

Exploring Clients' Expectations of the Physical and Procedural Aspects of Sex Workers'
Services and the Resulting Impact on Sex Workers

Exploring Clients' Expectations of the Physical and Procedural Aspects of Sex Workers'
Services and the Resulting Impact on Sex Workers

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Master of Social Work

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MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

McMaster University

(2022)

Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Exploring Clients' Expectations of the Physical and Procedural Aspects of Sex Workers' Services and the Resulting Impact on Sex Workers

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NUMBER OF PAGES: 162

ABSTRACT

Background: Currently in Canada, sex work is criminalized under Bill C-36. Since sex work is not considered legal work, it has been underresearched as a form of labour. Researching sex work as a form of labour would further the understanding sex workers' work environments and needs within a labour context.

Aims: The aim of this study was to uncover what clients' expectations of the physical and procedural aspects of sex workers' services are, how these expectations are formed, and how these expectations impact sex workers.

Methods: Data was collected from an online discussion/review board called TERB (Toronto Escort Review Board) and was analyzed using the qualitative thematic analysis method.

Results: The findings suggested that clients and sex workers tended to have conflicting expectations of the physical and procedural aspects of sex workers' services and that clients in the TERB community often relied on client reviews to form their expectations. Clients also formed their expectations based on the expectations they had of other non-sex work services, their own desires, and their knowledge of the law. Client expectations tended to have various negative impacts on sex workers and this highlighted the importance of having formal established rules, boundaries, and procedures in place in order to manage these expectations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Arij Elmi for your support, guidance, and encouragement these past few months. You made my thesis writing process feel so much more manageable and I am incredibly grateful. I would also like to thank my second reader Ann Fudge Schormans for taking the time to read over my work to help improve my thesis paper. Without both of your support, completing my thesis would not have been possible. Thank you.

I would also like to thank the staff and faculty in the school of social work at McMaster University for your support with the various questions I had along the way during my school year.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The topic of sex work has been highly debated in public and political spheres. Arguments around sex work have been centered on whether sex work can be consensual and non-exploitative for sex workers. In essence, the question has focused on whether or not to consider sex work as a legitimate form of labour. However, as noted by Adriaenssens and colleagues (2016, p. 1) “increasingly, prostitution and other activities in the sex industries have been conceptualised as forms of labour, or at least as income-generating activities”. Not unlike other forms of labour, sex work can also be exposed to risks when there is workplace exploitation and a lack of labour laws (Adriaenssens, 2016) . In particular, there could be workplace risks with respect to health, working conditions, exploitation and stigmatization (Adriaenssens, 2016). Although some research has been done in this field, “research on the actual conditions and circumstances existing in these markets, remains limited” (Adriaenssens, 2016, p. 1).

In prior research that has conceptualized sex work as labour, sex workers have been interviewed about the changes they would like to see in their working environments and the labour laws they want enacted. However, most of these changes have been focused on the working relationship between management and sex workers for those who work in the context of a commercial enterprise in an escort agency or massage parlour. For instance, agency sex workers have spoken about how they would like to be able to enter employment contracts with management, have increased cleanliness in their work environments, and to have anti-discrimination policies (Van der Meulen, 2012). There is a lack of research on client-sex worker interactions and how sex workers are impacted by the expectations clients have of them for both self-employed sex workers and sex workers working under management. The limited research done on the expectations that clients have of the sex workers have primarily been

centered on the emotional aspects of client-sex worker interactions. For instance, client expectations of sex workers' attitudes towards them while providing services and client desires for emotional connections with sex workers while receiving sexual services were examined (Jones, 2013). This research suggested that emotional fulfilment with the sex worker displaying an attitude of enthusiasm around the client was an important expectation that clients hold of sex workers (Bounds et al., 2017; Jones, 2013; Senent, 2019). There is a lack of literature, however, on the physical or procedural aspects of client-sex worker interactions during the purchase and provision of sexual services such as the expectations of the physical services provided or the rules of engagement for service purchase and provision. As I will elaborate later in this thesis, the expectations clients have of the sex workers' services and rules of engagement and how these expectations are formed could influence the working conditions of sex workers, making the impact of client expectations an important area of research.

As someone who has a friend who works as an indoor agency sex worker, I became aware of some of the impacts that client expectations have on sex workers and the services they provide along with the manner in which these services are provided. After hearing of her experiences, I developed an interest in researching sex work and looked through literature on the topic. When I compared the information I gained from my friend's experiences to the existing literature on sex work, I became aware of the gap in knowledge in this area and was able to formulate the questions that I will attempt to answer in this thesis. My friend also let me know about a large online discussion board where clients and sex workers in the Greater Toronto Area make posts and interact on discussion threads and that is how I was able to consider the merits of gaining knowledge from this online discussion board and ultimately came to choose it as my source of data.

For my research, I focused on the experiences of indoor sex workers because the online discussion board where I gained information is about indoor sex workers and not outdoor sex workers. More specifically, my research focused on indoor sex workers who are referred to as ‘escorts’ who exchange sex for money. Although there is a small section of the online discussion board in which the discussions are focused on sex workers who are strippers that work within strip clubs or sex workers who work within massage parlours, the majority of the threads are about escorts so I focused on this group for my research. After browsing through the forum I was able to determine that strippers engage with their clients within strip clubs and a dance generally precedes any physical interaction between client and sex worker (if there is any physical interaction) and massage parlour sex workers work in massage parlours where a massage precedes any sexual intimacy. From my research I found that escorts generally engage with clients in hotel rooms or in the room of a condo/apartment/house and the procedural aspects of a sex work session with an escort differ from that of strippers or massage parlour sex workers. Given these differences, I decided to narrow my focus to understanding client expectations for this group.

With my research I sought to understand what client expectations of escort sex workers’ services and rules of engagement for services are, how these expectations are formed, and how these expectations impact escorts. I believed that a greater understanding of these expectations and their impacts could allow us to learn how to better manage these expectations to foster healthier work environments for sex workers.

In this thesis I wrote from the sex-positive feminist theoretical framework with the belief that those who choose to work as sex workers of their own free will should be allowed to do so without criminalization or stigmatization. Since I wrote from this theoretical framework, I used

specific language that reflected the values of this framework perspective such as the term ‘sex worker’ or ‘escort’ instead of ‘prostitute’ unless I was referencing a specific quotation. Although sex work can refer to a large range of work including dancing at strip clubs, phone sex operation, creating adult video/photo content individually, and filming pornography with others, in my thesis I focused on escorts and referred to these individuals who do escort work as ‘sex workers’ or ‘escorts’ as opposed to ‘prostitutes’ because sex workers have said that they prefer the term sex workers and have campaigned to replace ‘prostitution’ with ‘sex work’ for those who choose to do sex work (Lister, 2017). Neo-abolitionists continue to use the term ‘prostitutes’ but this term is not neutral and can carry negative connotations of shame and dishonour whereas the term sex worker acknowledges individuals for the work they do and recognizes that working in the sex industry can be considered work (Lister, 2017). The neo-abolitionist framework will be explored in the next section.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework - Feminist Discourses on Sex Work Policy

Within feminist debates, there are two primary feminist theories on the topic of sex work. One feminist group is generally referred to as the ‘sex-positive’ feminists who advocate for sex work being decriminalized and view sex work as a legitimate form of labour. The other group of feminist theories is generally referred to as ‘neo-abolitionist’ feminists and they view sex work as oppressive and exploitative of women (Gerassi, 2015). In this section, I will contrast these two approaches to sex work as the framework utilized determines the policies around sex work that are implemented within a country. In this next section I will elaborate on whether the present policy in Canada stems from a sex-positive or neo-abolitionist perspective.

Neo-abolitionist feminists and sex-positive feminists have different beliefs about key ideas around sex work. For one, they have contrasting perspectives on what constitutes as sex. Neo-abolitionist feminism stems from Marxism and radical feminist beliefs (Gerassi, 2015). A central contention of radical feminism is the belief that women's bodies and sexualities have been constructed and controlled by men to serve their own needs and interests to the point that women are "unable to define and develop their sexual desires or humanity" (Pollis, 1995, p. 172). Radical feminists believe that "the very physical act of sexual intercourse is violent and victimizes women" (Robinson, 2007, p. 27). As such, they believe that any time a woman engages in sexual intercourse with a male partner, that this causes them to become oppressed and victimized. Sex-positive feminists oppose this type of thinking in which the "understandings of women's sexuality [is] rooted in patriarchy" (Appleton, 2021, p. 2). Sex-positive feminists view neo-abolitionist feminists as having double standards in which standards of sex are considered to be different for men and women - that is, sex is considered solely to be degrading or victimizing for women but not a means for pleasure as it is for men (Appleton, 2021). Advocates of sex-positive feminism oppose "the erasure of the clitoris in mainstream views of what counts as sexual pleasure; and the normalization of the gendered orgasm gap" (Appleton, 2021, p. 2). Sex positivism also helps to distinguish between wanted and unwanted sex (both rape and consensual but undesired sex) and posits that women should be allowed to choose what it is they desire, making choice a key part of the understanding of sex (Appleton, 2021). This understanding of choice is absent in neo-abolitionist views on women's sexuality - they instead view all sex as coerced (Appleton, 2021). Since advocates of neo-abolitionism, which stems from radical and Marxist beliefs, view an act of sexual intercourse between a man and women as inherently

victimizing of the woman but not the man and erases the possibility of women deriving any pleasure from their sexuality, sex-positive feminists are in direct opposition to their thinking.

Neo-abolitionist feminists and sex positive feminists also have contrasting perspectives on the autonomy of women when it comes to their sexuality and ability to choose sex work. Marxist feminism, which neo-abolitionism stems from along with radical feminism, understand sex work to be a part of capitalism by viewing it as part of the capitalist structure (Robinson, 2007). Marxists believe that women who become sex workers have little autonomy or power and are forced into sex work for men in the same way that working class individuals are forced into labour for the ruling class (Robinson, 2007). Radical feminism, which neo-abolitionism also stems from, asserts that women do not have autonomy over their own bodies (Robinson, 2007). Radical feminists believe that "women's sexuality is, socially, a thing to be stolen, sold, bought, bartered, or exchanged by others [those others being males]. ...Women never own or possess it" (MacKinnon, 1987, p.58 as cited in Robinson, 2007, p. 27). Similar to Marxist feminists, radical feminists also believe that women do not possess the autonomy to choose what they want to do with their bodies or sexuality and are always victims of male desire (Robinson, 2007). Radical feminists therefore believe that a woman's choice to engage in sex work cannot be autonomous because they believe women cannot make choices around their sexuality because of the power men have over them in the patriarchal society we live in (Robinson, 2007). In contrast to the Marxist and radical feminist perspectives that are the root of neo-abolitionist feminism, sex-positive feminists believe that women are capable of making autonomous choices, including in the context of sex work, and that they should be given freedom to make their own decisions around what they choose to do with their bodies (Gerassi, 2015).

Due to the difference in perspective on whether women possess the autonomy to choose sex work, neo-abolitionist and sex-positive feminists hold contrasting opinions on what the laws around sex work should be. Sex-positive feminists believe that the very act of enforcing laws abolishing sex work prevents women from making choices with their sexuality, neo-abolitionists believe that for women, sex is always unchosen, thus creating laws that prohibit sex work for women protects them from unwanted sex (Gerassi, 2015). When it comes to sex work, neo-abolitionists oppose the concept of sex work and argue that sex work is never fully consensual and should not be treated as legitimate work that one can give consent for (Gerassi, 2015). Neo-abolitionists also believe that women are unwillingly coerced into sex work due to the economic dependence of women on men in a patriarchal society, which stems from Marxist beliefs (Gerassi, 2015). They may also be more likely to use the term ‘prostitutes’ to refer to sex workers as the term ‘sex worker’ acknowledges sex workers for the work they do (Lister, 2017). For neo-abolitionist feminists, sex work and sex trafficking are interchangeable because both are seen as non-consensual so they believe sex work as a whole should be abolished to protect women (George et al., 2010). Some neo-abolitionists believe that the full criminalization of sex work in which both sex workers and customers are legally punished for buying and selling sex is the way to protect women working as sex workers from violence (Mesce, 2020). Other neo-abolitionists believe in following the Nordic model which supports the partial criminalization of sex work so that only the customers are punished while the sex workers are viewed as victims (Mesce, 2020). However, this partial criminalization method has been criticized by sex-positive feminists because it can push sex work underground with sex workers meeting customers in areas with less police or law enforcement, resulting in sex workers being exposed to more danger (Berg, 2014; Mesce, 2020). Critics of the neo-abolitionist movement

also point out the erasure of male sex workers when neo-abolitionists discuss their motives for criminalizing sex work (Robinson, 2007).

In opposition to abolitionist and neo-abolitionist feminist perspectives, sex-positive feminists argue that women are capable of making their own decisions around what type of work they choose to do and that there should not be any laws prohibiting them from specific work (Gerassi, 2015). Sex-positive feminism emphasizes the agency and autonomy of women to be able to engage in sexual acts if they want to and argues that their choices should not be shamed (Appleton, 2021). Sex positive feminists believe that “any mandate or perspective dictating to women that their choice of work is wrong remains dangerous and patriarchal” (Kesler, 2002, as cited in Gerassi, 2015, p. 4). This is because sex positive feminists believe that the criminalization of sex work is patriarchal whereas neo-abolitionist feminist believe sex work itself is patriarchal. Activists and scholars who endorse the legalization or decriminalization of sex work hold similar belief systems that are supported by the sex-positive feminist framework that views sex work as a positive way of women creating sexual independence and agency for themselves. “Instead of believing that prostitution and other forms of commercial sex disenfranchise women and treat them as objects, both of these frameworks see sex work as a way to reduce the asymmetries between male and female power by allowing women to engage in the labor market” (Mathieson, 2016, as cited in Mesce, 2020, p. 17). The decriminalization and legalization of sex work allows women to have sexual and fiscal power over their bodies (Mathieson, 2016). In addition, decriminalization and legalization allow women to enjoy sex while making a financial profit from it (Mathieson, 2016).

While there are important critiques of sex-positive feminism, there are also important interventions that this perspective can make. One of the limitations of sex-positive feminism is

that sexism impacts women of colour differently from white women (Gerassi, 2015). Some believe that even if women are given sexual freedom via the decriminalization or legalization of sex work, women of colour will experience it differently from white women as women of colour are likely to be exploited sexually (Gerassi, 2015). Another critique of sex positive feminism that is brought up from a neo-abolitionist standpoint is that women may not be capable of making their own choices on what sexual acts they want to engage in because of the influence of patriarchy, and thus, any choice to enter sex work would not be their own (Appleton, 2021). However, sex-positive feminists continue to argue that criminalizing sex work and removing it from being a means of financial profit for women because of the neo-abolitionist belief that sex work is exploitative of women is oppressive. Moreover, removing sex work as a job option will not necessarily create better or more financially sustainable options for women in its place. Even in countries where sex work is fully criminalized under laws influenced by neo-abolitionist perspectives, sex work continues to exist (Vanwesenbeeck, 2017). There are sex workers who have been interviewed have said they choose sex work because they prefer it over other job options due to the flexibility and higher pay that it provides (Maher et al., 2012). Furthermore, research has shown how “criminalization and repression make it less likely that commercial sex is worker-controlled, non-abusive, and non-exploitative” (Vanwesenbeeck, 2017, p. 1). This suggests that sex work may continue to exist regardless of the laws that are created in an attempt to abolish it as there are those who prefer it over other job options and sex work has not disappeared in countries even where it has been criminalized, and that attempts to abolish sex work will result in harm rather than protection for sex workers (Maher et al., 2012; Vanwesenbeeck, 2017).

Many sex positive feminists and sex workers advocate for full decriminalization of sex work because they believe they should be allowed to choose what they do with their bodies and because numerous studies have shown that criminalizing sex work causes harm to sex workers (Crago et al., 2021; Platt et al., 2018; Vanwesenbeeck, 2017). Sex positive feminists believe that by ignoring these voices of sex workers, the very people that current sex work policies are supposed to be protecting are being oppressed instead. As a researcher, I resonate more with the values and beliefs held by sex-positive feminists. This will be reflected in my thesis research which will focus on understanding sex work as a form of labour and trying to use my research in order to improve working conditions for sex workers rather than trying to abolish sex work altogether.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

i: Sex Work Policy in Canada.

In Canada, the current sex work policy operates from the abolitionist perspective, reflecting a belief that women who are sex workers are oppressed and exploited. The “end-demand” Nordic model of partial criminalization was adopted in 2014 under Bill C-36, the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (Bill C-36, 2014). Prior to Bill C-36, sex work was not criminalized but was viewed as a nuisance and there were laws put in place in order to reduce “public nuisance and community harms associated with prostitution” (Technical paper - Bill C-36, 2014). These laws prevented living on the avails of sex work, communicating in public for sex work, and keeping or being in a ‘bawdy house’ for the purposes of sex work (Technical paper - Bill C-36, 2014). These laws were declared unconstitutional as it was found that they caused harm to sex workers and Bill C-36 was enacted to replace them (Technical paper

- Bill C-36, 2014). “Bill C-36 criminalizes, for the first time in Canadian criminal law, the purchase of sexual services... This new offence makes prostitution itself an illegal practice; every time prostitution takes place, regardless of venue, an offence is committed” (Technical paper - Bill C-36, 2014). However, “the new prostitution laws do not criminalize the sale of sexual services” (Bill C-36, 2014). This law was enacted with the goal of trying to dissuade clients from purchasing sex to end the demand of sex work while simultaneously protecting sex workers who sell sexual services because they are perceived to be victims of exploitation (Bill C-36, 2014). In addition to criminalizing the purchase of sexual services, the communication for the purchase of sex work is also criminalized along with any advertising of the sale of sexual services (Bill C-36, 2014). However, although any third parties including website admins or publishers would be held criminally liable for allowing the advertisement of a sex worker’s services, the sex workers themselves would not be held liable for the advertisement of their own services (Bill C-36, 2014). Bill C-36 also prohibits the material benefit or financial gain from the sex work of others in the context of a commercial enterprise (Bill C-36, 2014). This means that managers of strip clubs, massage parlours, or escort agencies that knowingly make any profit from the sexual services of the workers there would be prosecuted.

According to Bill C-36, prostitution has been made illegal because “condoning a clearly gendered practice by legalizing and regulating it would demean and degrade the human dignity of all women and girls” (Bill C-36, 2014). The language of dignity and degradation reflects a neo-abolitionist view. Advocates of sex work and the sex-positive feminist movement including sex workers themselves have argued against abolitionists by stating that shaming women who choose sex work of their own free will for the choices they make with their bodies and viewing it as derogatory is patriarchal and oppressive (Appleton, 2021). The current law also excludes any

mention of sex workers who are men or trans women and their unique needs. Not only are there concerns about the current law being oppressive and non-inclusive, but there have also been numerous studies that have demonstrated that the criminalization and partial criminalization of sex work causes harm to sex workers. These studies and their implications will be explored in the next section.

ii: Impact of Canada's sex work policy on the safety of sex workers

The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act views sex work as inherently exploitative and derogatory of the human dignity of all women and girls (Bill C-36, 2014) and as such, sex work is not viewed as a legitimate form of labour. Although the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act is supposed to protect sex workers, many studies indicate that it has had the opposite intended effect by making sex workers more vulnerable to harms including sexual and physical violence and STDs by exacerbating workplace risks and increasing barriers to healthcare, emergency, and counselling supports (Argento et al., 2020; Crago et al., 2021; Platt et al., 2018). One study by Platt and colleagues reveals that the repressive policing practices of sex workers that comes with full or partial criminalization of sex work are associated with an increased risk of sexual/physical violence from clients, an increased risk of STD/HIV infection, and increased risk of condomless sex compared to sex workers that are not exposed to these repressive policing (Platt et al., 2018). Furthermore, a study by Crago and colleagues shows that the implementation of the partial criminalization laws in Canada has resulted in a decreased likelihood of sex workers being able to call 911 when experiencing an emergency while working due to fear of harassment and fear of police finding out about their sex work status or about their sex work managers who would be criminalized (Crago et al.,

2021). They were also less likely to report any violence of theft they experienced on the job (Crago et al., 2021).

Although sex workers should be free from persecution for selling their sexual services under Bill C-36, sex workers remain hesitant about seeking help because their managers who are criminalized under the law could get persecuted in the process (Crago et al., 2021). Sex workers who have sought aid when experiencing theft or violence have reported being harassed and judged by police which made them less likely to seek aid again (Crago et al., 2021). This has also been found to be a particularly prevalent issue for trans sex workers in Canada who have reported numerous incidents of being harrassed by police when they called 911 for help after a violent situation (Lyons et al., 2016). One Canadian trans woman sex worker who was interviewed reported being told by police “fuck you, die” upon their arrival after she called 911 for help after experiencing violence on the job (Lyons et al., 2016). It has been suggested that the criminalization of sex work and refusal to acknowledge sex work as a legitimate job has contributed to the stigmatization of sex work which negatively impacts how law enforcement treats sex workers thereby creating barriers for accessing support (Crago et al., 2021).

In contrast, “sex workers reported more positive relationships with police and an increased ability to report violence and exploitation to authorities” after the decriminalization of sex work was implemented in New Zealand (Crago et al., 2021). Furthermore, “violence against sex workers was afforded more serious attention by police” (Crago et al., 2021). Not only does the criminalization of sex work and the stigma it perpetuates impact barriers to accessing police support, but it has also been found to impact sex workers’ ability to access health services as well (Argento et al., 2020). Research has shown that sex workers in Canada have been found to be less likely to be able to access health services when it is needed and less likely to access sex

worker/community-led supports since the implementation of the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (Argento et al., 2020). These findings provide further evidence that the full or partial criminalization of sex work leave sex workers more vulnerable to danger and exploitation.

