

# EXTRAORDINARY LICENSING COMMITTEE

Tuesday, 17 March 2015 at 6.30 p.m.

### The Council Chamber, 1st Floor, Town Hall, Mulberry Place, 5 Clove Crescent, London, E14 2BG

### SUPPLEMENTAL AGENDA

### This meeting is open to the public to attend.

Contact for further enquiries:	Scan this code for
Simmi Yesmin, Democratic Services	an electronic
1st Floor, Town Hall, Mulberry Place, 5 Clove Crescent, E14 2BG	agenda:
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For further information including the Membership of this body and public information, see the main agenda.

		PAGE NUMBER(S)	WARD(S) AFFECTED
3 .1	Application for a Sexual Entertainment Venue Licence for the Nags Head, 17-19 Whitechapel Road, London, E1 1DU	1 - 34	Spitalfields & Banglatown

- Appendix 16 Copy of representation as received 16 times from different dancers at the premises (this was omitted from the original report)
- The Nags Head Gentleman's Venue Photographs
- Witness Statements of Manpal Singh, Tattiana Ferreira Silva Lima, and Angie Ribeiro Bocatto;
- The Regulatory Dance Midway Findings of Dr. Teela Saunders et al;
- The Regulatory Dance Conclusions of Dr. Teela Saunders et al.

Agenda Item 3.1

# **Appendix 16**

### **Andrew Heron**

From: Sent: To: Subject:

Follow Up Flag: Flag Status: 17 December 2014 17:54 Licensing Nag's Head License Application

Follow up Completed

Dear Sir or Madam,

Re; Application for the 'Grant of a Sexual Entertainment Venue License' at the Nags Head Public House, Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU.

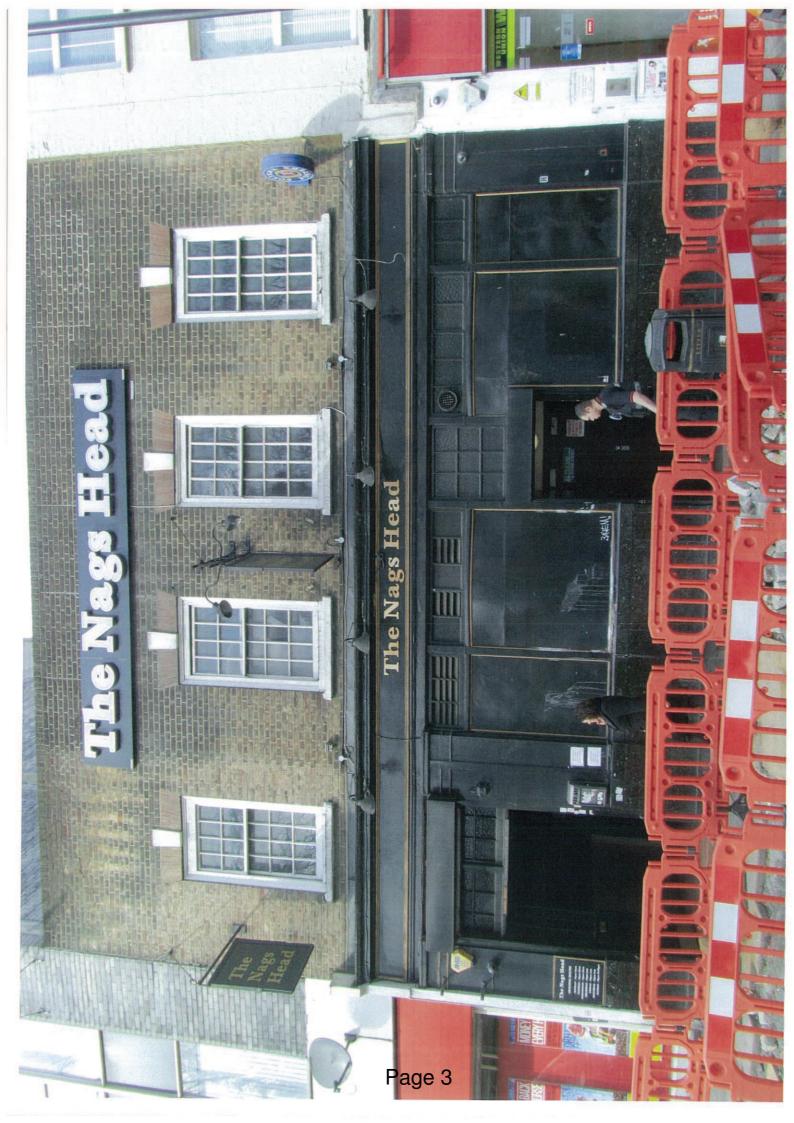
I am writing to you in support of the above mentioned application. I have been professionally connected with this establishment for 6 years and have always found the pub to be very well managed. I find the pub a very safe working environment, and I can happily report that I am able to work in a peaceful and ordered workplace.

