

Portsmouth Council
SEV Licensing Consultation Response

Submitted by

John-Cortin Fernandez

Manager – Wiggle Club

Preface – What Portsmouth Residents Are Saying...

“I am signing because although I do not usually frequent dancing clubs, (and they are not sexual entertainment venues, I visited one a couple of weeks ago to see what all the fuss was about), I would like the freedom of choice to do so if I wish. Moreover, I fully object to organisations like OBJECT and the Solent Feminist Network using their own moral indignity to propel a council into acting in the way they want, regardless of how it affects the livelihoods of other women in the businesses they are trying to close.

As a council tax payer, if Portsmouth City Council vote in favour of the SFN and Object on this matter, I will be asking them how they can justify basing a decision on moral grounds when that is beyond their remit as a supposedly impartial body.

Morals are subjective - the feminists need to keep their indignity to themselves and stop posting it through the letterboxes of Portsmouth residents along with a whole list of spurious reasons why the current strip clubs are a problem. This in itself shows their end goal as being not just stopping any new venues opening, but ultimately putting pressure on the council to close the existing ones when their licenses come up for renewal, losing women their jobs in the process. Disgusting.”

Signatory to a Change.org on-line petition for saving clubs in Portsmouth.

“I have worked in elegance for over a year as a barman and this has helped me pay my way through university and I know that most of the other bar staff are in the same situation as me. There are few jobs in Portsmouth and losing my job at elegance would make it hard for me to continue funding my way through university.”

Signatory to a Change.org on-line petition for saving clubs in Portsmouth.

I was a lapdancer for many years in Elegance strip club. It was some of my best memories there. Also I didn't do too badly, I now have a large property portfolio in which I let out property to the local council for people on benefits. This would not have been possible if it had not been for my years working there.

Take a moment and look at the bigger picture, Is this really the time to be cutting jobs? You are not just cutting jobs, in some cases you will be destroying peoples lives. The girls choose to work there, they are not forced. The men chose to go there and spend their money.

As the economy stands right now people have very little enjoyment. Paying bills, working, etc. So don't take away venues that right at this moment are needed more than ever. I now have a husband and daughter, I will not dance again, but that is my choice. I still have friends in that profession and I have to say they are content. And right now, with the decline in jobs and inflation so high, I would say they are doing rather well!

Good luck girls

Signatory to a Change.org on-line petition for saving clubs in Portsmouth.

97

Friday, March 2, 2012 at 11:01 AM

Hi all! I chair what is called the White ribbon campaign which works to end violence against women and children-im not just talking domestic abuse but rape trafficking sexual harresment genital mutilation the list is endless! Originally I was all for the nil cap but I am stuck in the middle now! Like I have said in previous posts my main concern is the saftey of the women, and that they are well looked after-after reading wiggle maria post I thought these girls have a voice and it needs to be heard! So I am going to put together a quesstionnaire (hopefully) and speak with the girls who currently work at the club spend a few evenings there and also question ex dancers from portsmouth to try and obtain both sides of the story! These girls do have a voice and a right to be heard ! X

From Portsmouth.co.uk article regarding the 'Nil Policy'...

82

Thursday, March 1, 2012 at 11:24 PM

I find it offensive that a group of feminists spoke out in favour at the meeting. In favour of losing other women their jobs? And Cllr Lynne Stagg thinks strip clubs are 'demeaning for women'? That sounds suspiciously like a personal moral objection to me. I seriously hope elected members of the council aren't voting on local issues on personal moral grounds. Surely they should be thinking of what is best for the city, and personal morals aside, creating more unemployment hardly falls into that category. It is obvious that if this ruling is passed and new establishments are not allowed to open, that the law will then be used by the same feminists and morally superior councillors to object to the annual license applications of the existing businesses for being within 3 miles of a church or school. I seriously hope the council take notice of the publicity being garnered around this issue and realise that certain sections of our community are using their own personal moral justifications to push through a vote that will affect many lives detrimentally.

From Portsmouth.co.uk article regarding the 'Nil Policy'...

70

Thursday, March 1, 2012 at 07:42 PM

It is pretty shameful in the present economic climate that these campaigners are trying to take jobs and livelihoods away from people on the basis of purely moralistic and ideological reasons. All the arguments put forward are spurious, and only make sense if you are caught up in a closed system of thought. If you don't like these places, then keep away from them - but don't try to limit the lives of others. It's funny how "feminists" like to impose their will on other women, who will be those most affected by this proposed ban.

From Portsmouth.co.uk article regarding the 'Nil Policy'...

39

Thursday, March 1, 2012 at 03:01 PM

This is an undemocratic and pointless policy to appease feminists. The council should be using there time on more important problems like the brewery's closing pubs and turning them in to late night supermarkets. The Pubs are social places and its been noted in the media that they have a retarding effect on irresponsible drinking. The supermarkets are selling the cheap alcohol that causes a lot more problems than Lap dancing clubs.

From Portsmouth.co.uk article regarding the 'Nil Policy'...

13

Thursday, March 1, 2012 at 12:01 PM

These places are Legal, Licensed and Regulated, everything that happens inside is controlled and the people who work there choose to do so, not being forced to do anything they don't want to do. - - If a customer gets troublesome, they have plenty have bouncers to break things up. From what I see they are a lot less hassle than the majority of the Guildhall Clubs. - - this is a densley populated city so yes they are likely to be close to "schools & Churches" but they are not open at the same time so there is no interaction, Kids will see worse on TV then from walking past. - - Paul Knight is correct, speak to those involved before trying to claim thay are being ill-treated or find it demeaning. - - From the "Pole Dancers" I've spoken to I'm told they very much enjoy it and have no issues with there career choice.

From Portsmouth.co.uk article regarding the 'Nil Policy'...

Introduction

I would like first to thank you for the opportunity to respond to the consultation for the SEV 'Nil Policy' in Portsmouth.

Recent years have seen an apparent upsurge in publicity that attacks the striptease and lap dancing sector in the United Kingdom and to be frank, we feel as if we are almost under siege and surrounded by those that wish to see us close down. It seems that those that oppose our right to trade, assign responsibility for as many social evils as they can to our existence. We feel this is unfair and that clubs and the dancers that work in them are being scapegoated.

The campaign to prohibit striptease in Britain has been spearheaded by a radical feminist group called Object, that leverage support for local campaigns by linking up with groups such as the Solent Feminist Network. Many, if not all of the accusations that these groups make against clubs and dancers are untrue.

This document is designed to be an open, honest attempt to dispel the rumours that surround our business and particularly clubs in Portsmouth. In recent months, we have been subject to highly objectionable attacks by members of Object and the Solent Feminist Network and we feel we are the subject of what amounts to a 'witchhunt'.

This document will provide information that challenges the assumptions of the those that wish to see us close and will also give you a better idea of what we are faced with on an almost daily basis by those that wish to prohibit a business that is licensed, regulated and above all legal in the UK.

Once again I thank you for your time and hope that you see this document for what it is – the testimony of a legitimate community that wants nothing more than to stay in existence.

John-Cortin Fernandez

Contents

- 1 Executive Summary**
- 2 The Lilith Report**
- 3 The Holsopple Report**
- 4 Analysis of Crime Around Clubs By Camden Borough Council**
- 5 Wiggle - Analysis of Violent Incidents In Surrey Street**
- 6 Domestic Abuse – Are Lapdancing Clubs The Cause?**
- 7 Anonymous Mailshot to Portsmouth Residents.**
- 8 Dr Teela Sanders Research into Lap Dancing Clubs and Dancers**
- 9 Objects Campaign to Close Clubs in Hackney**
- 10 Object and the Solent Feminist Network**
- 11 Dancers Speak Out**
- 12 Article about Object from the ‘Moronwatch’ website,**
- 12 Conclusion**
- 13 Appendix**
 - 1 - The Lilith Report**
 - 2 – The Holsopple Report**
 - 3 – Letter from an Object Activist to Dr Teela Sanders**

Executive Summary

Our response to the SEV Consultation includes the following documents...

