methods employed, it is not possible to make generalisations about either *the scale* or *the nature* of demand for commercial sex or domestic workers in any of the countries concerned on the basis of the data presented below.
- Although the study was small in terms of the numbers of clients and employers interviewed in each country, it nonetheless generated a large amount of qualitative material (some hundreds of pages of transcripts, notes and reports from the country teams involved). These materials and the survey data were not fully available to us until the end of March 2002, and we therefore had only two months in which to analyse and write up the research findings. As a result, we are only able to present limited and preliminary data analysis in this report.

2. THE SEX SECTOR

The number of people interviewed and surveyed in the pilot research on the ‘demand side’ of the commercial sex sector are shown in Table 1 below. Details of the samples are provided in Appendix 1.

Table 1: Size of samples used in pilot research in each country

	Client Interviews	Control Interviews	Survey
India	10	5	62
Thailand	8	2	90
Italy	9	5	56
Sweden	None	2	84
Denmark	10	3	None
Japan	None	None	98
Total	37	17	390

Different country teams targeted different occupational groups for inclusion in the survey (see Table 2).

Table 2: Occupational background of survey respondents in each country

	Police	Soldiers	Students	Salarymen	Athletes	Other	Total
India	16	0	13	0	0	33*	62
Thailand	87	3	0	0	0	0	90
Italy	20	7	5	0	0	24**	56
Sweden	0	19	40	0	23	0	82
Japan	0	0	2	96	0	0	98

* Of whom 16 were professionals and 12 were manual workers

** Of whom 12 were professionals and 6 manual workers

Country teams also used different techniques to recruit a sample of those groups, and because the Indian and Italian teams made specific efforts to find clients within the occupational groups they targeted, it is not possible to compare clients and non-clients in the Indian and Italian surveys (see Appendix 1). It also means that whilst we have survey data from almost 400 respondents from five countries, 185 of whom have experience of buying sex, these data are not fully comparable. Next we should note that though the research did not set out to measure the level of demand for prostitution in any of the countries involved, the survey data from Sweden, Japan and Thailand do reflect substantial differences between these countries in terms of the prevalence of prostitute use. Only 8 out of 84 Swedish respondents (about 10%) admitted to having ever paid for sex; in Japan, 36 of the sample (around 37%) reported that they had experience of prostitute use; whilst in Thailand, 65 respondents (73%) acknowledged having bought sex at some point in their lives. Some of this difference may be accounted for by differences in the composition of the sample from each country.¹ It should also be noted that amongst the small sample of Swedish soldiers on peace-keeping duties in Kosovo, a higher percentage of respondents admitted to prostitute use (3 out of 19). It is thus highly regrettable that our Swedish colleague was prevented from gathering data from a larger number of soldiers by high ranking officers who feared negative publicity could result from the research (see Section 4).

2.1 Attitudes towards Gender, Sexuality and Prostitution

Because we were concerned to explore possible links between prostitute-use and attitudes towards gender, sexuality and prostitution, both survey respondents and interviewees were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following series of statements:

- ‘Prostitution is the world’s oldest profession – there is no way to get rid of it’
- ‘Men need regular sex to remain healthy’
- ‘Girls should remain virgins until they marry’
- ‘Women today are *too* independent’

- ‘When a man uses prostitutes, it is a sign that he is virile and sexually potent’.

In India, Italy, Thailand and Japan, a large proportion of those survey respondents who had paid for sex at some point in their lives (referred to as ‘clients’ from hereon) expressed conservative beliefs about gender and sexuality. Just over 70% of Thai clients, almost 80% of Indian and Japanese clients and over 90% of Italian clients agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that ‘Men need regular sex to remain healthy’. More than 70% of clients in India, Italy and Thailand, and 44% of clients in Japan endorsed the statement that ‘Women today are *too* independent’, and in India and Thailand, around two-thirds endorsed the statement that ‘Girls should remain virgins until they marry’. Clients from the same countries were much less likely to agree that ‘Using a prostitute is a sign of virility’. Nevertheless, almost a third of Japanese clients, a quarter of Indian clients, and over 15% of Italian and Thai clients endorsed this statement. Finally, almost three-quarters of all clients surveyed agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that ‘Prostitution is the world’s oldest profession – there is no way to get rid of it’.

The interview data provide a closer insight into the ways in which clients draw on dominant discourses about gender and sexuality to ‘make sense’ of their own prostitute-use. Many interviewees saw prostitution as a natural and inevitable feature of human societies, and in all countries there were clients who saw commercial sex as involving a symbiotic relationship between prostitutes (who need money) and clients (who need sex). The significance of the idea of male sexual need was also evident in clients’ responses to survey questions about why they bought sex. Over 40% of Italian clients, and over 60% of Japanese, Thai and Indian clients stated that the ‘need’ for sexual release was one of the factors that motivated them to buy sex. Where prostitution is understood to meet men’s needs, it is also often considered to serve an important social function. In each country, there were interviewees who held that prostitution serves to contain what would otherwise pollute the community or lead to social disorder (i.e., the excess of male sexual desire which cannot be accommodated by ‘good’ women). Within this shared emphasis on prostitution as an inevitable and necessary social institution, however, there were differences between clients in terms of their view of its exact nature and its connection to broader questions about gender and sexuality, and more particularly, their view of the imaginary divide between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ women.

Madonnas and Whores

Interviewees made very different assumptions about the division between prostitute and non-prostitute women. For some of our older and/or working class Indian interviewees, prostitution was viewed as necessary to the preservation of a particular and traditionally patriarchal gender order. It serves to protect the family and the honour of ‘good’ women:

Where will men go, especially unmarried men, if there are no prostitutes? Then they will probably seek women in the house, and this will not be good for the family or the society. (Indian brick kiln owner, married, aged 48)

Women have to carry themselves properly. They are our pride and our honour. If they are loose, then our children will be affected. Also, these rules and regulations are to protect them from other men who can harm them and cheat them. Is it wrong to protect a goat from a leopard? Women should know their limits and their place. (Indian truck driver, married, aged 38)

Because men must have sex, but 'loose' women are a blot on the honour of their menfolk, it is necessary to divide women into two categories - the Madonna who respects and looks after husband and family, and the Whore who serves as a receptacle to contain men's filth that would otherwise contaminate the family. Both the interviewees quoted above stated that they might have to murder their own daughters should they refuse to recognise and accept this boundary. For them, the line between Madonna and Whore is straightforward. Those women who remain under the cover of their fathers, brothers or husbands are 'good'; those who do not are 'Whores'. This latter applies even where it is recognised that women have been forced outside this cover. Thus, two other Indian interviewees stated explicitly that if a woman is raped, she is 'spoiled' and has little choice but to enter prostitution.

In societies and/or among social groups within which it is increasingly the norm for women to participate in economic and political life outside the home, it is clearly difficult to draw the line between Madonna and Whore on the basis described above. Material from middle class Indian interviewees and Thai interviewees of all classes highlighted the tensions that surround the Madonna/Whore dichotomy in social contexts in which 'good' women have come to enjoy some of the freedoms once reserved for men. These interviewees felt that it was possible for a woman to have *some* sexual experience outside of marriage without being immediately and irrevocably cast as 'Whore'. At the same time, however, they were disturbed by the idea of non-prostitute women having *too much* sexual experience. In Italy, interviewees were even more likely to see extra-marital sexual experience as normal. One even described the idea women should remain virgins until marriage as 'medieval' and 'barbaric'. Yet the same interviewee nonetheless laid great emphasis on the need to maintain the social and spatial distance between prostitutes and 'ordinary' women and children:

Prostitution shouldn't be practiced as it is now, in the streets. There should be closed houses, like those we used to have before 1958... A good prostitute should not show off, like being half naked in doorways where children pass by.
(Italian barber, married, aged 31)

It may be 'barbaric' to insist that girls remain virgins, but he finds nothing medieval in the idea that prostitution, and therefore prostitute women, should be hidden, contained and controlled in a separate social space. Several other Italian interviewees also commented that they disliked street prostitution, and believed that prostitution should be confined to state controlled brothels or 'closed houses'.

Since our Danish interviewees came from a region that prides itself on its gender egalitarianism, it was unsurprising to find that all ten rejected the idea that women should remain virgins until they marry. Indeed, some were positively bemused by the fact they were asked to express a view on this subject, saying, for instance, that the question would only be relevant in a catholic country, or in India. To them, it was self-evident that 'Girls have as much right to a sex life before marriage as men', as one interviewee put it. However, several interviewees believed in biologically based, as well as socially constructed, differences between male and female sexuality, and four were ambivalent about precisely how many sexual partners a woman can have without becoming 'promiscuous'.

Almost without exception, Danish interviewees appeared to pride themselves on their 'modern' attitudes towards gender, and expressed a preference for equal relationships with wives or girlfriends. They implicitly articulated the idea that in such a

relationship, sex is based upon mutual desire and a wife or girlfriend thus has a right to refuse the sexual demands of her partner. At the same time however, all but two interviewees thought of sex as a basic human need. Whilst most emphasised that it was a need for both men and women, they nonetheless felt that some kind of psychological harm or suffering occurs when people are denied sex, and three considered there was a possible link between sexual 'deprivation' and rape. These beliefs about the individual's *need* for sexual gratification did not always fit comfortably with their 'modern' attitudes towards women. So, for example, one interviewee noted 'I am married and we live as a modern family', but later went on to say:

It's annoying if I want to have sex, but [my wife] won't... To be more precise, that has annoyed me in the past but it doesn't anymore, because I have found my own solution – that is to visit [sex workers] whenever I want. Before, I felt my wife exercised too much control over our sexual life, but now I have my own solution. (Danish engineer, married, aged 60)

Two other Danish interviewees also presented prostitution as a 'solution' to the same problem. Thus, prostitution was imagined as in some sense the mirror image of the domestic sphere.ⁱⁱ In rather the same way that some Indian interviewees discussed prostitution as necessary to safeguard and maintain a particular gender order in the home, so it appears that for these Danish interviewees, the existence of prostitution serves to protect and preserve the 'modern' and 'equal' relationships they enjoy with their wives and girlfriends. Without prostitutes - a class of women who remain always sexually available, feminist achievements with regard to non-prostitute women's rights (which include the right to refuse as well as grant sexual access to their bodies) would represent a problem within their long term sexual-emotional relationships. Thus, whilst there are huge and significant differences between the most 'modern' of Danish interviewees and the most 'traditional' of Indian interviewees in terms of their beliefs about women's proper place in the domestic sphere and in public life, the interview data also points to some commonalities. In particular, it suggests that for both groups of men, the way in which they treat their women-folk is a matter of personal honour (the Danes prided themselves on their respect for their wives, girlfriends and daughters' equality, rights and freedoms; the older and/or working class Indians prided themselves on the protection they provide for their wives and daughters), and perhaps also a matter of national honour and identity. It also suggests that for both groups of interviewees, prostitution is imagined a 'safety-valve', without which it would be difficult, or even impossible, for men to continue to attain honour through their respect for the women in their community.

Is prostitute-use linked to gender conservatism?

At first glance, the survey data from India, Italy, Thailand and Japan may appear to suggest a link between gender conservatism and sex buying. However, they also reveal that there are some clients (even if a minority) in these countries who *disagree* with gender conservative statements. Closer inspection of the data indicates that in India in particular, there may be some relationship between social class and education and attitudes towards gender and sexuality. For example, all but one of the 16 Indian clients who had lower levels of education (10th pass or below) endorsed the idea that women today are too independent. Of the 15 clients who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea that girls should remain virgins until they marry, all but one had enjoyed education to 12th pass or above. Because of the sampling techniques

employed in India and Italy, we cannot use the survey data from these countries to compare the attitudes of men who have paid for sex with those of men who have never paid for sex. However, such comparisons are possible with Japanese and Thai data, and here an examination of clients' and non-clients' attitudes towards gender and sexuality actually reveals very little difference between the two groups. In Thailand and Japan, men who have never bought sex are just as likely (in some cases marginally more likely) to agree with conservative statements about gender and sexuality.

Equally, if we look at the Swedish survey alongside interview data from Danish clients, it also suggests there is little difference between clients and non-clients in terms of their attitudes towards gender. In Scandinavia, a region that prides itself on its gender egalitarianism, both clients and non-clients overwhelmingly rejected gender conservative statements and traditional attitudes towards gender and sexuality. Meanwhile, the control interviews show that it is quite possible for men to simultaneously disapprove of buying sex, and adhere to traditional gender roles or hold gender conservative attitudes. Indeed, it is possible for non-clients to express positively reactionary views about gender and sexuality. For example:

Prostitution is like a disease, like diabetes, it has to be controlled. The disease AIDS is a big aid in controlling prostitution. The police should be used to make sure that the prostitutes do not allure innocent people thereby enlarging their circle... Those who are circumstantially deprived [of sex] turn perverts... it can lead to homosexuality and lesbianism... It does matter if a woman is more sexually experienced than the man. If a man has not been able to satisfy his wife, then he feels inferior... It can even lead to suicide... I agree that women today are too independent... Feminist movements have done a lot of damage. They have broken homes and not brought happiness to homes. (Indian control interviewee, scientist and UN expert, married, aged 70)

Taken together, the client and control interviews and the survey data suggest that clients share, rather than contest, dominant attitudes of their national and class contemporaries. If there is no clear relationship between attitudes towards gender, sexuality and prostitution and prostitute-use, what is it that 'makes' a client?

Masculinity and the Consumption of Commercial Sex as a form of Social Conformity

The survey data show that clients' first experience of prostitute use was more likely to have been arranged by friends or colleagues than to have come about as a result of an independent decision to visit a prostitute (see Table 3 below).

Table 3: Circumstances of first experience of buying sex

	Friend or colleague arranged %	Family member arranged %	Prostitute approached client %	Decided independently to buy sex %
India (n=49)	69	0	6	25
Italy (n=26)	69	0	8	23
Thailand (n=63)	76	3	2	19

Sweden (n=8)	38	0	25	38
Japan (n=33)	46	3	12	39
Total	65	2	7	26

These data suggest that the initial decision to buy sex frequently reflects a desire to conform to peer expectations, and is thus often a public and social, rather than a private and personal, matter. In Thailand in particular, both the survey and interview data suggest that buying sex can be part of a ‘rite of passage’, as well as a ritualised means of consolidating relationships with male friends. Interviewees mentioned boys visiting sex workers to mark the end of their schooldays and to establish their status as adult, and noted that it is common for a senior to take new university students to sex workers in order that they may demonstrate themselves as ‘real men’. One interviewee stated that he intends to take his own son to a brothel when he is 16 or 17. More generally, the interview data from both India and Thailand suggest that boys and young men’s initial experiences of prostitution are prompted by some combination of their own perception of the social demands of masculinity and peer pressure to conform to those demands. It shows that prostitute-use can represent a way to publicly demonstrate membership of a particular male subgroup, and/or to claim a particular social identity (as ‘adult’, ‘man’, or ‘not-gay’).

However, it is important to note two caveats. First, the research data show that men’s status as ‘client’ can often be temporary and context-specific, which suggests that for some men at least, it links to passing ideals of masculinity rather than to some core, life-long masculine identity. In particular, social pressures to engage in prostitute-use appear to be strongly focused on young men and boys, rather than operating on men of all ages. They also appear to be stronger amongst some occupational groups than others. Second, it is highly probable that there are important cross-national differences in terms of the extent and nature of social pressures on men to buy commercial sex. In particular, we should note that Danish interviewees were unanimous in asserting that they had never experienced social pressure to buy sex, and in rejecting the idea that prostitute-use could be viewed as a public mark of a man’s virility or masculinity.ⁱⁱⁱ Five out of ten of the Danish clients who were interviewed made comments to the effect that there is nothing ‘manly’ about using prostitutes. For example:

It’s important to many men to prove themselves as ‘real men’, but you can’t prove that by going to sex workers. That is something you prefer to keep a secret, and that is contrary to being a successful ‘real man’... Where I work it’s unthinkable to talk about using sex workers... it would just signal that you can’t get sexual relations without paying, and that’s a loser’s sign. (Danish computer programmer, divorced, aged 59)

Scandinavian control interviewees shared very similar views. Like the clients, they believed it was important to conform to social ideals of heterosexual manliness, but did not consider that using prostitutes was a way in which a man can demonstrate the fact that he is a ‘real man’. Existing research indicates that a far smaller percentage of men in Sweden and Denmark than in Thailand have ever paid for sex, and our interview research suggests that this finding may partly be accounted for by differences in terms of the social meanings that are attached to sex buying. In Scandinavia, social pressures to be a real man seem to vie with strong social pressures *not* to buy sex, turning prostitute-use into an essentially private rather than public

activity. Conversely, our Thai respondents perceived no tension between being ‘a man’ and using prostitutes, indeed prostitute-use was depicted as normative masculine behaviour at certain stages of the life-cycle and amongst certain groups.^{iv}

Who succumbs to social pressures to buy sex?

The survey data shows that some respondents are unaffected by social norms regarding prostitute-use (in Sweden, there were a small minority of respondents who had bought sex, in Thailand, there was a larger minority of respondents who had not). Though the sample of clients we surveyed cannot be taken as representative of clients in general, or of all clients in their country of origin, they are nonetheless *a* group of individuals who have experience of buying sex. Viewed as such, one interesting finding concerns the age at which they first bought sex. The data from all countries reveals that around 78% of clients had first used a prostitute when aged 21 or below (see Table 4). About 18% were aged under 18 when first introduced to prostitute use (in Italy, this was the case for more than half of those who had bought sex).^v

Table 4: Age at which respondent first purchased commercial sexual services

Age	% Respondents (n=163)
16 and below	14
17	4
18	32
19 – 21	28
22 – 25	15
26 and over	7

These data do not mean, of course, that 78% of demand for commercial sex is furnished by persons aged 21 and below. They do however show that there is demand for prostitution from those who, according to the United Nations’ definition of childhood, are children themselves (the most extreme case was a Thai respondent who reported having been taken to a prostitute by relatives when he was under the age of 10), and further suggest that at any one point in time, a sizeable portion of demand is provided by boys and very young men.

Having once experimented with prostitute-use, the vast majority of our respondents continued to buy sex again (paying for commercial sexual services was a one-off experience for only 18%). However, it is interesting to note that within our sample of clients, the older a person was the first time he bought sex, the less likely he was to have gone on to buy sex again (see Table 5). If this finding was replicated with a larger and more representative sample of clients, it would certainly suggest that those who seek to reduce levels of demand for commercial sex would do best to target their efforts on educational and preventative work with teenager boys.

Table 5: One off or multiple experiences of prostitute-use by age at which respondent first bought sex by

	One off purchase %	Continued to buy sex again %
First bought sex aged 18 or below (n=80)	12	88
First bought sex aged 21 or below (n=83)	24	76
First bought sex aged 22 or above (n=37)	30	70

Respondents were also asked whether they had ever been touched sexually by an adult when they themselves were children. A surprisingly high percentage of all respondents (clients and non-clients) either said yes (13%), or that they did not remember (9%). Focusing on clients alone, 19% reported abuse, and 13% said they could not remember whether or not as a child they had ever been touched sexually by an adult. In India and Japan, the figures were particularly high - 50% and 36% respectively either stated that they had been touched or could not remember. These data cannot properly be used to support the idea of a causal relationship between the experience of childhood sexual abuse and prostitute-use in adulthood. It is quite possible that those who have experienced childhood sexual abuse are evenly distributed amongst the population as a whole, such that a survey of any given social group (whether sex workers, brick layers or university lecturers, or BMW owners, cat lovers or prostitute-users) would reveal similar patterns. However, since many commentators have used similar data on sex workers to support the argument that sexual abuse is a factor that precipitates entry into prostitution, it is worth noting that clients can also have experienced sexual abuse.

2.2 The Demand for Youthful Prostitutes

Although a large number of the clients we surveyed had first bought sex when they were aged 21 or below, two-thirds of them were now aged between 31 and 50. Only a quarter were in the 22-30 age bracket, and only 7% were currently aged between 18 and 21. Despite their own advance towards middle age and beyond, youth was still a quality that most clients in all countries sought in sex workers. Asked whether they preferred prostitutes of any particular age, just over three-quarters of all clients surveyed expressed a preference for prostitutes aged 25 or under, with 22% stating a preference for those aged 18 or below. Only 18% said that the age of the sex workers they used was not important to them (and this could mean that they do not care how young, as well as how old, prostitutes are), and 6% expressed a specific interest in women aged over 30 (see Table 6).^{vi}

Table 6: Do you prefer to buy sexual services from prostitutes of a particular age?

	India % (n=49)	Italy % (n=20)	Thailand % (n=63)	Sweden % (n=7)	Japan % (n=36)	Total % (n=175)
Under 12 years	0	0	2	0	0	1

13-15	8	0	0	0	3	3
16-18	37	10	13	0	14	19
19-25	47	45	48	57	78	54
30s or 40s	2	25	3	14	0	5
Over 50	0	5	2	0	0	1
Age is not important to me	6	15	33	29	6	18

If we focus solely on clients in the 31 to 50 age bracket, the survey shows that only 8% of them expressed a preference for sex workers of their own age. Meanwhile, more than half of those who expressed a preference for prostitutes aged 18 and below were themselves aged between 31 and 50.

In some cases, this interest in very young prostitutes may be linked to myths and misconceptions about sexual health. Just under 15% of all clients surveyed stated that one of the precautions they took to guard against STDs and AIDS was to seek out younger prostitutes. However, the majority of clients who adopted this ‘strategy’ were from India (14 out of 26), and of them, more than half were from the group with the lowest level of education. About 7% of all clients (12 people) said that they looked for virgins as a precaution to reduce the risk of STDs. Again, the majority were from India (6), whilst 4 were Thai police officers. This, combined with the fact that only 58% of Indian clients, 71% of Japanese clients, and 74% of Thai clients stated that they always used condoms when visiting a sex worker (as opposed to 96% of Italian clients), appears to point in a fairly straightforward way towards the need for greater investment in sexual health education in Japan, Thailand and especially in India.

The interview data reveal fairly consistent patterns with regard to how clients think about age in relation to prostitution. In India, younger and/or better educated clients responded to the question of how old a girl should be before entering into prostitution through reference to their ideas about the age at which a woman can give meaningful consent to prostitution contracts, the age at which prostitution will not harm her physically and psychologically, and the age at which she will have the sexual and social skills necessary to satisfy her clients. This was invariably taken to mean that she should be over 18. Older and/or working class Indian interviewees placed greater emphasis on the girl’s physical development, often linking this not only to her capacity to consent to sex work, but also to her desirability to clients. This was generally taken to mean girls could enter sex work between the ages of 16 and 18, although one interviewee, a 38 year old truck driver, commented that ‘In the Nat Bedia community, the girls get mature at the age of 12. Many of my friends look for younger girls, but I don’t feel comfortable picking up such a small girl’.