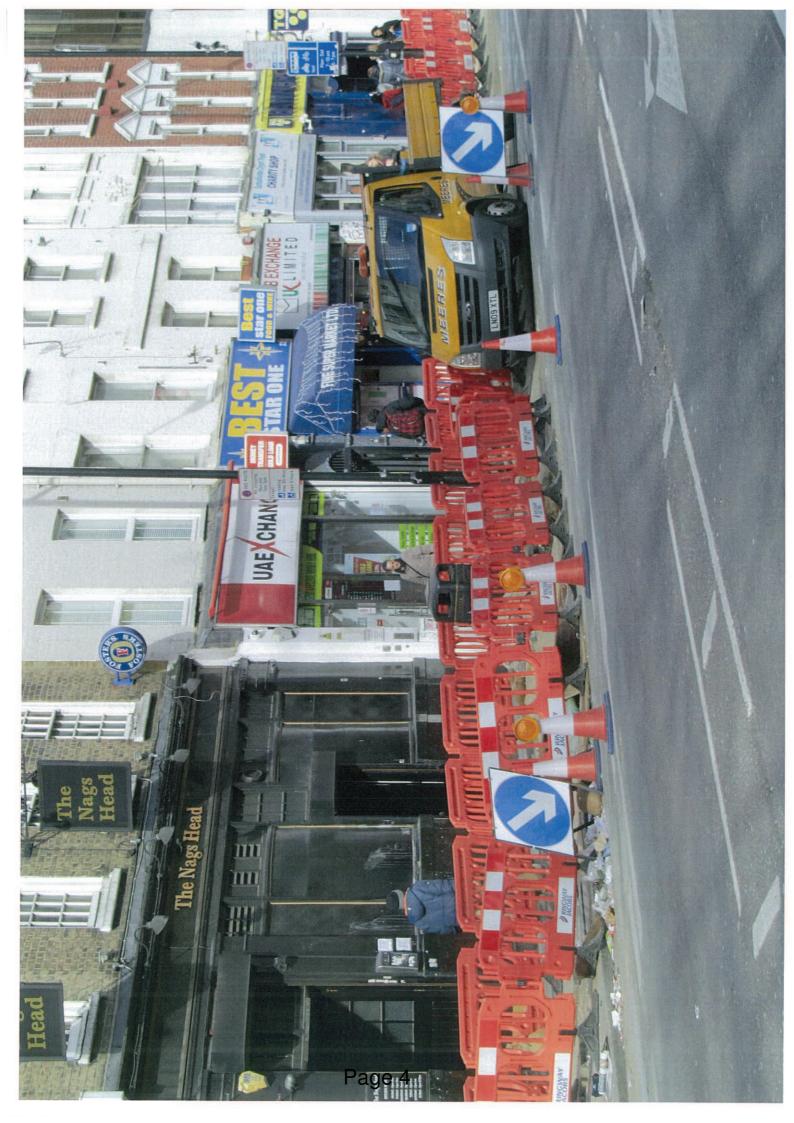
I am pleased to inform you that any work related issues that have arisen during my employment have been quickly and satisfactorily resolved by the management.