The Lilith Report – a cornerstone of prohibitionist campaigns, the report is deeply flawed both conceptually and mathematically.

The Holsopple Report – another document that is frequently quoted, but irrelevant to any discussion of clubs in the United Kingdom

Analysis of Crime Around Clubs By Camden Borough Council – After analysing three years of data, the council recently concluded that there is no link between lap dancing clubs and crime.

Wiggle - Analysis of Violent Incidents In Surrey Street - As a follow up to the above document, we analysed incidents of violent crime in an area around Surrey Street and reached some surprising conclusions.

Domestic Abuse – Are Lapdancing Clubs The Cause? – We have researched this issue and can find no link between clubs and domestic abuse.

Anonymous Mailshot to Portsmouth Residents - We have analysed an anonymous document that was posted to households throughout Portsmouth.

Dr Teela Sanders Research into Lap Dancing Clubs and Dancers – Academic research undertaken into the background and working conditions of dancers.

Object's Campaign to Close Clubs in Hackney – Radical feminist group Object was found to have possibly encouraged their activists to write into Hackney Council with false allegations of harassment and abuse.

Object and The Solent Feminist Network- An overview of the campaign run by Object and SFN against clubs in Portsmouth, essentially a national campaign in the guise of a local one.

Dancers Speak Out – Eleven of our dancers write and explain what the loss of their jobs will mean in human terms.

Conclusion – We summarise our position.

Appendix – So as to ensure a sense of fairness, we have included documents that are frequently used by prohibitionists in their campaigns against strip and lap dancing clubs.

1 - The Lilith Report

2 – The Holsopple Report

3 – Letter from an Object Activist to Dr Teela Sanders

The Lilith Report
Analysis and Refutation

The Lilith Report has been the cornerstone of prohibitionist campaigns since its was published in 2003. Many quote from it, particularly its claim that incidents of rape in Camden doubled after a number of lap dancing clubs opened in the borough. **The report is wrong.**

Dr Brook Magnati wrote a comprehensive refutation of Lilith which can be read in the appendix. This section will make reference to Dr Magnati's article and will also look at some other aspects of Lilith.

The report focuses on three London boroughs, Westminster (17 clubs), Camden (7 clubs) and Islington (2 clubs), all of which have a number of clubs in operation. Lilith examines the impact of the clubs operation in terms of environmental health, crime and rape and other sexual offences. The analysis period was from 1999 to 2002 inclusive.

Lilith fails to present any comparative analysis from a borough with no clubs at all. Instead it gives a side by side comparison of three boroughs all of which have clubs in for which it proceeds to assign responsibility for any criminal behaviour

Initially we are told that overall crime rates have fallen for all three boroughs, which doesn't support the argument that clubs are responsible for crime.

Westminsters crime rate reduced by 12.6%,
Islington's by 13.2%
Camden's by 5.6% .

Then Lilith goes on to inform us that crime in Camden experienced the lowest reduction overall, implying that it is the *presence* of clubs in Camden that are causing the smallest reduction in crime rates, ignoring the fact that Westminster and Islington both have clubs.

Perhaps the most quoted part of Lilith is its assertion about incidences of rape in Camden.

'Since 1999 rape of women in Camden has increased by 50%'

The above statements are still being quoted and they are wrong....

Dr Brooke Magnati undertook a detailed analysis of the data that Lilith used to reach its conclusions and discovered that the author of Lilith made mathematical errors and furthermore has little understanding of statistical analysis.

Firstly the basic calculation was wrong,

By accessing Metropolitan Police data which is freely available on the internet, we can see the raw data was as follows....

Camden Rape Statistics

1999 – 72

2000 – 88

2001 – 91

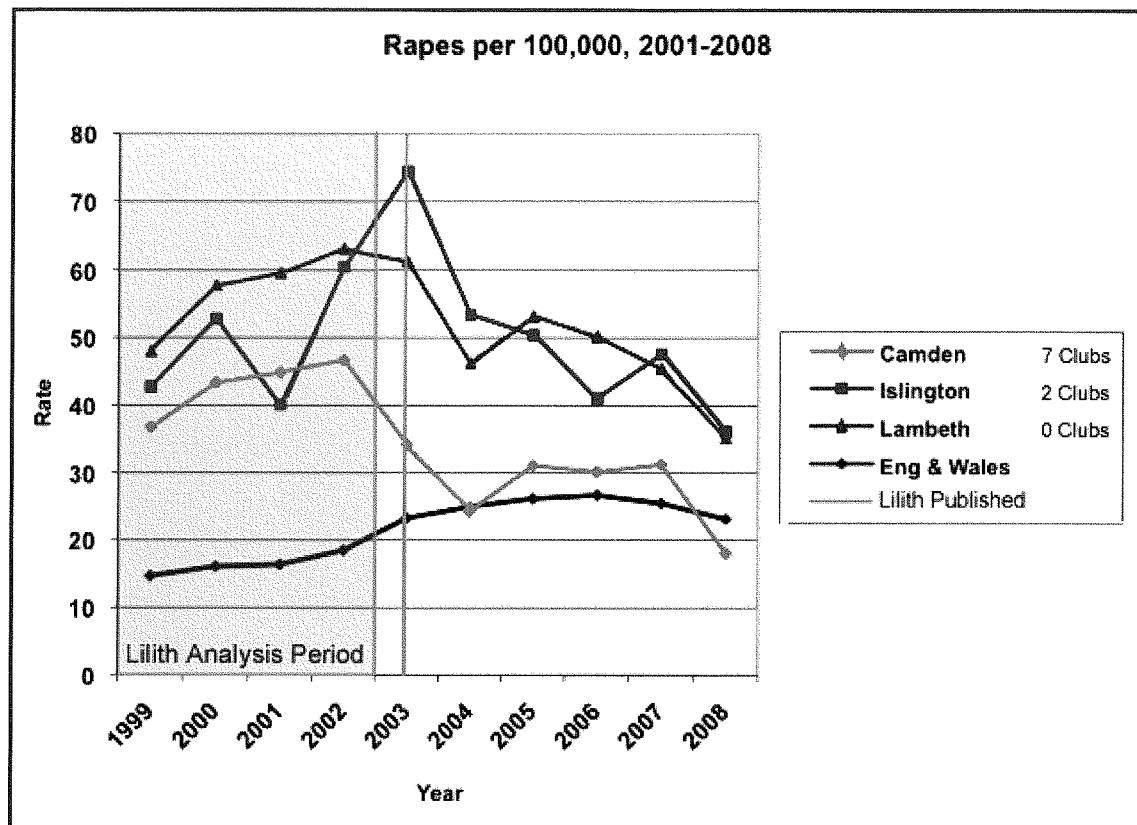
2002 – 96

So the increase between 1999 and 2000 is an extra 24 rapes. So in terms of raw numbers we can see that the change is actually a 31% increase. But to hold things at that point is dangerous, because there is another factor that must be considered.

A true comparative analysis must take into account population growth, therefore the only reliable statistical analysis is one that counts incidences per head of population, usually per 1000. When figures for Camden are analysed in this manner, taking into account the boroughs population growth, we see that incidences of rape increased by 26.9%, or half what Lillith originally claimed.

