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Study Number 6109

Market for Migrant Domestic and Sex Workers, 2002-2006

USER GUIDE

R000239794 -The Market for Migrant Domestic and Sex Workers

This project, led by the University of Nottingham and COMPAS, University of Oxford, gathers data on the demand for migrant domestic and sex workers in Spain and the UK.

Key Findings

Demand for and attitudes toward migrant labour

- Demand for sex-workers and domestic workers is very closely related to supply. Where sex and domestic workers are easily and cheaply available, clients and employers are more likely to experience a 'need' for them.
- An individual's desire for workers is also influenced by his or her own history. For example, those who employ domestic workers often come from families who have previously employed such workers.
- Social norms also influence employment practices. For example, tourists in Tenerife describe buying sex as 'part of the lifestyle'. Similarly, expatriates provide much poorer working conditions for their domestic workers overseas than they would if they were employing them in Britain on the grounds that local employers offer similar employment standards.
- Employers of domestic workers were keen that that the employee should reflect their status, and they needed to be able to feel comfortable about the worker being in a subservient relationship with them. In addition a number of employers cited 'attractiveness' as part of their employment criteria.

Employing migrant labour in the home

- Those employing migrant domestic workers cited availability as an important factor in explaining why they employed a migrant worker. However many employers also believed that they were giving staff an opportunity to 'better themselves' through work in their homes. Seeing this form of employment as a type of benevolence appears to help employers manage an otherwise difficult relationship.
- Interviewees were explicit about what they saw as the value of racial difference between themselves and their domestic workers. It was also suggested that someone who is illegal and foreign is less likely to feel at home in their employer's house, which was seen as positive.
- Employers have preferences for particular ethnic, racial and or religious groups as employees and draw upon established stereotypes to justify these preferences.

- Employers appreciated the greater control that they could exercise over migrants. Those who are working illegally are recognised as having fewer options and it is thought that this will make them more conscientious as employees. Similarly, some immigration statuses give the employer control over the renewal of the worker's visa, thereby making them easier to retain.

Employing migrant sex workers and buying sexual services from migrants

- Those who organise and profit from migrant sex workers observed that the vulnerability their immigration status brings about, alongside the fact that they were more likely to need money makes them more reliable and less likely to quit at short notice. .
- Many of those who had bought sexual services from migrant workers said that the reason they had chosen migrant workers was simply because they were the only sex workers working in the area or establishment visited.
- Most clients expressed a preference for sex workers that they shared language and culture with. Some said that they avoided migrant sex workers because they believed local women were more likely to have voluntarily chosen sex work.

Attitudes toward age and childhood

- In Spain and the UK, there are various penalties applying to the prostitution of children, but there is no legislation that specifically outlaws children engaging in domestic work. In the absence of such laws, employers based decisions about whether to employ a domestic worker under the age of 18 on broader social ideas of childhood.
- In the main, both Spanish and UK employers said they would not hire a person under the age of 18 year as a live-in worker. However, many said they would employ a child if they lived in a country where this was common practice.
- There was a contradiction in employers' views of children as domestic workers: On one hand they were described as ideal because they are seen as easy to train, cheap, obedient, flexible and without family obligations of their own; However, they were seen as immature and troublesome.

Policy implications

- Whilst political debate and policy has focused on the role of prostitution in people trafficking, little has been said about the relationship between domestic labour and trafficking. This study identifies migrant domestic workers as an area for concern. Employers are explicit in stating a preference for migrant workers because they are seen as vulnerable and therefore easily controlled.

As the state is not closely involved in regulating employment in the sex sector as employment, or the employment of domestic workers in private households, there is little to protect migrant workers from exploitation and poor working conditions.

Currently contracts are informally arranged, and whilst employers claim they organise an agreement that suits both parties, it is clear that employers are in a stronger position than migrant workers.

About the Study

The project built upon a pilot project which looked at the demand for migrant domestic and sex workers in India, Thailand, Sweden and Italy.

Research was led by Professor Julia O'Connell Davidson, School of Sociological and Social Policy, University of Nottingham and Dr Bridget Anderson, COMPAS, University of Oxford. Research methods included ethnographic study, surveys and in-depth interviews.

Key Words

Migration, domestic workers, sex workers, employment, trafficking of people

ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Non-Technical Summary

A 1000 word (maximum) summary of the main research results, in non-technical language, should be provided below. The summary might be used by ESRC to publicise the research. It should cover the aims and objectives of the project, main research results and significant academic achievements, dissemination activities and potential or actual impacts on policy and practice.

In 2001, we were commissioned by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs to lead a multi-country pilot study of the demand for migrant domestic and sex workers and its connections to the phenomenon of trafficking in four countries (Sweden, Italy, Thailand and India). In 2002 we obtained funding from the ESRC to extend and develop this pilot work through supplementary research in the UK and Spain. Our aim was to gather empirical data that could better inform policy on the demand for migrant sex and domestic workers and in particular its relation to trafficking. We also sought to generate data that would allow us to engage with theories around migration, forced and free labour, embodied and emotional labour, gender, race, sexuality, nationality and citizenship. Objectives were:

1. To gather and analyse survey and interview material on demand for migrant sex and domestic workers;
2. To gather data on the relationship between markets for sex and domestic work, and other kinds of markets;
3. To gather data on how participants in these markets view the involvement of children in these markets
4. To explore similarities and differences between paid domestic work and commercial sex, and in particular to explore how demand for labour in these sectors is related to socially accepted ideas about race, gender, sexuality and age.
5. To contribute to theory development
6. To develop research methods
7. To facilitate evidence based policy.

We found that there is no absolute or given level of demand for the services of sex or domestic workers, and that where these services are cheaply available, people are more likely to feel that they “need” them. But an affordable supply is not a sufficient condition for demand. Demand is also linked to personal histories and circumstances, and social norms also play an important role in employment decisions and practices. So far as the specific demand for migrant workers was concerned, we found employers of domestic workers valued the economic, social and political inequalities that separated them from migrants because it allowed them to imagine that they were “helping out” rather than merely “employing” and this helped them manage an otherwise difficult and potentially conflict-ridden relationship with their domestic worker. Employers often actively sought migrants knowing that their vulnerable immigration status would give the employer greater control over aspects of the employment relation, in particular labour retention. The same was true of some employers in the sex sector. Sex workers’ clients, by contrast, identified availability rather than a specific preference for migrant women (or men) as the main explanation for their demand for services provided by migrant workers. Indeed, they tended to prefer sex workers they felt were in some ways “the same” as them, whereas employers preferred domestic workers that they felt were “different”.

Research findings drew attention to the limitations of conventional labour market analysis in the sense that employers and clients were interested the physical/personal attributes of a worker supplying the service, rather than merely in questions of cost or efficiency. Both

employers and clients wanted to feel comfortable about accepting services from the worker, and whether or not they felt comfortable was linked to the social identity, also sometimes the immigration status, of the worker.

Employers and clients had very different ideas about children's involvement in sex and domestic work. Employers tended to relate to their adult domestic workers as if they were children (calling them "girls", "naughty" etc). They felt that children could make good domestic workers and often stated that they would employ a child if they lived in countries where this was common practice. Clients on the other hand, while attaching sexual value to youth also tended to believe that only adults could consent to the prostitution contract, and such consent was important to them. Client interviewees were cognizant of recent debates about the commercial sexual exploitation of children in a way that domestic workers employer interviewees were not aware of debates about domestic as one of the worst forms of child labour.

The research also drew attention to the role of the state in constructing markets for commercial sex and domestic work. The state directly generates demand for domestic workers through its policies on provision of care in private households for example, but also, the fact that it does not treat either domestic work or commercial sex as employment like any other has great significance for the markets for sex and domestic workers. It means that the (implicit) contracts forged with workers in these sectors are treated as a private matter, and the state thus creates what is effectively a radically free 'free market'. However, 'sellers' and 'buyers' of services are not equal, and certain immigration statuses create marginalized groups who are vastly unequal to buyers.