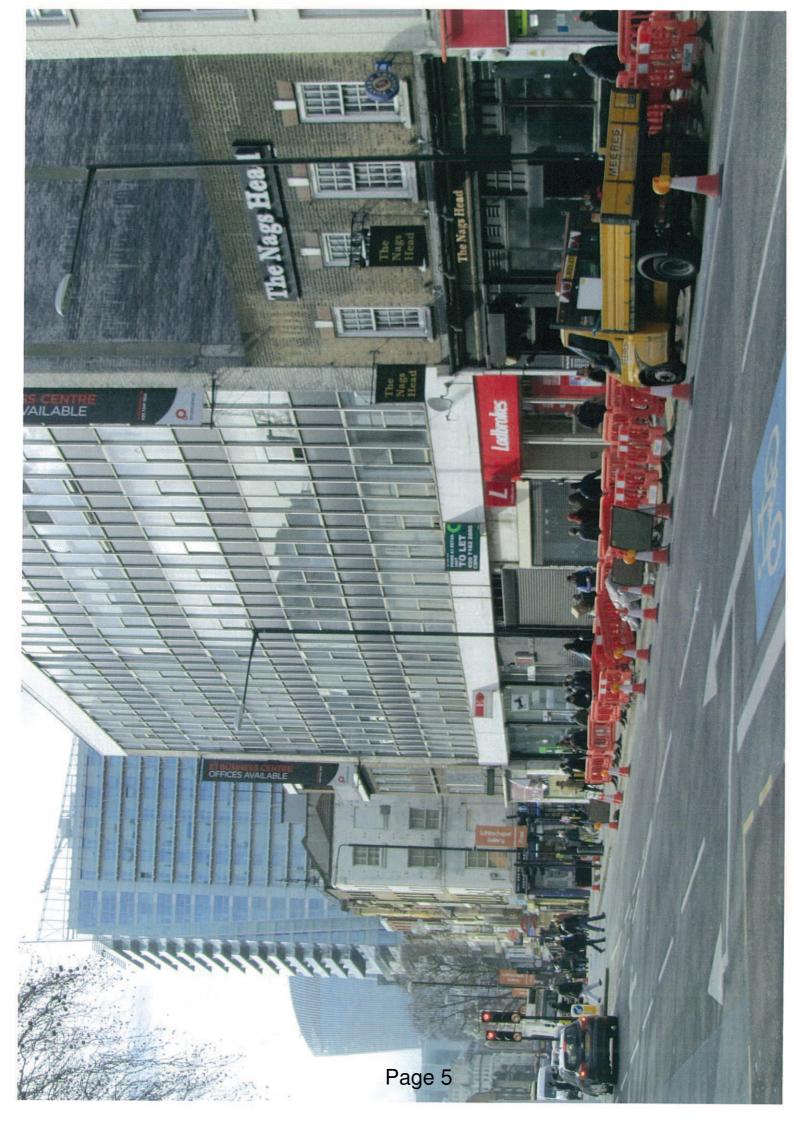
Due to the excellent working conditions and high standards adopted by the owners, I would happily recommend the pub to both dancers and patrons alike.



Whilst this mail is written in a standard form for the ease of all concerned, It truly represents my opinions of and experiences at the Nags Head pub.









