Save Our Eyes: Understanding the Role of Visual Methodologies in Sex Industry Research

Sam Saunders

PhD Graduate, School of Philosophical, Historical and Interdisciplinary Studies (PHAIS), University of Essex, United Kingdom

samsaunders@live.co.uk

ORCID ID: 0009 0002 6625 0005

Abstract

This paper examines the value of interdisciplinary visual methods of sex industry research within the social sciences. It shows new findings around the stigmatisation of sex workers by non-sex worker communities and how visual methods can assist in this process. I propose that the critical analysis of imagery is crucial to understanding the stigmatising frameworks of sex workers' visual identity. Through examining photographs from the *Save Our Eyes* (SOE) campaign, a community-driven response to the *Managed Approach* in Holbeck (Leeds), this paper demonstrates the value of alternative qualitative research methodologies to scrutinise sex work representation in the media. The integration of visual means and an understanding of the wider social landscape around perceptions of sex work can foster a more inclusive and holistic way to interpret representations of marginalised groups. The study of visual culture in sex industry research contributes to the field of social sciences by asking different questions informed by social injustices, incorporating harm-reduction themes.

Keywords: *sex work, visual studies, media, surveillance culture*

Introduction

Suppose the idiom “a picture is worth a thousand words” is taken at face value. What, then, do images of the sex industry communicate? Such images are complex because they raise ethical considerations of autonomy and censorship, prompting questions about why the image was made, for what purpose and who controls the message. This poses the most crucial point of my argument: if the act of looking, observing and interpreting sex work is at the heart of stigma frameworks, why are there not more developed visual methodologies in qualitative social sciences in sex work research?

Globally, sex workers operate under various restrictive guidelines from law that prohibit the visibility of their trade (Crowhurst & Skilbrei, 2022). Due to their stigmatised occupation and laws that criminalise the purchase of sexual acts (otherwise known as the *End Demand*, *Swedish* or *Nordic* model, which is implemented in governmental policies), many sex workers are forced to work alone (Mac, 2016). The solitary movements of sex workers are closely monitored as they

provoke visceral, emotional responses that align with antiquated attitudes and morality politics towards the sale of sex (Acton & Planck, 1870: viii). Sex workers are more at risk of homicide and violence than any other occupation and have had to adapt to a world in which they are placed on the margins through legal and social constructs (Salfati et al., 2008). Though these laws look different across the globe, such regulations are mostly at the detriment of sex workers' labour conditions (Foundations, 2015).

Through a case study of the grassroots campaign *Save Our Eyes* (SOE), a community-driven response to Leeds' Managed Approach (MA) to decriminalise sex work, I argue that the way sex workers have been stereotyped is tethered to images that are largely constructed by non-sex workers. To make this argument, I employ an intersectional feminist theoretical framework, implemented through critical visual analysis. I show how insights obtained through this methodology destabilises negative assumptions about sexual service providers by problematising the misinformation and dehumanisation spread through sex work representation in the media. On the surface, the SOE campaign's imagery served as evidence of sex work activity. However, once dissected, it exposes society's preconceived attitudes towards sex workers rather than the reality of sex work itself.

Background: Holbeck & Beeston's *Managed Approach* and the *Save Our Eyes* Campaign

Leeds' Managed Approach (MA) was a pilot scheme implemented to protect sex workers and residents of Holbeck and Beeston (Money & Rogers, 2021). It remains the first (and only) policy of its kind within UK history to decriminalise sex work within a tolerated 'red light' area (NSWP & European Regional Correspondent, 2016; Roach et al., 2020). The policy permits street-based sex workers to work in industrial estates and non-residential areas between 8 pm and 6 am (Sehmbi & Sanders, 2015). *Safer Leeds,* consisting of the City Council and West Yorkshire Police, proposed that the initiative should be trialled for 12 months as a responsive strategy to ongoing prostitution in the region (Laredo, 2019; Rolf, 2019). This was extended due to researchers and governmental bodies deeming the managed zone a success, and it operated for 7 years in total from 2014 to 2021 (Bowen, 2021, p. 149; Henham, 2021).

The MA came under fire from critics since its inception, with some residents and business owners forming a community-driven campaign against the zone in 2017. Angered locals believed that the MA was the cause of escalating criminal activity, including anti-social behaviour, substance abuse, noise pollution, and littering (Regan, 2024). The residential "neighbourhood watch" style group, *Save Our Eyes* (SOE), was a prominent response to the MA pilot scheme that included the use of a digital visual campaign to critique the approach.