As stated earlier, if any analysis is to be valid, it must include a borough without any clubs. After correcting the mathematical errors in Lillith, Dr Magnati reframed the analysis by comparing Camden with Islington (Islington had less clubs) and Lambeth (with no clubs at all) a looked at longer analysis period.

Dr Magnati found that after 2002, incidences of rape actually started to fall across all three boroughs. The trend has been illustrated in a graph that was initially produced by Dr Magnati, but later enhanced with additional information.



So we can see that during the Lilith analysis period, incidences of rape in Camden actually started to fall. In Islington they were increasing and later reduced. Lambeth with no clubs at all, had a higher level of rape than Camden throughout the 1999 to 2008 period. We can also see that in 2008, Camden with 7 clubs had a lower rate than the England & Wales national average.

It proves that there is no causal link between the presence and number of clubs in area and the occurrence of rape and other crime.

What is of most concern is that rape and sexual still take place. If it becomes widely accepted that the closure of clubs will lead to a reduction in offences, we run the risk of creating within people a false sense of security about their chances of being sexual assaulted. On this basis, the closure of clubs could lead to an increase in offences, which quite frankly would be tragic.

The complete Lilith analysis, written by Dr Magnati is included overleaf. A copy of the Lilith Report is included in the appendix.

The impact of adult entertainment on rape statistics in Camden: a re-analysis.

Brooke L Magnanti, PhD.

Abstract

A 2003 report on the impact of lap-dancing clubs on sexual assault in Camden, London had significant influence on the perception of the contribution of adult entertainment to crime statistics. In spite of mathematical corrections to the statistics in the report, its original conclusions are still widely reported in both academic and mass media. This paper presents a broader analysis of the impact of lap-dancing clubs by calculating accurate rates of incidence, analysing statistics from a longer time period, and comparing the results with crime rates in neighbouring boroughs of London. The rate of rape in Camden is lower than that in comparable boroughs, including ones with no such clubs. The overall trend for London boroughs, while higher than the national average, shows a decrease where national statistics are on the increase.

Introduction

The question of whether, and to what extent, the presence of adult entertainment businesses affects crime in the surrounding area is a topic of debate in many disciplines, including sexuality studies, urban planning, and criminology. It is also an issue that attracts considerable mass media attention, which in turn can frame the debate as considered by media and government.

In 2003, a report was released by Lilith Research and Development, a subsidiary project of Eaves Women's Aid, a London women's housing agency. The report examined the phenomenon of lap-dancing clubs in the north London borough of Camden and its effects on crime rates from the late 1990s onward. One conclusion that received considerable attention was the statement that following the introduction of lap-dancing clubs, rape in Camden rose by 50%. (Eden 2003). In 2009, corrections to the statistics were reported in the *Guardian* stating that the change between 1999 and 2002 was a somewhat lower increase of 33% (Bell 2008). It still however implies evidence of a cause-and-effect relationship between lap dancing clubs and rape. The uncorrected claims that rapes rose by 50% after lap dancing clubs opened and that Camden's incidence of rape is three times the national average are still reported in national and international media (Hunt 2009, Guest 2010).

However, the original paper on which these claims are based suffers from numerous statistical problems in its analysis. The first is that the use of raw numbers rather than rate of occurrence does not accurately reflect the risk per

head of population in Camden. The second is that the paper failed to show a trend long enough from which to draw meaningful conclusions. The third is that the study did not accurately put the results in context with trends elsewhere in London and in the UK as a whole, in order to test the theory that any change in crime rates was an effect specifically of the existence of lap dancing clubs.

This reanalysis seeks to correct those problems so a more accurate picture of the effect of lap dancing on Camden may be discussed, and the new figures enter into the public debate on adult entertainment and urban spaces.

1. Rate calculations

In reporting outcomes in a population over time, it is important to calculate in incidence rate of outcomes in order to account for changes in the size of the population and thereby produce statistics that can be sensibly compared. The original paper, and subsequent corrections, did not do this.

The numbers on reported rapes were obtained directly from the Metropolitan Police, though at least some of the numbers are freely available on the web. The numbers reported in the original paper have been checked against the Metropolitan Police numbers to confirm they are correct.

Both the original numbers of rapes in the Lilith report, and the note in the *Guardian* correcting an arithmetic error from the paper and subsequent reporting, did not calculate the incidence rate of reported rapes per head of population. However, London is a rapidly growing city. Without the context of population change, this renders fluctuations in the results impossible to interpret meaningfully.

The Lilith report focuses on the difference in rapes between 1999 and 2002. However, in its first paragraph, the report states that lap dancing 'arrived in Britain in 1997 with the opening of Secrets in Hammersmith'. The reasoning why the statistics used in that report start 2 years later is unclear. In order to facilitate comparison with the original report, statistics calculated in this paper will also start from 1999.

The number of reported rapes as given by the Metropolitan Police includes rapes against both men and women, and this is the number reported in the original paper. Therefore for the purposes of calculating the rate of reported rapes per 100,000 population, the total male and female population of Camden has been used. The population count is as reported in the National Statistics adjusted midyear estimates. The rates are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Rates of rapes per 100,000 population, Camden, London, 1999-2002

Year	Reported rapes	Population	Rate per 100,000
1999	72	195,700	36.8
2000	88	202,800	43.4
2001	91	202,600	44.9
2002	96	205,700	46.7

Using the rate of rapes per 100,000 population, the change from 1999 to 2002 is an increase not of 50% (as originally reported and still repeated) or 33% (as in the later correction) but of 26.9%, or about half of what was in the original paper.

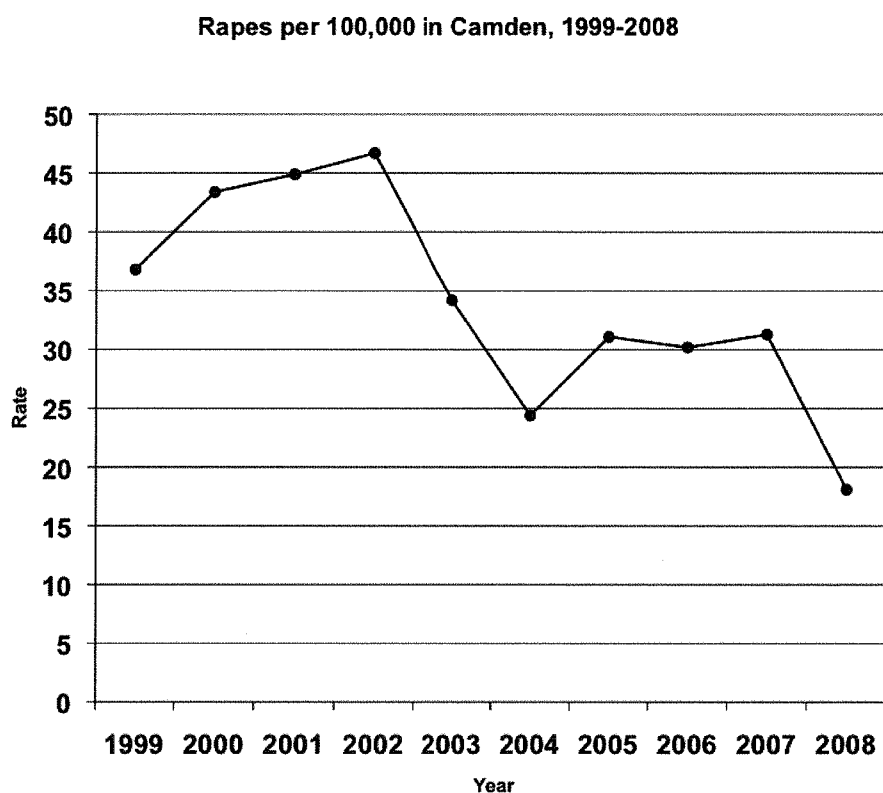
2. Longer-term trend analysis

Unfortunately because of the limited time period covered in the original report, even with accurately calculated rates it is difficult to tell whether the increase was sustained, and therefore indicative of a trend. We know that between 1999 and 2000 the rate of reported rapes in Camden rose but because it is a relatively rare event, it can be expected that there will be high volatility in the number of reported rapes and that this will affect the rates. Therefore with numbers now available to represent the last decade, a more complete picture can be constructed. The results over a decade show a markedly different trend to what was originally reported – the rate does rise, but then subsequently falls again. The results are shown in Table 2, and a graph of the rates in Figure 1.