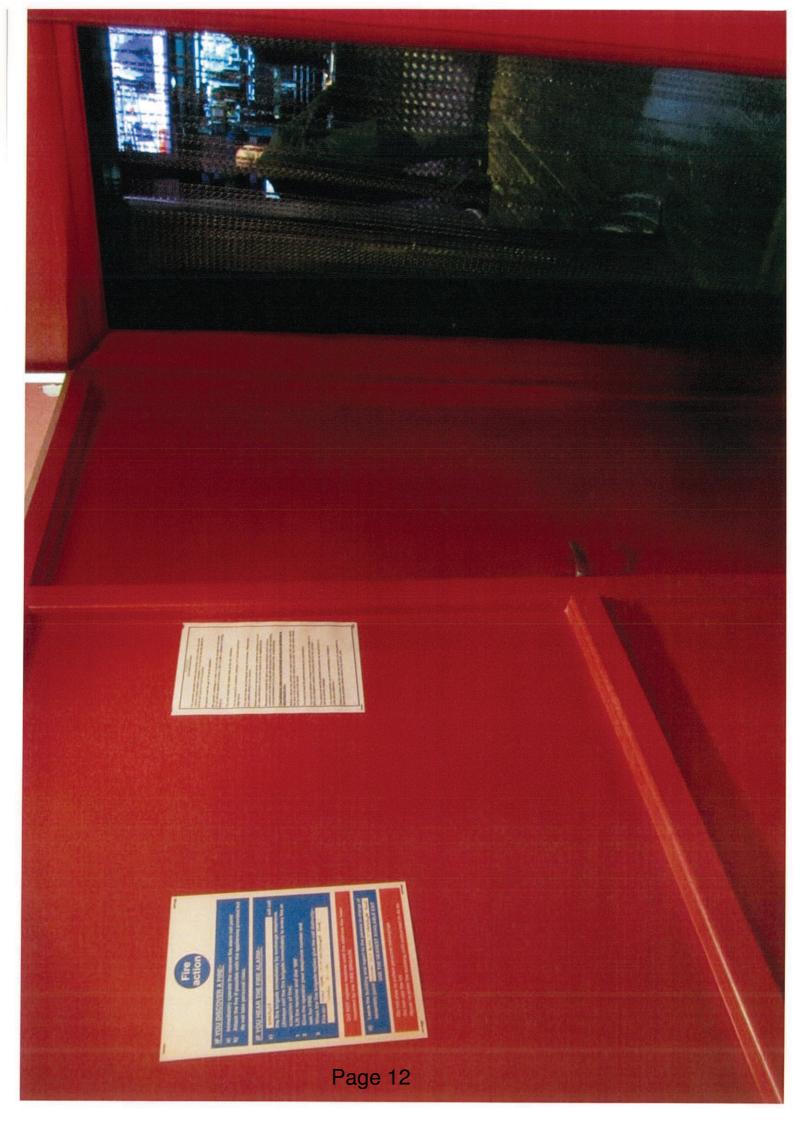








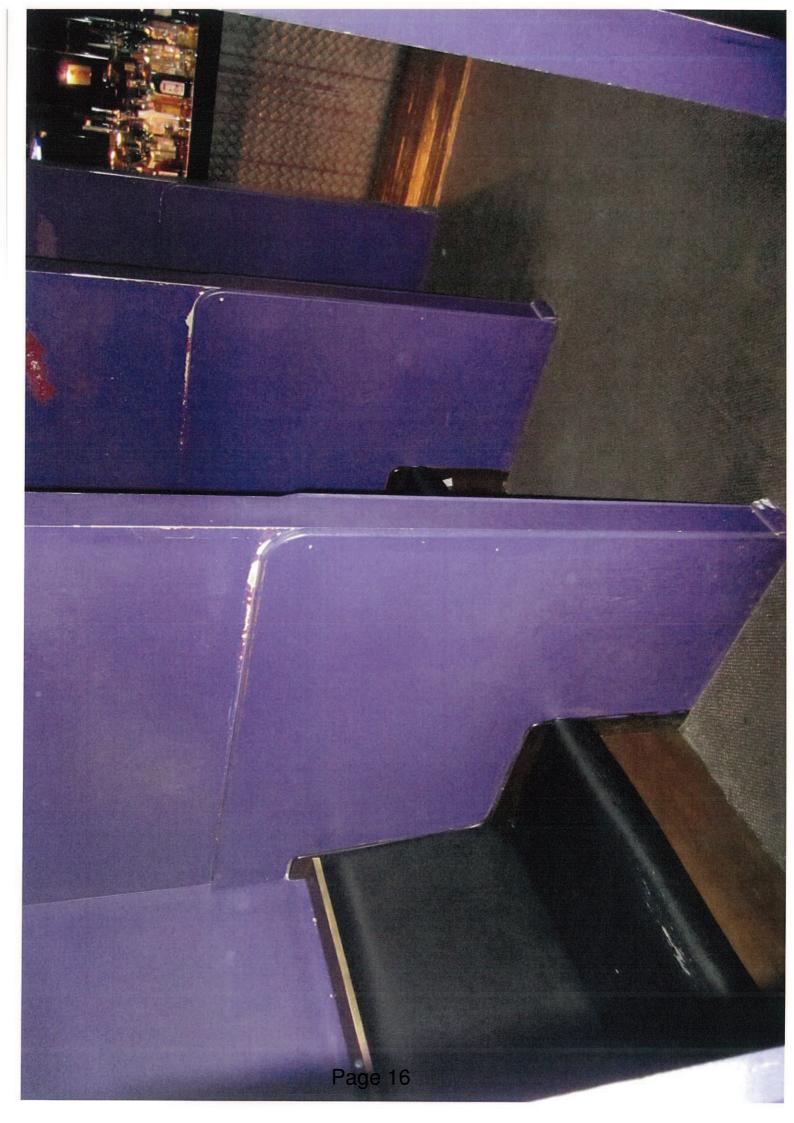


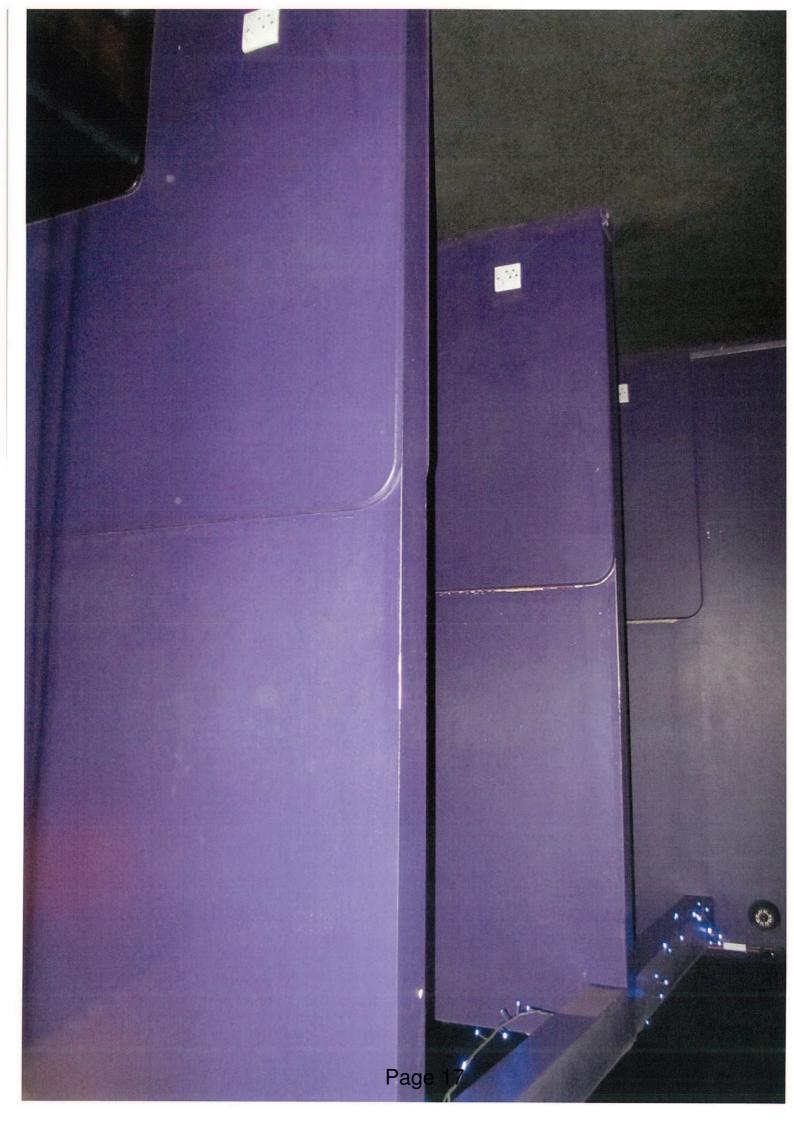
















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### The London Borough of Tower Hamlets