The SOE campaign was successful after 4 years of protest action. The government decision to permanently close the managed zone was made in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, as the social distancing measures implemented by the government culminated

in a time of uncertainty (Drury, 2021). This action was seen as a triumph for residents and protesters who sided with the SOE campaign, whereas the decision received backlash from sex workers and sex-work-based organisations who argued that this result would cause significant harm to some of the most vulnerable and marginalised members of the sex working community (Caradonna & Hardy, 2021).

How Do the Images of Sex Workers Speak to Broader Concepts in the Textual Research?

Scholars have stressed the importance of the critical visual analysis of images as more than *just* "the visual icing on the textual cake" (Goldfarb, 2002, p. 20). Thus, identifying a wealth of visual knowledge that can be explored in context with its formal and more traditional written components. The close critical analysis of images from visual and material culture researchers can provide a greater depth of meaning, social context, and sensitive interpretation (Prown, 1982). This paper interrogates how images can disrupt prevalent themes of victimisation towards the street-based sex working community and asks wider questions of sex work research practices. I argue that images can "speak" of more direct forms of violence, abuse, privacy concerns, and data protection breaches. It is imperative to critically analyse the content of images in sex work discourses because they are imbued with visual information, which can cause harmful real-life consequences for sex workers (Holt & Gott, 2022).

The theory of social stratification is a prominent methodological springboard for academic enquiry into the marginalised status of sex workers (Goffman, 2009). Stigma frameworks around the morality of transactional sex are one of the main social injustices that sex workers face (Putnis & Burr, 2020). Although sex work research recognise that street-based sex workers are the most marginalised group of people within the sex working community, they remain the most represented group within sex industry research (Sanders et al., 2018, p.234). Street-based sex workers are associated with images of substance use and criminality, which the media has a large role in promulgating for entertainment (BBC Three, 2016). The most common form of stigma attached to sex workers is generally from non-sex workers, creating an "us" and "them" divide, also known as "othering" (Tyler, 2020, p. 192). Sex workers are also subject to marginalisation from peers within the sex industry community, which complicates the image of the sex worker further, as they face a double layer of stigma that social theory deems as "othering the other" (Melrose, 2009, p. 87). Such stigmatising practices from both external and internal parties show how such a robust stereotype of victimhood in images of sex workers persists and underlines why it is crucial to dispel this social injustice towards sex workers.

Academics within social sciences recognise the systemic categorisation of sex workers as a harmful practice (Knox, 2014). The practice of systemic categorisation may take various forms, such as visual campaigns, suggesting that interdisciplinary methods informed by a visual culture historian's perspective can enable and strengthen critique of such practice. I position my analysis

of such images as an act of solidarity, sex work advocacy, and social justice. It highlights how hateful ideologies around sex workers exist, which is a critical step in formulating ways to dismantle them.

Methodology

Given the centrality of images in the SOE campaign, I employ a critical visual analysis of the images produced by the SOE campaign to uncover their hidden assumptions about sex work. This methodology critically analyses the role(s) of objects and images, situating them within their social, historical, and cultural contexts (Clark, 1982). The images are not "artworks" per se, but they merit urgent, critical examination because they offer a rich visual language that shapes and/or reinforces societal attitudes towards sex workers.

As a sex work researcher with lived experience, I navigated potential issues regarding reflexivity, personal biases, and sensitivity when interpreting images of sex workers to avoid misinterpretations or oversights in my analysis. It is crucial to note that the images in the SOE campaign depict some of the most vulnerable members of the sex working community. The site-specific case study is centred on an area of deprivation which calls for an acute ethical awareness and self-critical reflection. These considerations are bound to feminist theoretical debate around the labour of sex work, which is deeply contested by Sex Worker Exclusionary Radical Feminists (SWERFs) who argue that sex work cannot be a legitimate form of labour because it is inherently violent and misogynistic (Jeffreys, 2008). I employ a nuanced approach to investigating the complexities around the sex workers' representation to understand the duality of the industry, in which both positive and negative experiences can coexist (Daniel et al., 2025, p.474). I recognise that images are not neutral but are imbued with power dynamics, antiquated prejudices, and potential for harm. To protect the dignity and identity of those depicted, images have been omitted from the paper. However, as a methodological tool, critical visual analysis remains valid and meaningful without direct image reproduction because the interpretation, context, and content of the visual data and findings are more important than the physical image itself (Bauer et al., 2022).