Although the government believes that legalizing sex work will result in an increase in human trafficking due to a large multinational correlational study that linked legalization of sex work with an increase in human trafficking, this has been criticized (Weitzer, 2013). This is because the data for the study was primarily retrieved from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) which has cautioned against the use of their information since “‘the report does not provide information regarding actual numbers of victims’ and because of unstandardized definitions, sources, and reporting across countries, with some conflating trafficking, smuggling, and irregular migration” (Weitzer, 2013). Furthermore, “‘the authors of the two studies concede that it is ‘difficult, perhaps impossible, to find hard evidence’ of a relationship between trafficking and any other phenomenon and that ‘the underlying data may be of bad quality’ and are ‘limited and unsatisfactory in many ways’” (Weitzer, 2013).

Research studies have shown that both full and partial criminalization of sex work can result in harm to sex workers and that decriminalization could be the better alternative (Argento et al., 2020; Crago et al., 2021; Platt et al., 2018). Studies that suggest that the legalization of sex work will result in more individuals being human trafficked that the Canadian government has used to justify the criminalization of sex work have been found to be unreliable (Weitzer, 2013). Overall, these numerous studies indicate that there is a negative impact on sex workers’ health and safety that is created by the partial or full criminalization of sex work. In the next section, the ways in which sex work policy can impact sex workers’ work environments will be explored

iii: Impact of sex work policy on the work environment of sex workers

There are many potential benefits to decriminalizing sex work in Canada and acknowledging sex work as a legitimate form of labour. According to van der Meulen (2012, p. 154), “conceptualizing sex work as a form of sexual labour could lead to a social context in which sex industry establishments are more likely to abide by labour legislation”. For this, sex work would have to be decriminalized in Bill C-36 and regulated (van der Meulen, 2012). Any attempts by sex workers for implementing policies for their workplace rights could receive more support from management and co-workers if sex work could be understood in labour-based terms. Concerningly, partial criminalization law against sex work like the one in Canada may impede the ability of sex workers to develop initiatives in order to improve their labour rights and working conditions (Pitcher, 2015). Due to the lack of regulation in sex work because of Bill C-36 PCEPA (Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act), sex work operates within the informal work sphere with non-standard working arrangements (Pitcher, 2015). Working in a field that does not have legal regulation and labour protections can result in workers becoming more vulnerable to the demands of the market. As described in the article by Rosaldo, when it comes to all forms of labour, “in the absence of institutionalized protections, either as part of a legal and regulatory system or via collective political power, that can mitigate the underlying precariousness of the workers’ relation to the market, the workers' livelihood and their lives become precarious” (Rosaldo, 2012). As Becki Ross argues, “sex-free labour studies alongside work-free sexuality studies within Canadian social history has meant that the rich registers of ‘sexuality’ and ‘labour’ have rarely been placed systematically in relation to, and in tension with, one another.” (van der Meulen, 2012, p. 2). This leaves a gap in knowledge

around how sex work operates as a form of labour and a lack of understanding of the workplace needs of sex workers.

Viewing sex work from a lens in which it is conceptualized as a legitimate form of labour could assist with informing policy “through highlighting diverse experiences within the industry, drawing parallels with other forms of work and identifying ways to facilitate safer and more supportive working environments” (Pitcher, 2015, p. 1). Conceptualizing sex work as a legitimate form of labour to try to understand the unique experiences and needs of sex workers could foster a greater understanding of what policies are needed in order to create a better working environment for sex workers. Some of the workplace needs of sex workers could be the same as the needs of workers in other forms of labour but they could also have unique needs that are not experienced by other types of workers. In order to explore what these workplace needs could be, one must first start with conceptualizing sex work as a form of labour.

Sex workers who have been interviewed have spoken about how they would like to be able to enter employment contracts but are limited in their ability to do so due to the partial criminalization policy on sex work in Canada (van der Meulen, 2012). This policy criminalizes many aspects of sex work including the role of sex work managers or agency owners which makes it difficult to enter an employment contract in which all of the responsibilities involved with the sex work job are disclosed (van der Meulen, 2012). Not only does this pose a problem for sex workers since the lack of income proof results in difficulty getting bank loans, but it also makes it more difficult for sex workers to organize for improvement of their work rights (van der Meulen, 2012).

In New Zealand where sex work has been decriminalized, sex workers are able to have employment contracts which fully outline their hours, benefits, wages, conditions, and duties,

with one significant caveat: that "a person may, at any time, refuse to provide commercial sexual services, even if they entered into a contract to provide those services." (van der Meulen, 2012, p. 155). In Canada where sex work is not regulated due to the partial criminalization laws against sex work and the government refuses to view it as a legitimate form of labour, sex workers do not have these same workplace protections or anywhere to go if their workplace contracts are infringed upon or if employers have unreasonable demands. In addition, "the contract could also provide a record of employment that could then be utilized to secure housing, loans, and even further employment opportunities" (van der Meulen, 2012, p. 155). Sex workers that have been interviewed have also spoken about how labour organization should happen in diverse ways with overarching rights but also rights specific to each sector of sex work since there are a large variety of sex work establishments (indoor independent sex work vs. indoor sex work managed by an agency, incall vs. outcall sex work, working as an escort in a hotel vs. at a massage parlour, etc.) (van der Meulen, 2012). The organization of sex work labour on a larger scale with overarching rights can be important for allowing the mobilization of a greater number of workers and garnering greater support for them as a whole (van der Meulen, 2012). This could allow sex workers to have a greater collective voice and protection, regardless of which area of sex work they are in.

In one study, sex workers spoke about how they would like occupational rights and spoke about how the lack of recognition of sex work as a legitimate job impacts their ability to access government insurance funds such as Employment Insurance (Benoit et al., 2021). One sex worker spoke about how she would like to have a business license for her work to legitimize it as with other self-employed individuals (Benoit et al., 2021). The lack of workplace contracts and labour rights not only results in less ability to negotiate hours, benefits, and wages but it also

results in less ability to negotiate actual job services, conditions, and conduct with the employer (if they work in an agency) and clients (for both sex workers who work in an agency run by a manager and sex workers who work independently) (Benoit et al., 2021). According to an article by Pitcher (2015, p. 117), “the intimacy of the labour and lack of guidance on the rules of engagement in commercial premises may make sex work more emotionally demanding than other service sector occupations”. In addition, the lack of regulation and rules of engagement have been found to result in the need for sex workers to be ‘strong-minded’ when negotiating with their clients and having to enforce boundaries and manage client expectations (Bounds et al., 2017). The lack of labour protections and rules of engagement around services could also make it more difficult for sex workers to work using the safe sex practices that they desire. As noted by the Positive Living Society of British Columbia, “having a lack of power in the transaction means one might need to give into pressure to earn money and/or de-escalate hostility” (Donato, 2020). This is reflected in the interview with a sex worker who describes how they had to provide oral services without using a condom in order to be profitable (Donato, 2020).

In the absence of decriminalization, client expectations of sex workers’ services and rules of engagement can play a role in the workplace environment and the well-being of sex workers. When there are no labour protections or clear workplace or service rules due to the partial criminalization of sex work, the rules of engagement and expectations can be left unclear and left to interpretation by the clients. A study indicates that In New Zealand where sex work has been decriminalized and regulated, sex work labour laws have allowed sex workers to have more power when negotiating with clients (Armstrong, 2021). In the study, a New Zealand sex worker explains how “[clients] know we have labour rights and we will use them against them if

they don't behave themselves" (Armstrong, 2021, p. 948). Another sex worker from the same study stated that she felt that decriminalization has allowed her to have a more "straightforward and positive interaction with clients" (Armstrong, 2021, p. 948) and that she imagined communicating with clients in a non-decriminalized setting would be "very stilted and hard" (Armstrong, 2021, p. 948) in comparison. A research study conducted on New Zealand clients of sex workers has also shown that there is an awareness among the clients of the workplace rights that sex workers have within a decriminalized environment (Mower 2020; Armstrong, 2021). This suggests that clients may be less likely to try to push workplace boundaries or rules with sex workers because they are already well aware of the rights that sex workers have and the consequences they could face for infringing upon these rights.

iv) Client expectations of sex workers' services

Sanders (2008a) wrote about how academia primarily studies the side of sex workers and not the clients which provides a limited basis for analysis due to the reciprocal nature of the relationship between sex workers and clients. Information about sex workers' experiences with their clients, law enforcement and workplace violence, what they like and dislike about their jobs, and what they would like to see changed within their sex work environment have all been studied (Bounds et al., 2017, Pitcher 2017, Benoit et al., 2021). Studying clients' perspectives and expectations can lead to a greater understanding of overall client-sex worker interactions and the resulting impacts on sex workers. Current existing literature suggests that "client-sex worker interactions are shaped by structural determinants (i.e., laws, policies), work environment factors (i.e., outdoors vs. various indoor spaces, working alone vs. with colleagues or a manager), and

interpersonal factors (i.e., gendered power dynamics, patriarchal ideologies, racism)” (McBride et al., 2022, p. 2). The partial criminalization of sex work and lack of labour laws and workplace rights in Canada are structural determinants and work environment factors that can be playing a large role in client-sex worker interactions.

Research from America and the UK found that the fulfillment of emotional needs was a key part of client expectations (Bounds et al., 2017; Senent, 2019). One study that aimed to understand client expectations of sex workers’ services found that clients expected sex workers to act like they enjoy their work while providing a sexual service (Bounds et al., 2017). From the findings of this study, clients were able to draw assumptions around whether sex workers enjoyed their work based on if they seemed to be eager to please and would not spend a lot of time watching the clock (Bounds et al., 2017). Another article shows a similar finding in which clients expect sex workers to seem enthusiastic or appear to enjoy providing a sexual service (Senent, 2019). Some importance is also placed on sex workers appearing to enjoy a client’s company by laughing at his jokes which is viewed as ‘good service’ (Senent, 2019). In this article, the author’s findings suggested that clients felt that they had experienced a ‘bad service’ when they felt that the sex worker did not meet this emotional expectation and was more focused on making money than on providing the sexual service (Senent, 2019). Acting indifferent towards the client was also seen as an example of bad service where the sex worker did not meet emotional expectations (Senent, 2019). Other desires clients have expressed that they want met from sex workers’ services include the fulfilment of emotional needs for connection, intimacy, control, power, and excitement (Jones, 2013)

Although there is literature on client expectations of sex workers’ services in regards to the emotional aspects of the interaction or the attitude that sex workers display while providing a

sexual service, there is little information on client expectations of the physical or procedural components of services such as the types of physical services, bookings, deposits/screening, refunds, and other aspects such as rules of engagement. Discussions within literature on clients of sex workers that have pointed towards the internal characteristics of clients and the effects of the patriarchy on their personalities as being the root cause of why they have certain expectations. For instance, “levels of entitlement” (Senent, 2019, p. 27) and “masculine ego” (Senent, 2019, p. 34) have been used to explain why clients might have an expectation that sex workers appear to be engaged in their work and enjoy providing their services. From a marketing standpoint, it has been suggested that four elements can affect a client’s expectation of services and these are “market communication, image, word-of-mouth, and customer needs” (Ojasalo, 2001, p. 208). While this body of research demonstrates that client expectations of sex workers’ services are shaped by clients’ personal needs (internal desires or patriarchal influence), there is few discussion on how other potential outside factors such as market communication, image, or word-of-mouth may have an impact on the formation of expectations. My thesis aims to focus on this gap in literature.

Word-of-mouth can be described as informal conversations and recommendations (in-person and/or online) shared between individuals that are existing and potential clients about services or products (Karlíček et al., 2010). Market communication on the other hand, is delivered by the producer of a specific product or service and is intended to reach potential clients of this product or service (Shrivastava & Dawle, 2020). Generally, word-of-mouth is more likely to generate unrealistic expectations while market communication could also have a high potential to generate unrealistic expectations but to a potentially lesser degree (Ojasalo, 2001). However, market communication is limited because laws around advertising sex work

make it very difficult to explicitly outline services. Since Bill C-36 makes it a criminal offence to advertise the sale of sexual services unless the sex worker themselves is solely responsible for the advertising; website admins, publishers, and locations that offer sexual services such as strip clubs would be prosecuted for the advertising offence. Even if the sex workers are protected from criminal liability when they advertise their own sexual services, websites becomes less likely to host sex workers' websites or ads because they can be charged for it and agency owners or sex work managers who have websites and an established base of clientele would also be unable to advertise a sex workers' services openly. As described in one article, "content in violation of Canada's laws can be taken down at any time and seized by the authorities" (Hensley, 2019). As a result, even if sex workers can legally advertise by their own means, it can become difficult for a sex worker to find a platform that can reach a large body of clients that they can advertise their services on.

Another problem lies in the fact that "advertising is very important for business and for openly communicating terms of service and determining consent" (Hensley, 2019), as explained by Anne Margaret Deck, vice-chair of the board at Maggie's, a sex worker justice organization. This could have an impact on the expectations that clients have of sex workers' services. Since services may not be explicitly outlined, some clients have to rely on other means in order to form their expectations on what services will be provided by a sex worker and the rules of engagement that come with their service provision. In addition, sex workers who explicitly name the sexual services they offer on their own websites would result in clients expecting these specific services when they book a sex worker. However, this could potentially lead to a sex worker feeling unable to refuse a listed service later with a client and the sex worker could feel reluctant to state their services on a website as a result. In New Zealand, there is a sex work law that states that

“Despite anything in a contract for the provision of commercial sexual services, a person may, at any time, refuse to provide, or to continue to provide, a commercial sexual service to any other person... The fact that a person has entered into a contract to provide commercial sexual services does not of itself constitute consent for the purposes of the criminal law if he or she does not consent, or withdraws his or her consent, to providing a commercial sexual service”

(Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2003). However, sex workers in Canada do not have the same type of law in place since sex work is not acknowledged as a form of labour to begin with. As a result, not only might sex workers experience difficulty with being able to find a platform on which to advertise their services and restrictions, but they may experience pressure from client expectations even if they do find a platform and are able to advertise their services.

In this paper, I will try to explore more of client expectations of sex workers’ services, how these expectations are formed, and the impact of their expectations on sex workers. While research has already been done on clients’ emotional expectations of sex workers’ attitudes while providing services and the internal factors that form these expectations, this research will aim to explore the gaps in knowledge on the physical or procedural expectations of service and how these expectations can be formed by outside factors.

Chapter 4: Methodology

i) Utilizing an online discussion board

In order to learn more about client expectations of sex worker services and how these expectations are formed, I decided to review posts made by sex workers and their clients on an online discussion board. In particular, the online discussion board I will be using for this thesis is called TERB (Toronto Escort Review Board). This online discussion board is unique in that it is

meant to be a space for sex work community. On this discussion board, sex workers advertise their services, clients review sex workers and recount their experiences, and clients and sex workers communicate with one another. This specific site is primarily meant for the use of sex workers and clients within the Greater Toronto Area. I came across information about this specific discussion board from a friend who currently works as a sex worker.

There are several reasons why I chose to use an online discussion board as a source of data. Although I considered the possibility of recruiting sex workers and their clients for interviews, I decided not to go through with this idea because of the current sex work policy in Canada. Since buying sex is criminalized, requesting clients of sex workers to come forward and describe their experiences while admitting that they have purchased sexual services from sex workers could be invasive. I felt that clients would be understandably reluctant to agree to revealing their faces or voices to me in an in-person or video interview as this would sacrifice anonymity and create fear of risk for both legal and social repercussions. Sex workers could also have similar concerns because they could still suffer from social repercussions from being outed even if there would not be any legal consequences for admitting to selling sexual services.

Another route I considered taking was conducting interviews without having any direct contact with the individual so the person could remain completely anonymous. I could leave an anonymous survey or questionnaire open for anyone to fill out without revealing any personal information about themselves. Although I felt that this were a plausible option, I was drawn to the natural interactions taking place between clients and sex workers on the online discussion board. I felt as though having a set of predetermined questions for clients and sex workers to answer in a survey could be potentially limiting and restrictive. Online discussion forums have the benefit of allowing researchers to analyze the interactive nature of the posts because rather

than only responding to questions designed by the researcher, one can see the natural flow of conversation with back-and-forth responses between clients and sex workers. I believe this will be a benefit when it comes to answering my research questions as it will allow me to see how sex workers and clients view one another's expectations and beliefs around sex worker services. The back-and-forth responses between clients and sex workers will also allow me to better understand how client expectations impact sex workers. I felt that the ways in which clients and sex workers responded to one another's thoughts and perspectives organically within the online discussion board held valuable information that could not be obtained by asking a set of predetermined questions individually.

In addition, if I attempted to recruit clients and sex workers for interviews, I would have a self-selecting sample which could result in a biased sample of answers. In particular, I felt that individuals may be more likely to participate in interviews if they felt that their answers would be socially acceptable or they would feel pressure to provide answers that are considered to be socially acceptable if they were aware of being interviewed. This could be a barrier particularly for clients and sex workers who are already socially stigmatized. However, when reviewing data from this online discussion board, I could review data that would not be hindered by fear of societal judgement of the sex work community because the members are discussing topics with other members of the same community.

There may be benefits to obtaining data from an online discussion board, but there are also methodological and ethical factors to consider. One of the methodological considerations is the representativeness of the data sample. All of the individuals who are a part of the online discussion board would be part of a self-selected group. This is because not every sex worker and client within Ontario is a user of this online discussion board, and as a result, users of this

board would not necessarily be fully representative of the thoughts and perspectives of those who do not use this board. Even though there is unrestricted access to this discussion board (ie. anyone can make a free account and access all threads and post messages once they have created an account); not every sex worker and client in Ontario will be aware of this site or they may choose not to take part in it or not have access to a private internet or computer.

Another methodological concern is that one can not know for certain if the individuals posting in the discussion board are who they appear to be. For instance, someone could pose as a client and make a fake review about a particular sex worker when the person never actually purchased sexual services before. Although this will always be a possibility, I felt that for this specific discussion board, it is not as likely. My reasoning for this is that this discussion board is not one that is widely known and recognized by those outside of the sex work community. Unlike popular social media sites such as Facebook or Reddit, TERB is a site that is less known. In addition, the sex worker friend who shared this site with me told me that knowledge about this site is often only spread through word of mouth between members who are already part of the sex work community. For instance, my friend had been told about this site by the manager of her sex work agency, and this manager also would share it to new sex workers entering the industry. When I searched TERB on Google, there were only three sites that appeared - one was the website for the discussion board itself and the second was the official twitter page for it. On the other hand, when I google searched a well-known online discussion site such as Reddit, it resulted in hundreds of sites containing the name and connecting back to the site. I surmised that this meant a site like Reddit is not one that is kept niche for a specific community of individuals and is more likely to contain fake posts by users than a site like TERB which is primarily only known about through word of mouth between members who are already part of the sex work

community or planning to join it. When it came to identifying whether a user is a sex worker or a client, I was able to determine this by looking at the content of the post as well as reading their history of previous posts. Sex workers often also identify themselves as sex workers in their profile biography and include links to their sex work agency or independent sex work business or website. Although I was able to draw conclusions in this way, there is still a possibility that someone could have created a fake account. However, although there could be individuals who create fake posts pretending to be a sex worker or client when they actually are not one, I would also argue that even when it comes to recruiting participants for an interview, one cannot guarantee that the people that have been recruited are truly sex workers or clients. This is because it is highly unlikely that the researcher can obtain proof of this due to the illegal nature of sex work. It would also be unethical to ask for proof when any evidence provided could be used against them to result in negative consequences.

Another potential methodological drawback is that while I might be able to obtain information on factors such as age and ethnicity with an interview, I would not be able to do this when procuring data from this online discussion board unless they are mentioned somewhere within the posts. I would also be unable to ask any clarifying questions as I would be able to if I conducted interviews and were able to have a one-to-one interaction with each participant.

On top of these methodological considerations, there are also ethical factors to consider when it comes to obtaining data from an online discussion board. To begin with, I had to ensure that my research meets the ethical requirements of the Tri-Council Policy Statement for ethical conduct of research involving humans. Normally if my research does not meet certain guidelines, I would have to submit a form with information about my research for review to the ethics board. However, after some research I was able to determine that I do not require ethics approval for

this research method I will be using for my thesis because it uses secondary anonymous information that is publicly available online. All of the users use fake anonymous usernames or ‘work’ names (no legal names used) and anyone can gain access to all of the threads on the website by creating a free account. According to MREB guidelines,

“research that is non-intrusive, does not involve direct interaction between the researcher and individuals through the Internet, and where there is no expectation of privacy does not require REB review. REB review is not required for research that relies exclusively on cyber-material, such as documents, records, performances, online archival materials, or published third party interviews to which the public is given uncontrolled access on the Internet and for which there is no expectation of privacy” (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2018).

It states that there should be no expectation of privacy in the Terms of the online discussion board as well. Specifically, it states on the Terms that

“you further acknowledge and agree that all messages or content posted by You or others in any Chat rooms or public areas which may be provided on the Websites shall be deemed to be readily accessible to the general public and consequently should not be considered private or confidential. Consequently, You should not use the Websites for any communication which You intend only You and the intended recipient(s) to read” (“Toronto and Ontario Escort Reviews”, n.d.).

In order to be certain, I also contacted a member of the McMaster Research Ethics Board via email with information regarding my research and received confirmation that I will not need to submit a form for ethics review.