### For the Licensing Sub-Committee Hearing on 17/03/2015

Nags Head, 17 – 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU – Application for a Sexual Entertainment Premises Licence

Name:	Mr Manpal SINGH
DOB:	Over 18
Address:	
Occupation:	Co-Owner & Manager
Mobile No:	

### WITNESS STATEMENT OF MANPAL SINGH

My name is Manpal Singh, I am the one of the owners for The Nags Head Gentleman's Venue which operates from premises at 17 – 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU. I own the business jointly with with my brother and father:

- 1. Shamsher Singh(brother)
- 2. Karpal Singh(father)

My father has owned the premises since 1983 and it has been operated as a sexual entertainment venue ("SEV") since 1986. I have been involved with the premises for the past 14 years. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the premises has always been run in the manner that it is now, which is as given in the description of the premises within the licensing sub-committee papers.

I have read the objection submitted in relation to this application and say as follows:

1

### **Crime and Disorder**

I think it is noteworthy that the Metropolitan Police have not objected to the grant of this SEV licence. I am not aware of any serious crime and disorder arising from the premises. The sub-committee will be aware that located on Whitechapel Road is Booth House and in Old Montague Street is Hopetown. In my view, both of these premises contribute more in terms of crime and disorder and indeed, public nuisance, to Whitechapel Road than any licensed premises in the area.

One issue that I was aware of in relation to the premises was the congregation of people outside. This was due to a bus stop which was located there by Travel for London ("TfL") four years ago. The sub-committee will see from the photographs that the bus stop has been removed and has indeed been moved, as part of the Barclay's Cycle Superhighway works along Whitechapel Road.

I am happy for the committee to ask me questions in relation to the operation of the premises and will assist in any way I can.

I believe the facts in the above statement to be true.

Manpal Singh

9 3 2015

Date

### The London Borough of Tower Hamlets For the Licensing Sub-Committee Hearing on 17/03/2015

Nags Head, 17 – 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU – Application for a Sexual Entertainment Premises Licence

Name:	Ms Angie Ribeiro Boccato
DOB:	Over 18
Address:	Nags Head, 17 – 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU
Occupation:	Performer at The Nags Head Gentleman's Venue
Mobile No:	

### WITNESS STATEMENT OF ANGIE RIBEIRO BOCCATO

My name is Ms Angie Ribeiro Boccato, I am a performer at The Nags Head Gentleman's Venue which operates from premises at 17 - 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU. I have worked there since 2005. In December of 2014, I submitted an email in support of Mr Singh's application for a grant of a Sexual Entertainment Venue Licence.

As noted above, I have worked at the venue for 10 years. During that time I have not experienced any of the problems raised by the objector in the objection submitted in relation to this application. I have found the premises to be a safe and secure place for me to work. I have not experienced any instances of crime and disorder arising from the premises during my time there.

I second Mr Singh's observation about the bus stop outside the premises, which has now been moved and also the crime and disorder emanating from both Booth House in Whitechapel Road and Hopetown in Old Montague Street.

I am happy for the committee to ask me questions in relation to the operation of the premises and will assist in any way I can.

I believe the facts in the above statement to be true.



Ms Angie Ribeiro Boccato

06 03/2015

Date

### The London Borough of Tower Hamlets For the Licensing Sub-Committee Hearing on 17/03/2015

Nags Head, 17 – 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU – Application for a Sexual Entertainment Premises Licence

Name:	Ms Tattiana Ferreira Silva Lima
DOB:	Over 18
Address:	Nags Head, 17 – 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU
Occupation:	Performer at The Nags Head Gentleman's Venue
Mobile No:	

### WITNESS STATEMENT OF TATTIANA FERREIRA SILVA LIMA

My name is Ms Tattiana Ferreira Silva Lima, I am a performer at The Nags Head Gentleman's Venue which operates from premises at 17 - 19 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1DU. I have worked there since 2010. In December of 2014, I submitted an email in support of Mr Singh's application for a grant of a Sexual Entertainment Venue Licence.