We found no evidence of employer or client demand for "trafficked" labour as such. However, employers in domestic work and in the sex sector were often interested in cheap, flexible and compliant workers. From the viewpoint of the unscrupulous employer, the question is not whether migrants have been "trafficked" or "smuggled" or are otherwise illegally present in the country, but rather whether their immigration status and their desperation for work makes them, in the words of one employer we interviewed "so frightened that they're not going to pull any stunts".

As well as producing academic work we have engaged with policy-makers, the media, NGOs and trades unions to disseminate analysis and results of our research at both national and international levels. A report on the research published by the International Organisation for Migration in 2003 was widely publicised, and a summary of its contents appeared on US Embassy websites around the world. This report was also extensively cited in the 2006 Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights aspects of the victims of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, as well as in responses to her Report. Both Anderson and O'Connell Davidson have had discussions with and presented to a wide range of users including OSCE, the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Department of Trade and Industry, the Trades Union Congress, the International Labour Organisation and the Transport and General Workers' Union.

THE MARKET FOR MIGRANT DOMESTIC AND SEX WORKERS: RESEARCH REPORT

Background

In the spring of 2001, we were commissioned by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs to lead a multi-country pilot study of the demand for migrant domestic and sex workers and its connections to the phenomenon of trafficking in four countries (Sweden, Italy, Thailand and India). This study was to be undertaken between September 2001 and April 2002, and allowed little time for data analysis. We therefore sought funding from the ESRC to extend and develop this pilot work through matching and supplementary research in the UK and Spain, and more rigorous and detailed analysis of the data generated by the pilot study and the follow-on research.

Trafficking was emerging as a major policy preoccupation at both national and international levels, and was largely understood in the context of organised immigration crime and sexual exploitation. Many commentators conflated 'trafficking' with prostitution, treated demand for prostitution as a 'root cause' of trafficking and argued that demand should therefore be criminalized. We felt this analysis was overly simplistic. It overlooked the many definitional difficulties associated with the term 'trafficking', deflected attention from similar problems in other sectors, including domestic work, and ignored the exploitation and abuse of migrants entering countries through perfectly legal channels. Furthermore, assumptions about the demand for commercial sex were rarely based in evidence on the attitudes or practices of sex workers' clients, nor were parallels between buying sex and paying to consume other services (such as those provided by domestic workers) considered in relation to policies designed to suppress demand.

The assumption that there was a specific demand for *trafficked* prostitutes obscured broader questions about the existence of demand for cheap and unprotected labour in a number of sectors, including but not limited to the sex sector, and so obscured questions about the role of the state in constructing these markets. Our aim in the pilot study and follow on research was to gather empirical data that could better inform policy on the demand for migrant sex and domestic workers in general, and its relation to trafficking in particular. We also sought to generate data that would allow us to engage with theoretical debates around migration; forced and free labour; embodied and emotional labour; gender, race, sexuality, nationality and citizenship (Morris, 2006; Wolkowitz, 2002; Yuval Davis, 1997; Schuster, 2003; Einhorn, 2004; Ungerson, 2003; Nichols, 1980; Castles and Miller 1998).

NB. All references are listed in Appendix 2.

Objectives

1. Complete, compare and analyse a standard set of quantitative and qualitative data on the demand for migrant sex workers and domestic workers in six countries.

We successfully gathered quantitative and qualitative data in six countries (see Appendix 1), but for reasons explained below, we were unable to fully standardise this data.

2. Gather empirical data on the ways in which the markets for migrant sex and domestic work articulate with other legal and illegal markets.

The research has generated extensive empirical data on the intersections of the markets for migrant sex and domestic workers and a) the market for those services

more generally; b) the market for trafficked persons; and c) tourism – see Results below.

3. Gather data on how clients/employers and third parties view the involvement of persons under the age of 18 in the sex trade and domestic work in order to assess the extent to which they are influenced by recent national and international measures to combat child sexual exploitation and child labour.

Through surveys and in-depth qualitative interviews, we have explored clients/employers and third parties attitudes towards children's involvement in domestic work and the sex trade – see Results.

4. Explore continuities and discontinuities between domestic work and sex work, paying particular attention to the role of the social/cultural imagination in constructing a market for migrant workers and questions about how this demand relates to broader socially tolerated attitudes towards race, gender, age and sexuality.

This objective has been met, see Results.

5. Make a significant contribution to current theorizing on gender, nationality, global interdependence, age, racial/ethnic identities and the complex intersections among these systems.

The data and analysis has allowed Anderson (2006) to produce a significantly revised and updated version of her 2000 book, *Doing the Dirty Work*, and thereby contribute to international debate and theory on these issues. It has helped O'Connell Davidson (2005) to make a significant contribution to theorizing on age and gender, nationality, global interdependence, racial/ethnic identities in relation to children's participation in the sex trade. The award holders have also contributed to theorizing in a number of journal articles and book chapters, and intend to further contribute to debates on these topics through works exploring continuities and discontinuities between sex and domestic work.

6. Develop comparative quantitative and qualitative methods for use in further research on prostitution, domestic work and trafficking.

In the original multi-country study, we piloted a number of different methods, and learned much about the methodological challenges presented by cross national research on prostitution, domestic work and trafficking, as well as about working with NGOs (important players in research on trafficking). Save the Children Sweden has published a detailed evaluation of the pilot study's methodology, lessons learned and recommendations for future research on these topics (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002). Anderson has since advised the New Opportunities Fund on academic/NGO collaboration, and conducted training workshops for postgraduates on researching migration. Reflections on ethical issues associated with the research have also been fed into a recent ESRC consultation on informed consent.

7. Facilitate evidence-based policy making in the areas of female migration, trafficking, sex work and domestic work.

We have achieved this objective – see sections on Activities, Outputs and Impacts.

Methods

The pilot study was designed to explore attitudes towards, and experience of, the markets for migrant domestic and sex workers in four countries through a combination of the following methods: a survey of a sample of employers of domestic workers and a survey of a sample of 50 men from a group known to be especially likely to pay for commercial sexual services; depth interviews with a non-random sample of ten men who had paid for sex with migrant prostitutes, ten employers of migrant domestic workers and between five and ten third party beneficiaries of migrant prostitution or domestic work. The interviews were structured around a standard set of topics, and examined respondents' attitudes towards gender, race/ethnicity, age, and domestic work/commercial sex. The pilot study further sought identical attitudinal data from a matched control sample of ten people in each country who did not use prostitutes or employ domestic workers. The follow-on study was designed to gather identical data in the UK (London) and Spain (Barcelona), but further included: i) interviews with representatives from a range of organisations in each country (police, social services, immigration officials, migrant workers' organisations, women's organisations and NGOs involved in outreach work with prostitutes, STD clinics), with a view to gathering background information that would allow us to contextualise data from our depth interviews; and ii) ethnographic and survey research in Tenerife, where it would be possible to explore possible intersections between tourism and the markets for migrant sex and domestic workers, and more particularly to investigate Spanish and British tourists' experience of, and attitudes towards, the burgeoning tourist-related sex industry on the island.

Problems that arose during the course of the pilot study (described in 6. Major difficulties) meant that our country teams were unable to target an identical group of men for the commercial sex survey in each country. We have ensured that the follow on research produced standard data sets for Spain and the UK, but these data cannot be compared with all of the sex survey data from the pilot study. For reasons set out in Appendix 1, the data set generated by the pilot study also differed from the data set we had initially planned in other respects.

Some additional data was also gathered during the follow on research. The applicants were invited to speak at conferences in Bangkok and Hong Kong, and took the opportunity to collect matching data from a sample of expatriate Britons living in these cities at no additional cost to the project. These data have proved extremely valuable in terms of controlling for the impact of the wider social and legal context in which employment relations are forged. Also, in 2003, the Poppy Project (a London-based NGO that provides services for trafficked women) published research that had attempted to map the market for migrant sex workers in London through a telephone survey of indoor prostitution establishments and escort agencies. The widely cited report presented evidence on the presence of migrants in the sex sector as if it were evidence on the use of trafficked labour in that sector. We noted a number of methodological problems with the design of the research, and given its close overlap with the concerns of our own research, we felt that it would be useful to replicate the Poppy survey, but include questions that they had omitted to ask. We therefore conducted a telephone survey of 148 establishments that sold sex in London, and it produced extremely interesting findings.