Even though my research passes ethical requirements stated by the Tri-Council Policy, there are measures I can take as a researcher in order to make my research more ethically responsible. One possible ethical issue I could run into is if the posts contain any type of identifying information that could compromise one’s personal identity. This online discussion board does not contain any legal names or home addresses but there could be information

including one's physical description (height, ethnicity, tattoos) and there could also be mention of a sex worker's 'work' name or the fake name that they use for the purpose of sex work. In these cases, I would anonymize this data by omitting this information when gathering data for the person's privacy and confidentiality. I will also not be using the post user's actual username even if the usernames are anonymous. Instead I can identify the users as "client A" or "sex worker B".

ii) Procuring data

In order to access all threads on the online discussion board, I first made myself a free account. After a day I was able to use this account to begin fully browsing through the site. As I began to use this online discussion board to find and procure data, I was able to utilize the search bar to my benefit. In the search bar I searched key terms starting with "expect", "expecting", "expectations", "etiquette", "rules" in order to find threads that were relevant to my research question about physical and procedural client expectations of sex worker services, how they are formed, and how they impact sex workers. From this search I came across numerous threads that contained relevant posts about client expectations. I specifically focused only on posts which were posted after 2014 which was when the current sex work policy law in Canada was enacted in order to remove the possibility of the data being influenced by a previous sex work policy that is no longer in effect.

After browsing through many threads about client expectations I was able to find common and recurring themes when it came to expectations such as expectations about refunds, disputes, screening, deposits, services such as PSE (pornstar experience) vs. GFE (girlfriend experience), and different expectations for independent vs agency sex workers. When I found

these common themes, I also put these into the search bar to obtain more information about these expectations. I was able to choose which posts to use as data based on if the information was unique and relevant to my research question (pertaining to the expectations clients have of the procedural or physical aspects of service). I eliminated posts that contained expectations of service if they were not unique because I had already collected data on the topic from a previous post or if the expectations were not on the procedural or physical aspects of the service. This means that I was focused on gathering data on the expectations clients had of refunds, physical sexual acts, rules of etiquette, and deposits but not aspects such as expectations of a sex worker's appearance or attitude. I also collected data pertaining to where these expectations stem from. I prioritized threads that had elaboration on why clients had the expectations they do. I also prioritized threads with a higher level of engagement between clients and sex workers with multiple members providing back and forth discussion. I obtained posts from discussion threads in the incall escort agencies review section, the outcall escort agencies review section, the independent escort agencies review section, the directory and classified listing reviews section, and a section called the lounge. In total, there were approximately 3,108,400 message posts in all of the sections put together. I primarily took data from the incall escort agencies review section which was the section that had the second highest number of messages after the section called the lounge (which was a section meant for discussions between members about anything and did not have to pertain to sex work). Out of all these messages, I chose approximately 140 message posts to use in my dataset. Although I sorted my data into tables by discussion thread so that each table contained message posts from a single discussion thread, I did not use all the message posts from each discussion thread and only included the relevant posts. Furthermore, although there were many posts that showed the same perspectives, I only chose one post as an example of

each perspective. For instance, although many different clients made separate posts expressing their expectation that sex workers' restrictions should not change, I only used one of these posts in my dataset (the one with most detail and back and forth discussion) in order to ensure I did not have too much data. In addition, I also only used the relevant lines from each message post where possible. Some message posts were several paragraphs long but I only used one line from the post. I felt that I had reached saturation with my data sample size once I had gained information on a variety of unique expectations and felt I had enough data to study and understand the implications of these expectations.

iii) Using Thematic Analysis

i) Generating initial codes

After procuring my dataset, I transcribed the data I had chosen from the online discussion board onto a Google document with a separate table for each discussion thread I used. I then used thematic analysis in order to analyze my data. Thematic analysis is a qualitative type of methodology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis allows one to identify, analyze, and report patterns or themes within a set of data while organizing the data with detailed descriptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In Braun and Clarke's model of thematic analysis, data is analyzed by generating initial codes across the entire dataset then collating themes for these initial codes. Initial codes refer to "a feature of the data...that appears interesting to the analyst, and refer to 'the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon'" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). The initial codes that I collated were points of interest that were relevant to my research questions. In order to determine what my initial codes would be, I read through each post in my dataset and generated

short descriptions of the findings that were relevant. For instance, after reading a segment in a client's post that described how the client was surprised when a sex worker did not allow the client to perform a specific sexual act on them when the sex worker had previously allowed the client to do so, I generated the following code: "client expectation of sex worker's restrictions to stay the same". I had to make interpretations of the data when creating initial codes particularly when the posts were nuanced. For instance, if a client wrote negatively about a sex worker specifically because of the restrictions or boundaries the sex worker enforced on their own services, I interpreted the language used by the client as a negative response to sex workers establishing boundaries and as a possible form of shaming.

ii) Generating themes

After generating initial codes for the dataset, I had to generate themes for these initial codes. A theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Themes are broader than initial codes and codes can be categorized themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). With thematic analysis, themes can be identified inductively or deductively/theoretically (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In an inductive approach, data would be gathered on a broad subject area and a research question would form during the process of coding the data and creating themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). On the other hand, the deductive/thematic approach allows the researcher to start with a research question on a specific topic and collect data relevant to it and create codes and themes that serve to answer the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In my research, I chose to use the latter approach because I wanted to answer my research question of the physical or procedural expectations clients have of sex workers, how these expectations form, and the impact these expectations have on sex

workers. Therefore, I collected data that answered my research questions deductively and I generated codes and themes relevant to those questions.

When using thematic analysis, the researcher must also decide between forming semantic or latent themes for a data set. When analyzing data at a semantic level, one must only identify themes from a surface level without interpreting beyond what has been said within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, when analyzing at a latent level, one must interpret the significance of the information in the data and form theories appropriately based on these interpretations (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As my research question focuses not only on what client expectations of sex workers and their services are but also how these expectations are formed and how these expectations impact sex workers, I had to delve beyond the surface level of the information. For instance, when analyzing a post in which a client describes a sex worker's services negatively, I had to interpret the significance of this post such as the impact of the client speaking negatively of the sex worker on the sex worker. This level of interpretation is at a latent level rather than a semantic level. In order to generate themes, I first created a list of all the initial codes that I had formed then searched for similarities and differences between them. From there, I grouped the codes into categories that I felt best described the codes or into categories in which the codes all had something in common. For instance, the initial codes "client expectation of sex worker's restrictions to stay the same" and "client expectation that sexual acts are continuous for full amount of time booked" would both fall under the theme "client expectations". I also had to interpret the significance of some of the initial codes in order to create some themes. From initial codes such as "conflicting expectations between clients" and "lack of clarity on how sex work agency will handle disputes" I created the theme "lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session" because I interpreted

both the lack of clarity on rules and confusion between clients on what should be expected as factors caused by unclear/nonexistent guidelines on sex work protocol.

Categorizing some of the initial codes under the theme “negative impacts of client expectations on sex workers” also required myself as the researcher to interpret the significance of each code. I interpreted pressure given by clients as a negative impact when the pressure involved making the sex workers do their work in a way that they would prefer not to. Pressure to have less restrictions or less rules was grouped under the theme of “negative impacts of client expectations on sex workers”. Similarly, negative impacts of poor client reviews on sex workers were also grouped under the same theme because they resulted in adverse impacts on the sex workers such as reduced clientele, pressure to provide refunds, being fired from a sex work agency, and pressure to have less restrictions. Organizing my codes into themes at a latent level through thematic analysis allowed me to achieve a broader understanding of the impacts of client expectations on sex workers and the different ways in which these expectations can affect a sex worker’s work life.

I chose thematic analysis as my methodology for analyzing my data because this method allows me to not only identify patterns in a dataset but to also interpret the potential significance of these patterns. There is minimal literature on the expectations client have of sex workers and the dynamic between these two groups and I wanted to have a deeper understanding of the understandings and expectations that they have created in the absence of regulatory laws for sex work as a legitimate form of work. Thematic analysis allowed me to identify whether there are similarities or patterns in the expectations that clients have, what these expectations are, how they are formed, and the impact they have.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

After analyzing my data using thematic analysis, I was able to generate the following themes: client expectations, how client expectations are formed, sex worker expectations, how sex work expectations are formed, sex work agency expectations, negative impact of client expectations on sex workers, and lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session. Within the large themes of “client expectations” and “sex worker expectations”, I created several subthemes. Under the larger theme of “client expectations”, I created the following subthemes: services (types of services, when they’re provided, who they’re provided to, how much they cost); deposits, screening, and providing payment; client reviews of services (and the role they play in forming client expectations); independent vs. agency sex workers (and how client expectations differ between them); and refunds/disputes. Under the larger theme of “sex worker expectations”, I created the following subthemes: services (types of services, when they’re provided, who they’re provided to, how much they cost); deposits, screening, and providing payment; client reviews of services (and sex worker expectations of the role they play in forming client expectations); independent vs. agency sex workers (and how sex worker expectations differ between them); and refunds/disputes. Due to the large amount and variety of different expectations, I felt that creating subthemes to categorize the expectations within the large themes of client expectations and sex worker expectations served to organize the data to make it more manageable. Multiple initial codes were categorized within these larger themes and subthemes. Table A on page 96 in the Appendix outlines the full list of themes and subthemes and the initial codes grouped under them. The next tables show the transcribed data from the discussion board and the corresponding codes and themes for each message post. Each table contains message posts from a different discussion thread. Above the table is the name of

the website section in which the discussion thread was posted. These tables can be seen after Table A on page 96 in the Appendix.

In my thesis, I aimed to answer the questions of what client expectations of escort sex workers' services and rules of engagement for services are, how these expectations are formed, and how these expectations impact sex workers. While coding my data, I came across multiple themes that were relevant to my research questions such as the themes "client expectations" and "how client expectations are formed". Through thematic analysis, I was able to gain a better understanding of client and sex worker expectations and by comparing and contrasting themes, I was able to learn how the themes related to one another. With my initial coding of the data set, I was also able to discover themes I did not expect such as the theme "lack of established rules/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session" and the subtheme "client reviews of sex workers (and the role they play in forming client expectations)" under the theme "client expectations". This section will serve to summarize my research findings, provide a discussion of the significance of the findings, and relate them to current literature. This section will also outline study limitations, suggestions for future research, and implications for social work practice and policy.

i) Client expectations

The large number of posts made by clients on the discussion board that addressed client expectations revealed that there were many different physical and procedural aspects of sex work services that clients not only desired but also felt they should receive as a matter of course. For every client expectation, there were also clients who disagreed with that expectation or had a

¹ In the following sections, there were multiple posts that illustrated the same theme; however, I will be selecting a limited number of posts to illustrate the different themes and subthemes

different expectation. However, I primarily focused on discussing the expectations that were repeatedly voiced by a large number of clients. For instance, numerous clients voiced their expectation on the physical aspects of a sex work session such as the expectation of having penile-vaginal intercourse with the sex worker. Many clients expressed that if penile-vaginal intercourse was not included during a paid session, the session would not be considered legitimate and would be a “scam”. Other expectations included having sexual activity be continuous throughout the amount of time that was booked for the sex work session and for sex work restrictions to remain consistent. There were also expectations around the specific types of physical sex work actions that a sex worker should provide for the client based on the name of the sex work session. For instance, a “PSE” (pornstar experience) session was expected to include actions such as BBBJ (bareback blow job / uncovered oral sex), DFK (deep french kissing), DT (deepthroating), and CIM (cum in mouth).

CLIENT F: “GFE is supposed to be a more passionate service while PSE is rather intense. There are a lot of speculations there. Speaking abbreviation language I would say that the minimal set for GFE is: DFK, DATY, BBBJ, CFS. Light front DIGITS, CIM, DT could be considered as a bonus. PSE include all above plus: DT, FF, CIM (or CIMS), COF, COB, intense DIGITS, some rough play. GREEK and rear DIGITS could be included or extra. However, it varies depending on the provider. There is not a reliable regulatory document for that”. (see Table 10)

Higher rates were expected to mean a wider variety of sexual acts offered. In particular, higher rates were often expected to mean “PSE” services were offered instead of only “GFE” services, and certain sexual acts were expected to be included as the bare minimum or ‘standard’. When expectations were not met, clients tended to describe the session as a “scam” and would expect a refund or compensation.

CLIENT A: “...she makes clear that she doesn't like kissing. This was a total surprise as the [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] site states GFE and PSE for [SEX WORKER A] (what a joke!) so I was expecting dfk or at very least lfk...Certainly [SEX WORKER A] is a scam artist advertising as GFE/PSE and [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] is not much better than your local pimp ripping you off once they have your money.” (see Table 5)

Table 6. CLIENT C: “My prob is I am seeing ads in the \$300 to \$500 range for limited GFE. As I stated no wonder faces are disappearing quickly these days. No one is paying \$300 to \$500 for limited GFE unless GFE is their thing. Once you get in that range it should be mostly PSE service. Hell DT and CIM are pretty standard these days or should be.”

Clients held the expectation that advertisements for sex workers created by the sex workers themselves or the agencies they work for should always state the services that are provided along with the restrictions. There was also the expectation that these services and restrictions should mostly remain the same and not change with each separate client or with each separate session.

CLIENT D: “there should be some clear, upfront and honest information about restrictions and upcharges (if applicable). Each SP/agency should be clear on what they consider to be GFE/PSE. Does GFE include COF? Does PSE include CIM? Answers to these questions should be clear.” (see Table 9)

There were also procedural aspects of sex work services that clients had expectations of. For instance, there were clients who had expectations around whether screening or providing personal identification to book a session was required, whether anyone could book a sex worker,

whether a deposit must be provided beforehand, and whether payment must be provided before or after the session. Some clients felt that sex workers should be expected to receive any clients that offer payment, whereas other clients felt that sex workers could be expected to refuse services to any client as long as they provided a legitimate reason. A large number of clients felt they should not have to provide deposits or personal identification for screening and they also had expectations around whether independent sex workers (sex workers who do not work under management) or agency sex workers (sex workers working under an agency) would be more likely to forgo deposits and screening.

CLIENT C: “You are not alone. A gent I'm working with on a long term project right now who we know each other both go to strip clubs and escorts time to time, brought this exact concern up with me in a chat - Enjoys Indy ladies but the screening process was limiting his choices. My only advice I could give him, I give to you. Perhaps it's time to refocus on finding your ladies of choice from agencies.” (see Table 20)

In general, many clients were in agreement that agency sex workers would be less likely to require deposits and screening in order to book them, would allow payment to be given after the session instead of before the session, and would have lower rates compared to independent sex workers. In contrast, independent sex workers were expected to have higher rates, more rules and restrictions, be more likely to require screening, deposits, and pre-payment, and to also be less reliable and unpredictable.

CLIENT B: “And of course there are awesome ladies on Twitter who post their awesome pics and videos almost every day but gosh they charge \$500 per hr at least and still being independent they may also be unpredictable in their behaviors...” (see Table 19)

CLIENT G: “CLIENT G: “In my case, I stopped seeing independent girls long time ago because their rates are not in my range. In addition, many indies appear to have a bunch of rules as you guys mentioned above such as sending advance deposit, sending photo ID (sound likes they are working for LE lol), sending email from work email, cancellation fees (1-way cancellation fee BTW lol), frequently being late with no respect of clients' time and efforts and etc. To me, it's not worth the RISKS of complying to these RULES and REQUIREMENTS. Simply enough, I have been using agencies which don't require any of the above things to reveal my TRUE identity or sending them deposit before seeing the girls.” (see Table 20)

CLIENT F: “Independent providers have more privilege of choosing who they see. There are screening requirements that hobbyist must pass in order to see a provider...It is a bit different for agency SPs and Spa MPs. They neither get to screen anyone nor have any idea who they're going to see.” (see Table 7)

Clients stated that they expected agency sex workers to be more reliable and trustworthy because they were held accountable by the agency they worked under. Clients expressed the expectation that if an agency sex worker failed to meet expectations, the agency would take action in response to client complaints or negative client reviews by compensating the client or penalizing the sex worker by firing them.

CLIENT B: “It sounds like she should not be in the business. But now, at least, she has a chance to defend herself, and maybe improve her services, quit, or [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] should fire her, if they care about their own reputation” (see Table 14)

CLIENT A: “stick to agencies. No agency girl will pull that kind of crap on you. She has too much to lose, and you have somebody to complain to re any mistreatment.” (see Table 17)

CLIENT C: “I've had bad experiences with escorts but they where independent, agencies have a reputation 2 protect and can't risk bad behaviour from there ladies.” (see Table 5)

This information indicated to me that client expectations played a role in how sex work agencies operate, and that a basic understanding of how sex work agencies are influenced by client expectations would also allow me to understand how agency sex workers would be impacted by their agencies as a result of client expectations.

ii) Sex work agency expectations

Sex work agencies appeared to be in agreement with the client expectation that sex workers should be fired or a discount/refund should be provided if clients complained or posted negative reviews.

SEX WORK AGENCY A: “[SEX WORK AGENCY A] cleaned up from anyone who was unreliable or getting poor feedback from our clients just prior to our annual gathering. We thought it was best to start the year with only the best roster available for our clients.” (see Table 15)

The exception to this seemed to be when clients were rude to the agency or if the client mistreated the sex worker or tried to get BBFS (bareback full service / penile-vaginal intercourse without a condom) from them before providing the negative review.

iii) Sex worker expectations

Overall, sex workers appeared to have different expectations of the physical and procedural aspects of service that they felt they should provide clients. In contrast to clients who expected ‘full service’ (penile-vaginal intercourse) each session or a discount/refund if it was not provided, many sex workers felt that they were not obligated to provide ‘full service’ in certain circumstances (such as if they felt the client’s genitalia was too large). Some sex workers also felt that they were not obligated to provide a refund/discount if ‘full service’ was not provided as long as other sexual acts had taken place.

SEX WORKER B: “If someone is let into my space, sees me nude and we fool around, including a literal penis in my mouth, but then your dick is too big for anywhere else?..Absolutely would not be handing any [MONEY] back. If not solely not for the fact I can still smell your balls on my face, but not knowing how management would handle it with me. Discounts should never come from the gals unless it’s a patter of missed apps or shifts - to which they pay their agency.” (see Table 2)

There were also sex workers who had different expectations from clients on what services should be expected with “GFE” (girlfriend experience) and “PSE” (pornstar experience) sessions. Although many clients seemed to agree that specific sexual acts are associated with either GFE or PSE sessions and that these sexual acts should be expected in a GFE/PSE session, some sex workers stated that they felt GFE/PSE sessions did not have any specific sexual acts associated with them and were instead about the style of interaction.

SEX WORKER B: “Any sp can provide the exactly same set of services and be considered GFE or PSE in their experience and execution.” (see Table 11)

Sex workers also disagreed with the clients' expectations that higher rates should mean a wider variety of services (or PSE services) being offered. Some sex workers felt that rates could be high for any number of reasons that had nothing to do with the number or type of services being offered. For instance, one sex worker stated that higher rates allowed her to see a smaller base of regular clientele and reduce the risks of seeing many new clientele.

SEX WORKER A: “There's numerous factors and I thought I would highlight some of them. Agency/Indy girl starts out \$200-\$250/h, she gets good reviews, offers a wide variety of services, gets super popular, phone blows up, can't keep up with demand, gets tons of no shows, cancellations, weirdos, some stalkers, some guys who are rough and hurt her, cause her problems etc. She still wants to stay in the business so she raises her rates, maybe she charges more for certain acts, or she has had problems after offering certain acts so she doesn't offer it anymore. She still gets a lot of inquiries and demand, and finds that she ends up spending more time on longer dates or with regulars than new guys, she doesn't need so many new clients so she raises her rates to get less new inquiries to lower risks and sees mostly people she knows.” (see Table 6)

Another expectation that sex workers had was that they should be able to refuse to see any clients for any reason and that this reason should not have to be provided (although some sex workers felt the reason should be provided as a courtesy).

SEX WORKER A: “escorts reject clients all the time. Age Restrictions, race restrictions, weight restrictions, screening, deposits only, etc, etc. The list goes on. That is not even getting into hygiene issues, rude behaviour, boundary pushing, etc...it is not fair to say that

every client that sees an SP is paying to not be rejected. The purpose of seeing an escort is to get bust a nut and get some companion.” (Table 7)

Sex workers held the same expectations as clients that independent sex workers would be more likely to screen clients before booking a session than agency sex workers.

SEX WORKER B: “I felt more secure working as an independent than working for any agency. I would have thought that these agencies screen the clients properly, and don't send you to potentially dangerous clients, but it didn't look like they did any sort of due diligence, the only thing that mattered was the money for them. The fact that I could do a better job of screening clients for myself as an indy than these agencies could with their own management staff who only had this one job to do, is a scathing indictment for them” (Table 18)

iv) How expectations are formed

When researching how client expectations are formed, I found that when it came to forming expectations of the physical aspects of a sex worker's services, clients tended to rely either on the reviews posted by other clients or the information provided in the advertisements for the sex worker. On the other hand, when it came to clients' expectations of the procedural aspects of a sex worker's services, clients sometimes formed expectations based on the rules and protocol for other types of services such as food services, on their own need for security, or on existing laws. However, while analyzing posts relevant to how client expectations are formed, it soon became apparent to me that these methods that clients relied on to form their expectations came with flaws.

Relying on client reviews to form expectations appeared to come with multiple problems. Although clients reminded one another to “do research first” (Table 4, CLIENT B) by reading other client reviews before booking a sex worker in order to know what to expect from them, other clients stated that client reviews are not always accurate and that “most girls can’t live up to [the] hype” (Table 21, CLIENT B) created by positive client reviews. Those who formed expectations on a sex worker’s services based on the positive reviews by other clients would sometimes be angry or disappointed when they did not have their expectations met. As a result, they would post a negative review just because their high expectations were not met even if they did not have a negative experience and may otherwise have been satisfied if they had not formed their expectations based on other client reviews.

CLIENT A: “ I was super hyped with all the fab reviews and experiences. But it was a very so-so experience only. As I was walking back to the parking lot, I was cursing myself for that spend!” (see Table 21)

Clients who were aware of this phenomenon advised other clients to not base their expectations on reviews.