In Thailand, four interviewees stressed that women should be over the age 18 before working in prostitution, and based this opinion on the idea that only those who are legally adults are physically and mentally mature enough to make a voluntary and informed decision to enter into sex work. However, five interviewees (including two

police officers) held that girls should be allowed to start work in prostitution as soon as their bodies are sexually mature, which meant around the age of 15. For example:

[Girls should be allowed to start work in prostitution at] 14-15 years of age, as below this, girls aren't physically mature and it's painful for them... In my opinion, men having sex with girls under 10 is abnormal, and is an indication they have psychological problems and are sick and need to be treated. (Thai policeman, married, aged 32)

No Danish interviewee considered it proper for a girl under the age of 18 to work in prostitution, and several stated that it is better for women to start work when aged between 22 and 25, because at 18 a girl is still too young to make an informed decision to enter sex work. Like the Indian and Thai interviewees who stated that women should not begin work in prostitution until they are over 18, the Danish clients reasoned that younger women or girls are unable to consent and may be harmed by sex work. The Italian interviewees also tended to say that girls should be at least 18 or above before entering prostitution. There was, however, one Italian client who observed that children as young as nine years of age work in prostitution in some developing countries. Asked whether he felt it was morally problematic for such young children to be involved in prostitution, he replied that he did not.

Taken together, the survey and interview data suggest that whilst sexual value is attached to youthful bodies by most clients, the vast majority do not wish to buy sex from prostitutes they perceive as too young to consent to the sexual encounter. This does not mean that they will not buy sex from those who are children according to the UN definition of childhood. Indeed, several interviewees (as well as 22% of clients surveyed) expressed a preference for prostitutes aged 18 or below. Moreover, it is important to recognise that whilst clients may tell themselves that they only have sex with prostitutes who are above the age of 18, it is not always easy to tell whether a girl is 16, 17, 18 or 19, and clients do not generally ask to check sex workers' identity papers prior to having sex with them. Moreover, some clients are drunk when they buy sex, which might well cloud their judgement and/or memory. In this regard, we should also note that in all the countries involved in this study, the sexual use of young children is illegal and stigmatised. We would therefore expect sexual interest in younger children to be underreported. However, even allowing for underreporting and self-deception, the research findings support other studies that suggest demand for commercial sex with small children is outside the norms of the sex industry. It also points to the conclusion that even clients who have a focused preference for teenage prostitutes provide that demand on the basis of a set of ideas about age, gender and sexuality that allow them to imagine teenage girls as 'women' who are capable of consenting to the transaction.

Finally, it is possible that there is some relationship between the way in which clients imagine prostitution and their propensity to favour younger sex workers. Both our interview and survey research suggests that clients who agree with the statement that 'Prostitutes are skilled and professional love-makers who should be given more respect' are less likely to express a preference for under-age prostitutes than are those who agree with the idea that 'Prostitutes are dirty, but men need them for sexual relief' or the statement that 'Prostitution is quick, easy and satisfying, like buying fast food when you are really hungry'.

2.3 Demand for Migrant Sex Workers

The survey contained a number of questions relating to clients' perceptions of, and experience with migrant sex workers. Table 7 summarises the data on clients' experience with foreign sex workers.

Table 7: Clients' experience with foreign sex workers

	Bought sex from foreign prostitute when abroad %	Bought sex from foreign prostitute in own country %	Never bought sex from foreign prostitute %
India	8 (n=4)	24 (n=12)	68 (n=34)
Italy	31 (n=8)	42 (n=11)	42 (n=11)
Thailand	8 (n=5)	21 (n=13)	71 (n=45)
Sweden	100 (n=8)	13 (n=1)	0 (n=0)
Japan	44 (n=16)	8 (n=3)	47 (n=17)
Total	22 (n=41)	22 (n=40)	59 (n=107)

It is possible that some Italian and Japanese clients failed to report experience of buying sex abroad because the open-ended forms of prostitution that are often found in sex tourist destinations are not always recognised as 'prostitution' by men from affluent countries. Thus, many tourists do not identify the sexual-economic exchanges they enter into with local women, men or children in tourist resorts as 'buying sex' (see Gunther 1999). For the same reason, there may have been Swedish and Japanese respondents in the non-client group who had, in reality, participated in open-ended prostitution abroad.

Just over half the Indian clients and 25% of Thai clients reported experience of buying sex from internal migrants; and although only 24% of Indian clients stated that they had bought sex from foreign prostitutes in their own country, in answer to a further question, 47% stated that they had bought sex from Nepali prostitutes. Because of the sampling techniques employed in this survey, our sample of clients do not constitute a representative cross-section of prostitute-users in each country, and the data cannot be used to support any comparative claims about levels of demand for migrant sex workers in each country. What the data do highlight, however, is the simple fact that clients are not a homogeneous group in terms of the choices they make between migrant and local sex workers. Not all men who buy commercial sex can be assumed to provide demand for migrants' sexual services.

The survey sought to explore whether stereotypes about the characteristics of racially or nationally different groups, sexualised racism, and beliefs about price shape clients' choice of sex worker by asking clients whether or not they agreed with a series of statements comparing foreign and local prostitutes (see Table 8).

Table 8: Clients' stereotypes about foreign sex workers

% (n=172)	Strongly agree or agree	Strongly disagree or disagree	Don't know

		disagree	
‘Foreign sex workers usually offer better value for money’	44	16	40
‘Foreign sex workers offer a wider range of sexual services’	47	16	37
‘The client is the one in control with foreign sex workers’	36	25	40
‘Foreign sex workers are more likely to care about their clients’	31	25	43
‘Foreign sex workers are more likely to enjoy sex than local sex workers’	39	25	36
‘It’s more expensive to have sex with a local sex worker’	34	32	34

What the data in Table 8 appear to show is that a substantial number of clients believe that it is easier to control the amount of ‘value’ they get from a given sum of money if they buy sex from migrant prostitutes. This is because they identify migrant prostitutes as being cheaper and more malleable than local women. In the particular samples of clients that we managed to survey, such clients were in the minority (albeit a sizeable minority). However, these beliefs were not necessarily grounded in direct personal experience, since many of those who gave an opinion about the difference between local and foreign sex workers also stated that they had only ever bought sex from local prostitutes.

Furthermore, other survey questions and the interview data suggest that clients’ attitudes towards some generic category of ‘foreigner’ are probably not a very good indicator of their interest (or lack of interest) in migrant sex workers. Indeed, clients often held very different stereotypes about different groups of migrants. Rather than imagining ‘migrant sex workers’ as a unitary group, they typically placed different groups on different rungs of a racial or ethnic hierarchy. In Delhi, most clients imagined dark-skinned women and girls from the Nat Bedia community as standing at the bottom of this hierarchy, followed by dark-skinned local sex workers, then by lighter-skinned Nepali sex workers. White European sex workers were normally placed at the apex of the hierarchy. Furthermore, some men perceived a link between the client’s social status and the racial or ethnic identity of the sex worker whose services he consumes. This connection between the client’s position on a status hierarchy and the prostitute’s position on a racial/national hierarchy was articulated very explicitly by one Thai interviewee:

I prefer Thai sex workers because I feel more comfortable with them, and I don’t feel proud of myself if I go with migrant sex workers. Socially it is looked down on to be with Burmese sex workers because they work in particular types of establishment which are lower, and friends look down on it. In this male society, the place you visit makes you look good or not. In places where migrants work, the conditions are poor. If you can go to a massage parlour, it makes you look good. Having a university student is good too. Thai women

work in different establishments, such as karaoke and are more expensive. Poorer men have to go to migrant workers because they are cheaper. (Thai government officer, public relations, single, aged 27)

In other words, because Burmese migrants generally work in cheaper brothels serving demand from migrant men and poorer Thai clients, to buy sex from a Burmese sex worker marks the client as a person of low social status. Most Thai interviewees shared this view of Thai ethnic majority women and girls as standing above Burmese women and girls on a hierarchy within sex work. This was partly based on the social devaluation of darker skin tones which are widely associated with dirt, lack of sophistication, and peasantry. (In the survey, 42% of Thai clients selected 'light skinned' as one of the three qualities they most wanted to find in a sex worker, and 'dark skinned' was a least wanted quality for 26% of Thai clients.) This devaluation of darker skinned persons also links to the fact that Burmese women and girls work in cheaper, more 'down-market' settings and are perceived to be more likely to have been forced into prostitution, which is in turn believed to have implications for sexual health. Another reason why Thai sex workers were preferred by interviewees was simply that it is easier for Thai clients to communicate with them - 'It's hard to have sex without talking, because if you can't talk, you lose the feeling', as one interviewee put it.

When questioned about the relative 'merits' of local and migrant sex workers, Danish interviewees also stated that it is preferable to use a worker who speaks the same language. They too placed local workers at the top of the prostitution hierarchy, arguing that Danish sex workers (or at least non-drug using Danish sex workers) offer a better service than migrant women. Indeed, both Thai and Danish clients discussed the differences between local and migrant prostitutes through reference to ideas about which group is best equipped to meet their specific demands as consumers (e.g., for prostitutes who are 'clean', and/or who speak their language, and/or present as caring, warm professionals). Sex workers were also ranked according to the social relations that surround their prostitution, such that migrants who are perceived as having been forced into prostitution (either by a third party or by their 'miserable social background') are deemed less attractive than local women who are imagined as having entered sex work voluntarily and as enjoying better working conditions. The interview data from Italy suggests that Nigerian and Latin American sex workers are stereotyped in different ways. Those interviewees who expressed opinions about migrant prostitutes emphasised that it was cheaper to buy sex from Nigerian sex workers. Some stated that Nigerian women offered better value for money and a wider range of services than local sex workers or migrants from other regions; others drew on hostile and denigrating racisms to stereotype Nigerian sex workers as 'violent, aggressive, dirty and cheating'. When Latin American women working in prostitution were stereotyped, it was generally through the lens of a more exoticising racism. They were characterised as caring, clean, kind and warm.

It must be reiterated that the clients interviewed in each country are not a representative sample of the whole population of prostitute users in that country. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that in all the countries where research was conducted, there were clients who identified particular groups of migrant sex workers as constituting the cheap end of the prostitution market. As such, these groups were imagined to embody all that is least desirable in a prostitute (whether this meant cold, hard-bitten and mercenary; or dirty and uneducated; or pathetic, abused and victimised depended on the individual client and on his society's racist stereotypes

about the group concerned). The data thus show that certain groups of migrant sex workers are viewed by some clients as a ‘poor man’s substitute’ for more desirable and ‘classier’ local sex workers. None of the clients we interviewed wanted to be seen as the kind of person who patronised ‘bottom of the range’ sex workers, and whilst in many cases this clearly had not prevented them from buying sexual services from ‘down market’ migrants, the interview data suggests that they had done so as a matter of expedience rather than on the basis of a focused interest in racially/ethnically/nationally different sex workers.

2.4 Attitudes towards Trafficked and Otherwise ‘Unfree’ Prostitutes

We asked all survey respondents whether or not they had read or heard about the phenomenon of trafficking of women and children into prostitution. The vast majority said ‘yes’, though as Table 9 shows, there were some notable differences between samples in each country on this question.

Table 9: Percentage of respondents who have heard of women being trafficked into prostitution

	Yes (clients)	Yes (non-clients)	No (clients)	No (non-clients)
India	86	Not available	14	Not available
Italy	96	Not available	4	Not available
Thailand	89	88	11	12
Sweden	100	95	0	5
Japan	77	67	24	33

Differences between countries may partly reflect the different composition of samples in terms of socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Having said this, however, we should note that Japanese respondents were the most highly educated group, with over 80% having received four years or more university education, and yet they were also the least likely to have read or heard reports about the trafficking of women and children into the sex industry. Likewise, it is important to remember that the Thai sample was, with the exception of three soldiers, comprised entirely of police officers. We might therefore expect (or hope) to find that this group is better informed about the phenomenon of trafficking than other occupational or social groups in Thai society. We followed this question by asking respondents what they thought *clients* should do if they came across a prostitute whom they believed to be a victim of trafficking. Their responses are shown in Table 10.

Table 10: What should clients do if they come across a prostitute who they believe is being forced into sex work against her will?

	‘Treat her like any other sex worker’ %	‘Give her an extra big tip’ %	‘Offer to help her escape’ %	‘Choose a different sex worker’ %	‘Report it to the police’ %

India clients (n=50)	20	6	32	18	36
Italy clients (n=24)	13	8	25	13	46
Thailand clients (n=63)	10	3	25	8	71
Thailand non-clients (n=23)	4	4	22	0	74
Sweden clients (n=6)	0	0	17	33	67
Sweden non-clients (n=67)	4	0	12	28	76
Japan clients (n=33)	24	0	15	15	46
Japan non- clients (n=58)	21	7	19	5	50

The similarities between clients and non-clients in those countries where comparisons are possible are striking, suggesting once again that men who use prostitutes do not inhabit a different moral universe from that occupied by their non-prostitute-using brethren. National differences in terms of the percentage of respondents who state that clients ought to report cases of abuse and trafficking to the police may, once again, reflect differences in the composition of national samples. They may also reflect different levels of faith in the police as protectors of sex workers' rights and interests in different countries. Since the Thai sample is overwhelmingly composed of police officers, it is particularly disturbing to note that over a quarter of both clients and non-clients did not think it wise or necessary to report cases of prostitutes being held against their will to the police, and that about the same number considered it appropriate for clients to take matters into their own hands by offering to help the woman or child to escape.

If we focus on responses from clients alone, it is interesting to note that a quarter stated that clients should offer to help such women escape, and more than half said they should report cases of abuse to the police. Of course, a variety of studies have shown that there is a big difference between what people say they would do in response to a hypothetical survey question, and what they actually do when they find themselves in a given situation. The data cannot, therefore, be read as meaning that if

they came across a prostitute who they believed was being held against her will, half of our sample of clients would actually report the matter to the police. However, responses to this question, especially in conjunction with interview data, do suggest that there are significant differences between clients in terms of their propensity to buy sex from women or girls they know or believe to have been forced into prostitution.

Clients for whom unfree workers may be acceptable or desirable

For some client interviewees, the social relations surrounding the prostitution of the sex workers they used were a matter of indifference. This was because whether the prostitute was forced or free, they did not imagine her as a consenting subject *within* the prostitution contract. Instead, they seemed to think that in prostitution, women/girls actually become objects or commodities, and that clients can therefore purchase temporary powers of ownership over them. This is well illustrated by the following extracts from an interview with a client who viewed prostitution as ‘a market where the woman is selling *herself*’ [emphasis added]. His comments on violence against sex workers make it very clear that, in his opinion, clients are entitled to do as they see fit with the ‘commodity’ they have purchased:

When there is violence... it is mostly the prostitute’s fault. See, I am going to buy something. If I am satisfied with what I am buying, then why should I be violent? I will be violent when I am cheated, when I am offered a substandard service, when I am abused or ill treated. Mostly, the violence is because of the money. Also, sometimes it is because the prostitute wants the client to use condoms. They force it on the client. If he does not get pleasure in that way, why should he go to her? He will naturally be disgruntled, and there will be altercations. (Indian bank clerk, married, aged 54)

Another client stated:

There is violence when the prostitute uses filthy or vulgar language... Also, she should satisfy the customer. If she takes money and does not perform what she is expected to, then the customer will get angry. See, I understand that the prostitute is there in the first place because she has no choice or is forced there. I feel bad about this especially if she is forced or sold. But the fact is that she is in the flesh market. The rules of the market apply to her as well as to one who has come out of her own choice... It may sound bad, but the fact is that she is a commodity offering a service and she should accept that. We should all. (Indian, in service, married, aged 39).

The interviews give reason to believe that some clients are not merely unconcerned about whether or not the prostitutes they use have been trafficked into prostitution, but see it as a positive advantage if they have been. The bank clerk quoted above observed that ‘It’s easier to control women who come from the outside. Those who are still fresh in the trade can also be controlled’. Similarly, a 21 year old Indian businessman commented that in the red light area he had patronised, ‘Many of the girls are from Nepal and very young. Most of them have been sold off to the brothels, their own brothers and lovers sell them here.’ He later went on to remark that Nepali girls ‘are especially nice when they are new to the area. They don’t talk too much and are more helpful to the client. You can control them’. Two Indian clients who particularly valued a semblance of warmth, care and intimacy in their encounters with prostitutes also saw unfree and/or trafficked workers as offering certain advantages

over formally free and/or local prostitutes. This, they explained, was because such workers are so isolated and unhappy that they sometimes look to clients for support and care. As one interviewee put it, 'Actually, they have no-one to turn to except their clients. So many women who come from other countries get their human warmth from clients.' (Indian brick kiln owner, married, aged 48).

Clients for whom unfree workers may be unacceptable or undesirable

Interview data from all the countries involved in the research reveal that some clients are appalled or repulsed by the idea of buying sex from prostitutes who are desperate, vulnerable or coerced into prostitution by a third party. It would be overly simplistic to conclude that such clients are prostitution's equivalent of 'green consumers' who refuse, for moral reasons, to buy sexual services from unfree prostitutes. Indeed, it is actually very difficult to disentangle questions about their 'morality' as consumers from questions about their particular sexual interests and preferences as clients. Thus, when interviewees spoke of the immorality of forced prostitution, such comments were invariably followed by, or interwoven with, comments to the effect that they personally would find it a sexual turn-off to use a worker who they could not imagine had freely chosen prostitution, and/or that prostitutes working in the poorest conditions are less likely to be able to provide them with the kind of service they prefer. Indeed, many of the clients interviewed for this research appeared to pursue a contradiction through their prostitute use. They want to be able to secure sexual access to women, on demand, in exchange for cash. Yet having once secured this access, they do not find it sexually arousing to be reminded of the fact that it is conditional on payment, or to think that the woman has no interest in them beyond the pecuniary. One Danish client remarked that he did not like 'businesslike' prostitution because, as he put it, 'we all like to believe the lies, don't we?' It is difficult to suspend disbelief and accept the 'lies' of sex workers who are either visibly desperate, or who belong to a group that is widely believed to be forced into prostitution through poverty and lack of other alternatives.

The discourse about *not* buying sex from forced, poor, or vulnerable sex workers may thus be a narrative that some clients use to feel OK about (and so to eroticise), buying sex from other groups of prostitutes. If Danish sex workers are constructed in opposition to a stereotypical image of migrant sex workers as 'victims of trafficking', for example, then there is no need to enquire too closely about the circumstances that led a Danish woman to enter prostitution. Likewise, when Indian clients tell themselves that Call Girls are the opposite of brothel workers (educated, sassy, sexually knowing, working for luxuries rather than because they are economically desperate or forced by a third party), it becomes easier for them to believe that Call Girls actually enjoy having sex with them. Lastly, to insist that they do not buy sex from unfree workers is a way in which many clients claim social status. It establishes the fact that they themselves are not poor, uneducated, unsophisticated, immoral and/or migrant.

We should also note that some clients who reported feeling either morally outraged or sexually 'turned off' (or both) by the idea of using an unfree sex worker had nonetheless bought sex from workers who may have been unfree or trafficked. This was either because the client was drunk, or could not afford to patronise more expensive sex workers, or because the sex worker concerned happened to be the most immediately available. In short, a reluctance to buy sex from prostitutes who work in the most visibly exploitative conditions is not necessarily grounded in any high ethical

principle, and even when it is, these principles may be jettisoned if the client happens to be drunk or short of cash, and may seem irrelevant if the prostitute does not conform to the client's stereotype of a 'victim'. Having said this, however, it seems logical to conclude that clients who have principled moral objections to the use of force and/or slavery-like practices within prostitution, and/or who find buying sex more sexually pleasurable when they can convince themselves that the prostitute makes a free choice to engage in sex work, are much less likely to pay for sex with unfree workers than are clients who imagine prostitutes as objects of trade and/or who deliberately seek out the most vulnerable sex workers in order to exercise greater control within the prostitute-client transaction.

2.5 Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Data from the pilot research support the commonsense assumption that prostitute use is more prevalent where buying sex represents a means of conforming to social norms regarding male sexual behaviour, and where men can draw on dominant discourse about gender, sexuality and prostitution to construct prostitution as inevitable, natural and/or beneficial to prostitutes, clients and society. However, the research also suggests that social pressures to engage in prostitute use are strongly focused on boys and young men, and on members of particular social or occupational groups, rather than operating uniformly on all males. To the extent that a) social pressures to engage in prostitute-use generate demand amongst groups of boys and men who have very little disposable income, as well as amongst more affluent groups, and b) trafficked prostitutes are often found the cheapest end of the sex market, it is possible to argue that general social pressures to engage in prostitute-use also stimulate demand for the sexual services of trafficked persons. The research also thus points to the conclusion where trafficked/unfree workers are commonly found in the cheapest forms of prostitution, a sizeable portion of demand for their services may come from those who are themselves young (sometimes under 18) and/or socially and economically marginalized.

Though data from the pilot research cannot be used to estimate the percentage of clients who provide demand for prostitutes under the age of 18, or for migrant sex workers, or for cheap and vulnerable sex workers, it can be used to support the argument that clients are not a unitary group in terms of their preferences for these types of worker. Some clients prefer and actively seek out prostitutes from groups that are most likely to be subject to abusive and slavery-like employment practices. Others actively attempt to avoid prostitutes from these groups. The interview research further suggests that clients who imagine prostitution as a commodity market in which women/girls trade *themselves* or are traded by others as objects are less concerned about the social relations that surround the prostitution of the sex workers they use than are clients who imagine prostitution as personal services market in which sex workers sell their skilled and alienable sexual labour. The former group of clients were also found to be more likely to tolerate or justify violence against prostitutes, and more likely to express a preference for younger and/or more vulnerable prostitutes. Such men are therefore likely to represent another segment of demand for the sexual services of trafficked/unfree prostitutes.

The research also drew attention to the fact that both supply and demand sides of the market for commercial sex are, in many places, hierarchically stratified along lines of race/ethnicity and nationality. These hierarchies are not unique to the sex trade, but rather mirror the distribution of power and privilege in the society as a whole. Sex

workers who belong to groups that are in general socially devalued, and socially, politically and economically marginalized were also likely to be devalued by our client interviewees. Particular groups of migrant women/girls thus appear to be socially constructed as the 'natural' or 'ideal' occupants of the lowliest positions in the sex industry. For those third parties who profit from the sex trade by catering to the cheapest segment of demand, this could in turn operate as an incentive for the use of trafficked/unfree workers. Taken together, the pilot research on demand for commercial sex has the following implications for policy:

Punitive approaches to sex buying:

Many abolitionist NGOs call for laws to forbid men from buying sexual services. Though policy makers in some countries may be sympathetic to these calls for a variety of reasons, it is important not to confuse sentiments about prostitution with those about trafficking. Just as some, but not all, employers of domestic workers exploit trafficked persons, so it is important to recognise that not all clients buy sex from trafficked prostitutes, or even from groups of sex workers amongst whom trafficked persons are likely to be found. The case for criminalizing prostitute-use *per se* must thus be made through appeal to something more than simply the fact that the sex industry is currently a site of exploitative and slavery-like employment practices. Next we should note that whilst criminalizing the buying of sexual services may represent an effective means of shoring up existing social norms against sex buying in countries like Sweden, it would be an unrealistic response in settings where prostitute use is widely socially accepted as a normal aspect of male sexual behaviour. Laws against prostitute use are particularly likely to be ineffective in settings where more than 70% of male police officers may themselves have experience of buying sex. Furthermore, since children and members of other politically, socially and economically marginalized groups are amongst those who provide demand for commercial sex, punitive approaches to those who buy sex may in many cases conflict with concerns for children's rights and other social justice issues. Finally, in settings where female prostitutes are most intensely stigmatised and where their civil and human rights are most systematically and consistently violated, calls for punitive approaches towards clients are likely to have unintended and negative consequences for women and children in the sex trade. All of this points to the conclusion that a 'one measure fits all' approach along the lines of 'penalise the buyers' is unworkable. Instead, policy measures to address the demand-side of the market for commercial sex need to be sensitive to the particularities of the regional/local context within which demand occurs.