The data set generated by the pilot study and the follow on research using the methods outlined above is provided in Appendix 1. Quantitative data was analysed using SPSS. Qualitative data was analysed using a combination of methods, including Nvivo 7.

Results

The Social and Cultural Construction of Demand

Analysis of the data from the pilot study underlined the fact that consumer demand for commercial sex and for domestic workers in private households, like consumer demand for other products or services, is very much a socially, culturally and historically determined matter (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002, 2003). It also showed that demand is intimately related to questions about supply, in the sense of availability and affordability, and this was confirmed by our research in London and Barcelona, as well as by our interviews with expatriate British employers in Thailand and Hong Kong, and by our research on demand for commercial sex in Tenerife. Our data show there is no absolute or given level of demand for the services of sex or domestic workers, and where they are cheaply available, people are more likely to 'need' them. Expatriate British employers who had managed with a weekly cleaner in the UK, found that they 'needed' to employ two live-in domestic workers in a similar sized house in Bangkok. One interviewee stated that when she had lived in Indonesia, where domestic workers were paid even less than in Thailand, she had employed eight domestic workers. Similarly, client interviewees identified the visibility and affordability of commercial sexual services as a factor influencing their decisions to buy sex.

However, though supply and affordability was a necessary condition for demand, it was not a sufficient condition. Demand was also linked to our interviewees' and respondents' personal histories and circumstances, and in the case of sexual services, often to a sequence of chance events. With domestic work, the decision to start employing was more usually related to a change in circumstances, such as getting married, having a baby, or moving abroad. Interviewees had typically come from families that had employed domestic workers during their own childhoods, and had been socialised to accept this as a norm (two of our Spanish interviewees were 'given' live-in domestic workers by their mothers when they married).

Demand for these services was also socially constructed in other senses. Though the management of home and family life, as well as of the self as a sexual being, are widely imagined as private matters, social norms played an important role in guiding the behaviour of our interviewees. Tourists in Tenerife described buying sexual services as part of the 'life-style' that young men were expected to adopt in the particular resorts they visited (this was borne out by the sex surveys), whilst expatriate Britons felt that employing at least one live-in domestic worker was something almost required of a person of their status living in Hong Kong or Bangkok. Furthermore, expatriate interviewees offered much poorer working conditions to domestic workers than did their counterparts in London, and justified imposing what one of them even described as 'slavery-like' conditions on grounds that local employers did likewise, and there were no laws to prevent them doing so. More generally, our data supported Bauer's (2001) argument that practices of consumption are crucially affected by four factors - relative price and supply and demand; the relationship between consumption and identity; the social and public significance, and ritualistic character, of consumption; and the importance of postcolonial power in the practice of consumption. The latter was particularly evident in our data on the specific demand for *migrant* domestic workers.

Social Images of Migrants and Demand

Though respondents in the domestic work survey reported that availability was an important factor in explaining why they employed a migrant worker, they also stated that by offering migrants employment in their homes, they were providing them with the opportunity to 'better themselves'. This was more explicitly articulated by interviewees, who often described migrants as coming from backward, poverty-

stricken, countries, and held that domestic work in Spain or the UK allowed them to learn more 'civilised' practices, such as how to eat with a knife and fork.

The fact it was possible to frame employment as a means of 'helping' poor, uneducated and culturally disadvantaged women was important to our employer interviewees. The discourse of difference they constructed allowed them to manage an otherwise difficult and potentially conflict-ridden relationship with their foreign domestic workers. Domestic workers in private households bring together two very different symbolic domains – home and market – and employers find it hard to maintain the distance implied by an 'employment relation' when this relationship takes place within their own home (the repository of sentiment and moral values). Our interviewees were very explicit about the fact that racial and/or cultural difference made it easier to manage this tension ("They're foreign and they're illegal and... they're going to be very, very small, and that is generally easier to live with than someone who feels that this is their home"). This, in conjunction with employees' immigration status, made the household into a site of exclusion from citizenship, labour and human rights (Bott, 2005, Stock, 2004, Anderson 2004). However, a domestic worker's status as 'foreign' or racially Other was not enough, in itself, to make her a desirable employee, for Otherness is not socially imagined as a homogenous category. Instead, our employer interviewees had explicit preferences for particular groups of migrant workers, and drew on socially endorsed or tolerated racisms to explain and justify these preferences.

Taken together, data on employers shows that there are reasons why they actively seek to employ migrant domestic workers. Immigration status (whether the worker is legal or illegal) is recognised by employers as giving them greater control over aspects of the employment relation that matter to them, in particular, labour retention. Since they are largely working in the informal sector, domestic workers are theoretically free to leave at any time, and quitting is one of the only means they have of limiting employers' powers over them. For the employer, particularly those looking for paid carers, this freedom is problematic. Some immigration statuses give an employer direct control over a worker's visa renewal, thereby making them easier to retain. Even if the migrant's status is dependent on them working in the particular sector rather than for a particular employer, this is recognised as an advantage. Workers do not have to be tied to their employer to give employers confidence regarding retention. Those who are working illegally are recognised as having fewer options, again giving employers both a reason for hiring migrants, and a way of telling themselves that by offering employment, they are doing the migrant a favour: "Especially with the illegal, they're so desperate for work, they're not looking to get fired, they're looking to keep their job... believe me, especially if they're migrant workers, they're so frightened of getting kicked out that they're not going to pull any stunts."

Interviews with third parties who organise and profit from prostitution similarly suggested that while availability is an important factor in the employment of migrant workers, the vulnerability created by certain immigration statuses makes migrants attractive to some sex sector employers because it gives them greater control over labour retention. Some sex sector employers also observed that migrants made better and more reliable workers because they need the money more than nationals. Data on *clients* of migrant sex workers presents a rather different picture. Interviewees in Spain and the UK often stated that migrants were the only workers present in the setting where they had bought sex, and that this, rather than any specific preference for migrant women (or men), explained their experience with migrants. In London the lack of choice was borne out by the telephone survey of 148 indoor prostitution establishments, which found that 80% of workers were described as 'foreign', and only 20% as British. A similar picture emerged from analysis of

advertisements for sex workers in Barcelona in the *Vanguardia* newspaper. At the same time however, the survey data suggest that migrants are generally perceived as being more flexible, willing and cheaper than local sex workers. But this did not necessarily make migrants more attractive to clients.

Research with male and female sex tourists in developing countries shows that they, like our employers of domestic workers, value the economic, social and political inequalities that separate them from the sex worker because this allows them to construct the economic exchange as a 'favour' - they do not feel they are paying for sex, just 'helping' the poor local person out (O'Connell Davidson, 1998; Sanchez Taylor, 2001). By contrast, British tourists and expatriates in Tenerife expressed a strong preference for British sex workers who had migrated to work there, and Spanish and British client interviewees tended to value racial, linguistic, cultural and national-sameness in sex workers (this was also the case in Denmark and Thailand in the pilot study). Some interviewees presented this preference as a form of 'ethical' practice, for instance: "I do tend to try and find British women because they know what it's about, I don't have that zone of discomfort that I may be contributing to someone's exploitation".

The pilot and the follow on research showed that clients typically ranked sex workers according to the social relations that surround their prostitution, such that migrants who were perceived as having been forced into prostitution (either by a third party or by their 'miserable social background') were deemed by most to be less attractive than local women and non-stigmatized groups of migrants (i.e., those from Western Europe, Australia, North America, and also interestingly, Brazil) who were imagined as having entered sex work voluntarily and as enjoying better working conditions.