CLIENT C: “That's why you should always clamp down on very high expectations based on what others have said. If you go in simply expecting a fun time with a good looking woman you'll rarely be disappointed. If you go in expecting fireworks from moment 1 you'll probably be let down” (see Table 21)

During my research, another issue that I found arose from clients forming their expectations based on client reviews was that sometimes the services sex workers offered varied depending on the client. Even if one client had received a specific sexual service and wrote a

review detailing their experience, this did not mean that another client would also receive that sexual service. This was alluded to in several posts and referred to as “YMMV” (your mileage may vary), a term which suggests that the type and amount of sexual services you receive can be different from what another client receives. The sex worker may also no longer offer the service that a client described receiving in a review or simply not offer the service on specific days depending on how the sex worker feels.

CLIENT A: “Some girls/agencies say check the reviews but (1) Reviews can be incomplete/inaccurate/BS (2) Many services are YMMV or (3) Girl may have changed what she offers. Got into a spat when I asked one SP about a service she no longer offered, citing a former review, and she let me have it (She had a dangerous/traumatic experience once so I understood and tried apologizing to no effect).” (see Table 17)

There were also clients who formed their expectations based on the services listed in advertisements, but this also led to conflict in some cases. For instance, an advertisement may state that a sex worker provides a PSE session but because clients and sex workers/sex work agencies had different expectations of what a GFE/PSE session entailed, client expectations were unmet and led to a negative review. In other cases, the agency stated in the advertisement that a sex worker provides a GFE/PSE session even if the sex worker did not like to provide a specific sexual service that clients typically associate with a GFE/PSE session. As a result, the client did not receive that specific service even if it was advertised due to a disagreement or miscommunication between the agency and agency sex worker on what services were expected to be provided.

CLIENT A: “We then move to the bedroom and as we start snuggling and discussing what I would like she makes clear that she doesn't like kissing. This was a total surprise as the [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] site states GFE and PSE for [SEX WORKER A] (what a joke!) so I was expecting dfk or at very least lfk” (see Table 5)

In addition, sex work agencies were found to be limited in how detailed they could be with describing which services are offered by each sex worker due to Bill C-36 which prohibits the advertising of sex work services to everyone aside from the sex workers themselves who are allowed to advertise their own services. As a result, even if sex work agencies may have wanted to provide a more detailed list of services and restrictions, they may have been forced to use vague abbreviations and acronyms instead.

CLIENT E: “In theory no agency is allowed to do that. It's a violation of the Criminal Code provisions against 3rd party advertising of another person's sexual services. Agencies that make such information available are potentially leaving themselves open to legal trouble. Some risk it; most don't” (see Table 9)

CLIENT A: “My only gripe with them is that it used to be a lot easier to determine who provides the more interesting/kinky side of things, but since C36, they have removed that layer of detail from the site (used to have a fetish listing) and they have been much more reluctant to recommend someone when I contact them” (see Table 15)

Some clients attempted to avoid the false expectations that can be created from client reviews or advertisements by contacting the sex worker directly to ask them about what specific sexual acts they offered or basing their expectations on their own previous experiences with the sex worker. However, the same issues seemed to arise in that the sex worker could promise

specific sexual acts beforehand or have provided them to the client before but not be able to do so anymore due to changes in circumstance during the session such as experiencing pain or bleeding.

When it came to clients' expectations of the procedural aspects of sex work services, clients often compared their expectations to the expectations they had of other services. For instance, the expectation some clients had of providing payment after a session as opposed to before the session was compared to paying for a meal at a restaurant after the client was done eating. Clients who expected sex workers to provide services to any paying client compared their expectation to the expectation of not being refused service by a stylist at a hair salon or a gynecologist. Some other clients and sex workers disagreed with these expectations and felt that sex workers' services should not be compared to the services provided in other industries.

CLIENT G: "I never drop down the money up front unless the girl asks. The ones that do not ask never complain at the end when I pay them...and its not in an envelope either. Its like going to a nice restaurant, when you could dine in, eat first, pay later." (see Table 12)

CLIENT H: "It's not at all like going to a restaurant because you aren't putting your dick in anybody's orifices. A girl risking a client running away without paying is not only a monetary loss, it is a self esteem issue and rape. You cannot compare the two of them, if you dine and dash, you are hurting the restaurant \$40 or so; nothing else. A girl sucking and fucking has a lot more to lose than just money." (see Table 12)

Table 7. CLIENT H: "Girl's body - girl's choice... sure... until she chooses to make profit from it. I will try to make last attempt to relay what I meant all along. Imagine going to a hair salon. You arrive and service is refused. If a reason given is a fever, cough or absence

of a face mask and business in mandated to enforce masks, then a reason for service refusal is clear. Once you're healthy or have a mask on, you may enter and receive service. However, if a service is refused just because, then you'll have a sour taste in your mouth and some may voice their opinions in a negative manner. How about going to a doctor? Let's say gynecologist. You visit a doc once, but on your second visit a service is refused without much explanation given. How would you feel?"

CLIENT J: "It may be a mindset ingrained in our society. For instance, if I were to refuse to serve someone because I had a bad feeling about them, I could very well be dragged through court for discrimination. It's generally frowned upon to deny service unless the customer is blatantly be threatening or posing a health risk to me. Obviously escorting is slightly different, and more personal. I personally think *any* business or service provider should be able to deny service for any reason, but I don't think a human rights tribunal would agree with me! Lol" (see Table 7)

Another procedural expectation clients had of sex work services was the expectation of being able to book a sex worker without having to provide deposits and screening information such as personal identification. This expectation was formed based on their knowledge of current laws. In one discussion thread that I analyzed, clients discussed how independent sex workers were all beginning to make screening and deposits a requirement for clients who want to book a session with them and how they felt they should not have to due to Canadian laws criminalizing the purchase of sex.

CLIENT B: "As the law in Canada as is now, the situation should be the reverse, as all legal burden is on the client. I would recommend a hard stance boycott against the practice and take those providers who corner the non deposit market." (see Table 20)

Whereas client tended to form their expectations on the physical and procedural aspects of the services sex workers provide based on client reviews, advertisements, their own desires, other services, and the law, sex workers' expectations seemed to be formed primarily based on their needs for safety, comfort, and privacy. For instance, sex workers held the expectation that they should be able to change their restrictions or the services they offered whenever they wanted to (even though clients often expected their restrictions or services to stay the same) because it could cause them physical pain or discomfort to keep their services and restrictions consistent everyday for every client.

SEX WORKER A: “As previously mentioned, breasts change over the course of a woman’s monthly cycle and therefore just because I said yes I enjoy you sucking my boobs one day doesn’t mean next week when my period is about to come I will feel the same” (see Table 1)

SEX WORKER A: “sometimes after she's gotten fed up with being hurt or a guy causes something like a serious injury, BV, STD, yeast infection etc, she may not want to offer that service anymore.” (see Table 6)

Sex workers' expectations of being able to refuse service to any client (with or without a reason being provided to the client) were formed based on their need for privacy, safety, and comfort. For instance, one sex worker stated that she would not see clients over a certain age because she hosts sessions in her own apartment and would not be able to explain an older client coming into her apartment suite if her neighbours saw.

SEX WORKER C: “At my home incall, you have to be between a certain age. But hotel incalls have a wide range. I still won’t see anyone to young but I have a lower threshold in a

hotel. Reason - I can't explain a 27 year old coming to my home. But I don't have to worry in a hotel.” (see Table 7)

Another sex worker explained how she may refuse a client even after she originally agreed to see him if he showed up on her doorstep but had a cough or fever because she would not want to risk getting sick. Other sex workers spoke about how they would refuse to provide services to clients even during the middle of a session for other factors as well such as having any visible sores or signs of infection on their genitalia or poor hygiene. These expectations were formed based on their desire for safety and comfort. Clients would also be refused service or made to leave in the middle of a session if they were rude because rudeness could be an indicator for potential aggression and pose a safety risk. Sex workers who felt they should not be expected to provide the reason for declining service stated that they felt it could be unsafe for them to do so.

SEX WORKER B: “Unfortunately with unstable people, explaining that a vibe is off is a dangerous thing in itself for a SW. He could try booking under a different name/number and become violent. It is honestly safer for a SW to just ghost a texter/caller than is giving off weird vibes, or come up with random excuses.” (see Table 7)

Sex workers' expectation that clients should be screened before before booking a session was also formed based on the need for safety (although this expectation was primarily voiced by independent sex workers, not agency sex workers as the sex work agencies did not make screening a requirement for clients). Independent sex workers expressed that they screened clients when possible in order to reduce the risk of getting hurt or robbed by clients and one sex

worker outlined the multitude of negative experiences she and other sex workers had experienced that made them feel it was necessary to make screening a requirement for booking.

SEX WORKER D: “Of course you can turn down a guy ...theres some men that are beyond unstable out there and just flat out problems waiting to happen. If im getting naked with a guy and putting myself in a vulnerable position risking my life from abuse or physical harm. your darn right im screening to the max to make sure I know if were a good match or not . If guys want it easier call an agency.” (see Table 7)

SEX WORKER A: “there's been a lot of messed up stuff going on that is also causing girls to worry about their safety and longevity in the business. Here are some things that have actually happened:

Other indy sps fake booking appts to other indies

Other indies getting their clients to fake book other indies

Blacklisted guys using text apps to try and book SPs that have repeatedly said no

Client robbing SP after insisting being the last appt of the night

Client asking for outcall and filming provider without her knowledge to post online

Client attacking SP during call and violently assaulting her

Client drugging SP and raping her during call and taking off after she's passed out

Client raping MP at the spa during work hours

Client asking for an outcall and giving fake buzzer information and SP goes to leave and an abduction is attempted outside the lobby when a bunch of guys get out of a car and chase her

Well known terb clients demanding BBFS in session

Well known term clients showing signs of STDs in session and wanting BBBJ to proceed
Clients expecting PSE services turning rough on SP and injuring them insisting they squirt
on demand over and over again (this is happening weekly)

Clients doing Greek being super rough and injuring provider

Clients pushing boundaries and making providers cry during session not listening to no”
(see Table 6)

v) Lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session

One key aspect that I noticed about these client expectations was that while there were many clients who shared similar expectations, there were also clients who disagreed with these expectations or had different expectations of their own. Many clients would form expectations based on client reviews because they did not know what to expect while some others would form their expectations based on vague advertisements, on the expectations they had of non sex-work related services, or on their own personal desires. Client expectations would also often be in direct conflict with the expectations that sex workers had of the physical or procedural aspects of the sessions they provided (although there were also clients in agreement with the expectations of sex workers). Sex workers themselves also sometimes had different expectations from one another. This difference in expectations was significant because I found that these differences in expectations would often be the root of the arguments or conflict between clients and sex workers that I found on discussion threads.

The difference in expectations also indicated to me that there were no overarching rules, procedures, or protocol that every sex worker and agency followed and that these varied depending on the sex worker, agency, client, and session. A client’s understanding that there are

no overarching rules, procedures, or protocol to be expected from all sex work services and sessions and the client's acceptance of whatever rules, procedures, and protocols are provided for each separate session could mitigate some of these conflicts. However, an examination of clients' posts indicated that most clients booked each session with a preconceived notion of what was to be expected physically and procedurally of the session and were disappointed whenever these expectations were not met. When clients expressed their disappointment by posting negative reviews, they often spoke as though their expectations were part of an overarching established list of rules/protocol that everyone knew and was expected to follow, even though this was not the case (as demonstrated by the responses from sex workers who disagreed with them).

Table 11. CLIENT A: "This is not limited to TERB members. Anyone (SP's or Clients) who has been around this industry in the last 15 years or so, or any client that has booked an SP through some sort of online ad should be and is well aware of these acronyms and that they are associated with which experience. Ever since the birth and boom of online ads originally started with Craigslist and then onto Backpages I would say around 2005, SP's and agencies have been advertising GFE, PSE and even SAFE GFE and the clients know which acronyms and services apply to which category. Even prior to C-36 all were able to even advertise every single service they provided...As I said earlier whether it's a client or an SP whose definition differs from that posted above, they are either wrong or doing it purposely."

There were also clients who stated that they held expectations around what services should be provided but acknowledged that the services offered could vary depending on the sex worker and that there was no regulatory document that sets expectations of rules, procedures, and protocol about sex work services/sessions.

CLIENT F: “...it varies depending on the provider. There is not a reliable regulatory document for that” (see Table 10)

During my analysis, I found that there were multiple cases in which conflict arose between clients and sex workers when unexpected situations occurred during a sex work session. Due to a lack of established protocol for how to handle these situations, clients and sex workers had different expectations of what should occur. Clients who did not have their expectations met posted negative reviews of the sex worker. In one situation, a client’s condom fell off during penile-vaginal intercourse between the client and sex worker, causing the sex worker to panic and worry that the client may have removed the condom intentionally. Since the sex worker was unable to see whether or not the condom had fallen off by accident or been removed intentionally by the client, she chose not to proceed with the session for her own safety and peace of mind. She had also been concerned about STD transmission. She made the client leave approximately 25 minutes before the end of their appointment time. The client was frustrated and expected a refund of \$225 whereas the sex worker felt that a refund of \$100 was more appropriate for the situation. When the sex worker did not refund the requested \$225, the client wrote a negative review of the sex worker (see Table 3). In this situation, there was no protocol outlining how to proceed when a condom comes off unexpectedly. There was also no protocol for refunds in the event of a condom falling off and the client being made to leave early when the sex worker is unsure if the condom was removed intentionally. Since there were no pre-established rules or procedures for these types of situations, the sex worker and client had to negotiate with one another to come to an agreement on how to handle the issue afterwards. This ultimately led to the sex worker being pressured to provide a larger refund than she was comfortable with and the

client writing a negative review of the sex worker when she did not provide the refund he felt he deserved.

In another situation, a sex worker began to bleed during penile-vaginal intercourse with a client and had to end the session early. The client expected to receive either a refund or a continuation of the session on another day. The sex worker, on the other hand, felt that because she had already provided all of the physical services she would normally provide to the client before she ended the session, she was not required to provide him a refund. She also offered to continue the session until the end by providing a handjob to the client (not penile-vaginal intercourse due to her injury) but the client refused. The client, unhappy that he did not get what he had expected, wrote a negative review of the sex worker warning all other clients to avoid her (see Table 4). Again, this would be another situation in which an unexpected situation occurred but because there was no protocol for how to proceed in this situation, the sex worker and client had to negotiate with one another in the moment to come to an agreement and this led to conflict. These conflicts may potentially have been avoided if there were already protocols put in place that both the client and sex worker were aware of before the start of the sex work session. That way, if an unexpected situation did occur, there would already be procedures outlining how to proceed so that there would not have to be conflict arising from negotiation. There would also be less chance of a sex worker feeling coerced or pressured by a client during the negotiation process.

vi) Negative impacts of client expectations on sex workers

During my research process, I came across multiple examples of how client expectations resulted in negative consequences for sex workers. Due to clients forming expectations of the

physical and procedural aspects of a sex worker's services based on other client reviews, abbreviations used in advertisements, and their own desires, their expectations would at times be in conflict with the expectations that sex workers had. When clients felt that their expectations had not been met, some of them would post negative reviews of the sex worker on the discussion board. When it came to the physical and procedural aspects of a sex worker's services, most often, sex workers would be criticized for their restrictions, for not providing enough "PSE" services, and for requiring deposits/screening/pre-payment. Not only did some clients feel they were justified in criticizing sex workers for these factors, but they also felt that it was expected that sex workers should experience a decrease in clientele as a result.

CLIENT G: "If as [SEX WORKER A] pointed out, a lady decides to restrict certain services, that's her right / choice. But expect (1) some complaints about others providing more for the same price and (2) a possible decline in patronage as guys choose someone else who does offer the desired services, especially if it's at the same or lower price point". (see Table 6)

Due to clients' reliance on reviews to form expectations about a sex worker's services, a negative review would decrease a sex worker's clientele. Conversely, a positive review could potentially increase the sex worker's clientele. Well-reviewed sex workers were not only seen as being more likely to provide good services but also of being more reliable and trustworthy.

SEX WORKER A: "But it's true, verified from an SP myself. The more reviews they get, the higher status they become. One SP was practically begging me to review her so she could earn more money lol" (see Table 14)

CLIENT C: “She's been on my "AVOID" list for over 2 years ! Lots of poor, restrictive reviews ...” (see Table 4)

CLIENT B: “It always helps to do research first” (see Table 4)

As a result of the review-focused culture for setting expectations existing within this sex work community, reviews played a large role in the dynamic between sex workers, clients, and sex work agencies. Due to the awareness within this community that reviews can play a large role in forming expectations about a sex worker’s services, some clients would leave a negative review when their expectations were not met. At times, clients would use negative reviews to pressure sex workers into providing services that meet their expectations or to punish sex workers who did not meet these expectations. Sex workers would also change the physical or procedural aspects of their service to meet client expectations even if this was outside of their comfort zone due to their fear of receiving negative reviews.

SEX WORKER A: “I take my business extremely seriously, so when I considered that maybe it was an accident I offered you a refund and then after you asked for more money I explained my rates the way I do, you persisted so I took time to think and realized you were taking me for a ride and I accepted the fact you would post a negative review because you didn't get your way. And I was right.” (see Table 3)

SEX WORKER A: “From the SPs perspective... from what I've heard in group chats a lot of new ladies are scared to ask for the money [UPFRONT] or touch the envelope if they work for an agency and just pray that the money is there. They can be super worried about reviews and how they will be perceived by the board if someone complains.” (see Table 13)

Not only did sex workers experience pressure from the clients themselves, but agency sex workers also experienced pressure from the agencies they worked for. In order to meet client expectations, some sex work agencies would fire sex workers who received negative client reviews and pressure sex workers into providing services that met client expectations even if the sex workers did not feel comfortable providing these services. In particular, there appeared to be a pressure to provide PSE services to meet client expectations and demand.

CLIENT A: "Interesting to see how most [INDEPENDENT SEX WORKERS] are charging higher than agency prices now with very limited service. Who is paying for this crappy service? Anyone know if any sp's still offer DT with CIM or PSE services for that matter?" (see Table 6)

CLIENT C: "I am reading the reviews and I can see that. No wonder most of these new faces are disappearing quickly. Still looking for an sp that provides DT with CIM or PSE services. Just gotta keeping reading ads and reviews I guess lol" (see Table 6)

Sex work agencies that became aware of this client demand for PSE services would pressure agency sex workers into providing PSE services. Some of these sex workers who encountered clients that expected PSE services described the pain they endured due to this expectation. The negative experiences they had with providing PSE experiences made some of them not want to offer the services anymore but feel pressure to continue providing them due to client expectations and pressure from their agencies. Even sex workers who received positive reviews from clients for providing a wide range of services including PSE services experienced problems because of the high expectations clients had due to these reviews. The sex workers felt pressure to continue providing these same services even when they no longer wanted to because

they felt they had to continue to meet the expectations clients formed after reading positive reviews. Some of these sex workers would feel unable to continue meeting these expectations and demands.

SEX WORKER A: “Please also keep in mind that many agencies hiring new SPs want them to all offer a wide PSE menu so they make the most money possible, regardless if the SP likes it. So sometimes after she's gotten fed up with being hurt or a guy causes something like a serious injury, BV, STD, yeast infection etc, she may not want to offer that service anymore” (see Table 6)

SEX WORKER A: “Agency/Indy girl starts out \$200-\$250/h, she gets good reviews, offers a wide variety of services, gets super popular, phone blows up, can't keep up with demand, gets tons of no shows, cancellations, weirdos, some stalkers, some guys who are rough and hurt her, cause her problems etc.” (see Table 6)

SEX WORKER A: “Clients expecting PSE services turning rough on SP and injuring them insisting they squirt on demand over and over again (this is happening weekly)” (see Table 6)

Clients' expectations that they should not have to provide screening information and that agency sex workers are less likely to require screening in order to book their services had the negative impact of making sex workers vulnerable. Although many sex workers wanted to be able to screen clients for their own safety, only independent sex workers had the ability to do so because sex work agencies tended to not make screening a requirement. However, although independent sex workers were able to request screening, they also experienced a decrease in clientele because clients did not want to provide screening and independent sex workers were

seen as less trustworthy compared to agency sex workers. New sex workers that did not yet have client reviews to prove their trustworthiness would go work in agencies to gain a clientele base but would also experience less security and more pressure from the agency to provide services outside of their comfort zones in order to meet client expectations.

Although it is important to note that some client expectations were aligned with the expectations of sex workers and did not appear to have any negative impacts on them, other expectations negatively impacted sex workers financially, physically, and mentally. In my data, sex workers mostly responded to client expectations that were in conflict with their own expectations. In these responses, sex workers discussed how these client expectations impacted them in negative ways and I was able to analyze these responses to gain a better understanding of the impact of client expectations on sex workers. I was also able to interpret the ways in which client expectations impacted sex workers by analyzing the content of clients' posts. There were clients that had the same expectations as sex workers but sex workers did not respond to these expectations by discussing how they impacted sex workers in a positive way. Instead, sex workers mostly responded to these comments with agreement but not a discussion on the impact that these client expectations had on them.

vii) Overview: connecting the themes

My analysis of my data was from a sex-positive feminist perspective so I sought to understand client expectations of sex workers in order to improve the working conditions of sex

workers. I did not write from a neo-abolitionist feminist perspective which would encourage the abolition of sex work altogether by criminalizing sex work which I felt was a paternalistic and patriarchal way of controlling what women do with their bodies. Even in many countries where sex work has been criminalized or partially criminalized like Canada, sex work continues to exist (Platt et al., 2018). Moreover, these laws that criminalized sex work resulted in having negative consequences on sex workers (Platt et al., 2018). I found this to be the case in my research findings as well. My analysis of my data led me to conclude that the sex work community that is a part of this discussion board had developed its own culture and expectations in the absence of a legal regulatory body. This culture and these expectations had negative consequences for sex workers and I will be exploring these expectations and the harm they cause sex workers in this section.