Table 2: Rates of rapes per 100,000 and percentage annual change, Camden, 1999-2008

Year	Reported rapes	Population	Rate per 100,000	% change
1999	72	195,700	36.8	n/a
2000	88	202,800	43.4	+ 17.9%
2001	91	202,600	44.9	+ 3.5%
2002	96	205,700	46.7	+ 3.9%
2003	71	207,700	34.2	- 26.8%
2004	52	212,800	24.4	- 28.5%
2005	68	218,400	31.1	+ 27.4%
2006	67	221,500	30.2	- 2.8%
2007	70	223,900	31.3	+ 3.4%
2008	41	226,500	18.1	- 42.1%

Figure 1: Trend of rape rates in Camden, London, 1999-2008



3. Local and national trend comparison

The original report compares Camden's rape reports to the numbers from the boroughs of Westminster and Islington. All of these boroughs contain lap dancing clubs. However it does not contain a comparison with a comparable borough with no such clubs.

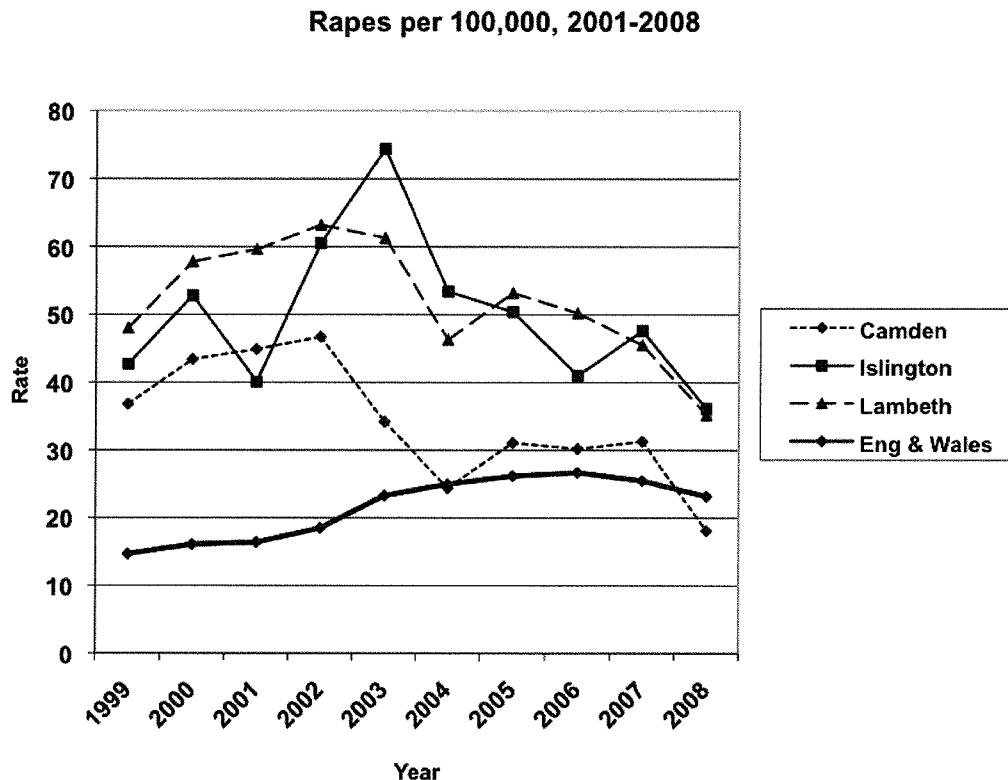
In order to improve the assessment between boroughs we have retained a comparison with Islington, but also added a non-lap dancing borough with a similar demographic profile in order to minimise socioeconomic confounders.

Lambeth has a somewhat larger population than Camden and similar makeup in terms of ethnic origin. It contains no lap dancing clubs at all. Islington has a somewhat smaller population than the other two boroughs and has two venues licensed for fully nude lap dancing. Rape reporting statistics are also available for England and Wales as a whole, so these have been included for reference in Table 3, with the rates graphed in Figure 2.

Table 3: Rates of rape in Camden, Lambeth, Islington, and England & Wales (comb), 1999-2008

Year	Rapes in Camden	Rate in Camden	Rapes in Lambeth	Rate in Lambeth	Rapes in Islington	Rate in Islington	Rapes England & Wales	Rate England & Wales
1999	72	36.8	128	48.0	75	42.7	7636	14.7
2000	88	43.4	156	57.8	94	52.8	8409	16.1
2001	91	44.9	163	59.6	72	40.1	8593	16.4
2002	96	46.7	172	63.2	109	60.5	9734	18.5
2003	71	34.2	166	61.3	135	74.4	12295	23.3
2004	52	24.4	126	46.3	97	53.4	13272	25.0
2005	68	31.1	146	53.2	93	50.4	14013	26.2
2006	67	30.2	139	50.2	76	41.0	14343	26.7
2007	70	31.3	127	45.5	89	47.6	13774	25.5
2008	41	18.1	99	35.2	68	36.1	12637	23.2

Figure 2: Trend of rape rates in Camden, Lambeth, Islington, and England & Wales (comb), 1999-2008



If a cause-and-effect relationship between the number of lap dancing clubs and the occurrence of rape existed, we would expect Lambeth to be lowest of the three because it has no clubs. By the same assumption we would expect Islington to be higher because it has a couple, and Camden highest because it has more than those other boroughs. The analysis however shows that Camden is consistently the lowest of the three. The results do not support a causal link between the number of lap dancing clubs in a borough and the risk of rape.

The trend for the three London boroughs shows that Lambeth (with no lap dancing) and Islington (with only 2 clubs) both have rates that are higher than Camden's. It also demonstrates that all three have decreased over time, while the trend in England and Wales over the same time period has been for a rise. Apart from the early 2000s peak, Camden's numbers are similar to the overall rate for England and Wales, and are sometimes below it. In the original report it was claimed that Camden's rapes were "three times the national average," and this has been reported elsewhere. This new analysis shows that statement is not true at any point within the studied time period.

Discussion

Rape is widely accepted to be a vastly under-reported crime. The calculations do not reveal whether rapes were under-reported for the area in any particular year, nor what the causes of that might be. What it does demonstrate is that the original claim made in the Lilith report, that the number of reported rapes is rising due to lap dancing clubs, is not true.

The causes of rape and violent crime are not well understood, and there is much research and discussion devoted to understanding the causes of this crime so that it may be better controlled. It is possible that repeating limited and erroneous numbers can derail efforts to control violence and deflect attention and funding from alternative causal theories. It is because rape is such a serious crime that researchers must be at least as rigorous in their analysis as they would with other serious life events, and apply the same careful methodology as would be used in other areas of research.

Other research supports the conclusion of no demonstrable causal link between adult entertainment and rape. A meta-analysis of 110 studies looking at the impact of strip clubs and other adult businesses found that the studies in favour of abolishing exotic dancing suffer from flaws in research methodology. Of the papers that did not contain fatal flaws, there was no correlation between any adult-oriented business and any negative effect (Bryant, Linz and Shafer 2001). Ethnographic work also supports the conclusion that there is no direct relationship between adult entertainment and crime (Hanna 2005).