The *Save Our Eyes* Digital Archive

Despite the discontinuation of the MA policy, the area's reputation for crime and "prostitution" persists (Regan, 2024). The campaign still has an online presence; currently, there are 996 members in the private Facebook group (*Save Our Eyes*, 2017). The public Facebook page and X (formerly Twitter) accounts are live, but their website and Instagram have since been deactivated. While it was not possible to obtain permission to reproduce images from the SOE campaign, their digital archive remains active and can be viewed via Facebook. The social media channels contain similar content across all platforms and are still active beyond the lifespan of the managed approach. This indicates that the images and messages about sex work and the MA are

still circulating beyond the scope of the policy. The residents' Facebook group *Save Our Eyes* has attracted attention from the media, yet the backlash towards the sex workers remains underreported (Ball, 2023). The controversial campaign and Facebook group have mostly been published through printed and digital media reports via right-wing news outlets (Edmonds, 2023). Though the campaign has been largely dormant for the past two years (at the time of writing), it raises questions about consent and the use of intrusive surveillance tactics such as capturing photographs of presumed sex workers and circulating them via unregulated social media groups. Such campaigns put sex workers' lives at risk because they share personal information that potentially "outs" sex workers. (Anonymous, 2021).

The documentary *Sex, Drugs and Murder* was based on the lives of sex workers in the managed zone (BBC Three, 2016). The title refers to the 2015 murder of 21-year-old Daria Pionko in Holbeck, Leeds, throwing the MA into the national press (Perraudin, 2016). The series came under scrutiny from the English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP) for its negative depiction of sex workers (Walker, 2016). Whilst critics understood that the depiction of the sex workers in the documentary was highly problematic, the show was successful and received the *Best Factual Series* award the following year (*Regional Awards*, 2017). This highlights a prevalent problem in sex workers' representation: the use of their trauma as entertainment (Sper, 2018).

The SOE website referenced the *Sex, Drugs, Murder* documentary as leverage in their campaign to abolish the managed zone. Members of the campaign were encouraged to take photographs of sex workers and "sex industry litter" (objects such as used condoms and drug paraphernalia) to raise awareness of the anti-social problems of the MA. This cultivated a surveillance culture that was detrimental to sex workers because it infringed on their safety and breached their privacy.

SOE's Surveillance Culture

The campaign adopts the acronym S.O.E., which is identifiable in the graphic logo used frequently in their literature. This alludes to danger as it replicates the format of Morse code "S.O.S", which is internationally recognised as a distress signal. This has been utilised to show urgency in the pressing matter that active sex workers pose as a threat. The title of the campaign expresses the explicit collective objective; the members require rescue and protection *from* the viewing of sex work. The fear of proximity is linked to theories of repulsion and further entrenches the invisible barrier between the two disparate communities of sex workers and non sex workers (Miller, 1998: 79).

The idea that some civilians are deserving of protection from the viewing of sex work follows a historical suit rooted in nineteenth-century pseudoscience, in which "normal" people are better (or more deserving) than sex workers (Lombroso & Ferrero, 2004). The residents' universal eye is a symbol that encapsulates the colonial gaze by judging others on their appearance and

moral status within the community. The middle-class gaze and the anxieties of the "dangerous classes" refers to the risks associated with the working class and sex workers (McClintock, 1992, p. 71). Images of sex workers are almost always coded female because they rely on outmoded stereotypes of gender and sexuality (Dewey & Kelly, 2011). This is depicted in the photographs of presumed sex workers in the SOE campaign. It demonstrates how images are used as evidence to regulate sex workers' existence as a form of social control (Blaive & Faraldo, 2022). The visual of a solitary eye connotes themes of surveillance and can also conjure interpretations of the "evil eye" or the malicious glare in folklore (Douglas, 2003: 122). In this instance, the collective eye seeks to locate and eradicate street-based sex workers' visibility.

The SOE members violate individuals' privacy by photographing them without prior consent, which raises questions about the moral responsibility of reproducing and circulating images online (Lasén & Gómez Cruz, 2009: 207). The "sex workers" captured in the photographs may be civilian women, thus rendering the campaign's "evidential" images of sex workers obsolete. It is not possible, or ethical, to deduce a sex worker from their appearance, yet the information has been accepted as a universal truth. If the photographed woman is a sex worker, this could put her in danger by "outing" her on the internet, and if the woman pictured is not a sex worker, she may still be at risk from harassment (Waring & Redman, 2022). Capturing photographs of suspected sex workers is not an accurate way of documenting sex industry activity, nor does it articulate a pictorial archive of sex workers' history, because it is a judgmental gaze that is fixated on capturing a specific type of image. The SOE members' vigilance and secrecy demonstrate a power imbalance where they are entitled to anonymity, whereas the (presumed) sex worker is not granted this luxury (Mirzoeff, 2011).