In Canada, sex work is criminalized and there is no formal labour framework to regulate it (Bill C-36, 2014). In addition, Bill C-36 has prohibited communication for the purchase of sexual services and the advertisement of sexual services by anyone who is not the sex worker themselves (Bill C-36, 2014). This was reflected in the way that sex work agencies that advertised services were vague in their descriptions of what services are offered and the lack of known or established protocol or procedures for sex work services. As one client described, “there is not a reliable regulatory document” [Table 10, CLIENT F] that outlines the rules, procedures, or services that one can expect when entering a sex work session. This lack of information made clients rely on client reviews to form expectations around what to expect of a sex worker’s services. This gave reviews a lot of power and gave power to clients during negotiations because they could threaten to post negative reviews if their expectations were not met which could result in the sex worker losing clientele and potentially getting fired (if they

worked for an agency). Clients also relied on advertisements even if these advertisements were vague about services and procedures.

Every sex worker and sex work agency appeared to have different rules, procedures, and services, but not all of this information was made available. Sex work agencies may have been less likely to make this information about the sex workers they manage available due to Bill C-36 which criminalizes the advertisement of sexual services by a third party and criminalizes third parties (such as sex work agency managers) profiting off sex workers. My findings suggested that independent sex workers had more freedom to advertise the specific services they offer and publicize their rules and restrictions (possibly because they could make their own rules as independent contractors without managers and because sex workers are legally allowed to advertise sexual services as long as it is their own services they are advertising). However, although independent sex workers were able to provide a more detailed list of their services, rules, requirements, and procedures, this ended up deterring some clients from trying to book their services because they did not want to have to abide by certain requirements. In particular, clients expressed their preference in booking agency sex workers over independent sex workers because they did not want to send deposits or screening information which independent sex workers often required. Sex workers and clients tended to have conflicting expectations around screening/deposits due to the risks involved for both sides.

Sex workers expected clients to send personal identification for screening when booking a session with them because of safety reasons. One sex worker spoke of how clients that had been blacklisted could “use text apps to try and book SPs that have repeatedly said no” [Table 6, SEX WORKER A] or how clients had raped or assaulted other sex workers she knew. Screening provided a means for sex workers to reduce risks to their safety when booking clients.

SEX WORKER D: “If im getting naked with a guy and putting myself in a vulnerable position risking my life from abuse or physical harm. your darn right im screening to the max to make sure I know if were a good match or not” (see Table 7)

For clients, however, providing their personal identification to sex workers posed a legal risk due to the criminalization of the purchase of sexual services under Bill C-36. Clients were reluctant to provide screening because they did not want to risk being exposed and charged for a criminal offence, and felt they could not trust sex workers to keep their information confidential. One client felt that rather than the client being screened, the sex worker should be screened instead because “as the law in Canada is now...all the legal burden is on the client” [Table 20, CLIENT B] since clients are criminalized for purchasing sexual services but sex workers are not held criminally liable for selling their own sexual services. Due to the conflicting expectations between clients and sex workers about screening, clients seemed to settle for alternative solutions; namely, booking agency sex workers (since they generally did not require screening to book).

CLIENT E: “Luck [LACK] of information leads to trust issue from both sides. From monetary perspective, client risks cash while SP risks lost potential income. From safety perspective, SP risks physical safety while client risks potential blackmail. Solution? Brothels, or, as the second-best, agencies” (see Table 20)

Clients expressed their preference for booking agency sex workers over independent sex workers because of their expectation that agency sex workers would not require screening and because of their expectation that agency sex workers are more trustworthy and reliable since they are held accountable by the agency they work for. Sex workers who had experienced working

both as agency sex workers and independent sex workers stated that they preferred working independently because they wanted to be able to screen clients and felt that agencies did not provide enough security. However, if sex workers worked independently and made screening a requirement for booking, clients would be less likely to request their services because clients expected independent sex workers to be less reliable and because many clients did not want to be screened. Another reason why sex workers said they preferred to work independently was due to the pressure agencies placed on them to provide services that met client expectations such as PSE services. When client expectations were not met and agency sex workers received negative reviews instead, these sex workers would be fired from the agency.

SEX WORKER A: “agencies usually offer less security unfortunately, since they don't actually care about the girls who work for them, they only care about the money. They put my life and the other girls who worked there lives at risk basically every day, and would get angry at us if we expressed feeling unsafe...” (see Table 18)

Clients often relied on reviews by other clients to form expectations of a sex worker's services. As previously stated, this is likely due to the lack of information available on the rules, services, and protocol about sex workers' services (particularly agency sex workers) because of Bill C-36. Clients also tended to carry the expectation that client reviews are accurate and reliable, although some clients felt that reviews could not be trusted.

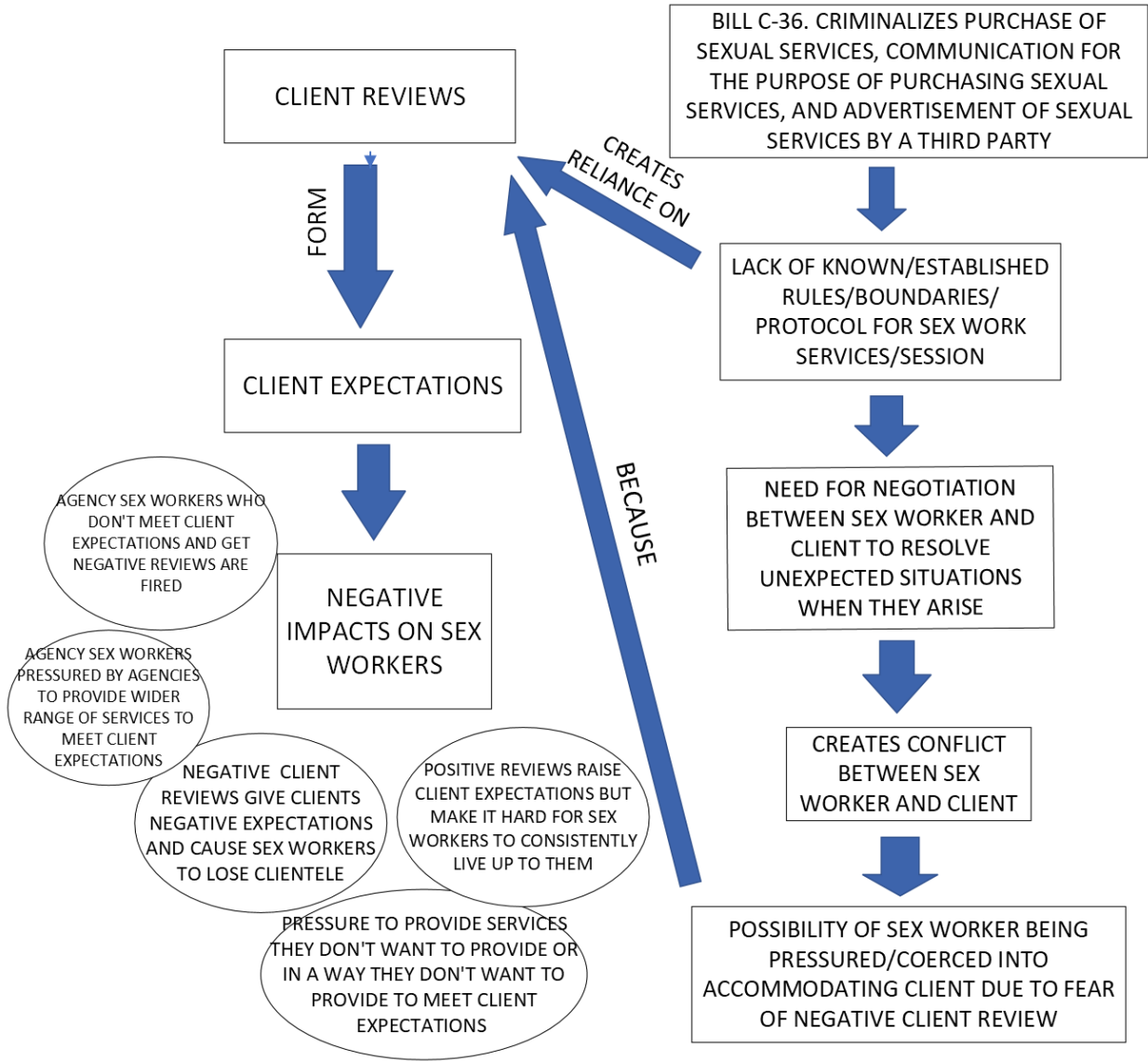
CLIENT E: “The whole reason for having a review board is exactly because you don't know what services to expect from each provider.” (see Table 8)

Due to the large role that client reviews played in forming expectations of a sex worker's services for other potential clients, a lot of pressure seemed to be placed on sex workers to

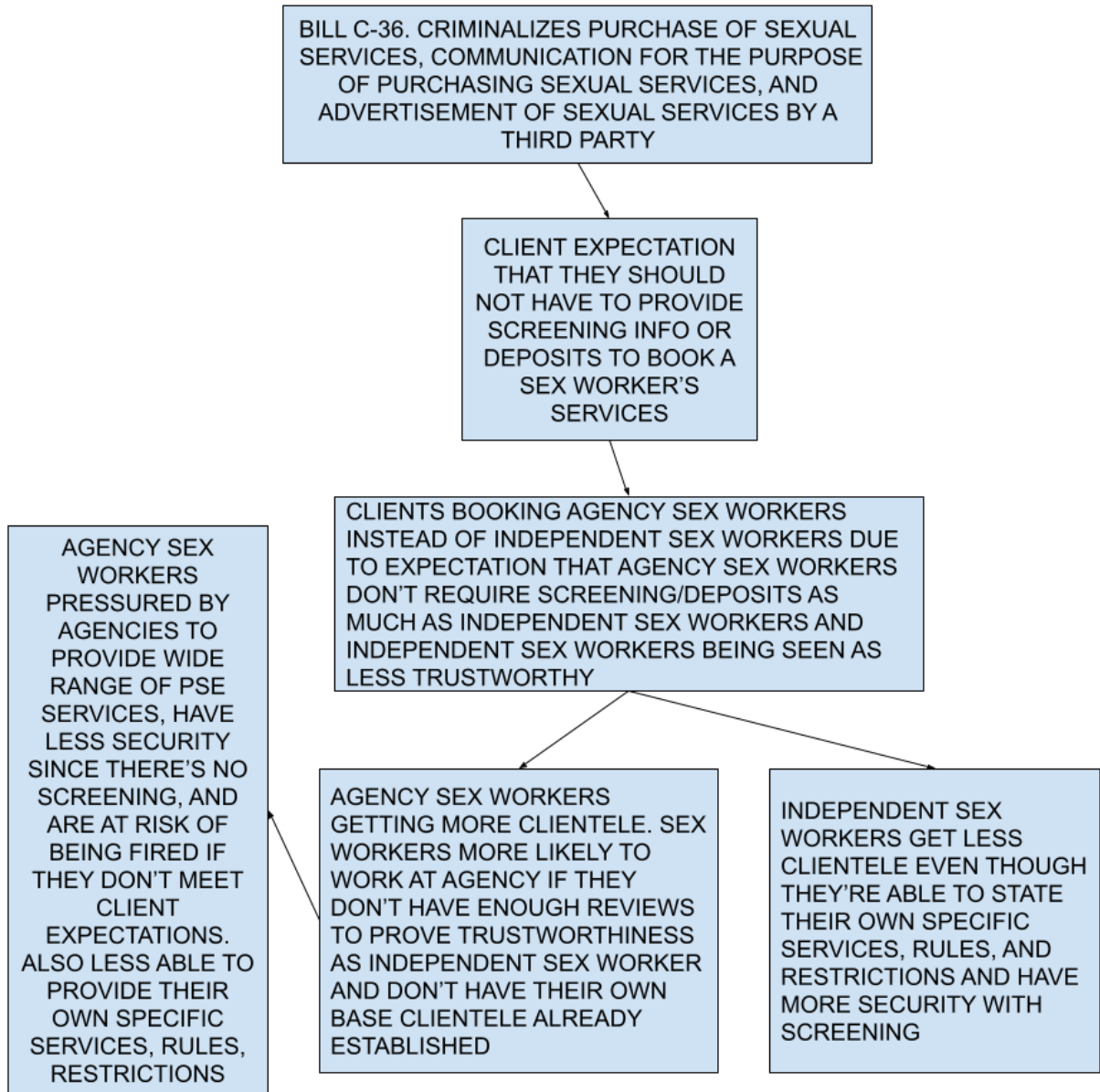
receive positive reviews. Aside from the pressure agency sex workers received from agencies, posts also indicated that sex workers experienced significant pressure from the clients themselves due to both positive and negative reviews. When sex workers received positive reviews for providing a wide range of services, new clients would expect the same services to be provided to them based on these reviews. Sex workers spoke about how this situation made it difficult for them to keep up with client expectations and demand and feel pressure to continue providing services that they no longer wanted to provide. Eventually, they would no longer be able to continue providing these services to everyone each session. Clients who booked sessions with sex workers because of the many positive reviews they received posted about how they were disappointed after their experience and had higher expectations based on the reviews. Negative reviews resulted in a loss of clientele and a corresponding loss of income.

I created two flowcharts to visually show a brief overview of some of the main themes, conflicts, and relationships between them. To create more concise flowcharts, not all themes and subthemes were included.

FLOWCHART 1:



FLOWCHART 2:



My data led me to believe that the current sex work policies in Canada under Bill C-36 are one of the root causes of clients forming expectations that had negative impacts on sex workers. Bill C-36 appeared to be part of what led to the lack of known or established

rules/boundaries/protocol on the physical and procedural aspects of sex work services and this led to clients' reliance on reviews and other means to form expectations. Since these expectations were not managed by a regulated labour framework or set of established rules, boundaries, or protocol on sex work services, some of these expectations ended up causing harm to sex workers.

Another part of the reason why there may have been a lack of known or established rules/boundaries/protocol on the physical and procedural aspects of sex work services could be that each individual sex worker or agency had different rules, boundaries, and protocol for the services they provided. The data and posts from sex workers suggested that there were no overarching rules or protocol that applied to every sex worker and agency, even if some clients believed there were. However, even if there were no overarching rules, sex workers and agencies could have chosen to make their own set of rules, boundaries, and protocols and provide them to clients. Despite this, the confusion between clients and conflicting expectations between clients and sex workers remained which led me to believe that clients were not always made fully aware of these rules, boundaries, and protocol before entering sex work sessions. If clients were made aware and had to agree to these terms of service before booking a sex worker's services, there may have been less arguments on how to proceed when unexpected situations occurred because the terms of service would have outlined how to proceed. The fact that these rules, boundaries, and protocol around physical and procedural aspects of services were not always made available suggested that in some cases, namely for agency sex workers, this was not possible due to Bill C-36. Clients' posts also suggested that this lack of information provided about the physical and procedural aspects of sex workers' services was due to Bill C-36 as well. Although independent sex workers were known to be specifically outline their rules, boundaries, and protocol (because

they were not prevented by Bill C-36 from advertising their own services), clients were less inclined to book them because they often made screening a requirement. Independent sex workers with many positive reviews may still receive bookings but many new sex workers who have not yet received client reviews may be forced to begin working in agencies in order to build their credibility. Consequently, these sex workers would also be forced to experience the difficulties that came with working at an agency such as less security and more pressure from the agency to provide PSE services to meet client expectations. By preventing the establishment and communication of formal rules, boundaries, and protocol and by criminalizing clients and making them reluctant to provide screening information to sex workers, Bill-36 has ended up posing a barrier in creating a safer working environment for sex workers.

CLIENT E: “Someone who knows you already or believe in your goodwill through other people comments should have no problem with it [PROVIDING SCREENING INFORMATION/DEPOSITS]. Someone who is new to lobbying will have a problem. So, basically, same reason why you would accept a booking from someone with good reputation without deposit but may ask for as deposit and/or references from an unknown client. Luck [LACK] of information leads to trust issue from both sides. From monetary perspective, client risks cash while SP risks lost potential income. From safety perspective, SP risks physical safety while client risks potential blackmail. Solution? Brothels, or, as the second-best, agencies.” (see Table 20)

SEX WORKER A: “This is a very valid concern on both sides which I don't think there is a perfect solution for - just based on what the provider is comfortable with based on her personal experiences and what the client is comfortable with based on their personal

experiences. I think reviews and reputation are paramount when deciding whether to go with a booking - regardless of deposits or information required.” (see Table 20)

The findings from my data reflect the potential merits of having a formal labour framework in place for sex workers. Having basic overarching rules, boundaries, and protocol for the physical and procedural aspects of sex work services could provide safety and security for sex workers and improve their working conditions. Not only would this help manage unrealistic client expectations but it would also decrease client reliance on reviews for setting expectations and decrease the power clients have in negotiations. Some procedural rules that could be put in place could include having screening information from clients be made mandatory and having the purchase of sex work be decriminalized so that clients are able to provide their information without fear of legal repercussions. This could protect sex workers by reducing the risk of booking clients who are blacklisted or have a history of assault, robbery, or rape. In addition, having payment be provided upfront at the start of a session rather than at the end of the session put in place could reduce the risk of non-payment. Other rules could include protocol for refunds and discounts, rules for services and restrictions, as well as protection laws in place that prevent sex work agencies from firing sex workers for refusing to provide certain sexual services or for withdrawing consent. An overarching rule that states that not all services are expected and restrictions can change and consent can be revoked at any time could protect sex workers from being pressured by clients or sex work agencies into providing services that they are not comfortable with. Currently, sex workers risk non-payment from clients because there are no rules in place that require clients to pay before the start of a session. In addition, the lack of protective rules that allow sex workers to change their services and restrictions makes it possible

for clients to pressure them into providing services that they do not want to provide or demand refunds if the services they expected were not provided (even if other services were).

SEX WORKER A: “From the SPs perspective... from what I've heard in group chats a lot of new ladies are scared to ask for the money [UPFRONT] or touch the envelope if they work for an agency and just pray that the money is there. They can be super worried about reviews and how they will be perceived by the board if someone complains.” (see Table 13)

CLIENT A: “...she promised me we'd do 'everything'. Things started out okay but when she heard another customer come in through the front door, she quickly finished me with her hand. Unfortunately, I had stupidly broken my rule and paid her in full before the session started. I was really ticked off and demanded a partial refund. She refused. I insisted once again only this time in a very 'emphatic' way and she reluctantly gave me back \$60.” (see Table 23)

CLIENT A: “When she sees me, she tells me I am too big for full service...I ask her if we could try full service, and she agrees to try.” (see Table 2)

CLIENT A: “She makes clear that she doesn't like kissing. This was a total surprise as the [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] site states GFE and PSE for [SEX WORKER A] (what a joke!) so I was expecting dfk or at very least lfk...I get out of the shower and mouthwash and again move to try and touch/kiss and she pushes me away saying I need to 'respect her boundaries'.” (see Table 5)

In New Zealand, sex workers operate under a formal labour framework with an overarching rule in place that they “may, at any time, refuse to provide commercial sexual

services, even if they entered into a contract to provide those services." (van der Meulen, 2012, p. 155). New Zealand sex workers have described how rules like this have protected them from pressure from clients and stated that “[clients] know we have labour rights and we will use them against them if they don’t behave themselves” (Armstrong, 2021, p. 948). This is an example of the establishment of rules, boundaries, and protocol working in a sex worker’s benefit.

Clients in New Zealand were also aware of the rules, boundaries, and protocol for sex workers’ services and New Zealand because they were formally established under a regulated labour framework (Mower 2020; Armstrong, 2021). The findings of my research suggested that clients were not completely aware of the rules, boundaries, and protocol or had conflicting expectations amongst themselves and with sex workers because they were not legally established. This lack of known or established rules, boundaries, and protocol about sex work services and sessions led clients relying on client reviews and having more power over sex workers in negotiations. Research has found that having a lack of power in a transaction could result in the need to “give into pressure to earn money and/or de-escalate hostility” (Donato, 2020) and this was the case in numerous examples in my research findings when sex workers were forced to provide refunds and discounts and a wider variety of sexual services. However, the establishment of rules, boundaries, and protocol and other workplace rights for sex workers in Canada may increase the power sex workers have over clients in negotiations because they could use their workplace rights to their advantage when protecting themselves.

Chapter 6: Limitations

In this section, I will discuss some of the limitations of my research findings. Many limitations of my research method were outlined in the methodology section but this section will provide a brief overview of limitations in my overall findings. One important limitation to consider which was previously discussed is that all of the client expectations that I found were on this online discussion board which has its own culture. This means that the client and sex worker understandings of sex work services within this online discussion board community may not extend to clients and sex workers outside of the community. Although the online discussion board, TERB, appears to have many active users and posts, not every client and sex worker within the Greater Toronto Area may use or be aware of this site. This means that any terminology that is used or expectations that are well known amongst Terb users may not be as prevalent among clients and sex workers that do not use Terb and would negatively impact the generalizability of my data.

CLIENT F: “What [CLIENT A] is attempting to provide is the language and meanings commonly familiar, and used by the members of the TERB community to identify services. These may not accurately correspond to any outside definitions and meanings, but they are a part of our language and have been for years.” (see Table 11)

Another limitation of my study which I also previously mentioned in the methodology section is that there is no way to be certain whether the users are who they claim to be. Users that post while claiming to be clients or sex workers may not actually be who they say they are. Furthermore, there were a very large number of posts and discussion threads and I was only able to read a relatively small portion of these posts for my research. Consequently, my data may not be fully representative of all client expectations. Although I did my best to gather as much unique data as I could about client expectations of the physical and procedural aspects of sex

workers' services by using the online discussion board's search bar, I may still have missed some of these expectations by not thinking of enough key terms to use in the search bar. The search bar function itself may not provide all of the data reliably. Additionally, my data may not be generalizable or transferrable to transgender sex workers because of the relatively small number of discussion threads on the online discussion board that specifically discuss transgender sex workers.