Education and attitudinal change:

If policy-makers are concerned to reduce overall levels of demand for prostitution, there is a need for extensive and long-term awareness raising and educational work to bring about a fundamental re-visioning of sexuality, age, gender relations and prostitution. Such campaigns would need to target children and young people in particular, and could only be effective if they challenged existing beliefs about gender difference and sexuality, the idea of sexual 'need', and the stigma that attaches to female sexual 'promiscuity'. This means challenging attitudes that are widely socially endorsed (for instance, young male prostitute users' desire to publicly demonstrate the fact that they are 'adult', 'a real man' and 'not gay' reflects the fact that 'child', 'woman' and 'gay' are socially devalued and politically marginalized in their societies), which would in turn almost certainly bring policy-makers into conflict with

morally conservative lobby groups. There is therefore also a need to design information and educational programmes that would help to reduce resistance from such lobby groups.

Destigmatizing sex workers and other harm reduction measures

The pilot research suggests that a subgroup of clients exist who are particularly prone to seek out unfree, vulnerable and/or young prostitutes, some of whom also believe that violence against prostitutes is warranted and justifiable. Whilst acts of violence against sex workers need to be dealt with through the enactment of, or enforcement of, existing laws against assault, there is clearly also a need for educational and awareness raising work challenging these men's understanding of what is bought and sold within prostitution. Campaigns to destigmatise prostitution thus represent a vital part of protecting women within prostitution. In this regard, it is important to note that some existing abolitionist and anti-trafficking campaigns may have unintended consequences, in the sense that they reinforce this type of client's view of prostitution as a 'flesh market', and of prostitutes (especially trafficked prostitutes) as victimised 'objects' to be traded, rather than as active – if grossly constrained - subjects within the exchange (see Doezema 2001). The same point holds good in relation to much 'awareness-raising' work and media coverage of trafficking. Whether or not we accept the idea that prostitution *should be* regarded as a form of labour like any other, the fact is that vast numbers of people do currently work in prostitution. Even where policy-makers aim to reduce these numbers by providing realistic economic alternatives for women and girls and addressing root causes of trafficking, this is necessarily a long-term objective. In the meantime, it is vital to consider harm-reduction measures, one of which would be to encourage clients to recognise prostitutes as workers with rights, including the right to refuse requests for services they do not wish to provide; to freely retract from contracts with clients; to be protected from abusive and slavery-like employment practices, and so on.

Other forms of awareness-raising campaigns targeting clients should also be considered. The research shows a clear need for investment in sexual health and AIDS awareness education with clients in Thailand, India and Japan. Furthermore, in settings where police are not themselves implicated in the exploitation of trafficked/unfree sex workers (accepting bribes from brothel owners etc.) it would make sense to encourage clients to report cases of trafficked/unfree workers to the police. This implies a need to devise and publicise mechanisms through which clients can easily and anonymously report concerns. Such a measure need not, and indeed should not, emphasise the passive and victim-like status of trafficked women, but merely communicate information about the channels through which abuse can be reported. In this way, it would be possible to reach clients who object to the use of force within prostitution without reinforcing abusive clients' stereotypes about prostitutes as 'objects' of trade.

Challenging racism and destigmatizing migrants:

If the phenomenon of trafficking is at least partly related to demand for cheap and vulnerable sex workers on the one hand, and the social construction of particular groups of migrant women/girls as the natural and ideal category of person to provide cheap sex, then there is a link between trafficking and broader social attitudes towards race/ethnicity and/or migrant communities. Efforts to combat the general social devaluation of migrants and to ensure their social, political and economic inclusion thus need to be included in the package of anti-trafficking measures adopted by all

states (it also represents a way in which states can meet their existing responsibilities to promote and protect migrants' human rights). At the same time however, campaigns to promote more positive attitudes towards migrants must avoid treating issues of trafficking and immigration as necessarily conjoined. At present, many governments exploit the issue of trafficking to support and justify anti-immigration policies, with the result that they contribute to the popular discursive construction of migrants as either abusive 'traffickers' or passive and pitiable objects - 'victims of trafficking' - rather than full human subjects.

3. DOMESTIC WORK

3.1 Why Do People Employ Domestic Workers?

As discussed in Part 1 the reasons that employers have for employing domestic workers in their home require deconstruction, even when it is a genuinely felt "need". The social construction of these needs suggests the importance of a more local approach, and this is confirmed by an examination of the different responses from each research site. So, for example, for the Delhi respondents the most important reason for employing domestic workers is that it allows them to go to work (58%), for Swedish and Italian respondents it is that domestic workers keep the house looking good (69% and 59%). The latter is also important for Chiang Mai respondents (68%), but not for those from Bangkok (34%), who say that it is simply impossible to live without a worker (59%). However, some discrepancy between research sites can be accounted for by the differing age, income group and gender balances in the sample. As might be expected given the impact of the "unhinging" of reproductive from productive labour, stage in the life-cycle has an influence in the reasons given for why workers are employed. For women with children under 10 and working outside the home, being able to go out to work was given as the most important reason for employing a household worker in all sites except Thailand where this group, in both Bangkok and Chiang Mai said that it was impossible to live without one. For older people, the availability of elder care and the house being kept looking good was most important. For men the most important reasons were again keeping the house looking good (70% as against 42% of women), and household security. Interview material suggests that people often start employing workers around the birth of their first child to do childcare or housework, and continue to employ thereafter, often entering a variety of different types of employment relations (moving from live-in to live-out as children get older, and then to live-in when they feel they or their partner need more care or find it difficult to do housework). Sweden was the exception to this, but this is in the context of the prevalence of a lack of supply of workers, a large public sector, and part time working housewives. Changes to these patterns have only recently begun to make themselves felt on a larger scale. Only two of the survey sample had employed workers for over two years (though 40% had been brought up in a household that employed domestic workers). However, of those ten interviewed, 8 had employed a worker for five years or more, often *au pairs* to look after children.

It is noteworthy that the reasons given for employment, the tasks done, and the job description are very inconsistent. For example, the Delhi responses to the question, 'Why do you employ a domestic worker?' suggest that childcare is extremely important, particularly for those with children under ten.

Table 1: Why do you employ a domestic worker? Responses of Indian sample

	Total responses	Those with children under 10
Allows me to go to work	58%	65%
Childcare available when needed	45%	68%
Gives more time with children	50%	68%

The proportion of the first two responses in particular seems to indicate that employers are looking for carers, particularly since for example 48% of those with children under 10 are looking for “caring” workers. But interestingly, only 11 of the 124 workers employed by the sample were described as having some kind of childcare responsibility, leading one to suspect that the employers’ appreciation of the role of their domestic workers was somewhat limited. Similar patterns were observed in other research sites.

3.2 Domestic Work and Gender Relations

As with prostitution, we were asked to set the demand for domestic labour within the context of gender relations, and survey respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

- Women are natural homemakers
- You can tell a lot about a woman by looking at her home
- Women should not go out to work
- In general men don’t do enough around the house
- It’s not fair to expect the children of a home to do the housework

Unlike the survey on sex work, where both clients and non-clients responded, all respondents to the domestic work survey are (or were) employers, therefore we cannot compare attitudes of employers and non-employers. However, it must be remembered that it proved extremely difficult to find control interviews except for Sweden, so is likely that, perhaps with the exception of the Swedish sample, employers of domestic workers are not demonstrably peculiar in their gender attitudes. There are, as only to be expected, marked differences between different research sites.

Table 2: Percentage of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with statements

	Indian n 64	Italian n 43	Swedish n 29	Thailand n 49
“Women are natural home-makers”	84	7	32	67
“You can tell a lot about a woman from looking at her home”	89	40	35	84
“ Women should not go out to work”	0	12	4	14
“Men don’t do enough around the house”	79	79	64	84

“It’s not fair to expect children to do housework”	20	32	21	29
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So in Italy for example, 7% agree that women are natural homemakers, whereas in India 85% agree. While these MUST NOT be taken as indicative of “Italians” or “Indians” for the reasons stated above, nevertheless one could expect that certain social and cultural differences are important in understanding these different responses. What is interesting however in the interview material is how some of these differences melt away in the face of real confusion over the origin of gender difference, with interviewees in all four countries trying to hold on to the idea of gender equality whilst maintaining gender difference. Working outside the home was generally perceived as a matter of gender equality, and very few people, either survey respondents or interviewees, felt that women should not work outside the home (13 respondents or 7% agreed with this statement). However most respondents agreed that men don’t do enough around the house^{vii} and the majority of those interviewees who rejected the notion that women do housework naturally, referred in some way to a “specialised” division of labour, in which men did work on maintenance, rubbish, carts and other machines and women were responsible for cleaning, laundry etc. There was striking agreement in all four cities that women are more “caring” than men. This was variously placed within the framework of tradition, culture and biology, particularly motherhood. In the interviews women’s greater responsibilities for household tasks were frequently explained with reference to biology, and giving birth, even when the “naturalness” of women’s domesticity was completely rejected.

I don’t think it’s natural [*for women to be homemakers*]. My husband and I have an equal relationship...Generally speaking, women are more emotionally engaged in the home and in the children....There are some biological factors to the difference. It is probably a combination of biological and traditional factors (Swedish female company director, married, aged 41)

From both survey and interview data it appears that women, as the “carers” of the family, have responsibility for the quality of relations within it. Of those female survey respondents who had children under 10, 62% said that one of the main reasons for employing a domestic worker was to have more time with their children, 35% to have time with their partner. Division of labour between domestic worker, male partner, and woman also reveals how jobs specifically related to the caring for children tend to be the work of the female employer (sometimes together with her partner), with the domestic worker being responsible for the “dirty” jobs, such as floor washing, dusting and cleaning the toilet. While there was dissatisfaction with men’s participation in the housework, too great a challenge to gender roles can give rise to conflict. Interviewees often referred to potential or actual conflict arising from domestic labour and from not fulfilling gender roles “properly”, and that this may be resolved by employing a domestic worker. Hence, as with sex work, the domestic worker is portrayed (by female employers) as a “safety valve”, for gendered tensions.

3.3 Domestic Labour and Workers

It has already been noted that there is a discrepancy between reasons for employment, tasks performed, and role attributed to individual domestic workers. There is apparent

an unwillingness to regard domestic work as being “proper work”. “She doesn’t have to be hardworking, most important is that she takes care of the children” (Swedish male entrepreneur, aged 76). This is not helped by the fuzzy boundary between paid and unpaid domestic work. There was some sharing of tasks between worker and employer, particularly in Delhi and Bangkok (with the exception of expats who did not share tasks with workers), but only when both the employer and the worker were female^{viii}. Employers often felt it was acceptable to start employment as a domestic worker at a lower age than work in another form of employment.

Table 3: Comparison of age at which respondents believe it is acceptable to start domestic work and age at which they believe it acceptable to start other forms of employment

	Lower age	Same age	Older age	Don’t know ^{ix}
India n 64	22 – 34%	32 - 50%	3 – 5%	7 – 11%
Thailand n 50	24 – 48%	19 – 38%	1 – 2%	7 – 14%
Sweden n 31	4 – 13%	19 – 61%	3 – 10%	5 – 16%
Italy n 45	9 – 20%	24 – 53%	9 – 20%	3 – 7%

These differences indicate that domestic work is imagined as somehow different from other types of work. This is confirmed by the rights (or lack of them) that are attributed to workers in private households: 48% of survey respondents did not think they had a right to a contract with their employer, 70% thought workers should not have a right to join a trades union, 52% thought they should not have a right to the minimum wage, and 45% thought they should not have a right to fixed hours of employment. Respondents were asked to describe their relationship with their domestic worker, and the majority, except for Sweden, described this as “friendly and professional”. This has interesting consequences for the perceived rights of domestic workers, as there are sharp differences in the rights deemed appropriate to domestic workers depending on how the employers characterise their relationship with their employees. Those who define the relationship as both friendly and professional have lower expectations of rights for domestic workers than either those who define the relationship as professional, or, more surprisingly, than those who define the relationship as friendly. Take India for example:

Table 4: Characterisation of relationship with worker, and selected rights for worker: India

Rights for domestics	Friendly n11	Friendly and professional n 44
Sick pay	91%	73%
Regular days off	91%	60%
Holiday pay	91%	55%
Work permit	55%	30%

Fixed hours	73%	48%
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Notably, only one employer described their relationship with their worker as purely professional.

A different model is apparent in Sweden, where employers are more likely to characterise their relation with their worker as professional. This was probably partly related to the particularity of the sample, since the women working for the Home Service Project are called “consultants” rather than “cleaners” precisely in order to convey professionalism. However, as with India, those who describe their relationship as both friendly and professional in general believe domestic workers have fewer rights than those who describe the relationship otherwise

Table 5: Characterisation of relationship with worker, and selected rights for worker: Sweden

	Friendly n. 6	Friendly and professional N 10	Professional n 10
Maternity leave	83%	44%	70%
Contract w. employer	66%	33%	90%
Trades union membership	67%	44%	70%
Regular day off	100%	55%	60%
Minimum wage	50%	44%	40%

Researchers have commented that employment relations in domestic service in Italy tend to be either highly formalised or “part of the family” (Barbič and Miklavičič-Brezigar 1999). An interesting finding suggested by our survey is that are differences in the way in which employers characterised the relationship they had with their worker depended on whether or not the workers were migrants. While most employers described their relationship with their worker as both friendly and professional, those employing Italians were more likely to describe their relationship as friendly, while those employing migrants were more likely to designate the relationship professional^x. Those employing migrants were less likely to share tasks with their worker than those employing Italians. It should be noted that in this sample, those on a middle income are more likely to employ Italians (43%) than those on a high income (23%).

Table 6: Characterisation of relationship with domestic workers: Italy

	Employers of Italians	Employers of migrants
Friendly	29%	19%
Friendly and professional	57%	48%

Professional	14%	30%
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For those migrants who break “house rules” penalties are harsh. Respondents were asked what they would do if they found their worker using the telephone, 8 employers of migrants would either dismiss the worker or dock money from their pay, as compared with one employer of Italians (who would dock money from their pay). Thirty one per cent of employers of Italians would do nothing, as opposed to 18% of non-Italians. Despite the history of unionisation of this sector in Italy and the relatively high level of rights, there are some surprising lacunae, for example over 40% of employers do not feel that domestic workers have a right to holiday pay, fixed hours of employment, the minimum wage, a pension, their own room, trades union membership or a contract with their employer. Similarly in Sweden, even those who characterise the relation as a professional one more than 60% do not feel that the minimum wage is a right for domestic workers, and similarly, 40% do not consider a regular day off as a right. Rights which would be typically considered “normal” labour rights in the formal economy are clearly not so considered with reference to domestic labour, despite the “professionalising” rhetoric. Moreover, while the Swedish respondents’ most sought after quality in a domestic worker was professionalism (71%), of those who were searching for professionalism, nearly three quarters were also avoiding expense. Only one of the Swedish interviewees felt that employment rights were appropriate in their case. Being an *au pair* was felt not to be a job, but a “cultural journey” or an “education”. This confused characterisation of the relationship with au pairs is both reflected and perpetuated in immigration legislation, which while not allowing *au pairs* to work, but only to “help” also requires that they have a work permit, and “host families” are required to set out “conditions of employment” for the *au pair*^{xi}. Those who used other forms of domestic labour almost all made reference to the fact that they were employing in the informal/illegal economy, which made these rights in some way irrelevant.

Because it is a matter of an illegal employment in our case, the mentioned rights are not valid. Generally I feel, of course, that employees in households should be entitled to the same rights as employees in general. (Male Swedish company Chief Executive, married, aged 51)

So although workers have these rights *in principle*, they somehow lose these rights because they do not work in the formal economy, even though their employers may feel that they should be entitled to them. Some of this conundrum may be explained by noting that the Swedish and Italian interviewees referred to the social security safety net as giving “illegal” workers basic protection – though this would usually not refer to migrants or to *au pairs*. More generally employers felt that employment rights were not appropriate both because workers did not need protection from them as individual employers and because such rights are not applicable to the particularities of the private household.

Markets for domestic workers: qualities wanted, qualities avoided

As argued in Part I, employers of domestic workers are often not simply concerned with the purchase of labour as a commodity, but as embodied in a person who has certain characteristics (gender, age, sexuality, personal attributes). The qualities wanted or avoided may be those attached to labour power or those attached to the embodied person – and of course, since the distinction between labour power and

personhood is not “real”, they may overlap (“hardworking” for instance could be either). Qualities regarded as important, and whether these attach to labour power or personhood, depend on many variables including: whether the worker is live in or live out; the age group of employer (where ‘obedience’ was of particular importance); and the gender of employer – men were more likely to look for professionalism than women (52% of men, 39% of women). This was confirmed by interview data, as men interviewed typically describe their relationship with a worker as “professional”, while their wives’ described it as more friendly or intimate. Women were more concerned with cleanliness (50% of women, 24% of men). The survey did not point to income group as a significant variable in this instance.

Clearly the model of the employer’s relationship with worker (i.e. professional or friendly or both) was important to the qualities searched for. In Sweden, the most important quality was professionalism (72%). This was confirmed by interviews, where employers, whether of live-out cleaners or *au pairs* stressed the need for independence: “I don’t like it if she becomes too dependent on us, if she bothers us all the time”. By contrast, the Indian interviewees did not want professionalism as this meant that domestics were “removed from the family”. Italian survey data also indicated differences depending on whether the employee was a migrant (“professionalised”) or not.

Table 7: What are the qualities you look for in a domestic worker? Italian data

	Employers of Italians	Employers of migrants
Professional	54%	81%
Caring	36%	11%
Obedient	0%	19%
Cheap	7%	15%

While it seems from the above that cost is not a particular issue for employers, whether of migrants or Italians, and despite their search for professionalism, it was nonetheless the case that 70% of employers of migrants said that they specifically avoided expensive domestic workers compared to 46% of employers of non-migrants. Indeed, avoidance of expense was a crucial consideration for the majority of survey respondents, and expensive was the quality most avoided in each research site. Interviewees made frequent reference to cost and expenses – Swedish interviewees in particular emphasised that this was why they employed in the informal economy.

The qualities searched for and avoided were not simply those attributable to labour power, even among those who adopted the “professional” model. Interviewees from all four groups were looking for “inner calm”, “open mindedness” “sporty”, “affectionate” and so on. Appearance was also important, on the one hand, not too attractive, on the other “I wouldn’t like someone who is repellent to look at...it wouldn’t be nice to have to look at someone with a pock-marked face”, (Italian, female retired university administrator, married, aged 56). Dress consciousness or “glamour” was also felt by interviewees to be a problem as it is held to indicate frivolity, an interest in boyfriends or being expensive.

3.4 Why Employ Migrants in the Private Household?

Employers were asked what advantages they perceived to employing migrant domestic workers. The peculiarities of each sample must be taken into account here, but interestingly, although both Indian and Thai survey respondents did not consider their relationship “professional”, the advantages of migrants were connected to labour power. In India, respondents stressed that migrants work flexible hours (63%) and are more likely to stay (65%), and in Thailand, respondents stated that migrants are cheaper (56%) and more cooperative (51%). In both Italy and Sweden the main advantage to hiring migrant domestic workers was that migrants were perceived as more in need of the opportunity than locals (53% in Italy and 44% in Sweden). As one Italian interviewee put it:

Sometimes I feel racist the other way round. I choose migrant instead of local for this reason, they suffer, don't adapt in the host society, want to go back home. (Italian female enterprise manager, married, aged 56)

The Italian sample were also concerned with labour issues, considering migrants to be more flexible (44%) and cooperative (46%). The survey revealed that there is a difference in tasks done depending on whether the worker is Italian or not, most notably with regard to washing of underclothes. Eight *per cent* of those employing Italian domestic workers said their employee washed their underclothes, while 45% of those employing migrants said this was a task for their domestic worker.

As noted above, there is a real resistance to fixed hours for domestic workers. Several interviewees mentioned that this is inappropriate for work in the house. “Flexible” hours are particularly important for those with children under 10 (46%). From interviews it seems that workers are expected to be flexible in terms of numbers of hours as well as when hours are worked. This is scarcely surprising given that one of the crucial reasons for demand is, as discussed above, the disarticulation between the world of “productive” labour, and the home, particularly when this is a site of child and elder care. Retention too is important, in fact for those with children under ten it is the most important reason for hiring a migrant 58% of these employers say migrants are more likely to stay. It should be remembered domestic labour is in the informal sector. Both the Italian and Swedish interviewees distinguish between international migrants and national workers. Several of the Swedish alluded to “rules”, presented as unnecessary bureaucracy rather than workers’ protection. For example:

They are generally more flexible than Swedes. Swedes are so governed by rules. It is unthinkable for a Swede to work during nights or weekends. Migrants don't question the kind of work they are expected to perform. Swedes on the other hand always talk about rules formulated by their unions. (Swedish female purser, married, aged 51)

Six of the ten Swedish employers described Swedes as being “spoiled” in the sense that they are able to turn down work because of social security system, or that they have recourse to the labour movement. Similarly, seven of the ten Italian employers complained that Italians are more difficult and demanding to employ. Migrants were contrasted as being hardworking, grateful and enthusiastic. Now since domestic labour is within the informal sector, workers are theoretically free to leave at any time but an employee who knows how the household “works”, but more particularly, who has established a relationship with a child or elderly person in the home, is not easily

replaced. Yet nevertheless she must be hardworking (51% of those with children under ten) and above all she must not be expensive (58% of those with children under ten avoid these employees). It is scarcely surprising that employers are troubled by the issue of labour retention.

Networks among domestic workers were often perceived in negative terms by employers. The exception was the Swedish interviews, where the possibility of networking was not really commented on. Interviewees in other cities felt they offered potential for gossip and therefore threaten privacy; employees can meet boyfriends through them, or otherwise come under bad influences. Such networks are felt to be not just a shoulder to cry on when things are bad, but a means of giving the worker bargaining power, in particular, opportunities to find out about other jobs and therefore to change employers.

There were certain groups or nationalities who were felt to be preferable to employ as domestic workers though this was not homogenous – in India, for instance, Christians were either good (because professional, hardworking, disciplined) or bad (because they insist on Sundays off); in Sweden “We prefer girls from the Baltic States because they need social and economic aid” (the *au pair* agency specialised in women from the former Swedish Empire), and Muslim and gypsy employees were bad (“The only group I would never consider are gypsies. Imagine someone with big skirts. Everyone knows they are unreliable.”) It does seem that certain nationalities or ethnic groups are stereotyped in a way that the qualities attributed to them make them particularly desirable domestic workers. So the Burmese were characterised as being cheap (82%), hardworking (82%) and obedient (69%) by Thai respondents, who also regarded these as being qualities to look for in a domestic worker. At the same time however, as in other places there was also a fear of migrants:

The first thing I feel and think of ... is fear. There are many news stories about crimes committed by Burmese people. Sometimes I have heard of Burmese domestic workers killing their employers. (38 year old Thai government officer)

There is common recognition that migrants, whether internal or international, are more flexible, co-operative and likely to stay because they have little choice. It is not simply a question of migrants having genetic qualities of gratitude and enthusiasm. Interviewees in all research sites were clear that migrants are easier to control because they have fewer options^{xiii}. The advantages of migrant labour to the employer are acknowledged as consequences of the workers’ vulnerability, and lack of choice. One employer said that domestic work was like prostitution – work that nobody would do if they had other options. Migrant labour seems to be ideal for domestic work in that the worker is an isolated unit of labour, free to mould itself to the requirements of the individual household. Employing a migrant can also help employers to resolve a troubling aspect of the relationship between employer and live-in worker, namely the fact that many employers find it uncomfortable and difficult to manage day-to-day aspects of sharing a home with a worker. Some interviewees quite explicitly stated that they employed migrants because it makes this relationship easier to manage, since the gap is “unbridgeable”. Moreover, by employing a worker who is isolated, vulnerable, and without choices or opportunities, employers can easily dress up a relation of exploitation as one of paternalism/maternalism. They used the language of obligation, support and responsibility, rather than power and exploitation, of natural relations rather than the market. As one (exceedingly wealthy) Thai employer put it “if we recognise them as our family members, they need to accept more and be more

respectful and faithful” (Thai widow, retired, 75 year old). Rather as clients imagined prostitution as a symbiotic relationship, these interviewees constructed domestic work as involving a relationship of mutual dependence: the domestic worker is impoverished and needs money and work, the employer needs a “flexible” worker, and both fulfil the other’s requirement. By entering into such a relationship, the employer demonstrates her own kindness and social status. Thus, migrants are perceived as suited to domestic work because of their dependence and gratitude, which in turn means that they do not bring the “market” with them. The employer does not have to feel that this is purely a monetary exchange, or that they are being serviced without feeling.