Visual Analysis

The images in the campaign's literature are collages of detritus, depicting used condoms, discarded neon condom packets, syringes, and gaudy plastic lighters which are intended to display the implied horrors of sex work. Grainy, low-quality photographs of discarded underwear, excrement and bloodied tissues also feature in the archive. The images are reputed to evidence "sex industry litter", but these items have no definitive ties to sex workers. I argue that they document material waste, which can be identified in any urban area or city worldwide.

The connection between drug use and transactional sex is strategically synonymous with alienating sex workers (Benoit et al., 2015). Using sex workers as a vessel to incite panic is a tactic which pens social and moral problems on a marginalised community (Walkowitz, 1992). I argue that by repeating the same types of imagery, the residents are contributing towards a long history of discrimination towards sex workers. It is easy to dehumanise a person when you equate them to waste material. The repetition of these heavily curated themes in the SOE campaign shares SWERF ideologies that infantilise sex workers and deny them autonomy (Bindel, 2019). This

formulates a collective ideology around the sex workers of Holbeck: that they are victims of sexual exploitation and may only be treated as such. This case study illustrates how images are acquired for specific agendas. The types of imagery produced by the SOE campaign have a wider cultural impact on the visual information surrounding sex workers, warranting further academic attention.

Conclusion

I conducted a critical visual analysis by selecting a body of images used by the SOE group via their website and social media accounts to understand how sex workers operating in Holbeck have been (mis)represented. My findings reveal how images of sex workers are subject to a historical surveillance culture that has evolved with digital technologies.

On the surface, the SOE campaign's imagery seems to serve as evidence of sex work activity. However, once dissected, what is exposed are society's attitudes towards sex workers rather than the reality of sex work itself. The images point to interesting avenues of social, economic and political enquiry that are intertwined with intersectional feminist discourses of transactional sex, human rights, and policy in the UK. By investigating the social context of the SOE digital archive and its purpose for distribution, this paper demonstrates the value of critical visual analysis in uncovering hidden assumptions underlying visual campaigns. Scholars, activists and policymakers can implement this methodology in their practices to challenge other pre-existing stereotypes in sex industry media.

This study advocates for sex workers' rights by exposing how images are weaponised to perpetuate stigma and violence. Activists can use critical visual analysis to deconstruct and contest these narratives in public discourse and media, and to demand accountability from groups who engage in non-consensual image sharing.

The application of visual analysis is crucial to disrupting victimhood narratives embedded within sex work discourses. Interdisciplinary collaboration with future researchers with visual cultural and art historical backgrounds, as well as lived sex work experience, is recommended to expand the global scope and depth of sex industry research.

Because the analysis here is drawn from a single case story, this paper does not claim generalisability. To strengthen the evidence base and validate these results, future research should investigate whether similar patterns emerge in other campaigns. In summary, this paper calls for scholars to acknowledge the power of images in addressing sex work stigma, and to develop robust and ethical visual methodologies that can inform research, policy, and activism.

References

Acton, W., & Planck, C. (with St. Thomas's Hospital. Medical School Library former owner, King's College London, & Foyle Special Collections Library). (1870). *Prostitution Considered in Its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects, in London and Other Large Cities and Garrison*

Towns: With Proposals for the Control and Prevention of Its Attendant Evils (2nd ed.). John Churchill and Sons. http://archive.org/details/b21309802

Anonymous. (2021). “I was outed in one of the tabloid newspapers”. In R. Bowen (Ed.), *Work, Money and Duality: Trading Sex as a Side Hustle* (pp. 113–130). Bristol University Press. https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447358831.007

Ball, T. (2023, April 11). Punters named and shamed on scene of Leeds’ pioneering prostitution pilot. *The Times*. https://web.archive.org/web/*/https://www.thetimes.com/article/punters-named-and-shamed-on-scene-of-leeds-pioneering-prostitution-pilot-x60j9s205*