Attitudes toward Age and Childhood

Children are defined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as persons below the age of 18, and over the past decade, extensive efforts have been made at international level to raise global awareness of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) and child labour as problems and to encourage states to adopt measures to combat these problems. In both Spain and the UK, different and particular legal penalties apply to prostitution involving children, but there is no legislation that specifically outlaws child domestic work in either country. Indeed, devising such legislation would be difficult given that domestic work itself is not subject to the same regulatory framework as other forms of labour. In the absence of clearly specified and routinely enforced regulations, employers of domestic workers fall back on broader social ideas and norms in relation to childhood to guide their practices. However, the figure of the child in the social and cultural imagination is unstable and highly malleable.

On the one hand, employers talked about children as the ideal domestic worker (and indeed, tended to construct their adult female workers as children by referring to them as 'girls' and describing them as 'child-like') – trainable, obedient, flexible because they do not have responsibilities to their own families, and as one interviewee put it, "You don't have to pay them". But on the other hand, the child was imagined as immature, troublesome, and implying too great a burden of responsibility for the employer. Teenagers in particular carried an added threat in the form of their assumed rampant sexuality. Nearly half of respondents in the UK would consider employing under-18s for light tasks on a casual basis; one Spanish interviewee had in the past employed a 15 year old as a live-in worker. But in the main, interviewees were clear that they would not employ a child as a live-in domestic worker in the UK or Spain. This connects to questions of availability – employing a child is not a choice that is open to employers in Europe – yet as employers themselves recognised, it

also connects to social norms. Interviewees often stated that they would employ a child domestic worker if they lived in countries where this was common practice.

So far as clients are concerned, interviewees in the UK and Spain generally attached sexual value to youth, but they also wanted the sex workers they used to be old enough to voluntarily and legally enter the prostitution contract. A veneer of consent was vitally important to our interviewees, and though a few felt that girls were able to consent at the age of 16, most stated that the emotional and psychological demands of prostitution are such that only adults can consent to it. Client interviewees were certainly cognizant of recent national and international debates on CSEC in a way that our domestic worker employer interviewees were not aware of debates around the worst forms of child labour. Unsurprisingly, then, in the sex surveys, only a handful of men stated that they preferred sex workers aged under 18, while almost half of British and 46% of Spanish tourist respondents who had paid for sex preferred sex workers aged between 19 and 25.

The research generated other data relevant to the literature on childhood, child migration, and the exploitation of children, some of which has already been analysed and written up, the rest of which we intend to develop for publication.

Differences between European countries

The significance of social norms and of the social and cultural imagination for consumer demand for the services of migrant sex and domestic workers, and for clients/employers' practices, meant that there were some noticeable differences between our different European research sites. In particular:

- Employer and client interviewees talked about race and ethnicity in different ways in the UK and Spain (also in Sweden and Italy in the pilot study).
- In relation to both domestic work and sex work, Spanish interviewees tended to use the language of contract, the market and employment to describe relations between employers/clients and workers, more than did British interviewees. This meant that they were more likely to imagine workers as entitled to certain rights and protections (for example, in the employer survey, only 27% of UK employers but 80% of Spanish employers stated that domestic workers ought to be entitled to a pension).

Demand for Embodied Labour

The research findings draw attention to the limitations of conventional labour market analysis in relation to the demand for 'embodied labour'. Client interviewees were not seeking the most efficient means of satisfying their wants – the physical embodiment of the worker who supplies the service mattered to them (though perhaps not always as much as might be expected). Likewise, employers of migrant domestic workers were not motivated simply to hire the most efficient or even the cheapest available worker. They did not merely wish to consume labour/services, but to consume labour/services provided by a particular person, and this had to be a person they could both feel comfortable about bringing into the home and commanding as a worker. Moreover, the person they chose had to affirm rather than undermine the employer's social identity and moral persona. In data from the pilot and the follow on research, sexuality also emerges as an important feature of embodiment and a matter of concern for employers of domestic workers. In the survey, 29% stated that 'attractive' was one of the qualities they least wanted to find in a domestic worker, and fear of the worker's sexuality (as well as possible slippage between domestic work and prostitution) was a theme in many interviews. One employer even stated that she had felt it necessary to replace her migrant worker's clothes before allowing her out with the children as "she looked like a prostitute".

Trafficking

Debates and proposals on trafficking at policy and advocacy levels in the UK and Spain, also internationally, have focused heavily on prostitution. Domestic work is sometimes mentioned, but little serious attention has been given to forced migration and forced labour in this sector. Yet the finding that some employers of domestic workers actively seek migrants because this enables them to exercise greater control over them as workers suggests that there is reason for concern about the relationship between demand and a market for vulnerable and/or unfree labour. Because the data allow us to explore similarities and differences between these two sectors, it highlights weaknesses and omissions in dominant academic and policy analyses of trafficking. In particular, it draws attention to the critical role played by the state in constructing demand for unprotected labour and also in making some groups of workers vulnerable. The data also show there is no demand for ‘trafficked’ labour as such, and that the distinctions between ‘trafficking’, ‘smuggling’ and other forms of irregular migration that tend to preoccupy state actors are therefore of little relevance from a human and labour rights perspective. Whether migrants have been ‘trafficked’ or ‘smuggled’ or are otherwise illegally present in the country, unscrupulous employers in all sectors are in a position to take advantage of the fact “they’re so frightened... that they’re not going to pull any stunts.”

The Political Construction of Demand

In addition to social and cultural factors, demand for private household workers is powerfully shaped by policy developments. In the UK, for instance, there has been an expansion in forms of care delivery called ‘cash payments for care’. This is part of a more general shift ‘from mutuality and towards contract in entitlement and delivery’ as regards welfare rights (Morris, 2006: 92), and such arrangements can now be found, in different forms, in several European states including Spain. This policy shift has fostered the development of a thriving informal market for care and domestic workers. Meanwhile, the absence of a clear and enforced regulatory framework leads to an individualisation of the employment relation between domestic workers and employers. Our interview data suggest this is especially the case in the UK where regulation is noticeably weaker. Interviewees saw the (usually implicit) contract between employer and worker as a private matter, one that could be arranged to ‘suit’ both parties, rather than one that was constrained by state oversight.

The state is clearly not directly implicated in commodifying sexual services in the same way that it is implicated in constructing markets for domestic and care work. However, the fact that prostitution is not recognised as an employment sector in the UK and Spain means that third party organisers of prostitution, as well as consumers of sexual services, are free to construct the sale of sex as something other than ‘work’. As our data show, those who own and run brothels do not usually acknowledge that they enter into an employment relation with sex workers, but rather construct the relationship as a mutually convenient arrangement between entrepreneurs. The prostitute is said to rent facilities from the third party, and then trade sex on a self-employed basis, even though the third party normally exercises much control over work rate, working practices, prices, etc. Similarly, the exchange between worker and client is in many respects treated as a private and individual matter – the client may, for example, offer to pay more for risky services, such as unprotected sex, and it is up to the worker to consent or refuse.

In both sectors, the invisibility of the state effectively unleashes a radically free ‘free market’, and if ‘sellers’ and ‘buyers’ were to meet on anything like a level playing field, this radical freedom would not necessarily benefit the buyers. However, other actions taken by the state help to create categories of ‘sellers’ who are vastly unequal in relation to ‘buyers’. Indeed, certain immigration statuses create

marginalized groups without access to the formal labour market, or any of the protections usually offered by states to citizens and workers, so making migrants, especially undocumented migrants, especially attractive to employers (Ungerson, 2003: 382). In fact, so little did our employer/third party interviewees view the relationship with their domestic or sex workers as governed by employment law that they expressed no anxiety about their own vulnerability to criminal prosecution as employers of people working illegally, despite the fact that in theory most were liable to 'employer sanctions'. Their lack of concern was well founded, given that employers in private households and in the sex sector have not been prosecuted under these laws. In all these ways, the state contributes towards a supply of labour and equips employers with labour control and retention mechanisms that would not otherwise be available to them. The same combination of state action and inaction equips those clients who want sex workers to agree to risky practices with the power to secure 'consent'.