The kind of relationship between me and the local girls was very instrumental, of economic dependence, there was no human element to it, strictly professional. As soon as she got married she went without much explanation. I was so angry, disappointed, that I decided to have a girl from Mauritius. Now she’s like part of the family. We make sure she doesn’t need anything and I never have the feeling that she’s staying one hour extra only because I’m paying her that hour. These coloured girls are really in need. They have strange relationships with their families. They send money to them (Italian female teacher, married, aged 39)

3.5 Age and Paid Domestic Work

The survey shows that employers believe it is more suitable for those aged under 18 to work in domestic work than in other sectors. This is particularly so for India where domestic labour is a significant employment sector for children. Indeed, we were told by our Indian research colleagues that having a child domestic worker, particularly as a “playmate” for a child, is considered perfectly acceptable. In Delhi, of the 48 employers surveyed, 9 employed workers under 18 (the youngest two were aged 8 and three others were under 16). Younger workers were more likely to be live-in and to be paid less. The going rate in Delhi for live-in work is currently Rs.1000-2000 per month. Fifteen per cent of those aged over 18 were earning Rs.1000 or less a month, and nearly 40% of those aged 18 and under were earning that amount. Though only 9 of the employers surveyed in Delhi presently employed workers aged under 18, 45% of the 124 domestic workers listed as employees were under 25 and several interviewees had experience either currently or in the past of employing children and young people, and generally found it to be an advantage because “you can mould them to the way you want things done”. When asked the minimum age acceptable for domestic workers, these interviewees almost all responded that it *should be* over 18, even though this opinion was contradicted by their own history as employers. Furthermore, opinions as to the proper age for a person to enter domestic work are not necessarily a good indicator of whether or not an employer is prepared to use child labour, since child workers are not always constructed as “workers”. Instead, they are imagined as ‘part of the family’ both by employers and by third parties: “We do not call them servants, we call them ‘helping hands’”. This helps to conceal the employment relation that exists between child worker and employer. The ambiguity that surrounds child labour and the unwillingness to recognise children as workers is not peculiar to the Indian context:

We in Sweden always look upon things from our own narrow point of view. That’s wrong. There are a lot of working children in the world and I am rather positive to that... If a couple of young boys came to me and wanted to clean our

windows I would probably not refuse them. On the other hand... if they stand on a ladder and fell down and break their arms, am I responsible for that? Perhaps it is better to tell them to come back when they are older. For more regular work the proper age is higher, around the time when the duty to attend school stops. (Swedish male, business consultant, married, aged 53)

Here again we have the theme that domestic work is not regular work, and this makes it peculiarly suitable for children (who are not regular workers). Once an interviewee starts to think about applying regulation - health and safety legislation in this instance - to domestic labour, and so considering it as “regular” work, it becomes less suitable for children.

Having said that many of our survey respondents and interviewees did not object, in principle, to persons under the age of 18 being employed as domestic workers, the research did not find evidence of strong demand for child labour. In surveys in Malmö, Catania and Chiang Mai (but not Bangkok) youth was more often avoided than it was sought out – by approximately one third of respondents. Although interviews revealed some demand for youthful workers, fit and able to physically labour, this is not the same as a demand for child workers.

3.6 Attitudes Towards Trafficked and Otherwise Unfree Domestic Workers

We asked survey respondents whether they had heard about people being trafficked into domestic work. There were significant differences in different research sites: 84% of Thai respondents (though only 3 of the 6 expatriates surveyed had heard of this), 81% of Indian respondents, 62% of Italians and 44% of Swedish stated that they had heard of women/girls being trafficked. In Italy and in Sweden this is strikingly lower than the percentage of respondents to the prostitution survey who had heard of women being trafficked into prostitution. In Thailand and Sweden this seemed to have an impact on their potential response to trafficked labour. Those who had heard of the phenomenon were more likely to report an instance to the police, and those who had not heard were more likely simply to choose someone different.

Table 8: What should you do if you come across a domestic worker forced against their will

	Sweden: heard of trafficking%	Sweden: not heard %	Thailand: heard %	Thailand: not heard %
Treat like any other	0	13	2	0
Give an extra big tip	0	0	0	0
Report to the police	47	20	35	20
Take up with the agency	50	27	55	71
Choose	25	53	20	40

someone different				
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Even among those who had heard of trafficking, the percentage of employers who would report an instance of trafficking into domestic work to the police is far lower than their sex worker client counterparts (67% of Swedish clients and 71% of Thai clients). When interviewed, two Thai employers said that they would want to report abuse, but not to the police – one said that she would be too “scared” of them. There was no variation between those who employed locals and those who employed migrants in the Italian survey – 75% stated they would report to the police. However, 15% of those who employed migrants stated that if they came across a domestic worker forced against her will, they would treat her like any other worker. None of those who employed Italians selected this option. There is also a disturbing difference in terms of how the two groups of employers would respond if they found a worker being violently abused by their employer. Almost a quarter (23%) of those employing migrants stated they would treat her just the same as any other worker. Again, none of those who employed Italians gave this response.

Denying, humanising and rationalising the exploitation of unfree/trafficked workers

It is known that some domestic workers are subject to extremes of violence and abuse by employers (Anderson 1994, 2000). For any employer who explicitly wished to confine a domestic worker and subject her to slavery-like practices, there would be a clear advantage to using a trafficked/unfree person, since she would be less able to resist abuse and exploitation than a “free” worker. However, employers who consciously set out to enslave and torture domestic workers are in a minority. As the sociologist Orlando Patterson observes, ‘Human beings have always found naked force or coercion a rather messy, if not downright ugly business, however necessary’. Most have therefore sought ways in which to clothe the ‘beastliness’ of power, to popularise a set of ideas which make coercive power ‘immediately palatable to those who exercise it’ (Patterson, 1982, p18). Just the power of dominant groups in society is typically cloaked or justified by discourses which humanise or deny it, so individuals are usually reluctant to view themselves as abusive, dominating, cruel or evil. Whether we are talking about acts of genocide, rape, wife beating, or child sexual abuse, the vast majority of people will only use force or coercive power against another human being if and when they can tell themselves it is natural, right and justifiable to do so, or when they can conceal from themselves the fact that they are exercising such powers (O’Connell Davidson 2001). A key question to address is thus: could “ordinary” employers manage to humanise or deny the exploitation of trafficked/unfree domestic workers? And if so, how?

The interview data suggests that the trick - at least for some employers - is a) to imagine the “private” sphere of the home as entirely disconnected from the social world outside; and b) to imagine domestic workers as objects of contract rather than subjects to contract. The latter means that once a worker has entered the home, whether voluntarily or as a result of coercion by a third party, the employer has certain rights over her person. As one Italian interviewee put it, employers “think to be the owners of their workers and that they are their objects”. Two of the Indian interviewees felt that it was justifiable to hit or slap a domestic worker in certain situations, while in all research sites interviewees were often anxious to emphasise that violence was not necessarily the fault of the employer. Meanwhile, the small number of employers who actually reported personal experience of employing

persons forced into domestic work presented the worker's situation as something quite external to their own role as employer. It was unfortunate, or inconvenient, but nothing to do with them. Thus, an Indian interviewee remarked on her experience with a 14 or 15 year old girl forced by her family to work who would not stop crying, "not only did I have to do all the work, but I had to keep part-time help during that time as well". The same interviewee employed a young woman for many years with whom she felt she had an excellent relationship, until she took up with a married man. Her brother-in-law came to take her away and she created a "huge drama". It was later mentioned that, "Her brother in law was a real bastard, he tortured her, physically". In interviews, such employers did not present as inhabiting a different moral universe from other employers, indeed, the language they used was no different from that of other employers who described themselves as having a "friendly and professional" relationship with workers:

I employed her (a Shan woman) because I felt sympathy for her situation. She came from the country with an agent and she was deceived and had to work without payment for one year. She could not go back home because she didn't have enough money and still wanted the opportunity to work. I employed her at that time. (Thai widow aged 75)

Nor did many employers consider it problematic to hand over wages and salary to a third party, a relative or an agency, rather than giving the money directly to their employee. One Indian NGO that provided domestic workers had wages for those women paid directly into their own account and refused to open personal accounts for the individual workers. One employer challenged this practice by requesting the home address of her worker in order that she could send wages direct to her family. The NGO refused her request. However, both the control exercised by the NGO and the response of the "responsible" employer (i.e., to seek a way in which to send the worker's wages back to her family rather than giving the money directly to the woman herself) risk imposing coercive relations on women and girls in a vulnerable situation. The fact that such arrangements are rarely questioned or challenged by employers suggests, again, that employers view the social relations surrounding the work of the women/girls they employ as external to them and beyond their control. This sense that abuses of workers' rights are "beyond my control" was also evident in interviewees with employers who professed to believe that domestic workers should have certain rights, and yet did not give these rights to their own employees because they work in the informal economy. Similarly, when asked about abusive employment relations within domestic work, one Swedish employer observed, "There is a lot happening around us, and some things you don't like but you have to live with them anyway".

Employers of domestic workers, in common with most consumers of services, typically wish to feel that their employees want to serve them. In interviews, favourite employees, those spoken of in the most glowing and expansive terms, were those for whom the work and its social relations appeared to be a pleasure. This certainly militates against employing workers who are visibly distressed (besides, as has been seen, girls who cry all the time may not work as effectively as those who do not). And yet the discourse of "helping", which we have already noted is important to managing the relationship with live-in workers, can also serve to humanise the exploitation of unfree/trafficked workers. Hence the Thai employer quoted above can state that she "took in" one such worker *because* she felt sympathy for her. Several interviewees specifically stated that they employed people only to "help" them, and this was

particularly true with reference to migrants. This idea of “helping” can be used to make palatable the exercise of power (in terms of labour control and retention) over workers who are made vulnerable by poverty, their immigration status and lack of networks, or who have been trafficked or are otherwise coerced by a third party.

Some commentators argue that a system of formalised paid housework within which domestic services are provided by companies, represent “progress on the quasi-feudal model of ‘domestic service’ rightly criticized by many feminists” (Meagher 2002, p62). Whilst we certainly agree that recognising and regulating domestic work as work, and enhancing opportunities for labour organisation and collective action in pursuit of improved wages and conditions must be central to efforts to prevent the abuse and exploitation of domestic workers, our pilot research also draws attention to the fact that formalised systems of paid housework could – in principle - comfortably co-exist with the exploitation of trafficked/unfree workers. So, for instance, many of the Swedes surveyed did not know the nationality of their worker and had little contact with them, as they were contracted to work through an agency. Some Swedish interviewees presented the employment of domestic workers as a simple purchase of labour power, a business relation, which nevertheless may have racist undertones

My relation with them is strictly professional. For them, I am a non-person...the ones we had until recently we called ‘they’: ‘they’ have been here today. I don’t think they know our names either. Our children are very negative towards them because they don’t like the idea that migrants are inside our house... so they call them degrading names. (Swedish male business consultant, married, aged 53)

This does not mean that these domestic workers were unfree/trafficked, of course, but it illustrates the fact that the worker’s situation can be of no concern to the employer – who in this instance obtained them through a home service project. Though the interviewee remarks that “for them, I am a non-person”, the rest of his comments suggest that more pertinently, for him “they” are non-people. As such, it seems probable that if “they” happened to be trafficked/unfree, he would regard the matter in the same way that most consumers of commodities such as fruit, tobacco, coffee etc., regard the fact that trafficked/unfree workers may have been exploited in order to make these products available. Consumers of fully commodified goods do sometimes feel that exploitation is regrettable, but most nonetheless feel it is beyond their control and outside their concern. This underlines the fact that making domestic work more commodified and contractual can only auger well for workers if immigration policies are designed to protect rather than penalise migrants, if effective regulatory and monitoring mechanisms are designed and implemented, and if workers are in a position to organise collectively. Until these conditions are met, the asymmetrical power relations that equip employers and third parties with the power to choose between harming or helping migrant domestic workers will remain, and employers like the Italian quoted below will be free to decide whether to enslave and starve their worker, or to generously feed them rice:

The Italians know more about their trade union rights, they are more demanding...foreign workers don’t make complaints. The one I used to have would eat just rice. That doesn’t mean you can enslave her. This depends on the person, both of the employer and of the worker who allows this. (Italian female retired university administrator, married aged 56)

3.7 Conclusions and recommendations

The reasons for migrants working in private households are incredibly complex and cannot be comprehended in terms of a simple push-pull, demand and supply model. While it is true that employers want cheap, exploitable and controllable labour to care for the young, the elderly and the disabled, they also want workers to perform tasks such as dusting, floor washing and toilet cleaning, i.e. tasks that are related to the reproduction of status. The logistical difficulties of combining work inside and outside the house create tensions in households where partners are working. Gender relations and their reproduction through housework and caring also impact on the market for paid domestic labour.

Domestic work in private households is regarded, both at state and at individual employer level as different from “more regular work” and those who undertake domestic work are not considered subject to the same legislation and protections as are afforded to “regular workers”. Thus, domestic workers are easily ensnared in relations of personal dependency on employers. The demand for labour is socially as well as economically constructed, and people are social beings not simply units of labour. In contrast to many other low wage, informal sectors such as agriculture and construction where workers are imagined simply as workers, not people, the humanity and sociality of the worker is often ostensibly recognised in domestic employment. However this recognition typically serves to further disempower workers, and those who regard their relationship with domestic employees as “friendly and professional” are the least likely to give them workers’ rights. Each employment model has its drawbacks, but it is alarming that the model that offers the fewest rights is the one that is the most dominant.

The research shows that migrants are considered particularly desirable workers because they are cheap and controllable. Lack of choice is compounded when support networks are inaccessible. Thus isolation increases vulnerability, and makes it even more difficult for migrant workers to retract from contracts that may be abusive and exploitative. The possibility of quitting is one of the few means of control over their labour that workers in the informal sector have. Enforced relations of dependency are not confined to workers who have been “trafficked”, and they are also imposed by employers who wish to “help” their worker.

We have throughout emphasised the importance of appreciating the local context and market, and the following offer only the broadest of recommendations. Furthermore, it is of crucial importance that policy-makers, researchers and activists recognise that there are two inter-related jobs to be done: the protection and empowerment of those currently enduring situations of trafficking and other forms of unfree labour, and the elimination of the root causes of such relations.

- The research points to the urgent need to recognise and regulate paid domestic work in private households, to give work permits to international migrants working in these sectors and to apply labour standards such as minimum wages, maximum hours, rights to holiday and other pay etc. The employment contract acknowledges the existence of an employment relation – that the employee is performing *work* and is not in a feudal, quasi-familial, or bonded relation to her employer. It supports Blackett’s conclusions (Blackett, 1999) that this employment also requires specific legislation. One must recognise the defining impact that living in has on workers. Most obviously, if one loses one’s job one also loses one’s home, but more broadly a contract must protect

the employee, not only as a worker, but as an individual who has a right to private space, to be a person. There are also very specific issues with mechanisms of contract negotiation and implementation. These often are currently very unsuitable for domestic workers in private households. Enforcement mechanisms are designed for workers in the public sphere, and the primary means to vindicate rights is through work-initiated lawsuits, but there are numerous formal and informal obstacles for domestic workers to enter such processes.

- Contract by itself does not adequately express the mechanisms of power of the employers of domestic workers, particularly when they are live-in, and the limitations set by contract will not adequately limit the power of the employer over a migrant woman or man, particularly if they are undocumented. The complex social relations alluded to by our interviewees are very difficult to deal with under contract. Human beings desire social and personal relations, particularly when they are isolated in their employment. Reiterating the importance of contract must go together with measures enabling people to make informed choices, to set boundaries, and recognise both when their interests inevitably conflict and when they might coincide with the employing family. This requires complex and multi-layered organising work, which takes into account both the individual situation of the worker and the more general context of the work. It also requires attitudinal changes on the part of the employer
- State immigration and emigration policies must be gender sensitive. The existence of markets for domestic labour is largely unrecognised, thereby forcing migrant women into the informal sector. Moreover, many migrant domestic workers have qualifications in other, more professionalised sectors, and state recognition of such qualifications would enable those who so wished to move into other work.
- Immigration control mechanisms that reinforce dependency of migrants on employers or third parties are counter-productive if one is concerned to combat human rights violations of migrants in this sector. It is this dependency that needs to be countered to challenge the power of employers to harm or help. The recognition of domestic workers as workers, and in particular their right to organise collectively in trades unions and as migrants would represent a tremendous step forward in dealing with abuse.
- There is a need for awareness raising and education on the vulnerability and isolation of labour in the private household particularly when the worker is a migrant. The responsibility to report abuse in this sector needs to be inculcated, and it should be recognised that this is not a private matter between householder and worker. Those who report abuse, whether the worker themselves or a member of the public, must feel confident that the worker will not be penalised or removed having been exposed as abused, and will not be undermined by the state when taking steps to obtain redress.
- There is also a need for long term education challenging ideas about gender difference and race/ethnic difference and the “naturalness” of certain groups defined by gender, age or ethnicity, undertaking roles as paid domestic workers.

- There are already several existing instruments whose ratification and implementation would prevent many instances of unfree migrant labour, in particular the ILO Convention on the International Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. This requires that:
 - no migrant worker or member of their family shall be held in slavery or servitude or required to perform forced labour,
 - migrants are effectively protected by the state,
 - migrants have the right to recognition as a person before the law;
 - migrants have the right to participate in trades unions and other associations
 - employers cannot discriminate against migrants in terms of remuneration, working conditions, or other terms of employment.
- All of the above recommendations would have an impact on the employment of child domestics. There have been some innovative projects working with child domestics, in particular organising regular education and literacy sessions, and negotiating with employers to permit their attendance. There is a need to further develop such creative programmes which both make child domestic labour more visible and facilitate access to informal networks which can deliver information on abusive households.
- The different elements in the migratory process, in particular the financing, the transportation, and the placing of a worker in employment, need to be disentangled. Easy, low interest credit available to migrant women who would otherwise be forced into indentured contracts would help prevent many of the abuses perpetrated on poorer migrant women.

4. METHODOLOGICAL LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Research design and methodology

Time represented a major constraint on this study (there was less than a year between our initial discussions with the funders and the deadline for submitting the final report) and it was extremely difficult to design research that could feasibly be executed in several countries in such a short period of time, and to develop standard research instruments that would be appropriate and practical in very different research contexts. Researchers from four country teams were invited to attend a four-day long workshop in November 2001 to discuss the interview schedules, the content and wording of questionnaires, and issues of sample design and access. This workshop highlighted the enormous definitional and political problems that surround the issue of trafficking, making it difficult for research teams to reach agreement on what, precisely, should be the focus of enquiry and analysis. It also drew attention to the many and serious obstacles to gathering standard, comparable cross-national data. Given the significant differences between the countries involved (in terms of migration patterns – both internal and cross-border; dominant discourses about gender, sexuality, and race; social norms regarding the employment of domestic workers; the legal regulation of, and social attitudes towards, prostitution, and so on) it was very hard to devise a set of survey questions that would make equal sense to a Swedish, Thai, Italian or Indian respondent, or an interview schedule that would be equally meaningful and equally inoffensive to interviewees in each country. The

questionnaires and interview schedules that were developed from these discussions can be found in Appendix 4.

Since people are generally reluctant to answer questions on questionnaires that they find offensive, meaningless or confusing, one way to gauge whether or not the content and wording of a questionnaire was appropriate for its target respondents is to look at levels of non-response to the questions it contains. According to this criterion, the surveys can be judged relatively successful. General attitudinal questions on the surveys were refused by less than 3% of respondents, for example. However, on the 'sex' survey, a small number of respondents in all countries commented negatively on the questionnaire design, and Swedish respondents on both the 'sex' and 'domestic work' surveys were especially likely to make critical comments about question wording and/or what they perceived to be the assumptions underpinning the research. Swedes appeared to be particularly troubled by the inclusion of questions concerning attitudes towards race. Indeed, the strength and popularity of white liberal discourse about 'colour-blindness' in Sweden made it hard to design questions on respondents' background characteristics for the Swedish version. Where the Italian questionnaire could draw on categories used in the Italian census to ask respondents to describe themselves as 'black', 'white', 'Asian', or 'Other', our Swedish partners found no such categories existed in the Swedish census. They therefore had to ask Swedes to complete an open-ended question describing themselves in terms of their appearance, nationality and religious background, rather than offering them a pre-determined choice of categories. This left Swedes free to identify themselves as belonging to the white majority group by describing themselves as 'light skinned' or simply 'light', '100% Swedish' (and even in one case 'Caucasian') without having to acknowledge the existence of race as a social category in Sweden. In interviews with Swedish employers it proved similarly difficult to overcome interviewees' hesitancy to discuss matters relating to race and ethnicity.

Some problems in both interview and survey research also arose from translation, and from the fact that the same word (for instance, 'cheap') can have very different connotations in different contexts. There were also definitional problems with regard to the use of terms such as 'migrant' and 'foreign' in the survey, which were taken to mean different things by different respondents in different settings. This means that the data from questions about respondents experience with, and attitudes towards, migrant and foreign workers produces a slightly confused picture. In the sex survey, for example, some men who stated in response to one question that they had never bought sex from a foreign prostitute went on to say in response to another that they *had* paid for sex with women who were not nationals of their own country, and/or to answer questions about the comparative 'merits' of local and foreign prostitutes. There was clearly room for misunderstanding as regards who would count as a 'foreign' sex or domestic worker. In India, for example, 68% of clients stated that they had never bought sex from a foreign prostitute, but 47% reported having paid for sex with a Nepali sex worker.

It also proved extremely difficult to devise a single questionnaire that was equally suitable for employers of live-in and live-out domestic workers, or that could readily accommodate data from those who employ more than one domestic worker. These (as well as many other problems) could have been resolved if there had been time for each research team to pilot the interview schedule and questionnaire, and then attend a second methods workshop to finalise the interview questions and the wording of the questionnaire.

Recommendations for future research:

- Adequate time (in most cases this would mean at least a year) should be allowed for the design, planning and preparation of multi-country studies on any aspect of trafficking;
- Research instruments should be collaboratively developed by researchers from all the countries involved, then piloted and further refined. This implies a need for a series of research methods workshops, rather than just one initial meeting.