Bauer, H., Pappademos, M., Sutton, K., & Tucker, J. (2022). Visual Histories of Sex: Collecting, Curating, Archiving. *Radical History Review*, *2022*(142), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-9397002

BBC Three. (2016, July 12). *Sex, Drugs & Murder, Life in the Red Light Zone, Welcome to Holbeck*. BBC. https://web.archive.org/web/20211217112928/https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04045rz

Benoit, C., McCarthy, B., & Jansson, M. (2015). Stigma, sex work, and substance use: A comparative analysis. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, *37*(3), 437–451. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.12201

Bindel, J. (2019). *The Pimping of Prostitution: Abolishing the Sex Work Myth* (2nd ed. 2019). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-349-95947-1

Blaive, M., & Faraldo, J. M. (2022). Surveillance of Culture, Culture of Surveillance: Introduction. *East Central Europe (Pittsburgh)*, *49*(2–3), 145–151. https://doi.org/10.30965/18763308-49020001

Bowen, R. (2021). *Work, Money and Duality: Trading Sex as a Side Hustle*. Bristol University Press. https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447358831

Caradonna, L., & Hardy, K. (2021, July 1). *Scrapping Britain’s First Red Light District Will Be a Disaster for Sex Workers*. Novara Media. https://web.archive.org/web/20250217085107/https://novaramedia.com/2021/07/01/scrapping-britains-first-red-light-district-will-be-a-disaster-for-sex-workers/

Clark, T. J. (1982). On the Social History of Art. In *Modern Art And Modernism*. Routledge.

Crowhurst, I., & Skilbrei, M.-L. (2022). Swedish, Nordic, European: The journey of a ‘model’ to abolish prostitution. In *Nordic Criminal Justice in a Global Context*. Routledge.

Daniel, T., Lamb, J., & Campbell, C. (2025). Avoidance and empowerment: How do sex workers navigate stigma? *Sexualities*, *28*(1–2), 470–491. https://doi.org/10.1177/13634607231201736

Dewey, S., & Kelly, P. (2011). *Policing pleasure: Sex work, policy, and the state in global perspective*. University Press.

Douglas, M. (2003). *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge.

Drury, C. (2021, June 16). Britain’s first legal red-light zone scrapped following years of complaints. *The Independent*. https://web.archive.org/web/20250308151724/https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/legal-red-light-holbeck-managed-approach-leeds-b1866849.html

Edmonds, M. (2023, April 25). Residents of Britain’s legal red light district taking back control. *Mail Online*. https://web.archive.org/web/20230425222207/https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12013237/Residents-Britains-legal-red-light-district-taking-control-publicly-shaming.html

Foundations, O. S. (2015). *10 Reasons to Decriminalize: Sex Work*. Open Society Foundations. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep29283

Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Touchstone.

Goldfarb, B. (2002). *Visual Pedagogy: Media Cultures in and beyond the Classroom*. Duke University Press.

Henham, C. S. (2021). The Reduction of Visible Spaces of Sex Work in Europe. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, *18*(4), 909–919. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-021-00632-4

Holt, V., & Gott, C. (2022). The Limits of Vulnerability: Arguments Against the Inclusion of Sex Workers Within Hate Crime Policy in England and Wales. *International Journal of Gender, Sexuality and Law*, *2*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.19164/ijgsl.v2i1.1266

Jeffreys, S. (2008). *The Idea of Prostitution*. Spinifex Press.

Knox, B. (2014, July 2). *Tearing Down the Whorearchy From the Inside*. Jezebel. https://web.archive.org/web/20240101055923/https://jezebel.com/tearing-down-the-whorearchy-from-the-inside-1596459558

Laredo, E. A. (2019). The Joanna Project: A faith based project supporting street sex workers in Leeds. *Radical Community Work Journal*, *3*(2), Article 2. http://rcwjournal.org/ojs/index.php/radcw/article/view/47

Lasén, A., & Gómez Cruz, E. (2009). Digital Photography and Picture Sharing: Redefining the Public/Private Divide. *Knowledge and Policy*, *22*, 205–215. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12130-009-9086-8

Lombroso, C., & Ferrero, G. (2004). *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*. Duke University Press.

Mac, J. (Director). (2016, January). *The laws that sex workers really want* [Video recording]. https://web.archive.org/web/20240731191813/https://www.ted.com/talks/juno_mac_the_laws_that_sex_workers_really_want?subtitle=en

McClintock, A. (1992). Screwing the System: Sex work, Race, and the Law. *Boundary 2*, *19*(2), 70. https://doi.org/10.2307/303534

Melrose, M. (2009). Out on the streets and out of control? Drug-using sex workers and the prostitution strategy. In *Regulating Sex for Sale Prostitution Policy Reform in the UK*. Policy Press.