As noted above, I have worked at the venue for 5 years. During that time I have not experienced any of the problems raised by the objector in the objection submitted in relation to this application. I have found the premises to be a safe and secure place for me to work. I have not experienced any instances of crime and disorder arising from the premises during my time there.

I second Mr Singh's observation about the bus stop outside the premises, which has now been moved and also the crime and disorder emanating from both Booth House in Whitechapel Road and Hopetown in Old Montague Street.

I am happy for the committee to ask me questions in relation to the operation of the premises and will assist in any way I can.

I believe the facts in the above statement to be true.



Ms Tattiana Ferreira Silva Lima

6 th march 2015.

Date



### 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 concentre 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.phpOr by contacting Dr Teela Sanders:t.l.m.sanders@leeds.ac.uk

## THE REGULATORY DANCE: Sexual Consumption in the Night Time Economy Findings Summary

EDUAR

IRE DA

Dr Teela Sanders & Dr Kate Hardy School of Sociology & Social Policy



# **RESEARCH QUESTIONS & METHODS**

## WHO ARE THE DANCERS?

How has the rise of lap dancing happened? How do dancers experience clubs as workplaces? How are clubs regulated internally and externally?

## Survey

### 197 dancers We asked about:

- motivations and journey into dancing;
- other forms of work;
- ▶ enducation;
- Relings about work;
- Parnings, fines and fees;
- ►<del>₩</del>
- unions;
- advantages & disadvantages
- work patterns.

### We asked:

'What were the conditions like in your last four clubs?'

### **Respondents had worked in:**

- ▶ 45 towns and cities
- 16 places worldwide

## Interviews

- ▶ 35 dancers
- 20 club workers; owners, managers, bar workers, security, house mums
- 15 regulators: police; health and safety; licensing and enforcement officers; Local Authority officials

We conducted observations and visits to 20 clubs and pubs

## Demographics

## Age range of 18-53, but mainly 22-29

- Majority not mothers (83%)
- ▶ The majority of the dancers were British (61%)
- > 29% were EU nationals (largely Romanians)
- ▶ 10% were non-EU nationals (largely Brazilians)

### Education

- ▶ 87% had completed further education
- > 23.2% had completed undergraduate education
- ▶ 5% had completed postgraduate education
- 29% of dancers were engaged in some form of education while dancing

### Other work

- 42% of dancers were engaged in some form of other employment
- Mainly formal but low pay and low skilled jobs were left behind for dancing.

### **Work Patterns**

- 70% of dancers had been working for less than 5 years
- Most dancers worked between 3-5 shifts per week, though 25% did two or less
- 12% worked 6 nights per week, and these were mainly migrant women
- 74% stated their job satisfaction as between seven and ten out of ten. No dancers said that their job satisfaction was 0-2.

# FEELINGS ABOUT DANCING



### **Advantages**

- ▶ 87.6% choosing their hours
- ▶ 81.8% getting money straight away
- ▶ 80.3% earning more money than in cther roles
- ▶ 26.6% being independent
- ▶ 72.5% combines fun and work
- ယု

### **Disadvantages**

- ▶ 59.1% I never know how much money I will earn
- ▶ 47.4% I have to keep my job a secret
- ▶ 40.1% Customers are rude or abusive towards me
- ▶ 30.7% I have lost respect for men
- 27.7% I feel I have to compete with the other dancers

"I am a performer and for me this is fun. When you go to the clubs with private dancers, it then comes down to the management and security being good and on the ball. If they run it well you'll be fine, but beware of dodgy managers!"

"I am free to study and earn enough to live comfortably in London. I have time for holidays, unlike my friends who are in regular employment... The atmosphere always keeps you alive and I have time in work to do as I like... I am my own boss and it keeps me super fit".