Sample selection

It was noted in Section 1 that recruiting a sample for research on the demand for either commercial sex or domestic work invariably presents great methodological challenges. Constraints of time, combined with the fact that the markets for sex and domestic workers in the countries involved in this study are so different, made it impossible for us to pursue a matching group of either clients or employers for interview. The lack of time available forced us to ask each country team to attempt to recruit a sample of clients and of employers of live-in domestic workers for interview in whatever way was likely to produce the speediest results in their particular situation. This means that interviewees in each country were accessed in different ways: some volunteered for interview, some were contacted through the researchers' friends and acquaintances, some were recruited using snowballing techniques, some of the clients were simply approached in red light areas or on the street and invited to participate in the research. Meanwhile, research teams' responses to difficulties in recruiting interviewees varied. For instance, faced with problems finding ten employers of live-in domestic workers that were insurmountable in the time available, some made do with a smaller number of interviewees, while others responded by including employers of live-out domestic workers to make up their sample of ten. The end result was that the interviewees in some countries are a fairly homogeneous group in terms of their social class, age and/or the type of demand they provide for sex or domestic workers, whilst in other countries, they are very mixed.

It should also be noted that in Sweden there were particular obstacles to recruiting an interview sample of employers of live-in domestic workers and a sample of clients, for in Sweden both of these markets are much smaller and more hidden than they are in any of the other countries involved in the research. So far as accessing clients was concerned, our Swedish colleague felt the law that criminalizes those who buy sex would make it particularly difficult and time-consuming to get access to clients in Sweden. As Swedish clients sometimes travel to Denmark to buy sex, a decision was taken to seek Swedish clients for interview in Copenhagen. The assumption was that such men would be more likely to agree to be interviewed in Denmark (where prostitution law is more liberal), and by a Danish researcher (whom they might assume to be less judgemental than a Swedish interviewer). Though this highly innovative approach to recruiting Swedish clients for interview may well work given sufficient time, as it was, no Swedish client immediately responded to calls for volunteers. There was no time to pursue different avenues for recruiting a sample of Swedish clients, and the research team therefore decided to interview Danish men who expressed an interest in participating in the research. Whilst this was the only practical alternative in the time available, it also meant that we were now gathering interview data from Danes, but survey data from Swedes, which in turn meant that quantitative and qualitative data from the Scandinavian research was not fully

internally comparable. There is no reason to suppose this undermined the validity of research findings on attitudes towards gender, since discourse on gender relations in the two countries is very similar. Nor is there any reason to imagine that Danish clients are significantly different from Swedish men who buy sex in terms of their attitudes towards gender and sexuality. However, given the very strong social pressures against buying sex in Sweden, and the more liberal discourse on commercial sex in Denmark, it is possible that Danish and Swedish men's attitudes towards prostitution would differ significantly.

As far as the sample of employers of domestic workers in Sweden was concerned, it was decided at the methods research workshop that the host families of *au pairs* would be included as employers of live-in domestic workers even though the state does not construct them as such. This was because a) employers of live-in migrant domestic workers would prove impossible to access in the time, and b) *au pairs* often perform the same tasks and role as live-in domestic workers and c) the managing of their relation to their host family/employer is subject to some similar constraints.

For a variety of reasons, the selection of control interviewees in each country was also problematic. So far as finding a sample of men who had never bought sex was concerned, pressure of time meant that researchers in most countries recruited people from their own social networks, and this raises serious questions about the both the representativeness and reliability of the control interviews. In Thailand, attempts were made to recruit a control sample outside the researchers' own social circles, but the problem here was that it proved virtually impossible to find men *without* experience of prostitute-use, and this accounts for the fact that only two control interviews were conducted. In no country do the control interviewees fully match the client interviewees in terms of background characteristics such as social class, education, and age. Finding a sample of interviewees who had never employed a domestic worker proved equally challenging in all countries but Sweden, and even there it was not possible to match the control group with the employers. In India in particular, it is the social norm for middle class families to employ domestic workers (either live-in or live-out), and it was thus virtually impossible to find a group who had never employed a domestic worker that matched the employer interviewees in terms of social class.

We also faced problems with regard to recruiting samples for the surveys. Again, the differences between the countries in terms of patterns of demand for domestic workers and for commercial sex presented an obstacle to the methodological goal of standardisation. Within the time available, it proved impossible to achieve our initial aim of adopting standard methods to recruit an identical sample of survey respondents in one research site in each country. It is also important to note that our Swedish colleague made great efforts to include in the survey a sample of Swedish men involved in peace keeping duties. Indeed, he obtained the co-operation of a Swedish officer who agreed to distribute 100 questionnaires to Swedish soldiers on UN duties in Kosovo. In January, however, a higher ranking officer, responsible for public relations, instructed the officer to call the survey off. This had been ordered by the highest responsible officer in Sweden. (Some of the questionnaires had already been completed, and were returned, which accounts for the fact that the Swedish sample includes 19 members of the armed forces.) Our colleague was told by his contact that the reason for calling off the survey was the fear that the findings would receive media attention – 'The Swedish UN force is hot stuff for the media'. Continued

efforts on the part of our Swedish colleague to obtain clearance to conduct the survey were simply ignored by the commander in chief of SWEDINT.

Recommendations for future research:

- It is important that future research in this area works with samples from each country that include respondents and interviewees from specified segments of the markets for domestic and sex workers, and that country samples should be as closely matched as possible. This means working with larger samples, recruited by standard means. This in turn implies that research will be more costly in terms of time and money.
- It is vital to include control interviews in the research design. However, the control sample should be recruited using the same sampling techniques as are used to recruit client and employer interviewees. It should not be drawn from the researchers' own social networks. Again, this has implications for resources.
- Even when research is funded by a government ministry, researchers may face problems obtaining access to survey members of the armed forces through official channels. Given time, it might be possible to circumvent 'gate-keepers' by conducting interview or survey research with soldiers when they are off duty, but it would be difficult to obtain a representative sample in this way. UN peace keeping forces currently have a very bad reputation, and ironically, it may be in high ranking army officials' interest to give clearance to conduct surveys with a representative sample of soldiers. In obstructing this kind of systematic research, they merely ensure that publicly available information about peace keepers' behaviour takes the form of news reports about incidents of abuse and exploitation.

Data collection

The methods workshop held in November 2001 was intended to ensure that all of those who would be conducting interviews and administering the survey came together to discuss the research methods, such that a common understanding of the research aims and instruments would inform the process of data collection. In the end, and for a variety of reasons, some of the interviews with Danish clients and Indian employers, and all of the interviews with Indian clients, as well as some of the Indian control interviews, were conducted by researchers who had not attended the workshop. Next we should note that although each country team asked a standard set of questions, the data yielded through interviewing is far from standard. This is partly because the different methods of recruiting interviewees had an impact on the length and depth of the interviews. For example, clients who were approached for interview in a barber's shop in the red light district in Catania tended to be unwilling to spend long on the interview or to provide detailed responses to questions, whereas clients who were contacted through the researchers' networks or who responded to calls for volunteers tended to be willing to spend longer with the interviewer and to discuss their practices and attitudes in more depth. Individual differences between interviewers and the particularities of the contexts in which they worked meant that whilst all asked the key questions identified on the interview schedule, some probed and explored their interviewees' attitudes and worldview in a more depth than others. There are also differences between countries in terms of the level of detail recorded by interviewers. The research teams in each country had very little time in which to

set up and conduct interviews, and having done so, they then had to translate and transcribe interview data. Some teams were better placed to cope with these demands (in terms of time, resources and administrative support), and have thus provided us with much longer and more detailed accounts of interviews than have others.

So far as data collection is concerned, we should also note two innovative aspects of the research in Thailand. Apart from providing a space on the questionnaire for respondents to provide open-ended comments, opportunities for research subjects to evaluate the research instruments were not built into the research design. However, our research partners in Thailand made an independent decision to seek feedback from survey and interview participants, and this was an extremely valuable addition to the research. Their feedback tells us that participants in both the sex and domestic work survey felt the questionnaire was too long, and took more time to complete than was estimated when the survey was explained and distributed. Some interviewees also found the research too demanding in terms of time. This was particularly the case for employers of domestic workers. The Thai researchers found that these interviewees became tired by the length of the interview, and so felt under pressure to hurry through the interview schedule.

A second innovative feature of the Thai research was that interviews were conducted jointly by a Thai and an Australian researcher (both women), and this combination proved extremely successful in relation to interviewing clients. All their interviewees seemed willing to discuss the issues, although they commented that certain questions were quite personal. Some even said that they had enjoyed the opportunity to talk and think about these topics, and the chance to express their opinion. Most commented that the combination of Thai and non-Thai interviewers made them feel more at ease. More particularly, it seemed that Thai male respondents could readily accept a foreign woman asking fairly intrusive and personal questions because a) foreign women are not expected to conform to the social norms of modesty and reticence that Thai women are expected to live by; and b) people often consider it normal for a foreigner to be both ignorant and curious about other cultures, and are willing to explain aspects of their lifestyle or behaviour to foreigners that they would not be willing to discuss with a researcher of their own nationality. At the same time, the Thai researcher's familiarity with Thai culture enabled her to explore contradictions and tensions within the interviewee's worldview through the use of prompts. Her presence also legitimated the research, and allowed for easy communication and so better rapport. This method was felt to be less useful for interviews with employers of domestic workers, though it possibly facilitated initial access.

Recommendations for future research:

- It is important that all those who will be involved in data collection should be involved in the planning and preparatory stages of research. Where country teams intend to use several different researchers, this will have implications for funding.
- If research instruments are collaboratively designed at a preliminary workshop, then piloted and discussed at a second planning workshop, there will be an opportunity to discuss and resolve potential problems concerning the length and depth of interviews, how much detail to record, and so on.

- Evaluation of the research instruments should be built into pilot work, and respondents' evaluations used to refine questionnaires and interview schedules.
- Joint interviewing by a national and non-national of the country concerned may be a useful strategy in interviews with sex workers' clients.

Co-ordination and supervision

Conducting a multi-country research project within which standard and comparable data is collected requires extremely detailed and close supervision. Within the time available to us, we found it impossible to adequately co-ordinate and supervise the research process in six different countries. In order to meet the deadline for the final report, data gathering had to be conducted within a three month period, and we were not in a position to visit each research site prior to the country teams embarking on the research. We had hoped that e mail would allow us to maintain contact with the different teams and provide effective co-ordination, but in the end, this technology proved to be a mixed blessing. Whilst it represents a cheap and immediate means of communication, exchanging large numbers of documents (such as draft and final versions of questionnaires) by e mail also opens up possibilities for confusion. This was certainly the case for our pilot study.

Recommendations for future research:

- Time and resources for supervision and co-ordination need to be built into the design of multi-country research projects.
- It may be preferable to send hard copies of final documents by post, rather than e mail, in order to ensure that all research teams are working with identical documents.

Ethical issues

So far as our research subjects were concerned, the pilot research was informed by the standard ethical guidelines for social research, which is to say informed consent was sought from all interviewees, rules of confidentiality have been observed, and the anonymity of research subjects has been protected. However, the study did underline the significance of two sets of ethical issues that are often overlooked by researchers. The first concerns the safety and well being of researchers, and the second concerns the ethics of representation.

All the client interviews except those undertaken in Denmark were carried out by female researchers. This meant that women were asking men to openly discuss their sexual practices and attitudes towards gender and sexuality. In most societies, it is unusual for strangers to discuss sexual matters with each other, and even more unusual for women to invite unknown men to speak openly to them about sex. Thus, when women conduct research on sexuality, male interviewees sometimes imagine that the female interviewer is either sexually 'loose' or has a sexual interest in them, and respond accordingly. Furthermore, as social encounters, interviews involve a set of power relations within which the interviewer is generally understood to be in control, whilst the interviewee is passive in the sense of responding to the interviewer's questions. When the interviewer is a woman and the interviewee is a man, this arrangement can be perceived as a threat to the 'proper' power relations that should exist between men and women, and can therefore elicit a hostile response.

This does not mean that women cannot interview men about sexual topics, or that the data they gather is any less reliable or valid than data gathered by a male interviewer. Indeed, the dynamics of male-male interviews can also present obstacles to gathering reliable information (for example, men may feel under greater pressure to 'impress' a male interviewer, and male interviewers may be less likely to explore contradictions and tensions in male interviewees' worldviews because they do not perceive them as noteworthy or problematic, but simply 'normal' and 'obvious'). However, the fact that female-male interviews on sexual topics can lead to unwanted sexual advances and/or to hostility from the male interviewee does mean that female interviewers often have to manage and negotiate a difficult and potentially dangerous relationship with interviewees. On top of this, some clients are likely to disclose information or voice opinions that the interviewer will find disturbing. Male interviewers may be just as morally troubled by such accounts as female interviewers, but because they do not usually feel personally threatened by the interviewee they often find such interviews less intrusive than do their female counterparts. Two of the researchers interviewing on this project faced these kind of problems when interviewing clients, and the pilot study thus draws attention to the need for women who conduct interviews on the demand for commercial sexual services to take various steps to protect themselves (physically and emotionally) within the research process.

While such difficulties are less pressing with regard to domestic work, this sector does present its own ethical dilemmas. Researchers on domestic work are predominantly female, and often are themselves employers, particularly in the many social contexts where it is the norm for middle class women to hire domestic employees. This can affect the data gathered: employers may feel more relaxed in speaking to those identified as also employers, but, as with male interviewers of clients, there may be a danger of interviewers not being aware of tensions in interviewees' responses because they are accepted at face value as being unproblematic. This does not mean that employers should not undertake research of course, but it is important that there is transparency about this in order that the data gathered can be "read" with this in mind.

The second important ethical issue to emerge from the pilot research concerns the process of writing up research findings. Even a small research project can generate a huge amount of data, but policy-makers and research funders do not usually wish to read long and detailed analyses of those data. Instead, they prefer short, easily digestible, policy-oriented reports. The problem is that it requires months of painstaking work to properly analyse interview and survey data, and then many more months to distil this analysis into a brief but meaningful series of policy recommendations. Without this time, data analysis is necessarily superficial, and when it pertains to a politically contentious topic such as trafficking, this represents a serious ethical problem. This problem cannot be circumvented by simply presenting a summary of 'the facts' uncovered by the research, since 'facts' can never speak for themselves, but must always be interpreted. If researchers have neither the time nor the space to fully contextualise the research findings, there is a danger that those who read the report will fill in the missing details through reference to their own pre-existing beliefs and prejudices. This is especially worrying when the study concerned involves multi-country research spanning both affluent and developing nations, since in Europe and North America, there is a continued tendency to imagine the world as simply comprised of 'the west and the rest', and to draw upon colonial and imperialist discourses to interpret dominant practices and attitudes in western countries as 'modern' and 'civilised', while condemning failure to adopt western norms as a mark

of ‘backwardness’. This tendency has historically been and remains particularly marked in relation to questions about gender, and the ethics of representation are thus particularly troubling with regard to policy-oriented research on the ‘demand-side’ of trafficking.

Recommendations for future research:

- Interviewers should work in pairs, rather than alone, and this rule should apply absolutely where interviewing is to take place in the interviewee’s home. So far as interviews on demand for sexual services are concerned, neither client nor control interviews should ever be conducted in the interviewer’s own home;
- NGOs and academics co-ordinating research in each country should ensure that interviewers are provided with emotional support and opportunities for de-briefing;
- Adequate time for data analysis and writing up needs to be built into the project design in order to ensure that ethical issues surrounding the presentation of research findings can be thought through and addressed.

Research on Third Party Beneficiaries of Prostitution and Domestic Work

Because the pilot study was concerned to explore the “demand side” of trafficking into domestic and sex work, the research design did actually include interviews with third party beneficiaries of the commercial sex and domestic work markets, as well as clients and employers. Given the constraints of time within which we were working, it would have been virtually impossible to get access to interview agents or employers who make systematic use of deception, direct coercion or force. Furthermore, if we had managed to find such individuals and get them to agree to be interviewed, it was unlikely that they would openly discuss the abusive or violent aspects of their practice. Our research with third parties was therefore likely to involve a very small number of interviews (between three and five in the sex sector, and the same number in the domestic work sector) with people who were not directly implicated in abusive or violent practices. The problem was further compounded by the fact that, defined as individuals who directly obtain material benefits from the existence of a prostitution or domestic work labour market, there is much diversity amongst third party beneficiaries within a single country. Cross-nationally, there is even more variation in terms of the number and types of third parties involved in these markets. In a study of such limited duration, it would be impossible to ensure that each country team obtained access either to a representative cross-section of third parties, or to one standard ‘type’ of third party. In short, it would have been impossible to attempt even pilot research on third party demand for labour in these sectors, and we instead decided to approach third parties as key informants or ‘experts’ on the sex/domestic work sector. We therefore left it very much to each team’s discretion to determine exactly how to frame the interview questions, and what topics they felt could be appropriately covered with their particular interviewees. The samples of third party interviewees from each country are described in Appendix 1 and 2.

Despite the fact that only a small number of third party interviews were conducted, and with an extremely heterogeneous group of third party beneficiaries, the data these interviews yielded was extremely interesting. However, we were unable to include an analysis of this material in the report for the simple reason that we did not have either the time or the space to properly explain and contextualise it.

Capacity-building

Because there was little time in which to conduct this study, our first task was to identify research partners (either academic or NGO) in each country who, by virtue of their existing research and/or support work, could be assumed to be familiar with the issues and well placed to quickly secure access to interview both sex workers' clients and employers of domestic workers. However, there are actually very few academics or NGOs whose work spans both the sex and the domestic work sectors, and we did not have funds enough to recruit a specialist in each area and a research co-ordinator in each of the countries involved (and this may, in any case, have led to problems of co-ordination within country teams). In the end, our research partners in Italy, India and Thailand were from NGOs that had much greater expertise regarding the sex industry than the domestic work sector. The Scandinavian team was an exception, since it included an academic researcher with specialist knowledge of domestic work, as well as two academics whose expertise pertained to prostitution. This points to a need for capacity building first with many of the NGOs that currently work on trafficking issues, such that they can extend their work beyond a concern with trafficking for prostitution alone; and second with trades unions and other bodies that represent workers in sectors where trafficking is known to represent a problem, such that they can collaborate with multi-country studies on this topic.

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APPENDIX 1:

Samples Used in Research on the Demand-Side of the Sex Sector

The Survey

The survey sought to investigate men's attitudes towards and experience of commercial sex, and we initially aimed for a sample of 50 from each country. However, since clients are a 'hidden population' that is extremely difficult to access, we could not hope to ensure a representative cross section of 50 clients from each research site. On the other hand, if we had used random sampling techniques to secure a sample that was representative of the male population as a whole in each site, it was unlikely that such a small sample would provide us with sufficient cases of men with experience of prostitute-use to contribute to an analysis of demand or to allow us to make cross-national comparisons. We therefore decided to target an occupational group known to include a higher than average number of men with experience of commercial sex, in the hope that even a sample of 50 such men would turn up a reasonable number of men who had bought sex at some point in their lives. The survey would then provide us with a sufficient number of cases of clients and non-clients to be able to make some tentative comparisons between those men who do, and those who do not, buy sex, as well as allowing us to make some preliminary cross-national comparisons between clients.

When the research was first conceived in the summer of 2001, we decided that male soldiers would be the ideal occupation group to target for the survey, since existing research suggested that a relatively large percentage of soldiers in each country would have experience of prostitute-use. However, the problems that our Swedish colleague faced in securing clearance to conduct the survey with peace keeping troops in Kosovo have already been discussed, and in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001, none of our other colleagues believed it would be possible to negotiate access to members of their country's armed forces within the time-frame available to us. It was therefore necessary to identify another occupational or social group in which we might reasonably expect to find a sizeable number of men with experience of buying sex, and that could more easily be accessed. Here, significant differences between the countries involved in the research emerged as an obstacle to the methodological goal of standardisation. For example, in India and Thailand, and to a lesser extent Italy, police officers have been identified as amongst those who provide demand for commercial sex. The Thai research team had good contacts with the police, and were confident of their ability to secure access to survey police officers. However, the Indian and Italian researchers were less sure that they would be able to recruit a sample of 50 police officers. Meanwhile, Swedish police officers were not considered to be a group that is especially prone to prostitute-use. Other groups that were considered to be potentially suitable for the 'sex' survey were truck drivers (India), students (Italy, India and Sweden) and athletes (Sweden). Since the country research teams had so little time in which to undertake the survey, it was agreed that each team should target the group (or if necessary the two groups) that in their particular country could a) be expected to contain a reasonably large percentage of clients; and b) would present fewest problems of access.

In the end, however, constraints of time meant that country teams not only targeted different groups, but also used different methods to select their respondents. The Indian team asked a contact person within the police to distribute questionnaires amongst police officers on behalf of the researchers, and we do not know the basis on which the 16 police officers who responded were selected. With the remainder of the sample, the team adopted a strategy deliberately intended to recruit men with experience of prostitute use (for example, some of the sample was recruited using a snowball technique, and active attempts were made to screen out individuals who had

never used prostitutes). Efforts were also made to cover several different occupational groups, with the result that the number of respondents from each occupational group is small. Finally, the Indian survey differs from the other country surveys in that it includes a small sample of truck drivers who did not complete the questionnaire themselves, but rather were posed questions by a male member of the Transport Agency that assisted in accessing the sample. He then completed the questionnaire on the drivers' behalves. The Italian researcher also sought respondents from a variety of occupational groups, and employed several different methods of recruiting respondents. A contact person within the police, and another within the military, agreed to distribute questionnaires, 28 of which were returned completed. Again, we do not know the basis on which these respondents were selected. Most of the remaining respondents were recruited using strategies to find men who had experience of buying sex. Some questionnaires were distributed in the red-light area of Catania, and others were left in sex shops and were completed and returned by 'volunteers' (so that part of the sample was actually self-selected). A total of 69 questionnaires were distributed, and 56 were returned completed.

In Sweden, Thailand and Japan, by contrast, a more consistent sampling technique was applied. In the case of Japan and Thailand, only one occupational group was targeted (salarymen and police respectively); in Sweden, three groups were chosen for inclusion in the survey – students, athletes and members of the Swedish peacekeeping forces in Kosovo. Though contact persons were used to administer the questionnaires in some cases, they were instructed to distribute the questionnaires to all members of the group who were present in a particular location on a given day (for instance, all police officers present at the police station during office hours, all the students attending a class on the day of survey), rather than to select those who they thought may have experience of buying sex, or those they believed would be most likely to agree to complete the questionnaires.

The Interview Sample

Between eight and ten clients were interviewed using a standard semi-structured interview schedule in each of the following countries: Denmark, Italy, Thailand and India (the interview schedule can be found in Appendix 3). These interviewees were recruited in different ways, and again do not constitute a representative cross-section of clients in any of the countries involved. Control interviews with men who do not use prostitutes were also undertaken in Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Thailand and India. Finally, a small number of interviews with third party beneficiaries of the sex trade were carried out.