Miller, W. I. (1998). *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Harvard University Press.

Mirzoeff, N. (2011). *The Right to Look: A counterhistory of visuality*. Duke University Press.

Money, P., & Rogers, J. (2021). *To consider future developments with regards to addressing and reducing on-street sex work in the city* (p. 7). City council.

NSWP, & European Regional Correspondent. (2016, February 1). *First Legal Red Light District in the United Kingdom*. Global Network of Sex Work Projects. https://web.archive.org/web/20220101125046/https://www.nswp.org/news/first-legal-red-light-district-the-united-kingdom

Perraudin, F. (2016, July 4). Man found guilty of murdering sex worker in Leeds. *The Guardian*. https://web.archive.org/web/20220626060106/https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/04/man-guilty-murder-sex-worker-leeds-daria-pionko-lewis-pierre

Prown, J. D. (1982). Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method. *Winterthur Portfolio*, *17*(1), 1–19. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1180761

Putnis, N., & Burr, J. (2020). Evidence or stereotype? Health inequalities and representations of sex workers in health publications in England. *Health*, *24*(6), 665–683. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363459319833242

Regan, L. (2024, February 24). Britain's first 'legal Red Light District' where hook-ups cost '£5 & 2 cigarettes' & prostitutes had 2pm sex in gardens. *The Sun*. https://web.archive.org/web/20240304110223/https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/26155402/britains-first-legal-red-light-district-2pm-sex-gardens/

Regional Awards. (2017, November 1). Royal Television Society. https://web.archive.org/web/20250120042316/https://rts.org.uk/award/regional-awards-north-west-2017

Roach, J., Wood, K., Cartwright, A., Percy-Smith, B., Rogerson, M., & Armitage, R. (2020). *An Independent Review of the Managed Approach to on- street sex working in Leeds 2014-2020.* (p. 70). University of Huddersfield.

Rolf. (2019, September 29). *The Managed Approach*. St. Lukes Holbeck. https://web.archive.org/web/20220630050612/https://stlukesholbeck.org.uk/the-managed-approach/

Salfati, C. G., James, A. R., & Ferguson, L. (2008). Prostitute Homicides: A Descriptive Study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *23*(4), 505–543. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260507312946

Sanders, T., Campbell, R., Cunningham, S., Pitcher, J., & Scoular, J. (2018). The Point of Counting: Mapping the Internet Based Sex Industry. *Social Sciences*, *7*(5), 233–241. https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ss.20180705.15

Save Our Eyes. (2017, August 15). [Private Group]. Facebook. https://web.archive.org/web/20210615134944/https://www.facebook.com/groups/saveoureyes/

Sehmbi, V., & Sanders, T. (2015). *Evaluation of the Leeds Street Sex Working Managed Area* (p. 4). University of Leeds. https://web.archive.org/web/20240227110400/https://www.nswp.org/sites/default/files/Executive%20Summary%20Leeds%2C%20U%20of%20Leeds%20-%20Sept%202015.pdf

Sper, V. (2018). *Complicity and the Representation of Sex Workers: The 'Fallen' Women of Holbeck in BBC's Documentary Mini- Series Sex, Drugs and Murder*. Complicity and the Politics of Representation, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Complicity-and-the-Representation-of-Sex-Workers%3A-Sper/d2e6bf89639728c22a3fdbd7074ecc8b51a784ff

Tyler, I. (2020). *Stigma: The Machinery of Inequality*. Zed Books Ltd.

Walker, H. (2016, October 28). *BBC branded 'biased' over BBC 3, Sex, Drugs and Murder Documentary* [News]. https://web.archive.org/web/20181203020244/https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/726079/BBC-Sex-Drugs-Murder-Life-Red-Light-Zone-BBC-Three-prostitution-Holbeck-Leeds

Walkowitz, J. R. (1992). *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives Of Sexual Danger In Late-Victorian London* (1st Edition). University Of Chicago Press.

Waring, C., & Redman, S. (2022). *Visual Violence: Sex Worker Experiences of Image Based Abuses*. NUM. https://web.archive.org/web/20240317003459/https://nationaluglymugs.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/NUM-Visual-Violence-Report-FINAL_10022022.pdf