Nevertheless it is a widely held assumption that endemic exposure to adult images and entertainment makes rape more likely to occur. Even if there was conclusive evidence for this, why would the rapes necessarily occur in Camden? The area containing the clubs is a small corner of a much larger borough bordering other parts of London. It is well-connected with public transport going in and out of the area. In addition, one might expect such a well-known entertainment venue has customers travelling from elsewhere in the country to see it. There is no evidence, even if literature supported an exposure aetiology of rape, that the crimes would necessarily be committed in Camden. Such possible confounding factors are not addressed in the original study.

The paper also strongly implies that the rapes are stranger rapes. A Home Office report analysing relationships between victims and offenders notes that for rapes, strangers are the perpetrators in only 17% of UK cases (Walby and Allen 2004). 75% of reported rapes occur either in the victim's home or in the perpetrator's (Myhill and Allen 2002). Even if lap dancing businesses were shown to contribute to stranger rape, this alone could not explain large changes in the statistics of reported rapes overall.

In much writing on sexual assault there seems to be a belief that rape stems from an inability of men to understand communication that is indirect; that they are unable to parse any rejection other than a firmly stated 'no'. Not only has this

idea led to defendants in rape cases claiming they didn't know someone said no, it is also not supported by research.

Men and women may weigh the value of verbal and nonverbal cues differently, but show little difference in the end when categorising situations as rape (Lim and Roloff 1999). For all the firmly held stereotypes, men know that no means no. Men who rape don't do so by accident; ordinary men without tendencies to rape do not do so inadvertently or because they went to a lap dancing club.

Brooke Magnanti is the author of several memoirs, including *The Intimate Adventures of a London Call Girl*. She has worked extensively in research of forensic science, population trends and biostatistics.

Works Cited

- Bell, R, 2008. I was seen as an object, not a person. *The Guardian*. 19 March p18.
- Bryant, P Linz, D and Shafer, B, 2001. Government regulation of adult businesses through zoning and anti-nudity ordinances: Debunking the legal myth of negative secondary effects. *Communication Law and Policy* 6(2): pp 355-91.
- Eden, I, 2003. Lilith Report Lap dancing and strip-tease in the borough of Camden. [online] Available at: <http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/poppy_03_lap_dancing_0109.pdf> [Accessed 28 December 2010].
- Guest, K. Lap dancing is seedy – but it's hard to say why. *The Independent*, [online] Available at: < <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/katy-guest-lap-dancing-is-seedy-ndash-but-its-hard-to-say-why-2064794.html>> [Accessed 28 December 2010].
- Hanna, J L, 2005. Exotic Dance Adult Entertainment: A Guide for Planners and Policy Makers. *Journal of Planning Literature* 20(2): pp 116-134.
- Hunt, T, 2009. Betting shops and strip clubs stand as monuments to New Labour morality. *The Guardian*, [online] Available at: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/aug/06/labour-moral-market-gambling-society>> [Accessed 28 December 2010].
- Lim, G Y and Roloff, M E, 1999. Attributing sexual consent. *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 27(1): pp 1-13.
- Myhill, A and J Allen, 2002. *Rape and sexual assault of women: findings from the British Crime Survey*. London: Home Office Research Study 159.
- Walby, S and J Allen, 2004. *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: Findings from the British Crime Survey*. London: Home Office Research Study 276.

Written by Kelly Holsopple, herself a dancer for 13 years, The Holsopple Report is quoted by many prohibitionists, including author and activist Kat Banyard.

Kelly Holsopple interviewed 41 dancers that were involved in stripping, lap dancing, couch dancing, wall dancing, bed dancing, shower dancing, sexually orientated wrestling and female boxing.

I understand the meaning of stripping and lap dancing, but the other forms that are mentioned are unknown to me and certainly not on offer in any club in the UK, let alone Portsmouth.

The report makes grim reading.

It states that 100% of dancers had experienced physical abuse and the list goes on.

- There is however a number of things that anyone considering the issue of club licensing should understand about the Holsopple Report, before allowing its findings to influence them...

The first issue is that it was compiled in 1994, almost 20 years ago...

The second issue is that the dancers all worked for clubs in America, where the licensing conditions are radically different to what they are in Britain.

In summary, The Holsopple Report can have no possible bearing on any licensing discussion in Portsmouth. Put another way, if a number of people died of food poisoning in Italian restaurants in New York, I cannot imagine that we would be considering closing every spaghetti house in Portsmouth.

A copy of the Holsopple Report can be viewed in the Appendix.

Camden Borough Council
Analysis of Crime Around Lap Dancing
Clubs

Camden Borough Council recently undertook a three year study of incidents that took place within 10 and 40 metres of every lap dancing club in the borough. The conclusion was that there was no correlation between the presence of clubs and crime.

A summary of the report can be found overleaf.

APPENDIX E

PARTNERSHIP INFORMATION UNIT RESPONSE TO PHASE ONE SEX ESTABLISHMENTS POLICY CONSULTATION DATED 4 JULY 2011

Protective Marking	NOT PROTECTIVELY MARKED
Suitable for Publication Scheme	N
FOIA Exemption	Y
Title and Version	Summary: Crime around lap dancing clubs in Camden Borough
Purpose	See Below
Relevant to	Community Safety
Author	Sarah Czamomski
Creating Branch, Code and Operational Command Unit/Directorate	Partnership Information Unit
Date Created	July 2011

This report is a summary of a 'restricted' report examining crime near nine lap dancing clubs in Camden Borough. The report was requested by Community Safety as part of a response to the Licensing Departments consultation on 'sex establishments' (referred to in this report as 'lap dancing clubs') in Camden.

Three years worth of data (1 June 2008 - 31 May 2011) was collated of 'all reported crime' within 40 metres, and 10 metres of each club. The clubs are listed below:

- City Burlesque
- Parkers
- Red Rooms
- Secrets, Eversholt Street
- Secrets, Finchley Road
- Secrets, Gray's Inn Road
- Secrets, Parker Street
- Spearmint Rhino
- The Griffin

The report attempts to determine whether crime around these venues is in any way excessive, or exceptionally different from what would be expected of any other night-time economy venue in Camden.

10 metre buffer zone

- The results showed an overall low level of offences with no obvious seasonality.
- Of all crime types 'other theft' was considerably higher than other type of crime.
- Most offences occurred in the early hours of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.
- There is not an exceptional amount of crime around these venues at the 10 metre buffer level. The type of crime that is apparent mirrors what would be expected in any other night-time economy venue.