Activities

Academic and policy events where we have presented papers are listed in Appendix 3. We have also participated in a wide range of other policy orientated activities relating to the research, at national and international level, including:

2003 'UK-Spain Looking to the future: Immigration', British Council conference, Salamanca, November 23

2003 European Commission: Seminar on informal/undeclared work its changing nature and policy strategies 21st May

2004 Dinner with Secretary of State DTI to discuss policies on women and migration, Lancaster House, 1st March.

2004 Transport and General Workers Union: Women and Globalisation, Eastbourne 28 July

2004 European Parliament: colloquy on "Domestic slavery: servitude, au pairs and mail order brides" Paris 11-12 March

2005 Launch of ILO Global Alliance Against Forced Labour, MIT, Boston. 14 May.

2006 Contributed to the Home Office Trafficking Consultation

We also organised a user group meeting in 2003, and produced a user group database. Users were kept updated with the project originally through the database, and later using COMPAS tools including: project briefing sheets, website and email updates.

Outputs

Some key outputs have been mentioned above and a full list of publications arising from the research is provided in Appendix 3.

Impacts

A report on the research published by the International Organisation for Migration in 2003 was widely publicised, and a summary of its contents appeared on US Embassy websites around the world. This report was also extensively cited in the 2006 UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights aspects of the victims of trafficking in persons, especially women and children's Report on the Integration of the Human Rights of Women and a Gender Perspective, as well as in responses to her Report. It has also already been referred to in 15 published scholarly works.

We are frequently consulted by user groups including journalists, NGOs and trades unions on matters to do with migration and sex and domestic work.

Future Research Priorities

During interviews with immigration and police officers to collect background information to contextualise research data, we observed that confusion over how to define 'trafficking', and how to distinguish it from other related phenomena (e.g., people smuggling and other forms of illegal immigration) represents a serious problem in relation to existing systems for identification and referral for assistance of trafficked persons and others subject to forced labour in a range of sectors. It was evident that policies designed to control illegal immigration could conflict with those designed to protect the human rights of migrant adults and children, and believe there is an urgent need for research exploring how these tensions and definitional problems play out in encounters between migrants who have experienced abuse and exploitation and the actors charged with implementing government policy on immigration and/or human rights. By the same token, there is a need for research that will help to better define, map and theorise 'forced labour'.

The research also drew our attention to the limitations of existing research and policy on children and migration, which tends to disregard the multiplicity of factors that can leave child migrants vulnerable to a variety of different forms of abuse and exploitation in a variety of different settings, and focus instead on 'sex trafficking'.

Ethics

We have adhered throughout to BSA guidelines on ethical practice. However, the interview research with clients also drew attention to a limitation of these guidelines in relation to informed consent, for even when fully informed about the nature and purpose of the research, interviewees were not always able to foresee the emotional impact of participating in the research. In three cases, it transpired that interviewees' first experience of paid sex was linked to extremely traumatic experiences, and as the interview continued, they began to make more links between their practices as consumers of commercial sex and trauma. As they had not made these connections before, or previously discussed their experiences, the interview was emotionally difficult for them in ways they could not have predicted when they consented to the interview. We responded in the way that is recommended when working with other vulnerable populations, i.e., by offering to end the interview, spending time 'debriefing' after the interview, and referring them to appropriate support services.

APPENDIX 1.

Composition and size of data set from each country

	Thailand	India	Sweden	DK	Italy	Japan	Spain	UK	Total
Sex workers' clients interviews	8	10	0	10	9	0	12	14	63
Client control interviews	2	5	2	3	5	0	5	6	28
Sex sector third party beneficiary interviews	2	3	0	3	1	0	4	7	20
Domestic worker employer interviews	6	8	10	0	10	0	11	11	56
Expatriate domestic worker employer interviews	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
Employer control interviews	2	3	4	0	5	0	0	0	14
Domestic work third party beneficiary interviews	1	3	5	0	1	0	5	5	20
Commercial sex survey with various groups	90	62	84	0	56	98	134	274	798
Domestic worker employer survey	51	66	31	0	45	0	46	50	289

The data set from the pilot and follow on research shown above differs from that originally planned in the following respects. First, though we had built control interviews into the design of both the pilot study and the follow up research, the selection of control interviewees proved problematic. Social norms regarding

commercial sex and domestic work differed so much between countries that in the pilot study, researchers in some countries were unable to find 10 interviewees *without* experience of buying sex or employing domestic workers. In the follow-on research in the UK and Spain, we experienced similar problems with the control sample for employers of domestic workers. Following sampling techniques successfully used by Cox (1998), we recruited employers for interview by selecting a number of streets in London and Barcelona, and approaching each household to ask whether they were willing to participate in the research. However, since virtually everyone living in the areas we selected employed a domestic worker (either live-in or live-out), we could not recruit a genuinely matching control sample using the same sampling method.

Second, our Swedish research team found it impossible to recruit ten male Swedish interviewees with experience of buying sex from migrant workers, and therefore decided to conduct client interviews in Denmark, where the consumption of commercial sex is more common and less stigmatised. The Swedish researchers also experienced difficulties accessing a sample of people who employed live-in domestic workers. Third, midway through the pilot research, the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested that the commercial sex survey should be conducted in Japan, in addition to the other countries. Taken together, these problems and changes mean that the pilot study did not achieve an entirely standard set of quantitative and qualitative data on the demand for migrant sex workers and domestic workers in four countries, as initially planned. This largely reflected the fact that adequate time and resources had not been allowed for the design, planning, preparation and co-ordination of a multi-country study on an extremely sensitive topic (see Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002).

In addition to the above data set, we conducted a telephone survey of 148 indoor prostitution establishments in London, asking receptionists to state the nationality of workers therein, the services on offer, and the prices for these services.

Data from Tenerife

Data in Tenerife was gathered during four fieldtrips. The research incorporated multiple methods and data sources, a research strategy intended not only to produce the richest possible ethnographic understanding of the topic under investigation, but also to allow the validity of data to be checked through triangulation. We explored questions about the demand for migrant sex workers through lengthy in-depth interviews and briefer interviews with a non-random sample of 50 sex workers, managers of lapdance clubs and brothels, tourists, and migrant Britons living and/or working in Tenerife; and examined the demand for migrant domestic workers through formal and informal interviews with hotel managers, employees of accommodation rental agencies, locals and expatriates. In addition to the commercial sex survey which was completed by 64 Spanish tourists and 179 British tourists, a survey of 100 British people working in the tourist industry in Tenerife was conducted which included questions on their experience of visiting lapdance clubs and of paying for commercial sexual services.

APPENDIX 2

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APPENDIX 3

List of outputs arising from or informed by the project

1. Journal Articles

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Bott, E., (2006) 'Pole position: migrant British women producing 'selves' through lap dancing work', *Feminist Review*, No. 83, pp 23 –41.

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2. Books

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3. Book Chapters

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4. Reports/Working papers

Anderson, B. and O'Connell Davidson, J., (2002) *The Demand-Side of Trafficking*. Two part report, Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden.

Anderson, B. and O'Connell Davidson, J., (2003) *Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven? A multi-country pilot study*. IOM Migration Research Series, No. 15, Geneva: IOM.

Anderson, B. (2006) *Migration and Domestic Work*. COMPAS Working Paper Series, WP-06-28

5. Conference and Seminar Papers

Anderson, B. (2006) 'When is a worker not a worker?' presentation to conference Regularisation is not the Only Way, Platform for Co-operation on Undocumented Migrants, Brussels, 15 March

Anderson, B. (2005) 'Labour markets, exploitation and organising of migrant workers in the UK', presentation at CRE/TUC Conference, Fighting Exploitation of Migrant Workers, London, 5 December

Anderson, B. (2005) 'Migrant Children in the UK' presentation to Save the Children Seminar, London 27 October

Anderson, B. (2005) 'Migration and forced labour: the key role of the sub-contractor', paper presented to Public Service International Forum on Gender Equality, conference on Trafficking, Geneva 26-27 September

Anderson, B. (2005) 'Ethical climate and global warming', paper presented at University of Nottingham, ESRC seminar series, The Market and its Discontents, 22 June

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Bott, E., (2004) 'Sex and drugs and selling souls: Identity and work in the timeshare industry of Tenerife', paper presented to the International Labour Process Conference, Amsterdam, April 5-7.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction

We're asking you to agree to be interviewed as part of an international study on sexuality and commercial sex that is being conducted by sociologists at Oxford and Nottingham University. The study will allow us to compare people's attitudes in several very different countries – India, Italy, Thailand, Sweden, Britain and Spain. 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. I'd like to tape record and then transcribe the interview, because if I take notes during the interview a lot of what you say will be lost, but the tape will only be used for transcription and nobody but me will listen to it.