India

Client interviewees were recruited in three main ways; first, through media professionals who had been involved in investigative reports on the sex industry and had contacts with clients; second through the researchers' personal contacts; and third, truck drivers were contacted through a Transport Agency. Twenty-five men were contacted in these ways, and this resulted in ten usable interviews. Some of the interviews were conducted in Meerut, and some in Delhi. They were all conducted by the same interviewer, and each interview lasted around three hours. Of the ten client interviewees:

- Three were unmarried, seven were married;

- Two were truck drivers, one media person, one marketing executive, four were businessmen and two were in service (one in Government Service and one in a bank);
- One was above 50 years of age, two were aged below 30 the rest were between 30 and 50 years of age;
- Two were in the low-income group (i.e. below Rupees 70,000), and eight can be bracketed in the middle income group (i.e., Rupees 200,000-250,000);
- Two of them had education below the 12th grade, two were educated up to 12th grade, two were university graduates and two had postgraduate education;
- All except the two truck drivers belonged to the upper caste groups.

The sample included some clients who only used Call Girl prostitution, some who only bought sex from brothel or highway prostitutes, and some who had experience of both Call Girl and brothel prostitution. The control sample included five interviewees, all of whom were middle or upper middle class, and well educated (all had postgraduate qualifications). The youngest was 25 years of age, the eldest was 70 years old. The sample includes a student, a scientist, a journalist, an IT professional and a person in Government service. Four of the five were married. Control interviews were conducted by three different interviewers. Finally, three third party beneficiaries of the sex trade were interviewed: a 55 year old woman who owns a brothel in Meerut; a 70 year old woman who part-owns a brothel in Meerut; and a 48 year old man who acts as a broker and procurer, and manages three brothels in Meerut.

Thailand

The city of Chiang Mai in a Northern province of Thailand was selected as the research site for interviews. Four client interviewees came from contacts given to the researchers by EMPOWER staff/volunteers, and the other four were recruited by directly approaching men (for example in the street) and asking them if they would be willing to be interviewed. One man refused due to lack of time, and one cancelled his appointment due to other commitments, but other than that, minimum persuasion to be interviewed was required. The Thai research team sought a sample of clients that varied in age, education, occupation and income level, and the eight interviewees comprised:

- Two police officers, one low-to-middle ranking and one high ranking;
- One 'Tuk Tuk' driver and two 'Song Tow' drivers;
- One government officer, who worked in public relations;
- One tour guide;
- One final year university student, who was studying Sociology/Anthropology.

Interviewees' ages ranged from 23 to 47; five were married and three were single. Their income levels ranged from low to middle to high, though none were in a very high income bracket. It is important to note that income affects the type of sex establishments that men patronise, and our interview sample does not include clients who would regularly make use of the most expensive establishments. Furthermore, none of our interviewees admitted to being clients of migrant sex workers in the cheapest brothels, although most had experience of buying sex in brothels as well as

in other establishments, such as karaoke bars. Interviews were jointly conducted by two researchers, and lasted between an hour and an hour and a half. Only two control interviews were conducted in Thailand, one with a photographer, the other with a waiter. Both were quite young (21 and 26 years of age), and both from lower income brackets. The small size of the control sample reflects the fact that it was much more difficult for researchers to find men who had no experience of buying sex than it was to find men who had bought sex. One was recruited through a contact who knew of a friend who had never paid for sex. The other was initially assumed to be a client, but in the course of the interview it became apparent that he had no experience of prostitute-use.

The third party beneficiary interviews consisted of one interview with a Tuk Tuk driver who takes clients to brothels for a fee, and one with a supervisor of staff at a large massage parlour. The driver was directly approached and asked for an interview and the interview took place in a small restaurant. The staff supervisor of the massage parlour was introduced to the researchers by a friend who works for a condom company and distributes samples to brothels around Thailand. This interview took place at the massage parlour. These individuals were able to provide some insight into the organisation of two different levels of the sex industry (the top and bottom ends of the market). Clearly, however, they were not representative of all third parties, nor were they in a position to provide a detailed overview of the workings of the market for commercial sex in Chiang Mai.

Denmark and Sweden

Copenhagen was selected as the site for the Scandinavian client interviews. Ten clients were recruited for interview by means of placing advertisements in newspapers in Denmark and Sweden and on a website for clients. A total of 17 men responded to these advertisements, which ultimately led to seven face-to-face interviews, and three telephone interviews. No Swedish client volunteered for interview, and the sample of clients thus comprises of Danish men alone, half of whom were contacted through the internet site for clients. Three were married, the remainder were single (either divorced or never married). The youngest interviewee was 35 years old, the eldest 63 years old, and they included a train driver, a public administrator, a ships officer, an engineer, a retired dental technician, two IT professionals, a sales manager, and two men who worked in education. Most were well educated, and all were in middle to high income groups. All the interviewees used indoor rather than street prostitution. Within this, they had a preference for buying sex from Danish women in massage parlours, although most also had some experience of buying sex from migrant sex workers. Some also had experience of 'open-ended' forms of prostitution in Thailand and other sex tourist destinations. Interviews lasted around an hour to an hour and a half, and were carried out by one of two interviewers. Control interviews were conducted with two Swedish men, one married and one single, both aged 55, and three Danish men, all single and in their thirties. They too were well educated and in middle to high groups.

Three interviews with third party beneficiaries of the sex trade were interviewed in Copenhagen: a 48 year old Thai woman, a former sex worker who now owns two massage parlours; a 33 year old Danish man who works as a bouncer at a go-go bar; and a Danish man who manages a massage parlour and previously worked as a driver for Call Girls.

Italy

Nine client interviewees were conducted in Catania, Sicily. Initially, attempts were made to recruit a volunteer sample by distributing leaflets in the area where Nigerian sex workers work, the 'porno' cinema, and the city's older red light district. The leaflets explained the purpose of the research and asked for volunteers. No client responded to this call. In the end, all the interviewees were therefore recruited in the city's red light area with the assistance of two sex workers and a barber, who acted as a key informant after having been interviewed himself. The same interviewer conducted all the interviews, though she was accompanied by a sex worker or colleague, and the interviews took place either in the barber's shop, a drop-in centre in the red light area, or in other public places such as cafes. Most interviewees were reluctant to talk for long, or to provide detailed responses to interview questions, and the Italian interviews were therefore much briefer than those conducted in any other country.

The sample included the barber, a stationery shop owner, a commercial agent, two retired men, a shop assistant, a tattoo maker, a project consultant (who was initially contacted as a control interviewee, but during the interview it transpired that he had twice bought sex from Nigerian prostitutes), and brick-layer contacted in the redlight area. The oldest was 78 years of age, the youngest 24; four were married and the remainder single. One was from a low income group, one from a middle-to-high income group, and the rest from middle or low-to-middle income groups. They provided demand for street prostitution and/or the services of sex workers in rooms in the red light area. None of them had experience of more expensive, 'up-market' forms of prostitution in Italy, but one of them had travelled widely and engaged in 'open-ended' forms of prostitution in Eastern Europe and developing countries. Five control interviews were conducted. All the interviewees were in their thirties, except one who was aged 47. One was a teacher, one an agronomist, one a bank clerk, one a student, and one unemployed. Four were married or co-habiting, one was single. Two were from a low income group, three from middle or low-to-middle income groups.

One third party beneficiary of the sex trade was also interviewed, a 56 year old Spanish woman who had lived in Catania for many years. She is a sex worker herself, but also lets her property to migrant women for purposes of prostitution.

APPENDIX 2:

Samples Used in Research on the Demand-Side of Domestic Work Sector

The survey

The domestic work survey was concerned to map employers' attitudes to domestic labour and the home in general, as well as their employment of domestic labour and their attitudes towards trafficked and forced domestic workers. This was not a random sample, and, unlike the client surveys, employers were specifically targeted. It could not be a representative sample – there is no way of knowing the set of all current employers of domestic workers even if restricted to a given city. Neither could it be random as in some research sites – notably Sweden - this would not provide us with a sufficient number of employers, and in all research sites would have required the administering of far more surveys than was possible in the time available. It was originally intended that employers for the survey be contacted through a range of formal and informal agencies, but for a variety of reasons this did not prove possible in the time, and each research team accessed survey respondents in their own way,

with time being the major consideration. Surveys were available in English and in the majority language of the research sites.

The Indian sample was obtained by distributing questionnaires in the residential areas of four of the Indian NGO that was the research team for the project, as well as colleagues, relatives and friends. Employers of live-in female domestic workers in Delhi and surrounding places were specifically targeted. There were 82 questionnaires distributed, of these 66 were returned. The distribution took place in two batches because of those originally returned, 15 were rejected (because key questions had not been filled in, because employers with live-out domestic workers completed the questionnaire, or because completed by a male respondent). These rejected questionnaires were however, incorporated into the final analysis. Unfortunately the questionnaire distributed was the penultimate version, missing crucial questions on attitudes towards employing children.

The Swedish researcher originally thought to distribute the questionnaires using large companies which offer domestic services as benefits to their employers, 18 were approached, and although 14 either offer this benefit now or are planning to do so in the near future, none were willing to cooperate. In the end it was distributed through a company with which the researchers already had contact, the Home Service project, a company that places unemployed migrant women in domestic work as a bridge to the regular labour market. Half of the employers are older people, a written contract is signed between the agency and the customer, and there are certain obligations on behalf of both employers and workers. The company sent the questionnaires at their own expense and included a letter in support of the research project. Of 80 questionnaires distributed, 31 were returned.

Forty five surveys were distributed to employers in Bangkok using acquaintances, workplaces, door to door and in a department store. Of these 30 were completed. A further 15 were distributed to expatriates of various nationalities living in Bangkok using personal contacts. Of these, 6 were returned. As with the Delhi questionnaire, the version distributed was the penultimate version. Twenty five surveys were distributed in Chiang Mai, again using mixed methods, using local contacts, approaching people in public places and door to door. Twenty five were filled out, and 15 were returned. This version was the final version including questions on children. It should be noted that the 50 questionnaires from Thailand are distributed thus:

Research site	Bangkok (Thai)	Bangkok (expat)	Chiang Mai (Thai)
Numbers	29	6	15

Given the importance of locality for the operation of markets for domestic work it is clear that the Thai survey data must be treated with particular care, particularly since the Chiang Mai sample is younger, has lower income, and more likely to be single or divorced than the Bangkok sample. Had it been possible to access comparable samples this might have generated interesting material on the local factors impinging on the markets, but unfortunately this was not the case.

The Italian questionnaire was distributed to friends and acquaintances of the researcher. An attempt was made to distribute it to particular groups, but this proved too difficult. A colleague of the researcher distributed the questionnaire in universities

among lawyers, retired people and families involved in small commerce. Of the 56 questionnaires distributed 45 were returned.

It is clear then that the samples were obtained in such different ways, with no particular groups (other than that they are employers) being targeted, that comparison is not possible. Breakdown of basic demographic data of samples by country reveal significant sample differences in gender, age group, income and marital status. Take for example these selected variables.

Research site	% male	% aged 61+	% low income	% married
India n 64	6	6	5	90
Italy n 45	11	7	0	80
Thailand n 50	14	6	10	67
Sweden n 31	24	31	28	41

Clearly in the light of this one must beware of ascribing characteristics or preferences to particular national groups, when they may be in fact be related to the specific demographic characteristics of the sample from that national group.

The interviews

Between six and ten employers of domestic workers were interviewed using a standard semi-structured schedule, again these do not constitute a representative sample of employers. Control interviews were also conducted, but in all sites except for Sweden, those interviewed had employed domestic workers in the past or were employing them currently on an occasional basis i.e. did not really constitute a control sample. Three interviews with third parties were conducted in India, and one in each of the other research sites.

India

Eight employers were accessed through personal and neighbourhood contacts. Interviews were conducted by three different interviewers in English and in Hindi. In one case Bengali was used. They took place in the homes of the interviewees.

- Employment: 2 public service, 2 housewives, 1 NGO, 1 businesswoman, 1 teacher, 1 journalist;
- Age range: 30-59
- All were married. All but one have children;
- One was educated to high school level, 7 were graduates and above;
- One did not have income specified, 7 were high income

All employed at least one live-in domestic worker, one employed two live-in domestic workers and one employed four live-in. Three also employ at least one live-out worker. All had experience, either currently or in the past of employing migrants, and two were employing cross border migrants (from Nepal and Bangladesh).

It proved difficult to access a control sample as employing a live-out domestic worker is very common in India and it is often difficult to find a household in the

given class without one. Those interviewed in this capacity were accessed through personal contacts.

- Employment: 1 NGO and 2 housewives;
- Age range: 46-55
- All married. All have children
- One educated to degree level, 2 below 10th grade
- All middle income

Two of the three interviewed had recently started employing live-out workers. The third had lived in a household where her relatives had employed a domestic worker.

Interviews were conducted with three third parties. The first was a regular commercial agency, the second a convent that is well known in Delhi as providing Christian tribal girls and women to work in domestic service, the third a social welfare organisation in Delhi that also works in tribal areas and maintains links between villages and the city, this is also a popular source of domestic employees.

Thailand

Interviews with employers of domestic workers were conducted in Chiang Mai. Four were accessed through personal contacts. Two were accessed in the process of survey distribution, by going door to door in housing areas suggested to the research team by a local contact as places where domestic worker employment was commonplace. All of the interviews except one were conducted in people's houses, and the other one was conducted by telephone. In all but two of the interviews, two researchers were present, a Thai and an Australian. The questions were asked in English and translated. In one case the employer wanted the interview to be conducted in English as they wanted the opportunity to practise their language. The telephone interview was conducted in English. All were of middle to high income.

- Employment: 2 housewives, 1 small business woman, 1 office worker, 1 government officer, 1 retiree;
- Age range: 25-75;
- Four were married, 1 co-habiting, 1 widowed. All but one had children;
- One was educated at primary level, the remainder to college/graduate level;
- Income was not specified in four cases; 1 middle and 1 very high. The researchers sense was that all were of middle to high income

All except one employed live-in domestic workers. The exception had previously employed live-in but was currently employing live-out. One had only employed women and girls from Chiang Mai (some as young as 10). Two were currently employing non-Thai workers, one had employed a Shan worker (from Burma), and one had employed an internal migrant.

As in Delhi and Catania, a control group proved difficult to access, and those interviewed as control also employ, but on an ad hoc basis. They had previously employed domestic workers on a more permanent basis when their children were young. The two "control" interviews were both accessed through contacting

households door to door. One was a retired teacher (aged 60), the other a small business woman (aged 45).

One interview was conducted with a third party, met through informal contacts at a Shan temple in Chiang Mai called Wat Pa Pao. This is a place where migrant workers and employers link together, often through middle men. Migrants are often dropped off there when they first arrive in Chiang Mai and stay for a few days until they find work. It is also a place where Shan migrants congregate to meet with friends. The interviewee did not derive significant financial or material benefit from the process, but he did provide interesting information about the way informal processes linking migrants with employers operate in Chiang Mai.

Italy

Interviewees were recruited by word of mouth and using the snowballing technique. All were interviewed by the same person, three by telephone, and seven in the interviewee's home. All were living in Catania, and two were not Italian nationals (one was originally from Brazil, the other from Venezuela). All were women of higher middle class background.

- Employment: 1 doctor, 2 teachers, 1 businesswoman, 3 housewives, 1 enterprise manager, 1 university lecturer and 1 retired university administrator;
- Age range 36-71;
- All were married. All but one had children;
- Six were educated to degree level; 4 had diploma of secondary education
- Two were of high income, 8 of middle-high income

Eight employed live out workers (but two had experience of live-in); and two employed live-in workers. All are either currently employing international migrants or have had extensive experience of employing them as domestic workers. It proved difficult to obtain a control group of interviewees who had never employed domestic labour. The five control interviewees had all had experience at least once as employers of domestic workers, but did not consider themselves "regular" employers. This group was recruited through personal contacts.

- Employment: 3 housewives, 1 legal consultant, 1 teacher.
- Age range 37-71;
- Four married, 1 co-habiting. All had children;
- One had a degree, 1 a certificate of higher education, 2 a diploma of secondary education, 1 left school at 13;
- Three were of middle income, 2 of middle-low.

In practise this did not constitute a control group: they employed domestic labour to do "heavy work", for spring cleaning or childminding. One currently employed a worker once a week to do "general cleaning". It proved impossible to contact third parties in Catania in the timeframe, and consequently one interview was conducted by telephone with a commercial agency in Bologna. This was registered and had existed since 1994. It had both documented and undocumented migrants on its books.

Sweden

Sweden was the only research site where men as well as women were interviewed. Five women and five men were interviewed. Five were contacted through the research team's personal contacts, one through professional contacts, and four through an au pair agency. The employers of au pairs were geographically dispersed and so were interviewed by telephone, the other six were in the South of Sweden and were interviewed face to face, the men in their offices, three of the women in their homes, and the fourth woman in the interviewer's office. All these interviews were conducted by the same person.

- Employment: 1 journalist, 1 teacher, 1 purser, 3 company executives, 2 businessmen, 1 pilot, 1 consultant;
- Age range: 30-76;
- Eight married, 1 co-habiting, 1 divorced. All but one had children;
- All were educated to degree level;
- All were of high income.

The four who employed live-in workers all employed au pairs, and one of these also employed a live-out worker. One was not currently employing, but had extensive experience of employing migrants and non-migrants. Of the five employing live-out workers, all were either currently employing international migrants or had employed them in the past.

Four control interviews were obtained using the "snowball" method. The only man was interviewed on the phone and the three women face to face in their homes.

- Employment: 1 nurse, 2 teachers, 1 consultant;
- Age range: 36-52
- Three co-habiting, 1 married. All but one had children;
- Three were educated to degree level, 1 left education at school leaving age;
- Three were of middle-high income, 1 was of high income.

One had once employed a domestic worker. Three had never employed a domestic worker.

Five third party beneficiaries were interviewed: three short phone interviews were conducted with both agencies that provide domestic services for company employees and the large companies that offer these as a perk to employees. This supplemented information previously collected by the researcher as part of a different project on this subject. The au pair agency that furnished the au pair employers to be interviewed was itself interviewed as a third party. The researcher initially found it on the internet, and then held a long interview/discussion with them face to face. The Home Service Project was found through an article in a daily paper. The leaders of this project were interviewed, and also provided the survey respondents. Had there been time for further analysis the empirical and ideological relation between third parties and employers could thus have been fruitfully explored.

APPENDIX 3

Questionnaires and Interview Schedules for Research on Demand for Commercial Sex and Domestic Work

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (CLIENTS)

Introduction

We're asking you to agree to be interviewed as part of an international study on sexuality that has been organised by Nottingham University in England. The study will allow us to compare people's attitudes in four very different countries – India, Italy, Thailand and Sweden. The study is important because, in a world that is changing fast, it's vital that national and international policy makers, and experts on health, education and law understand ordinary people's views on sexual life. In particular, we want to find out what men feel about sexual relationships, marriage, and prostitution, because very often men's views on these subjects are overlooked.

The interview will take somewhere between half an hour and an hour, and is completely anonymous. We do not want to know your name, or any information that could be used to identify you. We will treat the information you give us as strictly and completely confidential.

Because this is an international study, and we are putting the same questions to men in Sweden, Thailand, India and Italy, not all of the questions will seem relevant to you, or the wording may sound a bit odd, but please bear with us! If there are questions you feel you can't answer, we'll be just as interested to know why you can't answer the question or why you think it doesn't apply in our country.

I'm going to begin by reading out some statements/opinions, and asking you whether you agree or disagree with them and why.

1. **“Prostitution is the world’s oldest profession – there is no way to get rid of it”**

Agree/Disagree

[The objective is to get at whether prostitution is viewed as a natural and inevitable feature of human societies, and if so, why is it deemed morally problematic?]

Is it possible to abolish/suppress prostitution, or is prostitution inevitable?

If it’s inevitable, why? And what does this mean morally - should society be more tolerant of prostitutes and the men who use them?

And how should the police respond – leave prostitutes alone? Make them work in state controlled brothels or legal red light areas?

If it can and should be abolished/suppressed, how should this be done?

Summary

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2. “Men need regular sex to remain healthy”

Agree/Disagree

[Objective to explore beliefs about and attitudes towards gender and sexuality, whether the ‘double-standard’ is based on biologically given sex differences, whether men ‘need’ prostitutes]

What happens when men are deprived of a sexual outlet? Physical harm? Psychological problems? Stress? Violence? (Please be specific about the kind of physical, psychological and/or social problems that arise when men are deprived of sex).

Do women also need sex regularly? How, if at all, are men and women different in terms of their sexual needs? Are differences biological and natural, or is it that society trains women and men differently?

Summary

“Girls should remain virgins until they marry”

Agree/Disagree

[Objective to explore attitudes towards female sexuality and contradictions that the ‘double standard’ implies for men. If traditional attitudes have changed, is this a good/bad thing and why?]

How many sexual partners a woman can have (if any) without becoming ‘promiscuous’?

What problems (if any) can arise when women have a lot of sexual experience? Do ‘good’ women enjoy sex?

Does it matter if a woman is more sexually experienced than her partner? Would you prefer to marry virginal, inexperienced or experienced woman? If you had a daughter, would you worry about her losing her virginity/having pre-marital sex/sleeping around etc.?

Where possible, lead into questions about contradictions for men – if men want/need plenty of sexual experience, but women are supposed to be sexually pure, does this create a demand for prostitution? Are society’s double standards re: male and female sexuality a problem? Should these traditional attitudes change? And if traditional attitudes have changed and women are more sexually liberated, is it a good thing? Has it made life easier for men?

Summary

3. “Women today are *too* independent”

Agree/Disagree

[Objective to explore attitudes towards gender roles, and interviewee’s own gender role behaviour/expectations]

How – if at all - has feminism/women’s lib changed women’s lives and expectations?

How has it affected men’s lives? Have traditional gender roles changed? Is this good, bad, a mixture? What positive changes have there been? What negative changes?

Can you say a bit about your own experience – if married/co-habiting, do you and your wife stick to traditional roles in the house (e.g., does your wife work, do you do any of the things in the house that are traditionally seen as ‘women’s’ work, such as childcare, cooking, cleaning etc.?) And if not married/co-habiting, would you hope to find a wife/partner who would stick to traditional gender roles?

Where possible, lead into questions about gender roles in sexual arrangements – does interviewee like to take the lead in initiating sex, or prefer wife/partner to initiate, or mix of the two; what happens if he wants sex but wife doesn’t? Does he feel wife/partner or girlfriends exercise too much control over whether they have sex or what kind of sex they have?

Summary

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5. Looking at the following list of qualities/attributes, can you pick three that would be very important in your ideal wife or long-term partner? And can you pick three that would make a woman unacceptable to you as a wife or long-term partner?