40 metre buffer zone

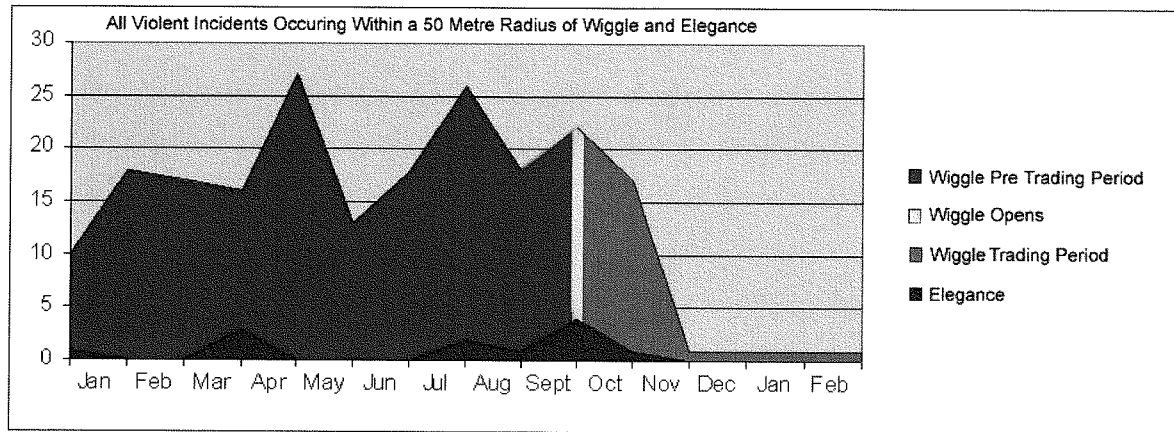
- The results showed an overall low level of offences with no obvious seasonality.
- Of all crime types 'other theft' was considerably higher than other type of crime.
- Most offences occurred on Friday evening and early Saturday morning.
- As with the 10 metre buffer zone, there is no evidence when examining the 40 metre buffer zone of excessive levels of crime. Once again, the majority of crimes are other theft which is consistent with night-time economy venues.

Conclusion

There is no statistical evidence for a specific crime problem around lap-dancing clubs in Camden.

Wiggle
Analysis of Incidences of Violence In
Surrey Street

We undertook an analysis of violent incidents that took place within a 50 metre radius of both Elegance and Wiggle for the period starting January 2011. The data was drawn from the Police.uk website and is available for anyone to verify. It has been presented as a graph below and proves that Surrey Street is safer as a result of our trading presence.



Elegance is a well established club and as you can it is marked in dark blue. Despite the number of clubs and bars in the area, very little happens within 50 metres of the venue.

The graph for Wiggle has been sub-divided into two areas, red for the time before the club opened and pink to represent the time after its opening in September. You will see that in the time before Wiggle opened, Surrey Street was very dangerous, with some months having over 25 violent incidents. Now look at the time when Wiggle opened for trading. Incidents not only decrease in the immediate weeks after opening, but they practically flat line. For Wiggle it was decided to see what was happening in 2012 and once gain we can see violent incidents remain at a historic low, throughout the January and February of 2012.

Wiggle has lighting and numerous cameras, which by themselves make an area safer, but the biggest difference has been made by our door staff who are constantly vigilant for any sign of trouble. Please note that in all of the time that Wiggle has been open, we have never had to call the police to the premises.

November 2011 - 17 Incidents

December 2011 - 1 Incident.

Or put another way, a sustained 95% decrease in violent incidents, achieved in four weeks.

Domestic Abuse

Are Lap Dancing Clubs The Cause?

We have noted that as well as being accused of causing localised incidences of violent behaviour and sexual assault, that clubs are now being linked to domestic abuse. We have undertaken extensive research on the matter and have failed to find a causal between being a lap dance club customer and involvement in domestic abuse.

What we have discovered is summarised below...

Domestic abuse...

- Will affect 1 in 4 women and 1 in 6 men in their lifetime
- Leads to, on average, two women being murdered each week and 30 men per year
- Accounts for 16% of all violent crime (Source: Crime in England and Wales 04/05 report), however it is still the violent crime least likely to be reported to the police
- Has more repeat victims than any other crime (on average there will have been 35 assaults before a victim calls the police)
- Is the single most quoted reason for becoming homeless (Shelter, 2002)

We note that 1 in 6 men are victims of domestic abuse, does this mean that the female perpetrators are lap dance club customers. We somehow doubt this.

In terms of the causes, it is widely acknowledged that the situation is more complex than many first thought. Many people will try to blame domestic abuse on a variety of factors, and although these factors may increase the likelihood of domestic abuse, they are not the cause of domestic abuse.

Domestic abuse is a matter of choice for perpetrators. They choose to exert power and control over their victims.

There are many explanations that are seen to be false....

Abused as a child

Many people who are abusive towards their families or partners come from families with no history of abuse. Many families in which abuse occurs do not produce abusive men or women. The family is not the only formative influence on behaviour. Blaming abuse on a person's own experience can offer an excuse for it, but it denies the experiences of the majority of individual survivors of abuse who do not go on to abuse others.

Lack of control

Most violent people are able to control themselves not to abuse in public or in front of other people, not to cause injuries where they will show and only to be abusive within their family. This is not uncontrolled behaviour.

Domestic abuse is not just about physical violence. It is a systematic pattern of controlling behaviour ranging from controlling household finances to not allowing their family member to leave the house.

Drugs and alcohol

Domestic abuse cannot be blamed on drugs or alcohol consumption. Some perpetrators may have been drinking or taking drugs when they are abusive, but many have not. Also they are not generally abusing everyone; they are able to control their behaviour so that it is only towards their partners or family members.

Domestic abuse is far more prevalent however in households where alcohol or drugs are being misused and it is common for alcohol or drugs to be used by victims of abuse as a coping strategy to deal with the abuse they are experiencing.

Stress

Much like drugs and alcohol, stress is not a cause of domestic abuse. Abuse is a choice, intended to gain power and control over the victim. Generally perpetrators of domestic abuse, regardless of how stressed they are, are able to limit their abusive behaviour to their chosen victim/s. There are also many extremely stressed people who are not abusive, and many perpetrators who are not stressed!

Mental health

Mental health problems are more likely to be caused by domestic abuse than the other way round. Like the other factors listed here, mental health issues are not the cause of domestic abuse if the abuse is planned, controlled and limited only to a specific person or small number of people within the family setting.

Some mental health problems do lead to violent behaviour but this is uncontrolled and unpredictable. People with mental health problems are more likely to be victims of violence than perpetrators of it.

**Anonymous Mailshot to
Portsmouth Residents.**

Content Analysis

This is a scan of an anonymous mailshot that was sent to households in Portsmouth. It seems designed to frighten residents and contains a number of inaccuracies. We have analysed the content and our views are on the next page, we believe that the letter is manipulative and misleading.

WANT TO HAVE A SAY IN IMPROVING YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?

Dear Portsmouth,

Are you aware of the nil-cap consultation taking place for the licensing of Sexual Entertainment Venues?

- Do you want to take an active role in improving your local community?
- Don't want to walk past strip clubs or have your children walk past them on their way to school?
- Do you want a say on if strip clubs open in your street?
- Do you want to make Portsmouth and Southsea safer for women?
- Do you want to raise the value of your property?

THEN SUPPORT THE NIL-CAP!

Portsmouth City Council have now adopted the new licensing laws and local communities can have more say over whether the sex industry moves into their area. But they have not yet finalised the policy, and part of this can be to set a numerical limit on the number of clubs. This limit can, legally, be zero.

- Financial and sexual exploitation are common across this largely self-regulated industry
- Mainstreaming of lap dance clubs fits into the sexist 'sex object culture' in which gender based violence and discrimination is widespread
- There is NO threat to jobs because the women that work in strip clubs are self employed, and pay a 'house fee' for the 'privilege' of taking their clothes off for groups of men

Say "NO" to lap dancing clubs in Portsmouth

Say "NO" to the sex industry on your doorstep

To respond to the consultation, please email licensing@portsmouthcc.gov.uk with your answers to the four consultation questions as follows:

1. YES
2. YES
3. NO
4. Any further information you may wish to add

For more information visit <http://www.portsmouth.gov.uk/23995.html>

"Do you want to take an active role in improving your local community?"

The obvious answer to this question is 'Yes', but exactly how closing four lap dancing venues will improve things remains at this point unclear...

"Don't want to walk past strip clubs or have your children walk past them on their way to school".