Because this is an international study, and we are putting the same questions to men in Sweden, Thailand, India, Italy, Britain and Spain, 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.

Interview

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

1. "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

2. "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

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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?

<i>Summary</i>

4. 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 ‘wife/partner’ adjectives written out on a separate card]

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

5. “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?

<p><i>Summary</i></p>

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.

<p><i>Summary</i></p>

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 +

At what age do you think it is acceptable for a girl to start other forms of work, for example, shop work or a cleaning job? If different from sex work, can you say why?

Summary

8. Have you ever:

- looked at pornography?
- visited a strip show or lap/table dance club?
- entered a brothel/club or walked around a red light area to look at the sex workers?
- paid for the sexual services of a prostitute?
- had sex with a local person when travelling in a third world country, either in exchange for money or for some other material benefit (meals, gifts, etc.)?

If yes, explore circumstances.

Summary

9. Can you remember when you first learned of the existence of prostitution and how?

Do you have friends, relatives and/or colleagues who you know buy sexual services from prostitutes?

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

10. Which, if any, 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 religious principles to have sex with prostitutes
- It is against my political principles to have sex with prostitutes
- I'm afraid of catching a sexually transmitted disease

If it is against your religious or political principles, please explain how and why you feel it is wrong to use prostitutes.

Summary

11. Can you imagine any circumstances under which you might use the services of a prostitute?

Summary

13. Do you think it is possible to make any generalisations about the characteristics of [local] and foreign women? For example, do you think it would be true to say that there are differences between the typical Spanish, Latin American, East European, and African woman in terms of the following list of qualities?

[Show interview list of adjectives written out on a separate card – see appendix 2]

If interviewee thinks it's possible to generalise, what does he base his views on?

Summary

12. Finally, can I ask you about your opinions about transvestis? Do you have any views on what kind of people they are, what motivates them to work in the sex trade? Do you have any opinions about their clients? What kind of person do you imagine pays them for sex? Could you ever imagine yourself being attracted to a transvesti?

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

Background data

Interview Number:

Gender	
Age	
Nationality	
Race/ethnic identity	
Occupation	
Marital status	
Number and age of children	
Education	
Income group	
Face-to-face or telephone	
Where and how recruited	
How many domestic workers employs – live-in and live-out, job titles	
Street	
Interviewer name	

I am going to begin by reading some statements that have been made by previous interviewees and ask for your response – whether you agree or disagree and why.

1. “It is in women’s nature to be more caring than men”.

Objective: to discover whether interviewees believe that women are “equal but different” and how they manage this concept.

- Are women naturally different to men?
- If possible, is a mother’s care best?
- Are women natural home-makers?
- Should women go out to work?
- Have traditional gender roles changed? Is this good or bad?

Summary

2. “My home says something about the kind of person I am”

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

- Can you give me an example of what is expressed through your home and how?
- How are these messages expressed (through objects, size of home, taste, cleanliness, tidiness etc) and who manages this?
- Is there a difference between men and women in this regard?

Summary

3. “Housework can really cause arguments between couples”

Objective: to uncover how interviewees feel about the division of household labour, and their attitudes towards domestic labour

- Does one person in a couple tend to do more domestic labour than another?
- Do women do more housework than men? Why?
 - Do you think a “specialised” division of labour works?
 - Should the children do housework? Is this different for boys and girls?
 - Is housework valued enough?
 - Can housework be enjoyable?

Summary

4. “I can be much more my real self at home”

Objective: to explore how the interviewee imagines the relation between the public and the private

- is the home in some way a “refuge” from work and outside life and social unpleasantness?
- Are there problems when people bring work home?

Summary

5. “Children should respect their parents’ authority”

Objective: to explore how social relations are imagined in the private, in particular whether they are governed by “natural” authority.

- Is respect owed to parents the same as respect owed to any adult – e.g. teacher?
- How important is respect for natural authority for a happy home?

Summary

6. Looking at the following statements, which for you are those 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

7. 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

8. 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?
- Do you train your employees? Do they have different training needs?
- Have you employed different age ranges?
- Have you employed men as well as women? Would you consider employing a man?
- Have you ever had an au pair?
- Were you brought up with domestic workers in your house?

Summary

9. What is your worst experience with a household employee?

- *what did you learn from that experience that you would pass on to others?*
- *What is your best experience with an employee, and what did you learn from that?*

Summary

10. Can you tell me about something about how you would go about finding a new employee and why you would use that method?

- *Objective: to examine the use of agencies and informal networks. What are employers' attitudes to informal networks?*
- Who conducts the interview, signs the contract and how do you set the wages?
- Who sets the tasks and monitors the work? Who hands over her wages?
- Who decides when to dismiss her?
- Do you and your partner always agree about such decisions? What happens if not?

Summary

11. Looking at the following list of qualities, can you pick those that you would actively look for in a domestic worker and any 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?

qualities that make a good domestic worker:

qualities that make a bad domestic worker:

Summary

12. Looking at the following statements, can you pick those 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

13. 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 friends? On what occasions?

Summary

14. 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

15. I'm going to ask you to compare English and migrant women who work in domestic work. Using the same list as for question 10 can you say which adjectives (if any) best describe the typical:

- i) English domestic worker**
- ii) Filipina domestic worker**
- iii) African 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]

- 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 English domestic workers

Adjectives that describe Filipina domestic workers

Adjectives that describe African domestic workers

Summary

15. How would you rate local and migrant domestic workers in terms of the following:

Cost

	Very cheap	Cheap	Average	Expensive	V expensive
Local					
Migrant					

Reliability/retention

	V. reliable	Reliable	Average	Unreliable	V unreliable
Local					
Migrant					

Enthusiasm

	Very hardworking	Hardworking	Average	Lazy	Very lazy
Local					
Migrant					

Dependence on employer

	Very dependent	Dependent	Average	Independent	Very independent
Local					
Migrant					

Summary

16. Research has found that some people find it easier to live with domestic workers who are foreign. Why do you think this might be?

Summary

17. In your opinion, what is the youngest age at which a girl should be paid for cleaning or caring work? 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 you be prepared to pay someone under 16 to occasionally help out in the house or help with particular tasks?
- Would you be prepared to pay your child (if you have one) to help out in the house? Why/why not?
- Would these age boundaries be the same in any form of employment?
- Would you use the same age boundaries if you were to live in a non-European country?
- Are these age boundaries any different for migrants than for locals?

Under 10

10 – 15	31 – 40
16 – 18	41 – 50
19 – 21	51 – 60
22 – 25	61 – 70
26 – 30	71 +

Summary

18. Do you think that domestic work should be regulated or is it up to the individuals concerned to negotiate conditions. Do you consider any of these to be absolute rights of live-in domestic workers? [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?

Rights of domestic workers

Inappropriate for domestic workers

19. If you were to find your employee using your telephone without your permission how would you discipline them?

- 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?
- What abuses or malpractices would you consider to deserve instant dismissal?

Summary

19. Have you heard about the phenomenon of trafficking into domestic work?

What do you consider should be done about it?

- what do you know about it?
- have you heard about trafficking into prostitution?
- what do you consider problematic about trafficking (crime, immigration, human rights)
- What would you do if you came across someone whom you believed had been trafficked into domestic service?