### "I don't like it for the fun! It's a job"

"I find the terms and conditions of the job [depending on the club/company] disempowering and exploitative. I find the general public understanding of my job to be frequently inaccurate and judgemental".

"Management come and they say, "do this, do that", but we're self-employed, so they shouldn't be able to. Also, what we wear. We should be allowed to wear what we want, we're self-employed".

Girls please note as from Friday 9th April 2010 the Floor Filled for Fridays & Saturdays The rest of the week remains would be £30.

### Would you also note that chewing gums are not unchanged. Following fines apply Consumption of chewing gum £30 Being in pessession of chewing gum £10

## MONEY

### House fees and commission

- Dancers had to pay house fees and commission to clubs in order to work
- ► Fees Range: £0-£200
- ► Fees Average: £80
- ► House fees were higher in London
- ► Commission range: 0%-80%
- ► Commission average: 30%

### **Fines**

- 42% had been fined in their current workplace for 'rule breaking'
- ▶ 61% had been fined at least once during their time dancing
- ▶ Fines issues for chewing gum; using mobile phone; lateness; absence; taking time off; drunkenness; outfits
- ► Fines range: £10-£50
- Fines were arbitrary

### Finances

- ► 70% of dancers reported losing money at some point by going to work
- ▶ 50% of dancers reported losing money in their current workplace
- ▶ 14% had had owed debts to the club
- ► 56% had paid NI and tax
- ▶ 83% had never had a wage slip
- ▶ 90% had never had a contract
- ▶ 96% did not pay into a pension
- No dancers had ever received holiday pay or sick pay

"If club is not busy, should let girls go home... you have to pay the full fee to go home".

"It's gone down, my satisfaction, as it is harder to make money. Everyone is a bit desperate now. Bit hard to give them what they want to get them to stay and spend more money"

"I actually don't need to dance, I just talk. I can't remember the last time I did single dancing. They are a waste of time. That's not how you make money. They pay me for conversation... I go to VIP, they pay you straight away... that is much easier".

## FUTURE / CHANGE IN REGULATION

# CONCLUSIONS

In 2010 the Policing and Crime Act changed the ways in which lap dancing venues are licensed. As a result:

- Clubs have been reclassified as Sex Entertainment Venues
- Local Authorities have greater control over the amount of clubs
- An uneven landscape of licensing is emerging across the UK
- Some LAs are reducing the numbers of clubs or adopting a 'nil policy'
- It was felt that such reductions would lead to loss of jobs and force the industry 'underground'

## New regulation was felt to be necessary:

"The industry requires regulation in order to prevent unfair and unpredictable rules being aimed at workers. There needs to be some form of uniform guidelines with regards to the way in which these places are run. For example: my club does not have a first aid box. As it currently stands, I feel that management ultimately have complete control over workers, it is this which is actually exploitative, not the actual strip work".

But many dancers feel that the current system of regulation is insufficient in protecting them and improving their conditions:

"The new licensing laws have nothing to change the way the dancers are charged fees and fined and treated by the owners, in fact they will now probably have to charge the dancers more to cover the licensing cost"

- Dancing was part of a strategy for making money whilst at the same time preparing for a different future through other forms of work or education
- Dancers liked their work, but experienced high levels of financial exploitation
- There was significant variation in standards of management and safety between clubs
- Verbal abuse and unwanted touch was frequently experienced but was generally dealt with by dancers, and usually supported by security and management
- Safety was a complex issue:
  - Measures such as CCTV and door staff did not always increase safety
  - Yet on the whole most dancers felt safe working in clubs
- The regulation of clubs under current policy does not automatically address issues of welfare, employment status or financial exploitation

## Recommendations

- 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
- Tighter regulation on the location and type of private booths to achieve a balance between privacy and security
- Insurance information for the dancers
- Limiting the number of dancers per capacity of clubs



April 2011 Photographs by Liz Lock Project Funded by the ESRC (RES-000-22-3163)

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