There are also limitations in the conclusions I have drawn from my findings. I hypothesized that the establishment of a legal regulated framework for sex work services with a set of rules, boundaries, and procedures could protect sex workers from harmful client expectations. This hypothesis was formed based on my interpretation of the data. However, the ways in which I interpreted data as a researcher cannot be free of all biases and subjectivities as I recognize that I may carry my own beliefs which may influence the ways in which I interpret and analyze information. Even though I have hypothesized from my analysis that the establishment of a formal and regulated labour framework with rules, boundaries, and procedures would improve the work environment of sex workers, there is no way to guarantee that this would prevent the negative impacts of client expectations. It is also uncertain what sex workers' positions on this topic would be in the Greater Toronto Area and whether they would agree that the establishment of rules, boundaries, and procedures would improve their work environment. This is why future research is integral in order to further the understanding of this topic.

Chapter 7: Areas for Future Research

Areas that could be researched in the future to build upon these research findings and further the understanding of sex workers' work environments include researching how client expectations may be different for clients that do not utilize online discussion/review boards. Not only might these clients have different expectations altogether but they may also form expectations in a different way if they do not rely on client reviews. Another area that could be further researched would be the perspectives of sex workers in Ontario on how they believe the establishment of a set of rules, boundaries, and protocol for the physical and procedural aspects of sex work services would impact them and which rules, boundaries, and protocol they believe would improve or worsen their working environment.

Chapter 8: Implications for Social Work Practice and Policy

Having an understanding of sex workers, their work environments, and how they are impacted by clients and current social policies is important for social workers. It is the role of social workers to support individuals to the best of their ability and when it comes to sex workers, knowledge of sex workers' work environments can contribute to a social worker's ability to provide quality care. Understanding the different factors that impact sex workers such as client expectations, client reviews, sex work agency expectations, and Bill C-36 can allow social workers to provide better support for sex workers in numerous areas including safety planning and goal setting around these factors. Expanding conceptualizations of sex work as a legitimate form of labour can play an important role. By understanding the ways in which sex work currently functions as a form of labour without a regulatory framework and

conceptualizing how it could function differently with regulation in place can help to reduce stigma and garner acknowledgement for sex workers and their rights.

It is also critical for social workers to have an understanding of how social policy impacts individuals and communities and advocate for change when they cause harm. The findings from this study challenge the notion that the current social policies in place protect sex workers. Instead, these findings suggest that they may actually be increasing the risk of harm to sex workers and making them more vulnerable to client expectations and demand. The results of my study corroborate other research studies that have been done which have shown evidence of the negative impacts that sex work criminalization has on sex workers and indicate that further investigation into Bill C-36 is critical.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis sought to explore clients' expectations of the physical and procedural aspects of sex workers' services, how these expectations are formed, and their impact on sex workers. Through thematic analysis, my research was able to uncover some of the ways in which client expectations are formed and how they play a role in a sex worker's work environment. My findings highlighted the importance of client reviews within this online discussion board community in the absence of established rules, boundaries, and procedures that would normally operate within a formal labour framework. Client reviews served to not only form client expectations but also created a power dynamic in which clients held power with their reviews. My findings also brought into question the current Canadian policies on sex work which reduced the ability of sex workers and sex work agencies to communicate about specific sex work services and prevented the formal establishment of overarching rules, boundaries, and

procedures that clients could base their expectations around instead of reviews. As those in the social work field, we must continually examine our systems and policies critically in order to ensure that we are always providing the best possible care, particularly for vulnerable, marginalized, or stigmatized populations. Further research into this area is needed and it is my hope that my findings can add to the current body of knowledge on the topic of sex work and serve useful for any other students or researchers interested in studying this topic in the future.

APPENDIX

Glossary

BP = Backpage. Website.

BBBJ = bareback blow job. Oral sex without a condom.

BBFS = bareback full service. Penetrative penile-vaginal intercourse without a condom.

CBJ = condom blow job. Oral sex with a condom.

COB = cum on breasts.

COF = cum on face.

CIM = cum in mouth.

CIMSW = cum in mouth and swallowed.

DATY = dine at the Y. Cunnilingus.

DFK = deep French kissing. Deep kissing using tongue.

DIGITS = fingers in vagina.

Dom = dominant play.

Facial = cum on face.

FF = face fucking. Penetrative sex performed on sex worker's mouth.

FS = full service. Penetrative penile-vaginal intercourse.

GFE = "girlfriend experience"

Greek = anal sex.

Hobbyist = client.

Indy = independent sex worker.

LFK = light French kissing. Light kissing using tongue.

LL = LeoList. Website.

MP = massage parlour sex worker

PSE = “pornstar experience”

Rimming = Oral sex performed on anal sphincter.

SF2 = shower for two. Client and sex worker showering together.

SP = service provider. Escort sex worker.

SUB = submissive play.

YMMV = your mileage may vary. Some clients may receive a wider range of services than others.

Tables

Table A

Themes	Initial Codes
<p>Client Expectations:</p> <p>1) services (types of services, when they're provided, who they're provided to, how much they cost)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of 'full service' each session -client expectation that sexual acts are continuous for full amount of time booked -client expectation of specific sexual services included in the cost of a 'standard' session -client expectation of specific sexual acts not included in the cost of a 'standard' session -client expectation of sex worker's restrictions to stay the same -client expectation of receiving all advertised services -client expectation that the specific services provided are directly related to price of session -client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation that higher rates should mean sexual acts associated with PSE provided -client expectation that specific 'PSE' sexual acts should be 'standard' -client expectation that safe GFE/GFE/PSE sessions come at specific price points -client expectation that higher rates should mean wider variety of sexual acts provided -client expectation that quality of services provided are dependent on client attitude towards sex worker -client expectation that higher rates should mean better service -client expectation that services provided for specific rates dependent on sex worker

-client expectation that higher rates don't guarantee specific services

-client expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be similar to expectations for other services

-client expectation that if sex workers impose certain restrictions, sex workers should expect complaints from clients and a decrease in clientele

-client expectation that sex workers accept all clients

-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason

-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason as long as the reason is provided to the client

-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept a client depending on the situation and as long as the reason is provided to the client

-client expectation that sex workers refusing to accept a client could be seen as discriminatory

-client expectation that sex workers who refuse to accept clients should expect negative reviews

-client expectation that the specific services offered by a sex worker may not be outlined in their ad

-client expectation that the price of a session usually includes the cost of all individual sexual services

-client expectation that some sexual services may cost extra on top of session cost

-client expectation that advertisements for sex workers should contain information on specific services provided

-client expectation that sexual services provided vary depending on sex worker

-client expectation that sex worker trying to clarify service expectations is an attempt at lowering client expectations

-client expectation that advertisements for sex workers should contain information on

<p>2) deposits, screening, and providing payment;</p>	<p>specific services provided -client expectation that sex workers provide information on what specific services they will offer prior to booking session</p> <p>-client expectation that new clients of a sex worker should pay in full at or before start of session but regular clients can pay at the end -client expectation that clients should pay after the session -clients expectation that clients should pay in full at or before start of session -client expectation that sex workers should be able to make quick correct visual judgement to determine if a client will refuse to pay -client expectation that sex workers should not count payment in front of client -client expectation that sex workers should be able to count payment in front of client -client expectation that they should not have to provide personally identifying information for screening when booking a sex worker -client expectation that they should have to provide screening/deposits when booking a sex worker if requested -client expectation that deposits/screening should be expected from those who are new clients but not regular clients -client expectation that they should not have to provide screening/deposits when booking a sex worker</p>
<p>3) client reviews of services (and the role they play in forming client expectations)</p>	<p>-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker's service -client expectation that sex workers can't live up to high expectations created from positive reviews -client expectation that reviews are not true indicators of sex worker's service -client expectation that well-reviewed sex workers are more trustworthy than sex workers with few/negative reviews -client expectation that TERB clients may have different expectations from non-TERB</p>

<p>4) independent vs. agency sex workers (and how client expectations differ between them)</p>	<p>clients</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation that sex work agency will respond to negative client reviews -client expectation that sex work agency will fire sex worker based on negative client review -client expectation that sex work agency will provide compensation for negative client review <p>-client expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation that sex workers working under agencies are more reliable / trustworthy than independent sex workers -client expectation that agency sex workers are held accountable by sex work agency -client expectation that agency sex workers less likely to require screening than independent sex workers -client expectation that agency sex workers won't ask for money upfront but independent sex workers will -client expectation that independent sex workers have more rules/requirements
<p>5) refunds/disputes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of refund if not given 'full service' each session -client expectation that you can't get refund if session has already begun taking place -client expectation of refund if made to leave session before end of booked amount of time -client expectation that you take refunds you are offered and not try to negotiate -client expectation of refund if sexual acts not continuous for full amount of time booked -client expectation that sex work agency takes the side of the client over the sex worker in disputes -client expectation of refund if expected sexual acts not delivered -client expectation of refund if their personal expectations of services are not met -client expectation of receiving

	refund/discount from sex work agency if they give a negative review
How Client Expectations Are Formed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with sex worker -client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with other sex workers -client expectation formed based on previous experiences with sex work agency -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal view of the role of sex workers -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires/feelings -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal opinion -client expectation of rules/services formed based on advertisements for sex workers -client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews -client expectation of rules/services formed based on understanding of other non-sex work services -client expectation formed based on fear of getting robbed -client expectation formed based on need for discretion -client expectation of refund amount formed based on money spent by client and minutes of session booked -client expectation of refund formed based on whether session met personal expectations -client expectation of refund formed based on what they feel will provide best possible outcome (not what they feel they deserve) -client expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws -client expectations formed based on discussions with sex workers
Sex Worker Expectations	
1) services (types of services, when	-sex worker expectation that they can refuse

<p>they're provided, who they're provided to, how much they cost)</p>	<p>to see any client for any reason</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that they can refuse to provide any type of service during session -sex worker expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be different from expectations for other services -sex worker expectation that no refund is required if 'full service' is not provided but other services are -sex worker expectation that client can be made to leave early if sex worker injured during session -sex worker expectation that full service not required if client genitalia is too large -sex worker expectation that seeing a smaller base of regular clientele with higher rates reduces risks to sex worker -sex worker expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be different from expectations for other services -sex worker expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be similar to expectations for other services -sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason -sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason and that the reason does not need to provide the reason to the client -sex worker expectation that no services are guaranteed and whether or not the sex worker provides the service is dependent on client's qualities -sex worker expectation that they should cancel appointment before client arrives to see them -sex worker expectation that they can cancel appointment when client arrives at door -sex worker expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation that clients should not assume specific services will be offered to everyone (YMMV)
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that clients will have expectations for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation that clients should pay in full at or before start of session
<p>2) deposits, screening, and providing payment;</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that they need to screen clients for their privacy and safety -sex worker expectation that clients less willing to pay higher rates will also be less willing to agree to screening -sex worker expectation that clients provide a deposit/screening when booking a session
<p>3) client reviews of services (and sex worker expectations of the role they play in forming client expectations)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that positive client reviews will increase the sex worker's clientele -sex worker expectation that positive client reviews will increase the sex worker's rates -sex worker expectation that sex workers should not get a negative review for refusing to accept a client -sex worker expectation that well-reviewed sex workers are more trustworthy than sex workers with few/negative reviews
<p>4) independent vs. agency sex workers (and how sex worker expectations differ between them)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers -sex worker expectation that working for a sex work agency offers less screening/security
<p>5) refunds/disputes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that refund should be given if sex worker cancelled a session -sex worker expectation that no refund is required if client mistreated sex worker or tried to have BBFS without permission -sex worker expectation that no refund is required for making client leave before end of session if all services for the booked session time have already been delivered

<p>How Sex Worker Expectations Are Formed</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation formed based on need for discretion -sex worker expectation formed based on physical comfort -sex worker expectation formed based on own safety/health -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences -sex worker expectations formed based on desire to avoid chance of non-payment -sex worker expectations formed based on experiences of other sex workers -sex worker expectation formed based on desire to avoid subpar experience for client -sex worker expectation formed based on their comfort level -sex worker expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws -sex worker expectation of refund amount formed based on rate structure, travel time, and accommodation -sex worker expectation of rules/services formed based on understanding of other non-sex work services
<p>Sex Work Agency Expectations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex work agency expectation that no refund is required if client mistreated sex worker or tried to have BBFS without permission -sex work agency expectation that no refund is required if client was rude to sex work agency -sex work agency expectation that they should offer to fire sex worker or provide discount/refund for negative client review
<p>Negative Impact of Client Expectations on Sex Workers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker shamed with negative client review for not meeting their expectations -sex worker shamed for establishing boundary -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions -sex worker pressured by client -sex worker pressured by sex work agency -sex worker shamed for trying to manage client expectations -sex workers having rules that are not aligned with client expectations is seen as a scam

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker threatened with negative reviews when they refuse to accept a client -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost potential clientele) -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to have less restrictions) -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency) -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to provide refund if client expectations not met) -agency sex workers pressured by sex work agency to have less restrictions due to client expectations -sex workers shamed for establishing rules not aligned with client expectations
Lack of Established/Known Rules/Boundaries/Protocol for Sex Work Services/Session	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -conflicting expectation between client and sex worker -conflicting expectations between client and sex work agency -conflicting expectations between clients -lack of clarity on how sex work agency will handle disputes

Table 1: Escort & Massage Reviews

DATA EXTRACT	INITIAL CODES	LARGER THEMES
<p>CLIENT A (post about sex worker A): “Her attitude is hit and miss. Sometimes she’s bang on, but other times she could be bitchy and her limits are randomly ridiculous (one time she wouldn’t even let me touch her t**s)”.</p> <p>“The first session was okay, and she let me suck her t**s. Then when I tried to suck them during the second session, she was like, ‘No, just touch.’ Then at a future session, she didn’t even want me touching them. It was weird. It’s like her restrictions fluctuate”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of sex worker’s restrictions to stay the same -client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with sex worker -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal opinion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -lack of established/known rules/boundaries/p protocol for sex work services/session -client expectations -how client expectations are formed

<p>SEX WORKER A: “As previously mentioned, breasts change over the course of a woman’s monthly cycle and therefore just because I said yes I enjoy you sucking my boobs one day doesn’t mean next week when my period is about to come I will feel the same. Consent is revokable at anytime during intercourse and you should not shame women for establishing a boundary based on their own body”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -conflicting expectation between client and sex worker -sex worker expectation formed based on physical comfort -sex worker shamed with negative client review -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions -sex worker shamed for establishing boundary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -negative impacts of client expectation on sex worker -sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed
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Table 2. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A (post about sex worker A): “When she sees me, she tells me I am too big for full service. I ask her if I could have my donation back and would be on my way. She smiles and declines. Well I think let’s make the most of it. First, she only LFKs, and DATY is not offered. She starts to give me a BBBJ, and it is mediocre. Not a lot of pressure and she seems uninterested. I ask her if we could try full service, and she agrees to try, takes a bottle of lube and puts lube all over including up to her upper thigh. Strange, but whatever. I have never encountered that and it doesn’t look attractive but whatever. Full service does not work out, and I end up asking to finish with BBBJ. I have to take another shower because the taste of lube bothers her. After around, maybe 45 seconds, she tells me she is tired and asks if I can do it myself. I end up blowing my load”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of ‘full service’ each session -client expectation of refund if not given ‘full service’ each session -sex worker expectation that full service not required if client genitalia is too large -sex worker expectation formed based on physical comfort -conflicting expectation between client and sex worker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session -client expectations -sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed
<p>CLIENT B: “Absolutely garbage that should not have happened. Clearly she was well aware from the get go it wouldn’t work and any sensible and respectful sp would have given you it back. [Sex worker A] unfortunately is not sensible nor is she worth the time of day for the matter. Even prior to this she was regarded as one of the worst reviewed sp’s on this board. That happen to me with a few girls over the years...But there were never any issues with any of those girls in the exact same situation. Her; sorry your too big, here is your money back. Me; I understand, it’s all good have a great day. That’s how she should have handled it but she clearly lacks the professionalism and decency to do so. I would be more inclined to give her the benefit of the doubt if it were not for the fact that she literally has had nothing but bad reviews”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of refund if not given ‘full service’ each session -client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal opinion -client expectation of rules/services formed based 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers -client expectations -how client expectations are formed

	<p>on previous experiences with other sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker shamed with negative client review for not meeting expectations 	
<p>SEX WORKER B: “As someone who managed an ‘agency; for a couple months, it’s true there are always complaints. People love reviewing shit and now if it involves their dicks AND wallets? Messsssy!! For this story at the time I was management, working in person, and after I had a date, due to wrap up phones for the day. Here we go!</p> <p>My guest leaves, after I had just raised his dick like the Undertaker...15 minutes later a complaint rolls in...about me. Details a very different experience than what occurred. I HR Replied it no prob. His body/my job/my bad. Who am I to doubt someone’s interpretation’s of time spent!!</p> <p>Books another gal with a discount on the house. Complaint rolls in! She kicked him out early! She immediately sends me a brief video where you can hear him thanking her, from the shower in her room. It was exactly 5 mins til EOS – standard exit timeline. This time, I replied signing off as management with my name and we never heard from them again.</p> <p>With regard to the dick size stuff and not ending up with FS, and thinking a discount is fair (from an SP perspective). If someone is let into my space, sees me nude and we fool around, including a literal penis in my mouth, but then your dick is too big for anywhere else?...Absolutely would not be handing any [MONEY] back. If not solely not for the fact I can still smell your balls on my face, but not knowing how management would handle it with me. Discounts should never come from the gals unless it’s a patter of missed apps or shifts - to which they pay their agency. I wanna note I have zero clue on who or how this agency operates. A good booker will keep record so that your next session will meet your needs! It’s discovered quickly who can get the job done for our well endowed kings”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -client expectation of receiving refund/discount from sex work agency if they give a negative review -conflicting expectation between client and sex worker -client expectation of refund if not given ‘full service’ each session -lack of clarity on how sex work agency will handle disputes -sex worker expectation that no refund is required if ‘full service’ is not provided but other services are -sex worker expectation formed based on physical comfort -sex worker expectation that refund should be given if sex worker cancelled a session -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to provide refund if client expectations not met) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session -negative impact of client expectations on sex worker -client expectations -sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed
<p>CLIENT C in response to SEX WORKER B: “Sadly no such Bookers these days. Perhaps you are the last of your kind. And no, bookers don’t track and give you back owed discounts. Most have no idea on how to manage disagreements...I agree. If the session is full on, then one can’t expect money back..”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -lack of clarity on how sex work agency will handle disputes -client expectation that you can’t get refund if session has already begun taking place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -lack of established/known rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session -client expectations

Table 3. Independent Escort Reviews

<p>CLIENT A (about SEX WORKER A): “We did doggy for a few minutes and at one point I looked down to pull my dick out. When I pulled it out I noticed the condom was gone and I said ‘oh shit!’ She turned around and saw it and had her mouth open. I then saw her face change in a matter of seconds which concerned me greatly as this sweet happy go lucky girl turned into something else. ‘OMG OMG DUDE WHAT THE FUCK?!?’(she never did bother to learn my name). She was visibly panicked and angry and I was there as still as a statue with my mouth open because A) I started to worry if I might catch an std and B) the hostility that suddenly came bursting towards me. Her and I began to look for the condom as she’s saying ‘oh no oh no oh no what the fuck. Dude, this is not cool what you did’. It was not on the bed or floor. I asked ‘maybe it’s in you?’. She let out a scream with her mouth closed and hitting the top of her head with her hands as she pounded her feet to the bathroom. It was incredibly unprofessional and unattractive. I still couldn’t believe it. I got up when she came out and asked her if it was in there. And she said yes that it got stuck. She then asked me ‘has this ever happened to you?’ And I said ‘no, you?’ And she said ‘no’. She’s still pacing around though and she says ‘dude you need to leave NOW. There’s only 15 mins left anyways.’</p> <p>My internal clock felt off. 15 mins? Really? My phone was in my jacket pocket and I just wanted to get the hell out of there before she got more hostile, so I didn’t check. As I was getting dressed(very quickly I might add) I looked at her across the room with a look that said ‘you little scammer-you know it wasn’t my fault’ and did not utter one word. It left a very bad feeling in the pit of my stomach. I walked out and started to head home. When I got home I got a text from her saying ‘oh sorry I was wrong we still had a half hour left’. According to the text message timing it would’ve been only 25 minutes I was in there but okay. ‘I’m going to give you a refund for the time lost’. Why didn’t she give it to me when I was in the room with her getting dressed?</p> <p>I wrote back to her telling her ‘sure I’ll take the refund and that there are no hard feelings’ and it was a ‘pleasure to meet her-it was too bad what happened-the condom (hers put on my dick by her-didn’t put this in the message) was probably just the wrong size-the incident just really ruined the mood’. I mentioned to her I’ve been abstinent since my last gf in sept which was long term (we lived together actually) and have been tested so I know I’m clean. I asked her if she’s been tested recently for sure as I was worrying myself.</p> <p>Anyways an hour or so goes by and no response. I’m getting ready to go out and meet a friend for New Years so I prompt her ‘btw you can just send the refund for half of a one hour apt via etransfer to my email’-which I gave her.</p> <p>The next day, I get a text back that says ‘I can’t do that. If I do an etransfer to you, my identity will be open, everyone will find out who I am and there is a stigma against what I do. Only two options-cash or an amazon gift card. And I would only</p>	<p>-client expectation of refund if made to leave session before end of booked amount of time</p> <p>-client expectation of refund amount formed based on money spent by client and minutes of session booked</p> <p>-conflicting expectation between client and sex worker</p>	<p>-lack of established/ known rules/boundaries/p rotocol for sex work services/session</p> <p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
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be refunding you \$100. Take a look at my prices again. Half hour is 250. Pse on top of that is 100' and that 'she went to see her doctor for a test on the morning of our encounter and didn't want to look like a fool going back'.