Summary

APPENDIX 1

REASONS FOR EMPLOYING A DOMESTIC WORKER

Means child/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
Helps the domestic worker improve her situation
Keeps the house looking good
It's impossible to live without a domestic worker
It's cheaper than other options available
Keeps the house clean and tidy
Provides more personal child/elder care than other options available
Gives me some company in the house

APPENDIX 2

REASONS FOR EMPLOYING A *MIGRANT/FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKER*

Prepared to work flexible hours
They are more caring than non-migrants
They cost less than a non-migrant
They need the opportunity more than non-migrants
They are easier to control
They are more suited to domestic work than non-migrants
They do not get distracted by family and friends
They are more hardworking than non-migrants
They look more suitable for the job
They are more likely to stay for a long time
They are more willing and co-operative
It's more fashionable to have migrants
Migrants are the only workers available for this job
They don't gossip as much as non-migrants
It is easier to share your home with a migrant than a local woman
You avoid bureaucracy by employing a migrant
Migrants have greater incentives to work

APPENDIX 3

QUALITIES OF A DOMESTIC WORKER

	Qualities looked for	Qualities avoided
Professional		
Attractive		
Shy		
Well dressed		
Enthusiastic		
Cheap		
Educated		
Caring		
Feminine		
Obedient		
Dark skinned		
Light skinned		
Clean		
Expensive		
Respectful		
Money conscious		
Poor		
Natural		
Young		
Mature		
Friendly		
Independent		
Easy going		
Assertive		
Hard working		
Intelligent		
Innocent		
Attentive to detail		

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 spend money but get nothing back
You have to deal with too much bureaucracy
Concerns about stealing
Concerns about her influence over your children
Concerns about her 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
You feel guilty

APPENDIX 5

POSSIBLE RIGHTS OF ALL 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
Regular days off
Holiday pay
Use their employer's telephone
Pension
Minimum wage
A work permit (if come from abroad)
Fixed hours of employment
Their own room
Use their employer's telephone
Bring boy/girl friends to the house
Eat employer's food
Use the house as their own
None of these

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction

We're asking you to agree to be interviewed as part of an international study on sexuality and commercial sex that is being conducted by sociologists at Oxford and Nottingham University. The study will allow us to compare people's attitudes in several very different countries – India, Italy, Thailand, Sweden, Britain and Spain. 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. I'd like to tape record and then transcribe the interview, because if I take notes during the interview a lot of what you say will be lost, but the tape will only be used for transcription and nobody but me will listen to it.

Because this is an international study, and we are putting the same questions to men in Sweden, Thailand, India, Italy, Britain and Spain, 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.

Interview

1. I'd like to begin by asking you to tell me about the first time you paid for sexual services.

Prompts and follow up: How old were you? Was it with a street worker, or indoors, or escort agency? What made you decide? What was it like as a sexual experience? Did it live up to your expectations? How did you feel before and afterwards? Can you remember the sex worker, what s/he was like? Was it your first sexual experience? If not, how did it compare to non-commercial sexual experience? At the time, did you know other people who had paid for sexual services? Did you tell anyone about it? When was the next time you visited a sex worker and why? Roughly how many times would you say you have paid for sex? Do you always go for any particular type of prostitution (street, massage parlour, escort)? Do you tend to look for any particular type of sex worker (age, race, nationality, physical attributes, etc.)?

Notes

Now I'm going to move on to more general attitudinal questions, and read out some statements/opinions, and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them and why.

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

3. "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

4. “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

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 ‘wife/partner’ adjectives written out on a separate card]

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. “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?

<p><i>Summary</i></p>

7. “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.

<p><i>Summary</i></p>

8. 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 +

At what age do you think it is acceptable for a girl to start other forms of work, for example, shop work or a cleaning job? If different from sex work, can you say why?

Summary

9. 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

10. Have you ever bought sex from a foreign sex worker – either here in Britain or when travelling abroad?

If no, why not? [Prefer British girls? Never had the opportunity? Other reason?]

If yes - Which nationality or nationalities? Where? What type of prostitution [street? massage parlour? escort?]? Was it because you wanted to try sex with someone of that particular nationality/race, or was it because s/he was best looking, nicest personality, cheapest, only one available?

How did s/he compare with British sex workers you have been with?

Any problems with language or cultural differences?

[If possible, explore more general ideas about race/ethnicity and sexual attraction – does interviewee have particular interest in any specific group, and if so why? What is special about them?]

Summary

11. I'm going to ask you to compare British and foreign women who work in prostitution. Do you think it's possible to generalise at all, to say for example that British sex workers tend usually to be like this, but Eastern European sex workers tend to be more like that? Using the same list as for question 8, could you say which adjectives (if any) you think would best describe the typical:

- a. British sex worker
- b. Thai sex worker
- c. Eastern European sex worker
- d. Latin American sex worker

Any other groups of sex workers that tend to fit a particular stereotype [e.g., African, French, Dutch, etc.]?

[If interviewee has trouble using the list to stereotype local and foreign 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 if the stereotypes are based on the interviewee's personal experience.

Adjectives that describe local sex workers:

Adjectives that describe Thai sex worker:

Adjectives that describe E. European sex workers:

Adjectives that describe Latin American sex worker:

Summary

12. How would you rate British 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

13. 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

14. 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 sex workers? If no, why not? If yes, are all sex workers, or only some kinds of sex workers worthy of respect?

Sometimes clients are violent towards sex workers. Do you think this is usually the sex worker's or the client's fault? Why do you think it happens?

Summary

15. Finally, can I ask you whether you've ever bought sexual services from a transsexual or a male sex worker? [For gay interviewees, whether from a transsexual or female sex worker]

If no, is that because you have no sexual interest in transsexuals or men? Or can you imagine trying it out if the opportunity arose?

If yes, how did that come about (specifically sought out their services? drunk? wanted to experiment? or?); where? British or foreign worker? And how did it make you feel? Was it different in any way from commercial sex with a woman (or man for gay interviewees)?

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

INTERVIEW REPORT FORM

Telephone number: _____

Excel ID number: _____

Time of call: _____

Date: _____

Newspaper/website in which advertised: _____

Text of newspaper/website advertisement:

How many times telephoned before answered: _____

Can you give me some more details? **Key words from sales patter:**

How many workers there? _____

How old? _____

How much for a full personal service?

What services available? Key words from sales patter:

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 in six very different countries – Spain, Britain, 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, gender relations and commercial sex. 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

1. Please state your nationality _____

2. Please state your occupation _____

If you are a student, please state your subject area:

3. Please tick the age group you fall into:

17 or below	<input type="checkbox"/>	41-50	<input type="checkbox"/>
18-21	<input type="checkbox"/>	51-60	<input type="checkbox"/>
22-30	<input type="checkbox"/>	61-70	<input type="checkbox"/>
31-40	<input type="checkbox"/>	71+	<input type="checkbox"/>

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. How, if at all, would you describe your race/ethnicity/heritage?

- Black
- Asian
- Mixed race/dual heritage
- White
- Other (please specify) _____

7. Please tick your highest educational qualification:

- None
- GCSE
- A Level
- BA/BSc degree or diploma
- Masters' or PhD

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

- Over £50,000 per annum
- £20,000 – 49,000 per annum
- Less than £19,000 per annum

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?

Patient		Witty and humorous	
Intelligent		Sexually shy	
A good home-maker		Keen to have children	
Independent-minded		Reluctant to have children	
Talkative		Educated	
Self-sacrificing		Sexually passionate	
Beautiful		Obedient	
Faithful		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?

10 or below		11 – 13	
14 - 15		16 – 17	
18 - 21		22 – 25	
26 +		Never – women should not work in prostitution	

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 sexual services from a prostitute/sex worker, 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 sex worker?