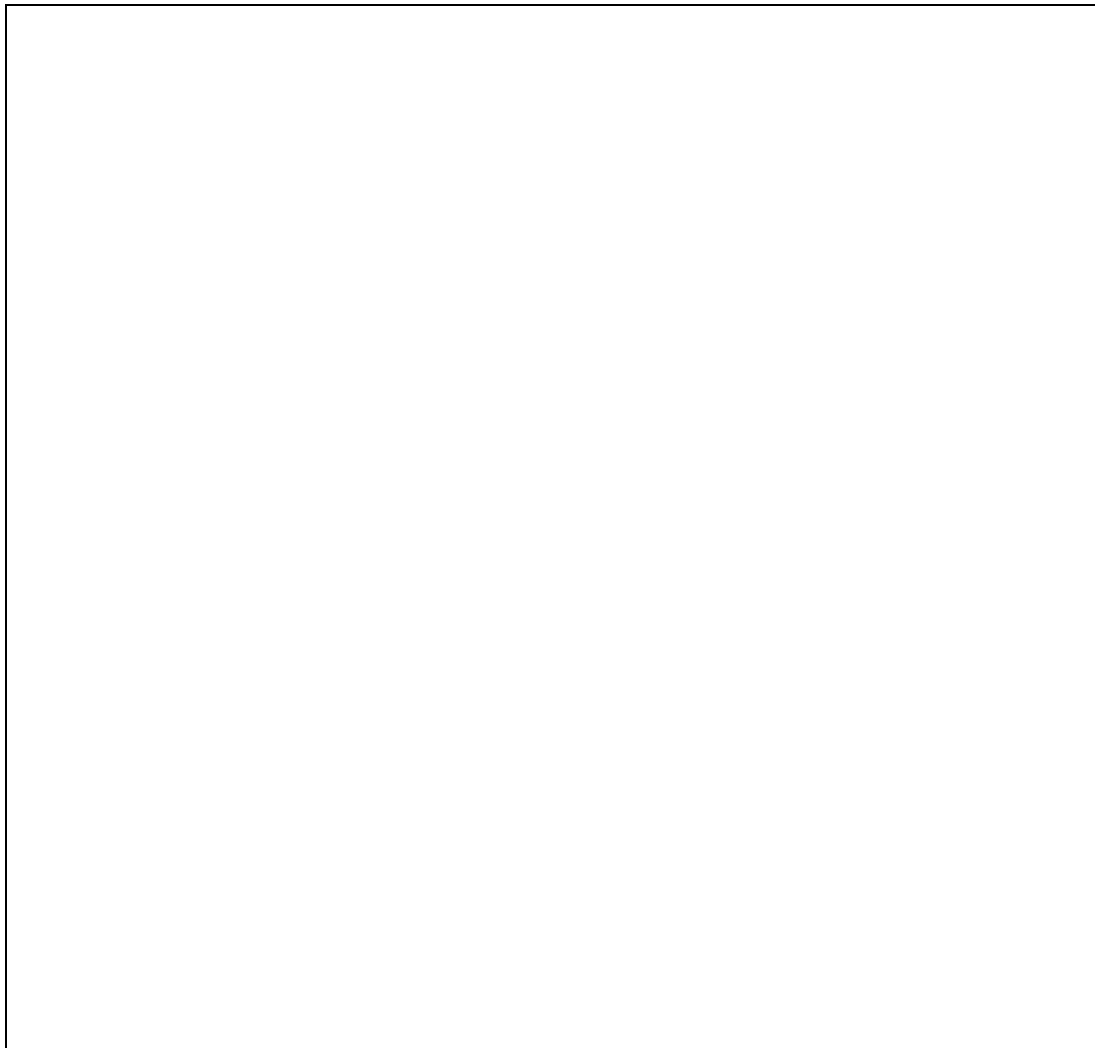
[Show interview list of adjectives written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix I]

Why are these qualities important to you? Can you name any other qualities that would be important to you?

3 qualities of ideal wife:

3 qualities that would make a woman unacceptable as wife:

Summary



6. “When a man uses prostitutes, it is a sign that he is virile and sexually potent”

Agree/Disagree

[Objective to explore anxieties about masculinity, the need to be perceived as a ‘real man’ by other men and how this might link to sexuality and prostitute use]

Whether agree or disagree, ask if interviewee thinks that men often worry about what other men think of them as regards their sexual potency? In general, how important is it for men to prove to others that they are ‘real’ men? How can they prove it (prompts: material possessions, having children, career success, athletic success, being tough and fearless in violent situations, having pretty/young/obedient wife, getting lots of girlfriends, using prostitutes?) What happens to men who are not respected and considered manly by other men?

Could it be that men sometimes feel pressured into buying commercial sex by their peers? Have there ever been occasions when you felt that you were under pressure from friends or colleagues to go with a prostitute? If yes, please describe the circumstances.

Summary

7. I'm going to ask your opinion about the age at which a girl should be allowed to start work in prostitution, and about when a woman is too old to work as a prostitute.

[Start by asking whether girls under 10 should be allowed to work in prostitution, and if interviewee says no, move to next highest category. With age at which too old, start with 'older than 71' and then move downwards. When the acceptable age is reached, ask interviewee to explain why he sets these boundaries]

Under 10

10 – 15

16 – 18

19 – 21

22 – 25

26 – 30

31 – 40

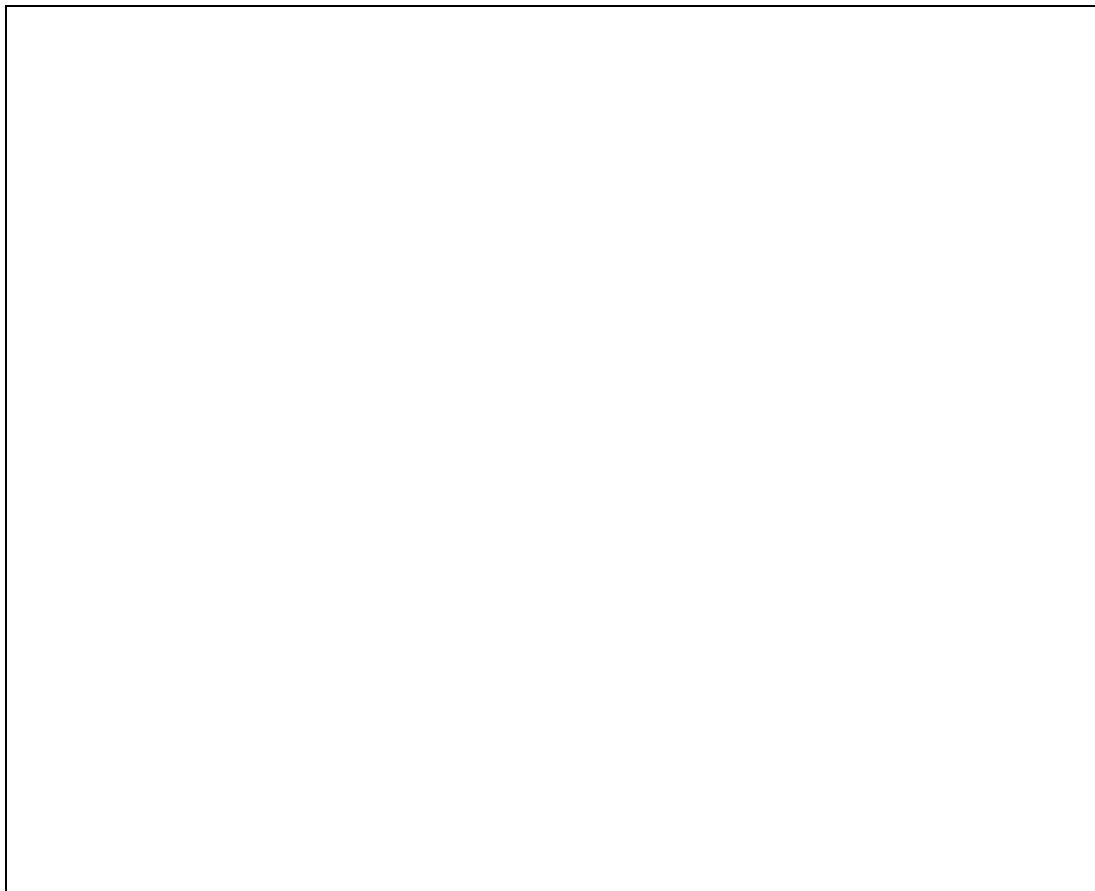
41 – 50

51 – 60

61 – 70

71 +

Summary



8. Looking at the following list of qualities/attributes, can you pick three that you think would make a good sex worker, and three that you think would make a bad sex worker?

[Show interview list of adjectives written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix 2]

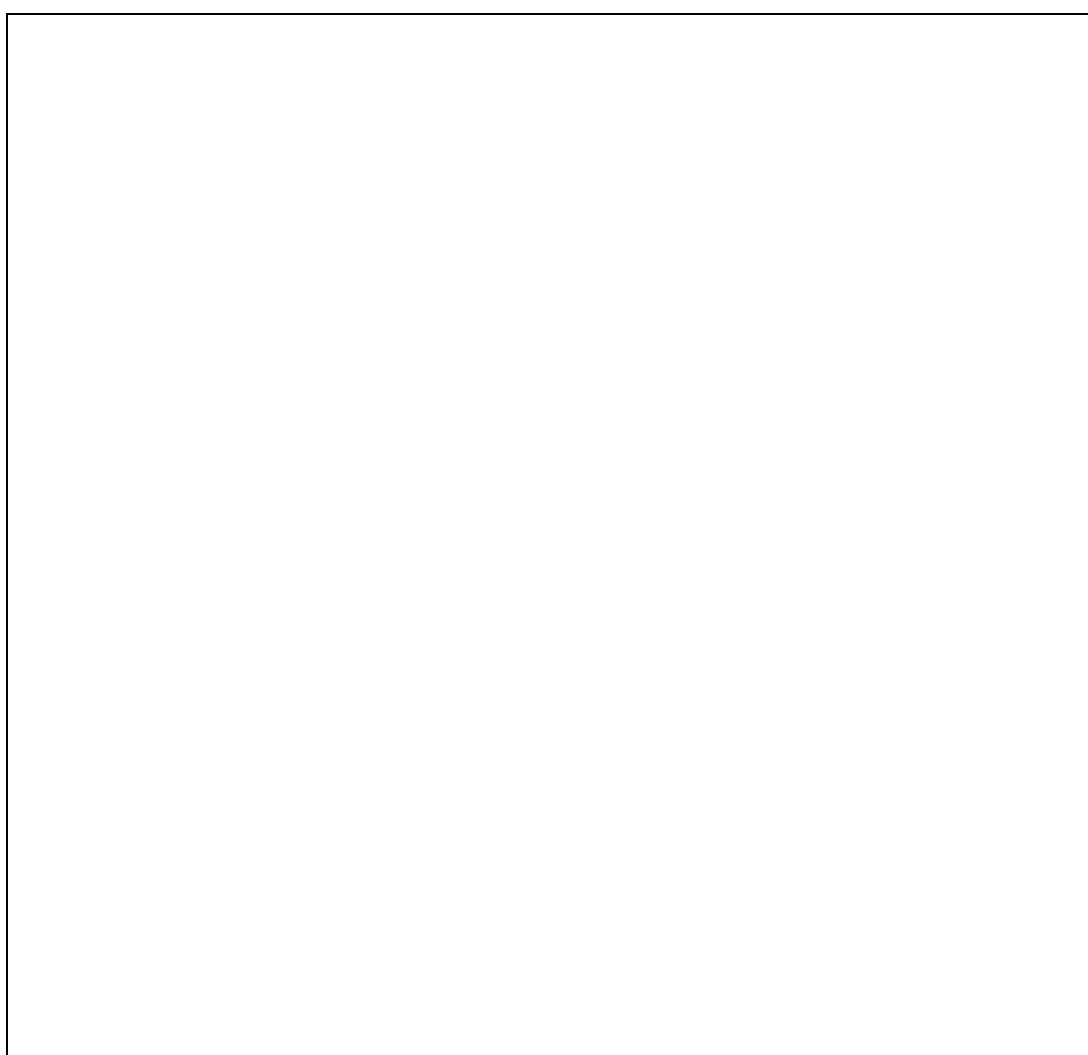
Why are these qualities good or bad in a sex worker?

Can you name any other qualities that might be particularly desirable or undesirable in a sex worker?

3 qualities that would make a good sex worker:

3 qualities that would make a bad sex worker:

Summary



9. I'm going to ask you to compare local and migrant/foreign women who work in prostitution. Using the same list as for question 8, can you say which adjectives (if any) best describe the typical:

- a. local sex worker
- b. [nationality/ethnicity x] sex worker [each country team to insert appropriate nationality/ethnicity]
- c. [nationality/ethnicity y] sex worker [each country team to insert appropriate nationality/ethnicity]

If interviewee has trouble using the list to stereotype local and migrant sex workers, ask if he thinks these groups of sex workers have any other specific characteristics, or whether he thinks they are all alike, or whether it is impossible to generalise.

Where possible, ask about interviewee's personal experience with migrant sex workers.

Adjectives that describe local sex workers:

Adjectives that describe nationality x sex worker:

Adjectives that describe nationality y sex workers:

Summary

10. How would you rate local and migrant sex workers in terms of each of the following:

Price and value for money

Cleanliness/personal hygiene

Willingness to offer a range of sexual services

Ability to make a client feel like a “real man”

Likely to genuinely care for their clients

Likely to enjoy sex

And would you agree with the statement “With foreign sex workers, the client is the one in control?”

Agree

Disagree

Summary

11. a) Do you worry about contracting STDs or AIDS from sex workers?

Yes

No

b) Do you think it is possible to reduce the risk of disease by using particular types of sex workers (for example, younger girls, sex workers from particular

countries/regions, “high class” call girls), or by avoiding particular forms of prostitution or types of sex workers (e.g., street workers, drug-users, foreigners, cheap brothels, busy sex workers who obviously get a lot of clients)?

Summary

12. I’m going to read out four statements that some men have made about prostitution. Can you tell me whether you agree with any of them?

- A. “Prostitution is quick, easy and satisfying, like buying fast food when you are really hungry”
- B. “Prostitutes are dirty, but men need them for sexual relief”
- C. “Going to prostitutes is like an addiction – men get a compulsion to go but often feel dirty afterwards”
- D. “Prostitutes are skilled and professional love-makers who should be given more respect”

- Is buying sex like buying a good or service, or is it just something men have to do to relieve themselves? If none of these, what is it like?
- Is it possible to respect prostitutes? If no, why not? If yes, are all prostitutes, or only some kinds of prostitute worthy of respect?
- Sometimes clients are violent towards prostitutes. Do you think this is usually the prostitute's or the client's fault? Why do you think it happens?

Summary

Background data

Interview Number:

Age	
Nationality	
Race/ethnic identity	
Occupation	
Marital status	
Number of children	
Education	
Income	
Face-to-face or telephone	
Where and how recruited	
Interviewer name	
Preferred type of prostitution, if known	

APPENDIX 1

Wife/Partner Qualities
Patient
Intelligent
A good home-maker
Independent-minded
Talkative
Self-sacrificing
Beautiful
Faithful
Witty and humorous
Sexually shy
Keen to have children
Reluctant to have children
Educated
Sexually passionate
Obedient
Ambitious about her own career

APPENDIX 2

Sex Worker Qualities
Businesslike
Highly-sexed
Shy
Charges low prices
Educated
Caring and warm
Obedient
Dark skinned
Light skinned
Clean
Expensive
Respectful
Confident
Mercenary
Youthful
Mature
Beautiful
Sexually skilled
Drug addicted

INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEXUAL LIFE

This survey forms part of an international study on sexuality that will allow us to compare attitudes towards various aspects of sexual life and behaviour, including sexual health, in four very different countries - India, Italy, Thailand and Sweden. The study is important because, in a world that is changing fast, it is vital that national and international policy makers, and experts on health, education and law understand people's views on sexual life, sexual health, and gender relations. We would therefore be extremely grateful if you can spare the time to contribute to the research by filling out this questionnaire.

The questionnaire is completely anonymous and confidential.

Some of the questions are of an extremely personal nature, and we therefore ask you to seal your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided before returning it to the researcher.

Many thanks for your valuable contribution to this research.

Professor Julia O'Connell Davidson
School of Sociology and Social Policy
University of Nottingham
University Park
Nottingham NG7 2RD
Britain

In association with:

Country teams to insert organisation name and contact address

1. Please state your nationality _____

2. Please state your occupation _____

If you are a member of the armed forces or the police, please state your rank

If you are a student, please state the subject area you are studying _____

3. Please tick the age group you fall into:

under 18

18-21

22-30

31-40

41-50

51-60

61-70

71+

4. What is your marital status? (Please tick one of the following)

single

married

co-habiting

divorced

widowed

5. Do you have any children?

yes

no

6. *race/ethnic/religious identity question, preferably based on categories used in their own country's census, along the lines of 'How would you describe your ethnic background?'*

7. *educational level question, preferably based on categories used in own country's census, but PLEASE KEEP AS SIMPLE & BASIC AS POSSIBLE*

8. Please tick which of the following income groups you fall into:

*

*

*

9. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
"Men need regular sex to remain healthy"					
"Girls should remain virgins until they marry"					
"Women today are <i>too</i> independent"					
"Prostitution is the world's oldest profession – there is no way to get rid of it"					
"When a man uses prostitutes, it is a sign that he is virile and sexually potent"					

10. Using the list below, please tick the three qualities that you would MOST want to find in your ideal wife or long-term partner?

	My ideal wife/partner would be
Patient	
Intelligent	
A good home-maker	
Independent-minded	
Talkative	
Self-sacrificing	
Beautiful	
Faithful	
Witty and humorous	
Sexually shy	
Keen to have children	
Reluctant to have children	
Educated	
Sexually passionate	
Obedient	
Ambitious about her own career	

11. In your opinion, what is the youngest age at which a girl should be allowed to start work in prostitution?

Under 10

10 – 13

14 - 15

16 – 18

19 – 21

22 – 25

26 +

Never – women should not work in prostitution

Don't know

12. Male friends or colleagues sometimes encourage each other to engage in certain forms of sexual activity. Have you ever found yourself in any of the following situations?

	Yes, once or twice	Yes, quite often	No, never
I have been shown pornography (magazines, videos, internet) by male friends or colleagues			
I have visited lap-dance clubs, hostess bars, or strip shows with a group of male friends/colleagues			
I have been to brothels or red light areas with male friends or colleagues			

13. If you have ever been with male friends or colleagues when they decided to buy sex from a prostitute, how did it make you feel? (Please tick one of the following)

- I wanted to buy sex myself, so it felt good to know that they wouldn't judge me or disapprove
- I didn't feel anything about it – it's just what men do when they are out together
- It made me feel that I should go with a prostitute even though I didn't want to
- It made me uncomfortable because I don't really approve of men buying sex
- I have never been in that situation

14. Do you use pornography of any kind (pictures, magazines, videos, internet)?
- Yes, several times a week
 - Yes, a few times a month
 - Yes, but very rarely
 - No, never
15. Which of the following describes your sexual experience:
- Sexual contact only with women
 - Sexual contact only with men
 - Some sexual contact with both women and men
 - Not sexually active
16. If you are sexually active, please state the age at which you first had sex _____
17. Were you ever touched sexually by an adult when you were a child?
- Yes
 - No
 - Don't remember
18. Please indicate roughly how many sexual partners you have had over the past year:
- None
 - 1
 - 2
 - 3 or 4
 - 5 to 10
 - 11 or more
19. Which, if any, of the following statements about masturbation do you agree with? (Please tick all that apply)
- Masturbation is an unhealthy practice
 - Masturbation is a dirty practice
 - It is quite normal to masturbate
 - Masturbation has no harmful consequences
20. Is it better for a man to masturbate or to go with a prostitute?
- Better to go with a prostitute because it is more sexually satisfying
 - Better to go with a prostitute because it is wrong to masturbate
 - Better to masturbate because it is wrong to go with a prostitute
 - Impossible to compare the two

21. Have you ever used the services of a prostitute?

Yes

No

If no, please go straight to question 37

22. How old were you the first time you used the services of a prostitute?

23. What were the circumstances of your first sexual encounter with a prostitute?

- Friends or colleagues arranged it
- Family member arranged it
- Prostitute approached you
- Decided independently to visit a brothel or approach a prostitute

24. Approximately how many times have you bought sexual services from a prostitute?

- Once
- More than once, but less than 10 times
- More than 10 times
- In the past I visited prostitutes, but I no longer do so

25. Where have you bought the services of a prostitute? (Please tick all that apply)

- In my home town or city
- In another city or town
- When travelling or stationed abroad

26. Which of the following services do you normally buy from prostitutes?

- Oral sex
- Vaginal sex
- Anal sex
- Hand relief
- Other

27. Do you use condoms when you have sex with prostitutes?

- Yes, always
- Yes, sometimes
- Only when I go with prostitutes that I don't know
- No

28. Do you take any of the following precautions to reduce the risk of catching sexually transmitted diseases from prostitutes/sex workers? (Please tick all that apply)

- Only ask for oral sex
- Only ask for hand relief
- Use condoms
- Use alcohol rub and/or wash carefully after sex
- Avoid prostitutes who look unclean
- Avoid prostitutes who get a lot of customers
- Avoid foreign prostitutes
- Look for younger prostitutes
- Look for virgins
- Ensure that prostitute washes thoroughly before sex
- None of the above

29. Do you prefer to buy sexual services from prostitutes of any particular age?

Yes, preferably under 12

Yes, preferably aged between 13 and 15

Yes, preferably aged between 16 and 18

Yes, preferably aged between 19 and 25

Yes, preferably older women in their 30s or 40s

Yes, preferably women aged over 50

No, age is not important to me

30. Have you ever bought sexual services from a foreign prostitute?

- Yes, when travelling or stationed abroad
- Yes, in my own country
- No

31. In [own country], have you ever bought sexual services from a prostitute from any of the following places? (Please tick all that apply)

[Each country team to insert nationalities of main groups of migrant sex workers in their country, followed by 'Another region' and then 'I have only ever bought sexual services from local prostitutes']

32. Have you ever bought sexual services for any of the following reasons? (Please tick all that apply)

- Needed sexual release
- For the excitement of doing something forbidden
- To experience the power of getting someone to serve me sexually
- For comfort, company or human warmth
- To satisfy my curiosity
- To perform sexual acts that I can't practice with my wife or partner
- To be able to enjoy sex without any emotional demands or commitments
- None of the above

33. Which, if any, of the following statements best describe the way you feel about prostitution?

- “Prostitution is quick, easy and satisfying, like buying fast food when you are really hungry”
- “Prostitutes are dirty, but men need them for sexual relief”
- “Going to prostitutes is like an addiction - I get a compulsion to go but often feel dirty afterwards”
- “Prostitutes are skilled and professional love-makers who should be given more respect”

34. Using the list below, please tick the three qualities that you would MOST want to find in a prostitute who you bought sexual services from, and the three you would LEAST like to find:

	Three qualities I would MOST want to find in a prostitute	Three qualities I would LEAST like to find in a prostitute
Businesslike		
Highly-sexed		
Shy		
Charges low prices		
Educated		
Caring and warm		
Obedient		
Dark skinned		
Light skinned		
Clean		
Expensive		
Respectful		
Confident		
Mercenary		
Youthful		
Mature		
Beautiful		
Sexually skilled		
Drug addicted		

35. Would you say that any of the adjectives below describe the typical [*migrant or migrant*] prostitute? Please tick those that apply.

	The typical [<i>migrant</i>] prostitute is	The typical [<i>migrant</i>] prostitute is
Businesslike		
Highly-sexed		
Shy		
Charges very low prices		
Educated		
Caring and warm		
Obedient		
Clean		
Expensive		
Mercenary		
Respectful		
Confident		
Youthful		
Mature		
Beautiful		
Sexually skilled and experienced		
Drug addicted		

36. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about foreign sex workers:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
"Foreign sex workers usually offer better value for money than [<i>local</i>] sex workers"					
"Foreign sex workers are usually willing to offer a wider range of sexual services than [<i>local</i>] sex workers"					
"The client is the one in control with foreign sex workers"					
"Foreign sex workers are more likely to genuinely care for their clients than [<i>local</i>] sex workers"					
"Foreign sex workers are more likely to enjoy sex"					
"It is usually more expensive to have sex with [<i>local</i>] sex workers"					

NOW PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 38

37. (This question is only for those who have never bought sexual services)

Which of the following reasons best describes why you have never used the services of a prostitute?