I write her back a long message detailing that my work started up again after the new year so I would be working long days and nights and I would not be able to swing by to pick up cash and I really do not need an amazon gift card. I was also afraid of her/did not want to go near the neighbourhood again at all but did not say that as I kept all my side of interactions positive. 'Is there another option we can do?' I asked. I let her know most walk in clinics do tests so she doesn't necessarily have to go back to the same dr if she is embarrassed.

I also stated that I hear her on the rates issue but one could also see it as we had originally agreed and booked an hour at 350 and pse on top of that is 100, and since we only did the half (25 mins or so) of the originally agreed hour, which both of us blocked out, that she owed me \$225. I said to her that when I met her she seemed like a fair and just person and that I trusted her to do the right thing, again being nice, having faith and giving her the benefit of the doubt.

I had completely forgotten about this message I sent as I got swamped with work, my family was messaging me about one of my aunts getting cancer and another one getting divorced and the art stuff I was working on.

Yesterday morning sent at 7 am-24 hours later I get a very long, confused, rambling message from [SEX WORKER A]. Accusing me of sneaking trying to take off the condom when she knew fully well it fell off and got stuck inside of her. There were bits about 'this isn't tinder'. I never even said anything to that sort.

She also accused me of trying to take advantage of her and she was not going to be a doormat, so therefore I get nothing, no refund.

She said she was being nice offering me 100\$ even and that most in the industry would blacklist me forever for the horrible sin I did. I still don't know what I did? The condom fell off and got stuck inside her. Hence why she originally asked me if this has ever happened to me before.

She said she should've been angrier at me then she was for what I 'tried to slip by' her and that also because I made her rush and disturbed her by booking an appointment when she was originally doing her errands and that she had to get ready for an hour and a half for me, travel (which I had to do as well) then that was also another part of the reason why I'm not getting any refund back. If you weren't available, all you had to tell me is 'i am not available at that time, do you have another time in mind?' And I either would've said yes and given you a different time or gone with another girl.

At the end of this confused rant she wrote 'don't ever contact me ever again'.

<p>Wasn't planning on it.</p> <p>Some may say this is a whiny negative review. There were numerous aspects of the visit to [SEX WORKER A] that were positive, however it's always unfortunate when some people show you their true colours which are completely different in the end.</p>		
<p>CLIENT B (in response to CLIENT A): "A few thoughts.</p> <p>1. Unfortunately, providers encounter a lot of creeps out there that either harangue them for unsafe services overtly or try to sneak it past them covertly (and usually in doggy). Sex work is work, but it's still unavoidably personal and that kind of accident can set off a whole range of emotions. It's understandable that anyone would be "unprofessional" and upset in the moment. It seems like bad luck the session was toast at that point.</p> <p>2. Even the most reputable of providers can start to get squirrely when the topic of refunds come up.</p> <p>3. Just about all providers are disinterested in long back & forth discussions - particularly those that don't benefit them. Your best shot at any kind of compensation was taking the offer quickly. You blew your chance once you started doing math, negotiating what was or wasn't fair, justifying your reasons, etc."</p>	<p>-client expectation that you take refunds you are offered and not try to negotiate</p> <p>-conflicting expectations between clients</p> <p>-client expectation of refund formed based on what they feel will provide best possible outcome (not what they feel they deserve)</p>	<p>-lack of established/known rules/boundaries/p rotocol for sex work services/session</p> <p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT C (in response to CLIENT A): "Ive had a great time with her and have seen her twice, and I do think she's a genuinely nice person. Sorry to hear that u went through this ordeal.</p> <p>I do understand your perspective, but I think u dragged out the conversation to get it resolved. U should have just taken the refund when it was offered and moved on, instead of long back and forths to no end."</p>	<p>-client expectation that you take refunds you are offered and not try to negotiate</p> <p>-conflicting client expectations</p>	<p>-lack of established/known rules and boundaries for sex work services/session</p> <p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B (in response to CLIENT A): "What I'm getting is that she never explicitly offered \$225 and the first/only number she committed to was \$100. Well, that was your chance such as it ever existed (see #2 above). You're still viewing this as some kind of scam. From her point of view, she's probably thinking it was a really crappy scare and prolonging the discussion gave enough oxygen so that she starts doing HER math of what her overhead and other bills are, thinking "if I refund \$100, I'm probably only up \$200 after a shitty booking, and were those razor bumps now that I think about it, and he got sucked and fucked anyway and now I'm worried about STIs putting me out of work, and</p>	<p>-conflicting client expectations</p> <p>-client expectation that you take refunds you are offered and not try to negotiate</p>	<p>-lack of established/known rules and boundaries for sex work services/session</p> <p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client</p>

<p>you know what, I think he did that shit on purpose and now he expects me to pay him back too, fuck that guy."</p> <p>As I said, sometimes your choice is between being right or effective and I will leave the conversation on that note."</p>	<p>-client expectation of refund formed based on what they feel will provide best possible outcome (not what they feel they deserve)</p>	<p>expectations are formed</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT A): "I was in utter shock when it first happened and probably asked way too many questions in the moment. People do try to take the condom off, and I've had bad experiences so it probably felt like I was grilling him and probably rude.</p> <p>After it happened, I started feeling bad because I thought I should give him the benefit of the doubt, so I messaged offering a refund for the lost half hour. I said, "I didn't realize we had half an hour left, I can refund you the half hour. I was just so startled and frazzled that the condom came off."</p> <p>You said, "Hey [SEX WORKER A], I understand, don't worry. Just killed the mood. I think the condom wasn't the right size. It's okay-I am clean. I have been abstaining since September when I was in my last ltr. For sure your good? I shouldn't get tested?"</p> <p>It was a regular Skyn condom. At this point I think you're good and I'm running to get a requisite and get tested.</p> <p>2 hours later you send another message, "Btw you can just etransfer \$225 to xyz. No hard feelings. It was a pleasure to meet. Have a happy new year [SEX WORKER A]."</p> <p>I'm confused at this point why you changed your mind. I take time to think.</p> <p>Next morning I respond, "Happy new year! So I had just been tested that morning and was like omg nooooo my doctor is goin to think I'm crazy since I will now have to get tested the next day *face to palm emoji*.</p> <p>Next message, "Basically I can't send etransfers without revealing my identity only accept them. Options include Amazon gift card or cash. Also please look at my rates for pse it's gfe+ \$100, so 30 mins pse is \$350. I can send you \$100 back. Let me know your preference."</p> <p>You respond 2 hours later bartering with me, "Morning [SEX WORKER A], how're you this morning? Hopefully you had a great sleep and were able to sleep</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation of refund amount formed based on rate structure, travel time, and accommodation</p> <p>-conflicting expectation between client and sex worker</p> <p>-sex worker expectation that no refund is required if client mistreated sex worker or tried to have BBFS without permission</p> <p>-negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to provide refund if client expectations not met)</p> <p>-sex worker pressured by</p>	<p>-negative impact of client expectation on sex worker</p> <p>-lack of established rules/boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session</p> <p>-sex worker expectations</p> <p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>

<p>in a bit. Both of us were honestly having such a great time yesterday- it really was rather unfortunate that that happened. It was neither of our faults really. I think you can gets tests done ay any walk in clinic so you might not have to go back specifically to the same doctor.</p> <p>I hear you on rates. You could look at it that way or since we originally booked an hour, it was \$350 plus \$100. That's \$450 and half of that since it was really only 25 mintes or so honestly.</p> <p>You seem like an honest fair person, so I assume you will do the right thing.</p> <p>I don't really have time to swing by today and tomorrow I head back to work. I have an insanely busy schedule, something that's gotten me in trouble (like in my last ltr). I don't need an amazon gift card either.</p> <p>What other options do you suggest? I'm confident we'll find a way to make this happen [SEX WORKER A] :)"</p> <p>You basically told me you wouldn't accept a refund according to my rates, that a condom coming off in doggy was not your fault and implied because of your busy schedule I should deliver you cash because you don't want an amazon gc, which would have been a nice compromise to protect my identity and consider my own busy schedule. It felt manipulative and you were only going to accept \$225 otherwise I wasn't an honest fair person.</p> <p>I take the day to think because I'm totally shocked you are asking for more money even after my explanation. Also FYI your doctor can see all requisites ordered in Ontario even if it's done by a different clinic, but my doctor knows I'm super neurotic and have to get tested all the time, so anyway, I respond the next morning.</p> <p>"The condom came off in doggy position, so its hard for me to check that it's still on in a pse session. The industry standard and fair thing to do for this is not receiving any refund, so I was being extremely nice by offering you the lost half hour at my rate when turning around and not seeing a condom on at all would make you blacklisted and no refund offered by almost all providers. This isn't tinder where you can slide that past someone. More concerning you expressed no guilt at all when I called you out that it really seems like it wasn't an accident. Do not try to haggle more out of me. I'm nice but not a doormat. Most providers would have been more upset. You've put my health at risk, which I take extremely seriously. Partners cheat all the time so yes even you could have an sti and just be asymptomatic.</p> <p>I spent 1.5 hours getting ready for you with half hour transit. I usually spend 1.5-2 hs getting ready for a half hour meet or a 2 hour meet, which is why my rates are the way they are. Because you gave me 2 hs notice, I dropped everything I was doing and ran around like crazy to accommodate you. The tone and guiltng nature of your message trying to get more money out me is extremely disrespectful. Do</p>	<p>client</p>	
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<p>not contact me again."</p> <p>It took me a lot of time and courage to message you that because I felt like I needed to stand my ground otherwise you would continue to guilt/barter- give an inch take a mile kind of thing. People try take advantage of me all the time.</p> <p>To me it seemed like you were trying to get more money out of me by guilting me, take advantage of my niceness and expect me to get the cash to you. You just came off entitled and like you were trying to get more money out of me and even after I explained how my rates are structured, you asked for 225 again. These are my rates. You expressed no guilt at all and got really mad at me leaving in a huff, so it didn't seem like an accident.</p> <p>I get tested regularly and so should you. I bumped my ad not to take booking that day but to keep my ad circulated.</p> <p>I take my business extremely seriously, so when I considered that maybe it was an accident I offered you a refund and then after you asked for more money I explained my rates the way I do, you persisted so I took time to think and realized you were taking me for a ride and I accepted the fact you would post a negative review because you didn't get your way. And I was right.</p> <p>Please find images 1 through 8 to find our conversation attached. I transcribed it above only to annotate my side without reordering the way the convo went and avoid amplifying things beyond proportion. Hope this provides a bigger picture of our encounter. I admit I could have been calmer in the way I initially reacted, but I tried to reconcile that and give the benefit of the doubt after by offering a refund, then explaining why I structure my rates until it became apparent he wouldn't accept less than \$225. Bartering my rates down, putting the onus on me to get you the cash and putting the onus on me to get tested for both of us equates to no refund. There isn't much more that I can say, hope my perspective helps."</p>		
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Table 4. Directory & Classified Listing Reviews

<p>CLIENT A (about SEX WORKER A): "my experience with [SEX WORKER A] has just been awful. She thoroughly finessed me. I messaged her asking her services and rates and she sent me a long lists of things she does like dfk cof cob etc. Once i get there she tells me she only does those with regulars. Fine but she should have made that clear in her original message. I inquired further and found out she is msog only if i do an hour with her which is 250 dollars. Since i ended up buying the condoms it was more like 263 but i digress. Once i arrived she asked me how many shots i told we would have to see. She at that point had made no</p>	<p>-client expectation of refund if sexual acts not continuous for full amount of time booked -client expectation of refund if sexual acts not continuous for full amount of time</p>	<p>-lack of established/known rules/ boundaries/protocol for sex work services/session -client expectations -how client</p>
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<p>issue with me saying that. Afterwards i came in like 20 minutes and was expecting to go in again. But while we were having sex she started to bleed. It was just like the littlest amount however she had to end the service. She initially tried to blame me for the blood but that was impossible as i had no cuts and the blood on leaked on my condom at the very tip. Anyways since she was cutting the service short it only made sense that she make it right. Either she give me a refund for the remaining half hour or she complete the service some other day that is convenient to me. She only changed her mind on msog and claimed i only got two shots and again she did not make that clear before. She gave me three options either i fucked her tonight, tomorrow or she jacks me off right now. All three of those options did not work for me so i asked her if she could continue the service in 2 weeks or just give me a refund for half hour. She got pissed off at me told me i was being rude even though i was being incredibly respectful when talking to her and it was her who was yelling and not even letting me finish my sentence, she even said i do not give her options. She told me the service she provided in those 20 minutes was only stuff she did over an hour. Her service was incredibly rushed and it only included a blow job for literally 1-2 minutes, normal sex and a handjob, stuff that is pretty basic. She did nothing above and beyond. But she got pissed and claimed that stuff she only did over an hour, fine but she should have made that clear in her original message. She made it seem like the menu she sent me was her service for both half hour and hour. She then put the blame on me for not inquiring further even though that was on her to make the distinction. I am pretty sure she was lying because before she said that she could not give me the refund because she booked me for an hour and she had to tell her other clients that she could not see them which was a lie because i told her an hour once i had arrived to her building. To summarise she had falsely claimed services she did not intend on doing, her service was rushed, she cut the service short because she was bleeding and refused to take responsibility. She was hella rude and she constantly kept on lying throughout the service. Beware of her, do not make the same mistakes i did and save your money.”</p>	<p>booked -client expectation of refund amount formed based on money spent by client and minutes of session booked -client expectation of receiving all advertised services -client expectation of rules/services formed based on advertisements for sex workers -client expectation of refund if expected sexual acts not delivered -sex worker expectation that no refund is required for making client leave before end of session if all services for the booked session time have already been delivered -sex worker expectation that client can be made to leave early if sex worker injured during session -sex worker expectation formed based on physical comfort -sex worker expectation formed based on own safety</p>	<p>expectations are formed -sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “It always helps to do research first [INSERTED LINK WITH PREVIOUS NEGATIVE REVIEW]”</p>	<p>-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are</p>

	-client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews	formed -lack of established/known /rules/boundaries/ protocol for sex work services/session
CLIENT C: “She's been on my "AVOID" list for over 2 years ! Lots of poor, restrictive reviews ...”	-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service -client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost potential clientele) -sex worker shamed with negative client review for not meeting expectations -sex worker shamed for establishing boundary -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions	-client expectations -how client expectations are formed -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost potential clientele) -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to have less restrictions)

Table 5. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

CLIENT A (about SEX WORKER A): “We then move to the bedroom and as we start snuggling and discussing what I would like she makes clear that she doesn't like kissing. This was a total surprise as the [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] site states GFE and PSE for [SEX WORKER A] (what a joke!) so I was expecting dfk or at very least lfk. She also said that if I wanted bbbj/cbj (not sure which since we never got to that point) I had to take a shower and use mouthwash (for kissing). Again no problem, I understand, even though I had just taken a shower before arriving. I get out of the shower and mouthwash and again move to try and touch/kiss and she pushes me away saying I need to 'respect her boundaries'. So at this point I realize this isn't going to work so I	-client expectation for specific sexual acts if advertised as GFE/PSE -client expectation of rules/services formed based on advertisements for sex workers -client expectation of	-lack of established/ known rules/boundaries /protocol for sex work services/session -client expectations -how client
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<p>politely say maybe we should let this go and I'll give her \$100 for her 15mins of time. She suddenly gets up and starts calling someone (Not sure who) and says I need to leave or I'll have problems. I try to be a gentleman and say I don't want problems just give me at least half my money back. She refuses. So I really don't want to create a scene as that is really not my style. I leave and call [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] from outside the building explaining what happened asking for at least a partial refund and they refuse as well. So in the end I'm out \$300 ripped off but lesson learned that no matter how professional some of these agencies look you need to keep your wits about you. Certainly [SEX WORKER A] is a scam artist advertising as GFE/PSE and [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] is not much better than your local pimp ripping you off once they have your money.”</p>	<p>refund if expected sexual services not delivered -sex worker shamed with negative client review -sex worker shamed for establishing boundary -client expectation that sex work agency takes the side of the client over the sex worker in disputes -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions -sex worker pressured by client -sex workers having rules that are not aligned with client expectations is seen as a scam</p>	<p>expectations are formed -negative impact of client expectations on sex worker</p>
<p>SEX WORK AGENCY (in response to CLIENT A): “Considering [SEX WORKER A] kicked you out for being pushy and rude, and not accepting no for an answer, you then *yelled at us on the phone* after leaving, we're not inclined to offer you anything at all. [SEX WORKER A] does like kissing, but not with a guy who won't slow down or stop when she asks you to. You're already on our Banned List, so it's probably best that you not contact us again anyway.</p> <p>[SEX WORKER A] doesn't seem to be a good choice for no-conversation, mileage-seeking, straight-to-the-action clients. Guys who enjoy a more relaxed time are always very happy with her. Her reviews on here are rather polarizing, but that seems to be the pattern. We're not going to stop representing her or anything, so I hope this review stays up so clients can make their decision on whether to see her, based on what they're looking for.”</p>	<p>-sex work agency expectation that no refund is required if client mistreated sex worker or tried to have BBFS without permission -sex work agency expectation that no refund is required if client was rude to sex work agency -conflicting expectations between client and sex work agency</p>	<p>-lack of established/ known rules/boundaries /protocol for sex work services/session -sex work agency expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B (in response to SEX WORK AGENCY): “Just another glaring example of the agency not even considering if the man was truthful ? If it was only two people in the room how can the agency know the man was pushy and</p>	<p>-conflicting expectations between client and</p>	<p>-client expectations -lack of</p>

<p>aggressive , honestly this bugs me as a customer ! I agree the response was respectful and classy but they got his money so did the women and he is out ? Is it not even possible that the provider was having a bad day And was just a rude bitch ? I guess not lol”</p>	<p>sex work agency -client expectation that sex work agency takes the side of the client over the sex worker in disputes</p>	<p>established/ known rules/boundaries /protocol for sex work services/session</p>
<p>CLIENT C (in response to CLIENT B): “It's pretty simple if [SEX WORKER A] was 2 blame how come no other clients have complained about her in the same fashion some guys don't have the right frame of mine wen their with an escort if ur, not a gentlemen ur not gonna get anywhere with any babe.I've had bad experiences with escorts but they where independent, agencies have a reputation 2 protect and can't risk bad behaviour from there ladies.</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers working under agencies are more reliable / trustworthy than independent sex workers -client expectation that agency sex workers are held accountable by sex work agency -client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with other sex workers -client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service -client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews -client expectation that quality of services provided are dependent on client attitude towards sex worker</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>

Table 6. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: "Interesting to see how most [INDEPENDENT SEX WORKERS] are charging higher than agency prices now with very limited service. Who is paying for this crappy service? Anyone know if any sp's still offer DT with CIM or PSE services for that matter?"</p>	<p>-client expectation that higher rates should mean wider variety of sexual acts provided -client expectation that higher rates should mean sexual acts associated with PSE provided -client expectation that safe GFE/GFE/PSE sessions come at specific price points -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal opinion</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT B: "You talking about the indy scene? Yes, higher pricing isn't a guarantee of exceptional service."</p>	<p>-client expectation that higher rates don't guarantee specific services</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT C: "I am reading the reviews and I can see that. No wonder most of these new faces are disappearing quickly. Still looking for an sp that provides DT with CIM or PSE services. Just gotta keeping reading ads and reviews I guess lol"</p>	<p>-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker's service -client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost potential clientele) -negative impact</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>

	of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to have less restrictions)	
<p>CLIENT D: “Well the good ladies can get \$250 if they do everything you want. and even more these days. I love the mature MILF's and with the new laws, its better to go to private place. INDYS. I would rather pay and get great service form a few special ladies than go looking for trouble.</p> <p>In fact Sweet Jamie is back, She is only seeing people she knows due to a private matter. She Charges \$250 and wonderful. Many other mature great ladies out there too. Hey don't cry about money. if you want great service you have to pay.</p> <p>The old saying stands, You get what you pay for.”</p>	-client expectation that higher rates should mean better service	-client expectations
<p>CLIENT C (in response to CLIENT D): “Completely agree with you. I am not crying over money. \$250 was always the going rate in all my years in the hobby. My prob is I am seeing ads in the \$300 to \$500 range for limited GFE. As I stated no wonder faces are disappearing quickly these days. No one is paying \$300 to \$500 for limited GFE unless GFE is their thing. Once you get in that range it should be mostly PSE service. Hell DT and CIM are pretty standard these days or should be. The only thing that's really PSE now is the Islands but again that's where the \$300 to \$500 range comes in...”</p>	<p>-client expectation that higher rates should mean wider variety of sexual acts provided -client expectation that higher rates should mean sexual acts associated with PSE provided -client expectation that safe GFE/GFE/PSE sessions come at specific price points -client expectation that specific ‘PSE’ sexual acts should be ‘standard’ -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions</p>	<p>-client expectations -negative impact of client expectation on sex worker</p>
CLIENT E: “I agree. The indy scene is moving entirely to the 1% crowd.	-client expectation	

<p>Every girl tries to promote themselves as an "elite courtesan". One well known mature provider just jacked her rates up \$100!! What she used to provide all inclusive, is now \$450 for the "PSE package".</p> <p>At the end of the day regardless of the marketing BS, it's just sex. I have never encountered any correlation between quality and price. The ones who charge \$300 an hour aren't any better at sex than the ones at \$200. Has anyone seen anyone lower their rates once they lose business? They rather sit with a silent phone and complain about it.”</p>	<p>that higher rates don't guarantee specific services</p>	
<p>CLIENT F (in response to CLIENT E): “There's a whole thread on rates. To be fair, rates didn't change for the longest time while other costs did. I'm sure if rates were gradually increased, mirroring inflation, they would have been around the level they are. Would look a bit weird though (Year 1, \$250/hour, Year 2, \$260/hour, Year 3 \$272/hour). Probably when it was \$250, at first it was too high, then for a while it was reasonable, then eventually it was not enough. Sure the same cycle will happen at higher rates.</p> <p>I agree with you that price is never a guarantee of quality - that's 100% dependent on the individual. How many indy's were agency girls charging less? While I'm sure some things may have gotten better since an SP gets started in the industry, but a 3 year agency veteran who goes indy the following day and charges higher will very likely be the same as a day earlier. The higher rate is mainly reflective of the higher costs incurred with being independent combined with the desire (in most cases) to lower volume. But (in most cases) a BJ is a BJ.</p> <p>Unsure about the OP's assertion as I'm too new. If say \$300 is the new \$250, is it the same services or less? I find it varies provider to provider. Some don't do CIM, some include it, others charge for it. Same w/Greek. Even BBBJ - some girls charge for it.</p> <p>Sure some ladies somewhere lower their rates if needed. There's always a couple advertising promotions/discounts/etc. (not new girls).”</p>	<p>-client expectation that higher rates don't guarantee specific services -client expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers -client expectation that services provided for specific rates dependent on sex worker</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A: “Hey guys. Even if some in this thread are not interested in what's going on, some readers may be. There's numerous factors and I thought I would highlight some of them.</p> <p>Agency/Indy girl starts out \$200-\$250/h, she gets good reviews, offers a wide variety of services, gets super popular, phone blows up, can't keep up with demand, gets tons of no shows, cancellations, weirdos, some stalkers, some guys who are rough and hurt her, cause her problems etc.</p> <p>She still wants to stay in the business so she raises her rates, maybe she charges more for certain acts, or she has had problems after offering certain acts so she doesn't offer it anymore. She still gets a lot of inquiries and demand, and finds</p>	<p>-client expectation that specific 'PSE' sexual acts should be 'standard' -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions -client expectation that agency sex workers less likely to require screening than</p>	<p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex worker -sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>

that she ends up spending more time on longer dates or with regulars than new guys, she doesn't need so many new clients so she raises her rates to get less new inquiries to lower risks and sees mostly people she knows.