Of course its about the protection of children, but given that the clubs do not open until after school is long closed, I fail to see the issue. But of course bringing child protection into the issue does pitch things at an emotive level

"Do you want to make Portsmouth and Southsea safer for women?"

Obviously who wouldn't, but this is a dangerous and stupid question, because it implies that the closure of lap dancing clubs will make things safer. Earlier in this document we have provided information that there is no causal link between lap dancing clubs and violent behaviour.

"Do you want a say if a strip club opens on your street?"

Contrary to what these people want the reader to believe, strip clubs do not spontaneously open just anywhere. There is a licensing application process to be undertaken and the premises themselves must be suitable for use as a club. The writer of this letter creates the impression that clubs can appear anywhere almost overnight, this is a lie.

"Do you want to raise the value of your property?"

That the presence of lap dancing clubs depresses property values for miles is a new accusation and one that to our knowledge remains unexamined and entirely unproven.

"Financial and sexual exploitation are common across this largely self regulated industry".

Please provide evidence of the financial and sexual exploitation, which apart from Objects somewhat dubious lap dancer testimonies, is not readily apparent.

The most objectionable comment is one about the 'largely self regulated industry'. I am sorry but this is a lie. Every lap dancing and strip club regulated by strict licensing rules and clubs are subject to no-notice inspections by Council Licensing Teams. Clubs that break Licensing rules get closed down, so to say the industry is largely self regulated is ridiculous.

"Mainstreaming of lapdancing clubs fits into the sexist 'sex-object culture' in which gender based violence and discrimination is widespread".

It kind of makes sense, its a bit jargonesque, but please tell us more about the gender based violence and discrimination. It sounds good, but unless they were referring to The Holsopple Report which focussed on clubs in America and was written twenty years ago, I have no clue about what they are talking about.

"There is no threat to jobs because the women that work in strip clubs are self employed and pay a 'house fee' for the 'privilege' of taking their clothes off for groups of men".

I do not know who wrote this, but if they honestly think it makes any sense or convinces anyone about the value of their argument, then they are sadly mistaken. From the perspective of the writer it seems that self employed jobs do not exist and if they disappear there is no problem because there was no job to begin with. Is that what they are really trying to say? If someone is self employed and they lose their opportunity to earn income, then they have lost their job. By this argument, builders, IT consultants, plumbers, electricians, gardeners, fitness coaches do not have jobs, because they are all self employed. If a self employed person loses their job, they still claim unemployment benefit, their families still suffer.

The sentence we are discussing also implies that dancers earn no money at all and actually pay to take their clothes off for customers. If that was the case, their wouldn't be any strip clubs open at all, because although dancers do pay a house fee, they do not dance for nothing.

But there is something else about this part of the letter that I find disturbing and that is the apparent viewpoint that it is of no consequence if the dancers lose their jobs. Its like the author thinks that the dancers are a lower form of life and do not matter.

As you can see the letter then tells people to go on-line and complete the consultation form and even tells people how to respond, without explaining to them what the questions are. In other words, do as you are told without thinking about it.

There is something else about this letter that is disturbing and that is the only contact reference is a link to Portsmouth Councils website. This could create the impression that the letter is from the council and it is most certainly not.

It is our view that this letter must make the negative consultation responses received to be highly questionable as the information presented is inaccurate and almost hysterical.

Dr Teela Sanders & Kate Hardy
University of Leeds
Research into Lap Dancers and Clubs

Dr Teela Sanders and Kate Hardy of Leeds University seem to be the only academics that have undertaken an objective study of lap dancers and the clubs where they work.

In 2010 they published some interim results, which make interesting reading. The research was based upon interviews with 300 dancers, based in two cities in the United Kingdom. A copy of the interim findings is enclosed overleaf, but they found that

25% of dancers interviewed had completed an undergraduate degree,

33% were students,

13.9% were dancing to fund their undergraduate degree,

6.3% were dancing to fund a postgraduate degree,

60.3% were totally reliant on dancing as their main source of income,

76.4% said they were Happy or Very Happy in their job role,

The above findings mirror our experience with dancers that work at Elegance and Wiggle. Once again we state that closure of clubs will lead to unnecessary economic suffering of people that only wish to get on with their lives.

The research has been derided by feminist groups and Dr Sanders has received letters that have questioned the validity of her research and motives for undertaking it. A copy of one such letter can be found in the Appendix.

Research on Lap Dancing in England: Preliminary Findings

Dr Teela Sanders & Kate Hardy

DO NOT CITE WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

Background to the Project

This research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council for the investigators to conduct a study on lap dancing with the specific aims to: a) examine the supply of dancers, their experiences of dancing and their working conditions; b) explore how industry management have 'mainstreamed' lap dancing and become acceptable in the high street; and c) to uncover the competing interests between erotic dance businesses, law enforcement and licensing processes. **These preliminary findings are presented half way through the fieldwork process and mainly centre on the dancers experiences and working conditions. The final findings and related reports will be available May 2011** The project comes at a pivotal time in the changes to how lap dancing clubs are licensed. A change in law in 2010 saw the reclassification of these establishments to Sexual Entertainment Venues, giving local authorities more powers to decide the number of clubs in their area, if at all, and to take any forms of objection into consideration. Moving away from the licensing objectives of the Licensing Act 2003, these new powers enable greater control over lap dancing, whilst not considering the activities that take place within the club or the welfare of the dancers.

Methodology

The final methodology consists of a survey of 300 dancers, with follow-up interviews, and interviews with industry management and regulators. To make comparisons between locations, two cities have been chosen: one in the North and one in the South. This report draws on findings from 86 questionnaires with dancers who have worked in venues across the country.

Who are the dancers?

- *Age:* The majority of dancers (68.8%) are aged between 22 and 29. Interestingly, despite an emphasis on youth within the industry, only 10% were younger than this and 21.3% of dancers were older than 29. The age range between dancers spanned from 19 to 39. The age at which most dancers had started dancing, however, was considerably younger.
- *Age started dancing:* A large proportion of 68% started dancing when they were under 25 years old and 92% began when they were under 29. Only a small proportion (7.6%) started when they were over 30.
- *Relationship status:* Half of the dancers were single (50%), but the other half were in some form of relationship with someone with whom lived (21.3%) or did not live (21.3%). Only 6.3% of the dancers were married.
- *Mothers:* Only 19% of dancers surveyed had children. Amongst dancers with children 86.8% had one child and 13.2% had two children. No dancer had more than two children.
- *Nationality:* British nationals constituted over half the dancers surveyed. The next largest national groups were Romanian (19%) and Brazilian (8.9%).
- *Education:* All of the dancers had some education and had finished school with some qualifications. 87% had completed at least Further Education, while 25% had completed an undergraduate degree. Just over one third of dancers were students. 31% of dancers were currently in some form of education, making students a significant proportion of dancers. 3.8% were taking further education courses, 13.9% were using dancing to help fund an undergraduate degree and 6.3% for a postgraduate degree.
- *Other work:* Dancing was the sole form of income for the majority of dancers (60.3%). However, it was significant that 39.7% of dancers did combine dancing with other forms of work and income.

Why did they start dancing dance?

- Obviously, most women cited 'money' was the reason they started dancing: but there were other common reasons such as paying for education; a friend was dancing; the freedom and flexibility of the job; liking dancing; and to increase confidence.
- Dancers mainly found work in their first club through friends and the internet (sum = 63.6%). Agencies had a small role to play, but were more predominant amongst migrant workers.

How much do they dance and where?