- Better to go with a sex worker because it is more sexually satisfying
- Better to go with a sex worker because it is wrong to masturbate
- Better to masturbate because it is wrong to go with a sex worker
- Impossible to compare the two

21. Have you ever used the services of a sex worker?

- Yes
- No

If no, please go straight to question 38

22. How old were you the first time you used the services of a sex worker? _____

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

- Friends or colleagues arranged it
- Family member arranged it
- Sex worker approached you
- Decided independently to visit a brothel or approach a sex worker

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

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

25. Where have you bought the services of a sex worker? (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 sex workers?

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

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

- Yes, always
- Yes, sometimes
- Only when I go with sex workers 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 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 sex workers who look unclean
- Avoid sex workers who get a lot of customers
- Avoid foreign sex workers
- Look for younger sex workers
- Look for virgins
- Ensure that sex worker washes thoroughly before sex
- None of the above

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

- Yes, preferably under 12
- Yes, preferably aged between 13 and 15
- Yes, preferably aged 16 or 17
- Yes, preferably aged between 18 and 25
- Yes, preferably aged from 26 to 40
- Yes, preferably aged over 50
- No, age is not important to me

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

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

31. In the UK, have you ever bought sexual services from a sex worker from any of the following regions? (Please tick all that apply)

- Eastern Europe
- Latin America
- Thailand
- Africa
- Another European Union country
- Another region (please specify) _____
- I have only ever bought sexual services from British sex workers

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

Needed sexual release		To satisfy my curiosity		Because I was drunk	
For the excitement of doing something forbidden		To perform sexual acts that I can't practice with my wife or partner		For comfort, company or human warmth	
To experience the power of getting someone to serve me sexually		To be able to enjoy sex without any emotional demands or commitments		Because I was angry with my wife/girlfriend	

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"
- "Sex workers 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 sex worker, and the three you would LEAST like to find:

	Three qualities I would MOST want to find in a sex worker	Three qualities I would LEAST like to find in a sex worker
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 Eastern European, Thai and British sex worker? Please tick those that apply.

	The typical Eastern European sex worker is	The typical Thai sex worker is	The typical British sex worker 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 British sex workers”					
“Foreign sex workers are usually willing to offer a wider range of sexual services than British 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 British sex workers”					
“Foreign sex workers are more likely to enjoy sex”					
“It is usually more expensive to have sex with British sex workers”					

37. Have you ever bought sexual services from a transsexual or transvestite sex worker?

- Yes
- No

If yes, which, if any, of the following best describe your motivation (please tick):

- I thought the sex worker was a woman
- I was curious and wanted to experience something different
- She offered a cheaper service than female sex workers
- I found this particular transsexual very attractive
- In general, I find transsexuals attractive

And which, if any, best describe your feelings after you paid for sex with a transsexual for the first time (please tick):

- I felt a little ashamed because I am not a homosexual
- I felt angry with her for tempting me
- I was happy because it was an enjoyable sexual experience
- I did not have any particular feelings about it

NOW PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 39

38. (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 sex worker?

- 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 paying for sex
- It is against my moral principles to pay for sex
- I'm afraid of catching a sexually transmitted disease

The remaining questions are for ALL respondents

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

- Yes
- No

40. 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.

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 six very different countries - India, Italy, Thailand, UK, Spain 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

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 current living arrangements:

Single

Married, living together

Married, living apart

Co-habiting with man

Co-habiting with woman

Divorced

Widowed

6. Do you have any children living with you?

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)]

IF YOU DO NOT EMPLOY DOMESTIC WORKERS or CLEANERS or AU PAIRS PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 11.

10. 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	How initial contact made
Worker 1								
Worker 2								
Worker 3								
Worker 4								

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

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
“It is in women’s nature to be more caring than men”					
“My home says something about the kind of person I am”					
“Women should not go out to work”					
“In general, men don’t do enough around the house”					
“Children should regularly help around the house”					
“People shouldn’t bring work home with them”					
“Children should respect parents’ authority”					
“I can be more my real self at home”					
“When possible, a mother’s care is best for a child”					

12. Could you indicate, in general, who usually does the following household tasks in your home. If the task is usually shared you may tick more than one column.

	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					

clothes					
Looking after pets					
Ironing					
Tidying up					

13. What is the youngest age at which a person should be allowed to be paid for work in private households 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?

	Domestic worker	Other forms of employment
Under 10		
10-13		
14-15		
16-18		
19-21		
21+		
Don't know		

14. Which of the following do you consider should be rights for all 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
- Regular days off
- Holiday pay
- Use their employer's telephone
- Pension
- Minimum wage
- A work permit (if come from abroad)
- Fixed hours of employment
- Change employer with one month's notice

- None of the above – it's up to individuals to negotiate

15. Which if any of the following would you consider legitimate additional rights for live-in domestic workers

- Their own room
- Use their employer's telephone
- Bring boyfriends (?) to the house
- Eat employer's food
- Use the house as their own
- None of these

16. Do you believe that paid domestic work should be monitored/regulated?

- No, most employers can be relied on to give them their rights
- No, it's up to individuals to negotiate depending on their own situations
- Yes
- None of the above

IF YOU DO NOT EMPLOYER A DOMESTIC WORKER or CLEANER or AU PAIR PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 28.

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

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

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

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

20. Would you ever consider employing a male domestic worker?

- Yes, but only as a cleaner
- Yes, but only as a carer
- Yes as both cleaner and carer
- No

21. Please state who takes primary responsibility for employing and managing domestic workers in your household

- Self
- Partner
- Other relative living in the household
- Agency

22. What is/would be your preferred method of finding a new employee

- Word of mouth
- Formal agencies
- Small ads
- Community/religious organisations
- Combination of the above

23. 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 spend money but get nothing back
- 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
- You feel guilty

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

- Yes
- No

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

- I would pay someone under 18 to help out with light tasks
- I would pay someone under 18 to help out on an occasional basis
- I would employ a domestic worker under the age of 18 if they were desperate for work.
- I would never consider employing a domestic worker under the age of 18
- I would be quite happy for my daughter to be a full-time domestic worker.

26. If you found your domestic worker entertaining friends at your house without 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

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

- They are prepared to work flexible hours
- They are more caring than locals
- 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 hardworking than non-migrants
- They are more likely to stay for a long time
- They are more willing and co-operative
- It's more fashionable to have migrants
- Migrants are the only workers available for this job
- They don't gossip as much as locals
- It is easier to share your home with a migrant than a local.
- You avoid bureaucracy by employing a migrant
- Migrants have greater incentives to work

28. Would you say that any of the adjectives below describe the typical MIGRANT domestic worker. (NB you can go by reputation if you do not have direct experience

	Nationality x domestic worker	Nationality y domestic worker
Professional		
Attractive		
Shy		
Enthusiastic		
Cheap		
Educated		
Caring		
Feminine		
Obedient		
Dark skinned		
Light skinned		
Clean		
Expensive		
Respectful		
Poor		
Natural		
Young		
Mature		
Friendly		
Independent		
Assertive		
Hard working		
Intelligent		
Innocent		
Attentive to detail		

IF YOU DO NOT EMPLOYER A DOMESTIC WORKER or CLEANER or AU PAIR PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 33.

29. How would you rate non-migrant and migrant domestic workers in terms of the following:

Cost

	Very cheap	Cheap	Average	Expensive	V expensive
Local					
Migrant					

Reliability/retention

	V. reliable	Reliable	Average	Unreliable	V unreliable
Local					
Migrant					

Enthusiasm

	Very hardworking	Hardworking	Average	Lazy	Very lazy
Local					
Migrant					

Dependence on employer

	Very dependent	Dependent	Average	Independent	Very independent
Local					
Migrant					

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

30 . 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		
Enthusiastic		
Cheap		
Educated		
Caring		
Feminine		
Obedient		
Dark skinned		
Light skinned		
Clean		
Expensive		
Respectful		
Poor		
Natural		
Young		
Mature		
Friendly		
Independent		
Assertive		
Hard working		
Intelligent		
Innocent		
Attentive to detail		

31. Would you characterise your relationship as

- Friendly
- Professional
- Friendly and professional
- None of the above

32. 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
- None of these

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

- Yes
- No

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

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

35. 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.