- I haven't yet had an opportunity to try
- I've never had enough money to spare
- I'm not sexually turned on by the idea of using prostitutes
- It is against my moral principles to have sex with prostitutes
- I'm afraid of catching a sexually transmitted disease

The remaining questions are for ALL respondents

38. Have you heard news reports about women being trafficked into prostitution?

Yes

No

39. How do you think clients should respond if they come across a sex worker who they think may have been forced into prostitution against her will?

- treat her like any other sex worker
- be sure to give her an extra big tip
- offer to help her escape
- choose a different sex worker who has definitely not been trafficked
- report it to the police

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THIS RESEARCH. IF YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS ON ANY OF THE ISSUES COVERED IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, PLEASE WRITE THEM [BELOW/OVERLEAF]

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – DOMESTIC WORKERS

Introduction

We're asking you to agree to be interviewed as part of an international study on demand for the services of domestic workers in private houses that has been organised by Nottingham University in England. The study will allow us to compare households in four very different countries – India, Italy, Thailand and Sweden. The study is important because in many countries of the world employment of domestic workers is becoming more and more common as households struggle to cope with social and economic pressures. Yet how household work is managed and gets done is paid very little attention. It is important that this is recognised by national and international policy makers.

The interview will take about an hour, and is completely anonymous. We do not want to know your name, or any information that could be used to identify you. We will treat the information you give us as strictly and completely confidential.

Because this is an international study, and we are putting the same questions to people in Sweden, Thailand, India and Italy, not all of the questions will seem relevant to you, or the wording may sound a bit odd, but please bear with us! If there are questions you feel you can't answer, we'll be just as interested to know why you can't answer the question or why you think it doesn't apply in your country.

1. Some people say that women are natural home-makers. Do you think that they are right?

Objective: to understand what interviewees feel about traditional gender roles, (including the impact on boy and girl children) particularly about attitudes to care and housework.

- *Have traditional gender roles changed? Is this good or bad?*
- *Should domestic work be women's work? Should women go out to work?*
- *Are women naturally more caring than men?*
- *Should the children of a house do housework? Is this different for boys and girls?*

Summary

2. What does the way a home is presented reveal about the family living there? How has this affected your decision to hire a domestic worker?

Objective: to understand the relationship between status/class and the home as experienced by the interviewee and the particular gendered implications this has.

- How are these messages conveyed (through objects, size of home, taste, cleanliness, tidiness etc)
- What can you tell about the woman of the house?
- What can you tell about the man of the house?

3. Looking at the following statements, which for you are the three that best describe your reasons for employing a domestic worker

[show interviewee statements written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix 1]

- Do you think any other reasons should be added?

3 reasons:

Summary

4. Looking at the following statements, which best describe your reasons for employing a migrant as a domestic worker?

[show interviewee statements written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix 2]

- Some people employ migrants who are not legally allowed to work, often as a means of helping them, what do you think of this practice?
- Would you be more or less likely to employ an undocumented migrant? Why?

Summary

5. When did you first employ a domestic worker and how many workers have you employed?

Objective: to map employment history, in particular any changes such as moving from non-migrant to migrant, differing ages etc

- Have you always employed migrants? Why did you change? What have been the different nationalities you've employed?
- Have you employed different age ranges?
- Have you employed men as well as women?
- Were you brought up with domestic workers in your house?

Summary

6. Can you tell me about something about how you reach decisions regarding your domestic worker?

Objective: to examine the gendered nature of household decision-making, and how that is reflected in the employment process.

- *How do you find domestic workers to employ? Which networks do you use? Who conducts the interview?*
- *Who signs her contract? Who sets the wages?*
- *Who sets the tasks for the worker? Who monitors her? Who hands over her wages?*
- *Who decides when to dismiss the worker?*
- *Do you and your partner always agree about such decisions? What happens if not?*

Summary

7. Looking at the following list of qualities, can you pick three that you would actively look for in a domestic worker and three that you would avoid.
[show interviewee list of adjectives written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix 3]

- What qualities do you look for when you're employing a domestic worker?
- What qualities make for a bad domestic worker?
- How can you tell whether or not a person possesses these qualities?

3 qualities that make a good domestic worker:

3 qualities that make a bad domestic worker:

Summary

8. Looking at the following statements, can you pick three that best describe the negative aspects of employing a domestic worker?

[show interviewee statements written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix 4]

- Do you think any other reasons should be added?
- What has been your worst experience as an employer of a domestic worker?
- Would these problems be solved by employing someone live-in/out?

3 negative aspects

Summary

9. Would you characterise your relationship with your domestic worker as purely professional or does it have a personal element?

- *What do you call her in front of others and what does she call you? (both name and form of address)? What do your children call her?*
- *Have you met her family? On what occasions?*

10. Are there aspects of domestic labour that you only do yourself? For example, putting the children to bed, cooking etc.

Objective: to understand the division of labour between employer and domestic worker.

- Why do you do the tasks you do? (time/want to do them/feel should do them)
- Does your partner feel you should do certain tasks?
- Are there tasks that your domestic worker refuses to do?
- Are there tasks too intimate to share?

Summary

11. I'm going to ask you to compare local and migrant/foreign women who work in domestic work. Using the same list as for question 7, can you say which adjectives (if any) best describe the typical:

i. local domestic worker

ii. [nationality/ethnicity x] domestic worker

iii. [nationality ethnicity y] domestic worker

[If the interviewee has trouble using the list to stereotype local and migrant domestic workers, ask if these groups have any other specific characteristics, or whether she thinks they are all alike, or whether it is impossible to generalise]

Objective: to examine how interviewees' perceptions of migrant domestic workers differ from their perceptions of local domestic workers, and how this might affect demand.

- Are there nationalities that you particularly prefer to employ as domestic workers? Why?
- Are there nationalities that you would never consider employing as domestic workers? Why?

Adjectives that describe local domestic workers

Adjectives that describe nationality x domestic workers

Adjectives that describe nationality y domestic workers

Summary (cont. next page if necessary)

Summary q. 11 continued

12. In your opinion, what is the youngest age at which a girl should be allowed to start as a domestic worker, and when is a woman too old to work in domestic service?

[Start by asking whether girls under 10 should be allowed to work as domestic workers, and if interviewee says no, move to next highest category. With age at which too old, start with 'older than 71' and then move downwards. When the acceptable age is reached, ask interviewee to explain why she sets these boundaries]

- Would these age boundaries be the same in any form of employment?
- Are these age boundaries any different for migrants than for locals?

Under 10

10 – 15

16 – 18

19 – 21

22 – 25

26 – 30

31 – 40

41 – 50

51 – 60

61 – 70

71 +

Summary

13. Do you think that domestic workers in general should have the right to the following [show interviewee statements written out on a separate card, or read out for phone interviews – see appendix 5]

- *Are there some rights that are not appropriate for the particular situation of you and your worker? (e.g. verbal rather than written contract)*
- *What do you pay your domestic worker(s)? What are her hours and days of work?*
- *Sometimes employers are violent towards domestic workers. Do you think this is usually the worker's or the employer's fault? Why do you think this happens?*
- *How should you discipline domestic workers?*

Rights of domestic workers

Inappropriate for domestic workers

Background data

Interview Number:

Age	
Nationality	
Race/ethnic identity	
Occupation	
Marital status	
Number of children	
Education	
Family Income	
Face-to-face or telephone	
Where and how recruited	
How many domestic workers employs	
Whether employs live-in or live-out or both	
Interviewer name	

APPENDIX 1

REASONS FOR EMPLOYING A DOMESTIC WORKER

Means child-care available when you need it
Means elder-care available when you need it
Allows you to go out to work
Increases household security
Allows you to entertain properly
Stops arguments over housework
Allows you to have more time with children
Allows you to have more time with husband
Helps the domestic worker improve her situation
It's impossible to live without a domestic worker
It's cheaper than other options available
She keeps the house looking good
Provides more personal child/elder care than other options available
Gives you some company in the house

APPENDIX 2

REASONS FOR EMPLOYING A *MIGRANT/FOREIGN* DOMESTIC WORKER

Prepared to work flexible hours
Look more like servants
Costs less than a non-migrant
She needs the opportunity
More suited to domestic work
Not distracted by family and friends
More willing and co-operative
More likely to stay for a long time
Easier to control
More fashionable
They are the only workers available

APPENDIX 3

QUALITIES OF A DOMESTIC WORKER

Professional
Attractive
Shy
Well-dressed
Cheap
Educated
Caring and warm
Feminine
Obedient
Dark skinned
Light skinned
Clean
Expensive
Respectful
Money-conscious
Young
Mature
Friendly
Independent
Easy-going
Hard working

APPENDIX 4

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF EMPLOYING A DOMESTIC WORKER

She can use your home as her own
You are vulnerable to gossip
You don't feel free to do as you like inside your home
You have to deal with the domestic worker's personal problems
You have to deal with too much bureaucracy
Concerns about the domestic worker stealing
Concerns about domestic worker's influence over your children
Concerns about domestic worker's influence over your husband
Domestic worker can become jealous of your position
It's socially unacceptable
It's very expensive
You have to keep up standards of tidiness
It's too much responsibility

APPENDIX 5

POSSIBLE RIGHTS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

Paid maternity leave
A written contract of employment directly with employer
Discipline the children as they see fit
Sick pay
A written contract with their agent
An annual visit home
Trades union membership
Their own room
Regular days off
Holiday pay
Use their employer's telephone
Pension
Bring boyfriends to the house
Minimum wage
A work permit (if come from abroad)
Fixed hours of employment

INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC WORKERS IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS

This survey forms part of an international study on demand for the services provided by domestic workers that will allow us to compare households in four very different countries - India, Italy, Thailand and Sweden. The study is important because employment of domestic workers is becoming more and more common in most countries of the world, as households must find ways of coping with social and economic pressures. Yet the need for such workers is largely unrecognised by national and international policy makers. We would therefore be extremely grateful if you can spare the time to contribute to the research by filling out this questionnaire.

The questionnaire is completely anonymous and confidential.

Some of the questions are of a personal nature, and we therefore ask you to seal your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided before returning it to the researcher.

Many thanks for your valuable contribution to this research.

Professor Julia O'Connell Davidson
School of Sociology and Social Policy
University of Nottingham
University Park
Nottingham NG7 2RD
Britain

1. Please state your nationality _____

2. Please state your occupation _____

3. Are you (*please circle*)

Male

Female

4. Please circle the age group you fall into:

Under 18

18-21

22-30

31-40

41-50

51-60

61-70

71+

5. Please circle your marital status:

Single

Married

Co-habiting

Divorced

Widowed

6. Do you have any children?

Yes

No

If yes, please write their ages

7. *[We need each team to frame race/ethnic/religious identity question, preferably based on categories used in their own country's census, along the lines of 'How would you describe your ethnic background?']*

8. *[We need each team to frame educational level question, preferably based on categories used in their own country's census. **Please keep this simple**]*

9. Please circle which of the following income groups your family falls into:

[We need each team to come up with figures in their country that would cover:

i) Low (e.g. under \$x)

ii) Middle (e.g. \$x - \$x)

iii) upper middle to very high (e.g. over \$x)]

10. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
“Women are natural home-makers”					
“You can tell a lot about a woman by looking at her home”					
“Women should not go out to work”					
“In general, men don't do enough around the house”					
“It's not fair to expect your children to help around the house”					

11. Could you indicate, in general, who takes main responsibility for the following household tasks in your home

	Self	Domestic worker(s)	Partner	Parent/child/relative in household	No one/not applicable
Dusting					
Floor washing					
Reading to children					
Cleaning toilets					
Shopping					
Cooking					
Feeding children					
Washing the car					
Washing outer clothes					
Washing underwear					
Looking after pets					
Shoe cleaning					
Tidying up					

12. In your opinion, what is the youngest age at which a person should be allowed to start full time employment as a domestic worker, and what is the youngest age at which a person should be allowed to take on other forms of full time employment, such as factory or shop work?

	Age at which it is acceptable to start as a domestic worker	Age at which it is acceptable to start other forms of employment
Under 10		
10-13		
14-15		
16-18		
19-21		
21+		
Don't know		

13. Which of the following rights, if any, do you think that domestic workers ought to be legally entitled to?

- Paid maternity leave
- A written contract of employment directly with employer
- Discipline the children as they see fit
- Sick pay
- A written contract with their agent
- An annual visit home
- Trades union membership
- Their own room
- Regular days off
- Holiday pay
- Use their employer's telephone
- Pension
- Bring boyfriends to the house
- Minimum wage
- A work permit (if come from abroad)
- Fixed hours of employment

14. Please describe your current employment situation by filling out the boxes below for each worker you employ. [If you are currently employing more than 4 people in your home, please continue below the table.]

	Live-in	Live-out	Gender	Age	Nationality	Job title	Pay per week
Worker 1							
Worker 2							
Worker 3							
Worker 4							

15. Looking at the following statements, which for you are the **THREE that best describe your reasons for employing a domestic worker**

- Child-care available when I need it
- Elder-care available when I need it
- Allows me to go out to work
- Increases household security
- Allows me to entertain properly
- Stops arguments over housework
- Allows me to have more time with children
- Allows me to have more time with husband/wife
- Helps her to improve her situation
- It's impossible to live without one
- It's cheaper than other options available
- She keeps the house looking good
- Provides more personal child/elder care than other options available
- Gives me some company in the house

16. For how many years have you employed domestic workers?

17. How many domestic workers have you employed in this time?

18. Were you brought up with domestic workers in your house?

- Yes
- No

19. Please state who takes primary responsibility for the following aspects of employing and managing domestic workers in your household

Decisions	Self	Husband/ Partner	Self and husband/ partner	Other relative living in household	No one/not applicable in this house
Looking for applicants					
Interviewing applicants					
Choosing the worker					
Signing contract					
Setting wages					
Setting tasks for the worker					
Monitoring the worker					
Paying the salary					
Dismissing the worker					

20. Looking at the following statements, can you pick THREE that best describe the negative aspects of employing a domestic worker?

- She can use your home as her own
- You are vulnerable to gossip
- You don't feel free to do as you like inside your home
- You have to deal with her personal problems
- You have to deal with too much bureaucracy
- You have to worry about her stealing
- You have to think about her influence over your children
- You have to think about her influence over your husband
- She can become jealous of your position
- It's socially unacceptable
- It's very expensive
- You have to keep up standards of tidiness
- It's too much responsibility

21. Have ever employed domestic workers who are under the age of 18?

- **Yes**
- **No**

22. Which of the following statements do you agree with (please tick all that apply):

- **“The younger the worker, the more trouble she causes the employer”**
- **“You have to be a mother as well as an employer to workers who are under 18”**
- **“The younger the worker, the more obedient she is”**
- **“Younger workers are more willing to fit in with the routine of the household”**
- **“I would never consider employing a domestic worker under the age of 18”**

23. If you found your domestic worker using your telephone without your permission, which of the following measures would you apply (*You can tick more than one*)

- Verbal warning
- Dismissal
- Take some money from her pay
- Give her a particularly difficult task
- Confine her to her room
- Physical punishment
- Inform her relatives
- Other (please specify)
- I wouldn't do anything

24. Using the list below please tick THREE reasons for employing a MIGRANT as a domestic worker

- They are prepared to work flexible hours
- They look more like a servant
- They cost less than locals
- They need the opportunity more than locals
- They are more suited to domestic work than locals
- They do not get distracted by family and friends
- They are more willing and co-operative than non-migrants
- They are more likely to stay for a long time
- They are easier to control
- It's more fashionable to have migrants
- Migrants are the only workers available for this job
- They don't gossip as much as locals

25. Would you say that any of the adjectives below describe the typical MIGRANT domestic worker

	Nationality x domestic worker	Nationality y domestic worker
Professional		
Attractive		
Shy		
Well-dressed		
Cheap		
Educated		
Caring		
Feminine		
Obedient		
Dark skinned		
Light skinned		
Clean		
Expensive		
Respectful		
Money-conscious		
Young		
Mature		
Friendly		
Independent		
Easy-going		
Hard working		

For the following questions, if you employ more than one domestic worker, please consider your most senior employee

26. Using the list below, please tick the three qualities you would MOST want to find in a domestic worker, and the three you would AVOID

	Three qualities I look for	Three qualities I avoid
Professional		
Attractive		
Shy		
Well-dressed		
Cheap		
Educated		
Caring		
Feminine		
Obedient		
Dark skinned		
Light skinned		
Clean		
Expensive		
Respectful		
Money-conscious		
Young		
Mature		
Friendly		
Independent		
Easy-going		
Hard working		

27. Have you met other members of her family?

- Yes
- No

28. Would you characterise your relationship as

- Friendly
- Professional
- Friendly and professional
- Neither friendly, nor professional

29. In addition to her salary, which, if any, of the following items do you give to your domestic worker

- Gifts for special occasions
- Toiletries
- Sanitary protection
- Food
- Clothes
- Toys
- Tips

30. Have you heard stories or reports about women being trafficked into domestic work?

- Yes
- No

31. How do you think employers should respond if agencies offer them workers whom they suspect have been forced into domestic work

- Treat her like any other worker
- Employ them and pay them extra
- Report it to the police
- Take it up with the agency
- Choose a different worker who has definitely not been trafficked

32. How do you think people should respond if they come across a worker whom they think is being violently abused by her employer

- Treat her like any other domestic worker
- Give her a tip
- Offer to help her escape
- Report it to the police
- Take it up with her employer

THANK YOU for taking part in this research. If you have any further comments on any of the issues covered in this questionnaire, please write them overleaf.

ⁱ The samples from Sweden, Thailand and Japan did not really allow us to compare like with like. In Sweden, for example, almost half the respondents were law or social science students. It could be argued that Swedish students are often well travelled and that groups of men who travel are more likely than others to buy sex. However, it could equally be argued that Swedish social work and criminology students are less likely to engage in prostitute use than many other groups in Swedish society. By contrast, the Thai and Japanese surveys used samples drawn from populations that are widely believed to be prone to prostitute use (police and salarymen respectively). If it had been possible for the Swedish team to survey a larger sample of peacekeeping troops, or had they targeted other groups, such as businessmen who travel abroad or truck drivers, as well as military, it could be that differences

between the three countries would have been less pronounced. The Swedish and Japanese data show a rather lower percentage of men with experience of prostitute use than would be predicted on the basis of studies based on more representative samples of the male population of these countries. A 1996 survey found that 13% of Swedish men had experience of buying sex (Haavio-Mannila and Rotkirch 2000), whilst a recent Japanese study found that 43.2% of salarymen reported having bought commercial sexual services (ref). However, the same survey also pointed to significant differences between different groups of salarymen. Those working in agriculture, forest industry, and fishing industry were the most likely to have used prostitution (85.7%); the second most prostitute-use prone group were salarymen working in transportation related industries and sales (more than 70%), and business owners (70%). Occupation groups that were least likely to report prostitute use were students (19%), people working in social welfare (25.8%), teachers (28.6%) and people working in the medical industry (36%).

ⁱⁱ It is interesting to note when asked about his 'ideal' wife, one such interviewee noted that as he had wanted children, it was important to him to marry a woman who also wanted to have children. However, when asked about his ideal sex worker, he observed that: 'I don't think sex workers should be too young, but it would be fine if they are youthful. I have children and have reached the age where I really appreciate a woman's breasts which haven't yet been used for feeding.' (Danish educator, married, aged 41)

ⁱⁱⁱ We do not have survey data from a larger group of Danish clients against which to assess how representative our interviewees' attitudes and beliefs were. This is particularly problematic given that the Danish interviewees were a volunteer sample, all of whom were white Danish men who were relatively experienced as clients, and who preferred to buy sex from women working in massage parlours. Missing from the interview sample were clients of street prostitutes, clients who are themselves migrants or members of ethnic/racial minority groups, clients who patronise expensive call girls and/or more exclusive 'go go' clubs, and 'casual' or situational clients, who only buy sex occasionally and in particular situations. Having said this, there are still reasons to believe that the sample was reasonably representative of the attitudes of clients who buy sex in relatively well established and well organized massage parlours, and this actually constitutes by far the largest part of the prostitution market in Denmark. (In 1999, it was estimated that only about 9% of sex workers in Denmark were involved in street prostitution, for example.)

^{iv} The survey data on respondents who had no experience of prostitute-use are also interesting in this regard. We asked non-clients why they had never bought sex and there were some fairly marked national differences in responses to this question. In Thailand and Japan, more than half of the non-client groups stated it was lack of opportunity or funds or, most significant of all, fear of sexually transmitted disease that had prevented them from purchasing commercial sexual services. In Sweden, only 16% gave these reasons for refraining from prostitute-use. By contrast, 46% of non-clients in Thailand and Japan, but over 80% of Swedish non-clients stated that they had not bought sex either because they were not turned on by the idea, or because it was against their moral principles.

^v This is consistent with reports that nearly one in four Italian teenager males had their first sexual experience with a prostitute (Naz 2002).

^{vi} A quarter of clients in India, 22% in Italy, 19% in Japan, 16% in Thailand and 3 out of 7 in Sweden also identified 'youthful' as one of their three most wanted qualities in a prostitute.

^{vii} Swedish respondents were those who felt the division of labour was most equal – 65% of them said that men don't do enough around the house. In Sweden the gendered division of labour in the household has been recognised as a major source of inequality, 65% of respondents felt that men don't do enough, and while research shows that men perform a greater share of domestic work now compared to 30 years ago, this is a result of the total amount of hours in the house decreasing.

^{viii} Italian employers also share tasks, but predominantly when the domestic worker is Italian. Sharing is not common with a migrant.

^{ix} "don't know" was usually a response to question on the age at which other types of work should start, i.e. respondents felt confident giving a suitable age for domestic labour, but not for other types of work.

^x Of course it is not possible to say from the survey data whether they employ migrants because they are looking for a more "professional" relationship, or whether they feel differently about their employees because they are migrants.

^{xi} This is not restricted to Sweden of course. The au pair system, with all its contradictions, operates throughout Europe and North America, and indeed is becoming more and more popular.

^{xii} “They are more dependent and poor, that is why they are easier to control. They will do anything, any kind of work.” (Indian housewife, married aged 35)

“as they have to stay, they can’t go off, so they will have to be more cooperative...they are more suitable for domestic work because where they are coming from they are poor and uneducated and don’t have skills to do other things, especially the women” (Indian female social worker, married, aged 33)

“They don’t have any place to go to, that is why they are prepared to work flexible hours...since they come from outside they feel that they have to earn before they can return home for a visit. Locals want to leave the job on any small pretext... because of their helpless situation, if you treat them with real love and care they become attached and so become cooperative” (Indian businesswoman, married, aged 48)

“They are more willing and collaborative because they need to work. They are in a foreign country so they have to work. For the employer this is an advantage” (Brazilian woman living in Italy, housewife, aged 47)

“If you employ a Swedish au pair she probably wouldn’t stay for very long because a Swede has got completely different possibilities, better job opportunities or education. When you have children continuity is very important...They live in poor countries.. This makes them extremely grateful...and when they are grateful they are perhaps more anxious to do their best and strive to be flexible” (Swedish male pilot, divorced, aged 43)

“Swedes often get better opportunities and therefore only stay for a short while in a job. The woman we employ is however happy to have the chance to work for us, happy for that opportunity” (Swedish female consultant, co-habiting aged 30)