- *Length of time working:* Dancers that we spoke to had been dancing for between 1 day and 17 years. Most dancers had been dancing for between 1 year and <3 years (mode and median). Only 17.7% had been dancing for more than five years, indicating that most dancers left between 3 and 5 years into their dancing careers.
- *Number of clubs:* Women had danced in between 1 and 35 clubs. Most women had worked in only 1-2 clubs. Women that had danced in more than ten clubs (5.1%) tended to have worked for agencies who had sent them to a number of different pubs and clubs.
- *Shifts:* Most dancers worked between 2 and 4 shifts a week (57.1%). Over 66.2% of dancers worked less than four shifts a week.
- *Earnings:* Women generally reported earnings going down. They reported between £50 and £800 earnings in the first club they worked in. The average in the first club women worked in was £284, while the average that women currently reported was £232. Dancers have tended to state that it is not so much that earnings have gone down across the board but that they are a lot more inconsistent now and that earnings across the week may even out, but that they were more likely to be out of pocket on a night than they were previously. Most attributed this to the effects of the recession.

What do they think about dancing?

- *Job satisfaction* amongst dancers was strikingly high. Asked to score their job satisfaction from 0 to 10 with 10 being the highest, a significant proportion (84.4%) rated their satisfaction above five and only 5.3% rated their satisfaction at less than five.
- *Feelings about their work:* When asked how happy they felt at work, the majority of dancers stated that they felt Happy or Very Happy (76.4%). While 22.2% were neutral, only 1 person said that they felt unhappy.
- *Respect:* Dancers were also asked how respected they felt within the workplace. This time, the majority (59.2%) were neutral, stating that they neither felt respected nor disrespected. Despite this neutrality, significantly more dancers said that they felt Respected or Very Respected (33.8%) than Disrespected or Very Disrespected (7%).
- *Safety:* A large majority of dancers felt safe at work. However, a number of them stated that there was significant difference between clubs and therefore it was hard to say as a rule.

Positive feelings about work

- 98.1% said that one of the best features of the job was the ability to **choose their own hours**
- 80.6% **earning more money** than in other jobs
- 77.8% said **getting money straight away**
- 75% said the ability it gave them to **be independent**
- 74% said that **keeping fit** was one of the best features
- 74% said **combining fun and work**
- 56.9% said **making new friends**
- 51.4% said **feeling good about themselves** was one of the best elements
- 51.4% said **working shorter hours**

When asked what dancers liked most about dancing as a job, the most frequently cited answer was clear, "Money!":

Earn VERY good money in the short term. £100-£200 a night. My favourites are Tues, Wed, Thurs - that's the business guys.

Easy money. Getting things I could never have got otherwise. Seen more money than I have ever seen in my life and I've gained a lot of confidence.

It's only about money. I like the money. It's fun. Interesting talking to people.

Fun, socializing and sociability were also frequently stated, alongside money, as key factors for engaging in dancing:

Money. Some of the girls. I made a best friend here. Social life - I like working socially.

Money. Nice people. Sometimes you can find nice people to have a conversation.

I love it. It is a really glamorous job. I love the socialising, the glamour. You meet some really decent guys as well. It does shine a light on many things in many different ways. You get regulars and that makes the job so much easier. In the club I work in now no-one has ever been rude or racist towards me. Never.

It was felt that this also offered the opportunity to self-improve and to learn new skills:

You meet a lot of people, learn about new people. You learn a lot about the psychology of the human being.

It keeps you fit. Gives you bravery. It makes you a very a good psychologist.

Helps me to handle men, to be more feminine, to take care of myself and my appearance. It's like an art, not just dancing.

Fully independent, flexible hours, social job, confidence as a woman. Self esteem.

Flexibility was also frequently mentioned and sometimes in combination with both earning potential and sociability:

Work when you want. Only have to work three days a week, still earn more than in five days a week. I like night work. It's just social. You have a laugh, even when it's crap, it's like going on a night out.

It's not stressful. Good money. If you don't want to work, you don't work.

I can choose my holidays, like if I just want to go away, I don't have to wait. Money. It's the same feeling like when I go out to a club.

All of these feelings were neatly summed up by one dancer who surmised “**Better money. No commitment. Leave when you want to leave. Drink what you want**”.

Negative feelings about work

Dancers were given a list of options and asked whether any of them represented things they felt was the worst part of their job:

- 55.6% said **never knowing how much money they would earn**
- 48.6% said **keeping their job a secret** was one of the worst aspects of the work
- 31.9% said **customers being rude or abusive**
- 30.6% said that having to **compete with the other dancers** was problematic for them
- 23.6% said feeling **pressure on their bodies** to look a certain way
- 23.6% said **losing respect for men**
- 20.8% said they found it **emotionally difficult**
- 13.9% said they felt it meant they **didn't have career prospects**
- 11.1% said **feeling bad about themselves**
- 6.9% said feeling that they could **lose their job easily**

Dancers were also asked open question about what they liked least about the job. Customer behaviour was consistently cited by dancers as one of the more negative elements of the jobs:

It's tedious talking to drunk men and pretending to enjoy their conversation

The way that some people treat you, but that doesn't happen often.

Rude customers. People who think they don't have to pay. People who touch you, only when they're drunk though.

Rude men: some men are perverted, they don't respect the rules and just be coarse. We are dancers, not prostitutes.

Pigheaded guys and assholes. English guys don't have much sense, they want intimacy, to have a relationship with you. The job is mainly ego boosting. You have got to make them believe that you'll go home with them, when you have no intention of doing that at all. More so in London than anywhere else.

Dancers reported customers requesting 'extras', such as touching the customers or being allowed to touch the dancers and this was frequently cited as one of the worst aspects of the work.

Working Conditions

House fees, fines, debts and commission

- House fees paid by dancers ranged from £0-£200 though only 19% of dancers had ever paid over £80.
- Commission on private dances and other services ranged from 0-66%, but only 18% had ever paid over 30% commission.
- 74.6% of dancers had been fined at some point in their dancing career. The highest reported fine was £100 for a missed shift. The most common fines were for chewing gum and lateness.

Club Rules

- Club rules consistently came up as an element of dancing that dancers did not like. Some felt that there were too many rules and others felt that they were enforced inconsistently and often with significant favouritism:

Rules swap and change and you never know what they are.

- Many of the women felt that they didn't have access to knowledge about what the council imposed rules were and which had been instituted by the club. Some thought that this was a good reason to have a contract between the club and the dancers:

It would set out the rules properly. Rules for everyone: set out what people aren't allowed to do.

Improving Conditions

- **Insurance:** None of the women had their own insurance. Some vaguely knew that they needed it, but others had never thought about it and no-one had ever spoken to them about it. One 20 year old dancer summed up all the things that needed to be improved in the industry as:

[There needs to be] more regulation of agencies. One was done for running a brothel and simply renamed itself. This legislation should not have been passed. Girls don't know where they stand. There's no way to find it out. There's not enough security, I know of girls who have been raped and abused at work. You cannot go to the police, as you are a stripper, so there is no legal standing at all.

- **Security:** In order to improve security, panic alarms, more CCTV and doormen were cited as important. Similarly, many felt that the way in which private booths were set up also endangered them and also allowed standards to be lowered by dancers offering more than is allowed in the dances.

Suggested Changes:

- Clearly displayed council rules in a number of places in the club: toilets, changing rooms etc
- Offer a receipt for fines and fees – make sure fines and fees go through the books
- Offer a receipt for dances where commission is taken
- Monthly meetings to discuss rules, changes, get dancers' input
- Prohibiting use of private booths
- Insurance for the women
- Limiting number of girls per capacity of clubs

Further Information: Official details about the project can be found here:

<http://www.sociology.leeds.ac.uk/research/projects/regulatory-dance.php> Or by contacting Dr Teela Sanders: t.l.m.sanders@leeds.ac.uk