That can happen a lot.

Please consider that condo prices and hotel prices have sky rocketed. If you want to live downtown/work downtown it's over \$2k a month now just for a tiny one bedroom, plus utilities, plus supplies, plus advertising. Ad rates for terb went up, eros, backpage etc, they all went up. The number of guys inquiring anonymously after Bill c36 went up and it's extremely hard to tell who is real and who is a fake booking, a time waster etc when someone sends off a random text or a one liner email. Not to mention the crazy ex terb member who is trying to out all of our permanent incall locations, so ladies now need to screen harder to host for incalls so we don't get kicked out of our condos, or harassed and stalked in person. Guys willing to be screened and give references seems to be much much lower in the \$200-\$250 range because they are mostly seeing ladies at agencies and backpage, who see a ton of people and either don't or can't remember them to give a reference. So trying to screen at that rate doesn't work very well. \$300+ you still get a lot of inquiries from guys who won't screen, but you get more who have seen a provider who remembers them that can get a reference. At even higher rates many of these clients know the drill, they see only a few ladies a year and prebook an appointment with all the screening details. So this can be seen as more of a win/win situation, less risky and less hassle and thus makes it possible to see less overall clients and more serious ones.

There are several groups of indies that chat with each other and there's been a lot of messed up stuff going on that is also causing girls to worry about their safety and longevity in the business. Here are some things that have actually happened:

- Other indy sps fake booking appts to other indies
- Other indies getting their clients to fake book other indies
- Blacklisted guys using text apps to try and book SPs that have repeatedly said no
- Client robbing SP after insisting being the last appt of the night
- Client asking for outcall and filming provider without her knowledge to post online
- Client attacking SP during call and violently assaulting her
- Client drugging SP and raping her during call and taking off after she's passed out
- Client raping MP at the spa during work hours
- Client asking for an outcall and giving fake buzzer information and SP goes to leave and an abduction is attempted outside the lobby when a bunch of guys get out of a car and chase her

independent sex workers
-sex worker pressured to have less restrictions
-sex worker expectation that seeing a smaller base of regular clientele with higher rates reduces risks to sex worker
-sex worker expectation formed based on own safety/health
-sex worker expectation formed based on need for discretion
-sex worker expectation that they need to screen clients for their privacy and safety
-sex worker expectation that clients less willing to pay higher rates will also be less willing to agree to screening
-sex worker expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers
-agency sex workers pressured by sex work agency due to client expectations
-sex worker expectations

Well known terb clients demanding BBFS in session
Well known terb clients showing signs of STDs in session and wanting BBBJ to proceed
Clients expecting PSE services turning rough on SP and injuring them insisting they squirt on demand over and over again (this is happening weekly)
Clients doing Greek being super rough and injuring provider
Clients pushing boundaries and making providers cry during session not listening to no

These are just some of the things I've been told about RECENTLY, so multiply that by all the girls in Toronto and there's a lot of stuff going on that general readers here have no idea about.

So when you really know what is happening to agency and indy ladies out there, along with tons of anonymous bad inquiries and increasing expenses there would be more clarity to why some of them are choosing to see less clients, screen more, raise their rates, or stop offering certain services.

Please also keep in mind that many agencies hiring new SPs want them to all offer a wide PSE menu so they make the most money possible, regardless if the SP likes it. So sometimes after she's gotten fed up with being hurt or a guy causes something like a serious injury, BV, STD, yeast infection etc, she may not want to offer that service anymore. There's a huge problem with entitlement in Toronto from some guys who want to see multiple girls a week for cheap who aren't getting tested and are being very demanding and rough on SPs with no regard for them at all. So you may notice that some really popular ladies are hard to book because they only want to see regulars for safety and sanity reasons.

If we instead had a group of guys who respected SPs and only sought services they enjoyed offering and were understanding in sessions instead of trying to force maximum mileage and extreme PSE offerings maybe it would be better.

I personally just had an awful time last night with a guy who claims he read my website, had a reference, had a p411 account and he insisted that I pee myself in my pants as soon as we got to his hotel room for his pleasure. I said no, then he forcefully tried to make me squirt and repeatedly was being rough when I said no I cannot squirt and never have. He wouldn't listen and he kept going trying to force me to squirt and injured me so that I have bruises this morning and am in pain. I only offer GFE and try to make this clear because of treatment like this and expectations for PSE at all costs in this city. Not everyone can do or likes all PSE acts with every guy who expects it. This specifically keeps happening especially to providers who offer squirting some guys are hurting them trying to force it and not listen so some are restricting how much they offer it and who they offer it to. We're human, we're not robots. For many of our clients they save up and see ourselves and others only

formed based on personal experiences -sex worker expectations formed based on experiences of other sex workers

<p>occasionally, they aren't super hobbyists and aren't reviewers. My clientele are not rich they just want to see me versus seeing anyone who is available to offer XYZ RIGHT NOW. Higher rate really isn't about receiving every single service. It's about seeing that particular provider and what SHE offers because you want to spend time with her. Not everyone offers that, there's something for everyone. And there's still way more PSE providers in the city than GFE only. Thanks for the consideration.”</p>		
<p>CLIENT G (in response to SEX WORKER A): “Sorry to hear that happened and thanks for providing this information. Really sad this is not only happening, the frequency is increasing.</p> <p>I've said it before (so please don't jump on me) but rates do not relate to safety unless the extra money pays for hired security or cameras. I argue screening does more but again, no guarantee. If an ass wants to hurt or steal from a lady, it will happen - a higher rate isn't a deterrent. I hate to say it but it's possible some guys will feel entitled to do things if paying more. Remember, this thread started out on this premise (rates going up but services being limited).</p> <p>Just like experience/service are dependent on the SP, respect and concern for safety / enjoyment are dependent on the individual client. Was recently told by an SP that digits was a hard restriction. After found out her definition and mine differ and she would have been fine if I asked but I didn't out of respect to her hard restriction list (lesson is to be more clear / precise in prior communication). I'm sure others would say ok but still ask or even demand in person.”</p> <p>“I think the OP is not complaining about rates increases but the decrease in service. It's one thing to complain that a burger that used to cost \$5 now costs \$6 but it remains the same - it's just inflation. Nothing can be done, just gotta accept it. Different story if the \$6 burger is now made using a frozen Patty, is smaller in size, it's generic ketchup, etc. Now you're complaining and probably looking around for either a \$6 burger or hopefully a \$5 burger that is the same as it used to be.</p> <p>Sorry for the meat analogy”</p>	<p>-client expectation that higher rates do not reduce risks to sex worker</p> <p>-client expectation that services provided for specific rates dependent on sex worker</p> <p>-client expectation a client’s respect that concern for safety for sex worker dependent on client</p> <p>-client expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be similar to expectations for other services</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on understanding of other non-sex work services</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>SEX WORKER B (in response to CLIENT G): “youre comparing escorts that are indy to frozen patty ? thanks dude for the comparison”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be different from</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>

	expectations for other services	
<p>CLIENT G (in response to SEX WORKER B): “Sorry if that's what you want to get from it.</p> <p>This has little to do with indy/agency. It's price and the services received.</p> <p>If you don't like the burger analogy, maybe a hotel room? Same hotel room, price/night increases, but no daily room service, cheaper soap, water and coffee no longer complimentary.</p> <p>If as [SEX WORKER A] pointed out, a lady decides to restrict certain services, that's her right / choice. But expect (1) some complaints about others providing more for the same price and (2) a possible decline in patronage as guys choose someone else who does offer the desired services, especially if it's at the same or lower price point”</p>	<p>-client expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be similar to expectations for other services</p> <p>-client expectation that if sex workers impose certain restrictions, sex workers should expect complaints from clients and a decrease in clientele</p> <p>-sex worker pressured to have less restrictions</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-negative impact of client expectation on sex workers</p>
<p>CLIENT H: “First of all, just another stupid thread started again for god knows what reason. I swear, so many immature little kids on this forum who have nothing better to do than complain about something where they have 100% control over their choice of women and where to spend their hard earned dollars. Is there a correlation between price and service. Of course not. Should there be a correlation between price and service. Again, of course not. Don't even try to discuss this when talking about what someone charges and the services that are provided. If you have \$200, \$250, \$350 or \$500 to spend and want a great time, visit someone that you already know provides an experience that will leave you highly satisfied. More than anything, the issue for many guys is that they want variety. They want to see as many different women they can for varying reasons.</p> <p>One example of where someone will pay an insane amount of money can be seen in a recent thread here. You want to see a porn star just because she is famous and you can say that you have actually had sex with her. This is a total ego boost for the guy who pays 4 to 5 times more for someone who in the end, will most likely provide inferior service to your ATF here and looks wise is</p>	<p>-client expectation that higher rates don't guarantee specific services</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>probably far better than the person you just paid \$1,500/hour. Just like a "porn star" or some of the high end sex workers who charge thousands of dollars an hour, the woman working here have made a choice on their price level. There are hundreds, if not not thousands, of choices that guys have. Use the boards to find the best fit for you. No need to complain about a woman's price point and they shouldn't have to come on here and justify why they charge the amount they do.”</p>		
<p>CLIENT I (in response to CLIENT G): “What decrease in service? You look at girl's ad or web-site, search and read reviews and find out if you want to see her. If you don't bother to do these things and don't communicate with the girl before and during the session that would be your problem. I will agree that it is harder to find specific acronyms since girls are not explicitly spelling it out as much. That does not mean that there are fewer girls offering a particular service.”</p> <p>“There's no way to know for sure if the decrease in service has followed an increase in prices in this industry. Any conclusions (including the OP) made are just anecdotal. Further, there's no watchdog regulating and monitoring price and service levels. Even where the industry is fully legal, the government cannot tell girls what service they must provide.</p> <p>If you must use an analogy, at least make an apples to apples comparison. Hamburgers, cars, diamonds, etc. are made on assembly line. People are not. A fairer comparison would be the increase in rates for escorts versus self-employed people in a different industry. At the end of the day, self-employed people including escorts can charge and increase their rates whenever they like and for any reason. It would be up to that business to find and maintain a client base willing to pay that price. Us clients are free to take our business elsewhere if we find it too expensive. The same thing goes for employees. They are free at any time to negotiate a larger pay increase vs everyone else for doing the same work. The boss is free to deny that request too.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service</p> <p>-client expectation of receiving all advertised services</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on advertisements for sex workers</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews</p> <p>-client expectation that the specific services offered by a sex worker may not be outlined in their ad</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p> <p>-lack of established/known rules/boundaries /protocol for sex work services/session</p>

Table 7. The Lounge

<p>SEX WORKER A: “Is there a double standard when it comes to girls choosing who they see . I always thought that guys choose who they see so why can't the ladies ?</p> <p>I find that sometimes when girls turn down guys they get threatened with bad reviews . Why is that ? Could it be ego ? Could it be that this guy has been rejected before and is tired of it happening ?</p> <p>What are your thoughts on this? Do girls have a right to choose who they see just</p>	<p>-sex worker threatened with negative reviews when they refuse to accept a client</p> <p>-negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost</p>	<p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>
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<p>like the guys do ?”</p> <p>[INSERTED POLL ASKING “DO GIRLS HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE WHO THEY SEE?”] poll results: 65 YES, 4 NO</p>	<p>potential clientele)</p>	
<p>CLIENT A: “I mean...one of the purposes of seeing SPs is to NOT get rejected. Seeing SPs is an avenue to bypass the mental gymnastics, hurdles and logistics of meeting women when it comes to dating.</p> <p>So when I get rejected by an SP when I am PAYING to see her, it’s definitely going to hurt my self esteem. The whole city has the opportunity to see her except for me. Yeah...I’m going to feel like I am the lowest of the low at that point so of course it will bother me.</p> <p>There’s a big difference between getting rejected by a woman after asking her out vs an SP rejecting me in seeing her when seeing men is literally her profession.</p> <p>Not only I am unable to take a beautiful women out on a date, But not even money will save me in spending time with a hot SP when that’s literally her job. Words can’t even describe how worthless my value is as a human being if an SP rejects me. How bad can I be as a man if an SP doesn’t want to spend time with me when that’s literally her job?</p> <p>To answer your question, you obviously do have a right to choose who you want to see.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers accept all clients</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal view of the role of sex workers</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>SEX WORKER B: “100% you have a right to choose not to see someone, for any reason at any time.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER C: “Picky and choosy category over here but I have been loud enough about that before.</p> <p>I’m a selective chooser even. At my home incall, you have to be between a certain age. But hotel incalls have a wide range. I still won’t see anyone to young but I have a lower threshold in a hotel.</p> <p>Reason - I can’t explain a 27 year old coming to my home. But I don’t have to worry in a hotel.</p> <p>Men have to realize that unless you are personally being blacklisted, the “rejection” has nothing to do with you and everything to do with what works for the SP. They need to not take it so personally.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that you can refuse to accept any client for any reason</p> <p>-sex worker expectation formed based on need for discretion</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p> <p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>

<p>CLIENT B: “Yes, you have the right to see anyone you want.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER D: “Of course you can turn down a guy ...theres some men that are beyond unstable out there and just flat out problems waiting to happen. If im getting naked with a guy and putting myself in a vulnerable position risking my life from abuse or physical harm. your darn right im screening to the max to make sure I know if were a good match or not . If guys want it easier call an agency.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason -sex worker expectation formed based on own safety/health</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT C (in response to SEX WORKER A): “Of course you can choose who to see or not to see and threats should never come into the equation. Hell, the fact that he threatened you should, in and of itself, confirm that you made the right choice not to see this particular 'gentleman'.</p> <p>That said, if a guy chooses not to see a girl because he doesn't like her body type/looks or her services are too restrictive for him, generally the girl would never know that she was passed on because he wouldn't reach out. But if a guy reaches out and the girl says she isn't interested the guy knows that he is being rejected.</p> <p>Personally, I think a reason should be given from either side. Eg, a guy shows up and sees that the pictures he initiated the booking based on are either 10 years old and no longer representative of the girl he expected to see or was a straight up bait and switch, he should say something along the lines of "Sorry, but you don't look like the pictures you posted anymore and I made the booking based on your advertisement." As a side note, I don't believe he should be obligated to pay any kind of fee for wasting time in that scenario either as he was misled and his time was wasted also.</p> <p>From the woman's side, and using your initial post as inspiration, if you are texting with someone and you get a weird vibe from them I think you should politely decline to see them and tell them straight out that you are getting a strange feeling and don't feel safe meeting them. I'm sure that will lead to begging/trying to convince you that your intuition is off but at least they have an idea of why you are rejecting them.</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason as long as the reason is provided to the client</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>Long story short, nobody should be threatening anyone else over such a minor issue.</p>		
<p>CLIENT D (in response to CLIENT C): “Unfortunately this statement is not totally true. On a board like this, many guys comment on a woman’s body type, facial features, service etc.....and not only may she see those comments but those who read also see it. So her rejection is seen by many while her rejection of a guy is almost always private.”</p>	<p>-sex worker shamed with negative client review for not meeting expectations</p>	<p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>
<p>SEX WORKER B (in response to CLIENT C): “Unfortunately with unstable people, explaining that a vibe is off is a dangerous thing in itself for a SW. He could try booking under a different name/number and become violent. It is honestly safer for a SW to just ghost a texter/caller than is giving off weird vibes, or come up with random excuses. I would generally just go with, "Sorry, I am no longer available", when I was working, and ignore future attempts to contact. I know guys don't often like this approach, it is likely frustrating, but at the end of the day, the provider has to trust her instincts and protect herself as, very sadly, harm is a very real part of the world we live in.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason and that the reason does not need to provide the reason to the client -sex worker expectation formed based on own safety/health</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT E: “That would be cool if the SP's did indeed get to decide, this way I know they want to be with me and vice-versa. I always try to be a perfect gentlemen as I appreciate what the SP's do for us - lets me honest they are helping us fulfill a wonderful fantasy whatever that is and I love them for that. So 'yes' they should decide who they want. It will make it that much better for us. I do wonder though - what do the SP's really think :)”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT F: “Do girls have the right to choose who they see?</p> <p>Simple answer is yes, girls have the right to choose.</p> <p>If we're talking about professional sex workers (SPs and MPs), then answer will depend on the context and circumstances.</p> <p>With any job come responsibilities. We don't always get to choose what we</p>	<p>-client expectation that agency sex workers less likely to require screening than independent sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>WANT to do on the job. Some things we're obligated to do, so the same will apply to sex professionals.</p> <p>Independent providers have more privilege of choosing who they see. There are screening requirements that hobbyist must pass in order to see a provider. Once a session is booked and a John walks through a door, then a girl can't just opt out if she doesn't like appearance or some other physical attributes. At this point a girl is somewhat obligated to deliver promised services, unless there are good reasons not to (ie: poor hygiene, bad smell etc)</p> <p>It is a bit different for agency SPs and Spa MPs. They neither get to screen anyone nor have any idea who they're going to see. Can they decline service if they choose not to see a client? YES, but I don't think it's a good idea for a girl or Agency/SPA she works for. If hobbyists get a whiff of the fact that a service isn't guaranteed, then they'll avoid such business.</p> <p>As far as double standards are concerned, I don't believe it applies quite frankly. Clients get to review a business and services provided. Haven't really heard of a successful business that reviews clients. Bad idea some might say.</p> <p>I'll say this: some people need more class, especially when talking about or reviewing ladies. We are all human beings with feelings and emotions. Let's not forget that.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that agency sex workers are held accountable by sex work agency</p>	
<p>CLIENT G: “I’d say yes but I understand why guys get mad. I mean sp’s are supposed to be a guarantee hence the transaction. If they insult you after it’s basically like them trying to get you by hollering at you on the street, you politely rejecting them, and them insulting you after.</p> <p>It’s an ego thing because sps should be a for sure score. If you are a sex worker anyone with enough money will feel entitled to have you. It’s flat out the energy you put out there.I don’t know if it’s wrong or not because it hard to decipher what is wrong in the sex trade.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers accept all clients -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal view of the role of sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT H: “How would you poll an instance where a provider chooses to cancel a booking with a client already waiting at a meeting location?</p> <p>How about a poll where a girl takes a donation, then chooses not to provide a good service because she isn't into a client?</p> <p>How about a poll where such a girl gets a bad review on TERB, then comes here and gives "Her side of the story" by bashing a client?</p>		

<p>IMO, it's not as easy as a YES or a NO poll.”</p>		
<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT H): “Those are completely different scenarios than what I am referring to .</p> <p>My poll is about guys who contact girls and then get turned down during the booking process - meaning no gas / money spent on trying to see her.</p> <p>IMHO, if a guy gets to an incall location and the girl has to cancel for whatever reason - she is definitely responsible and should apologize .</p> <p>As for your second question it is not about being into a client (we all know how this business works , let's not flatter ourselves here.) . Sure regulars can become friends but it is still a business . If a girl denies a bbbj or kissing to a client you have to remember that she can have her reasons for doing that. For example if she doesn't kiss it could be because the client has bad breath , or how about if a client has bad body odor / pimples / foul smell coming from down there ? For me those are valid reasons for refusing such services. Hygiene after all is the most important thing. I mean you wouldn't go down on a girl if she had a really bad odor down there would you ? These are the double standards I am talking about.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to provide any type of service during session</p> <p>-sex worker expectation formed based on physical comfort</p> <p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason</p> <p>-sex worker expectation that they should cancel appointment before client arrives to see them</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p> <p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT H): “My poll is about whether or not girls have the right to choose who they see. It had nothing to do with services. Although since you brought it up , guys need to remember services are offered not promised and good hygiene is a must to get said services (bbbj , cim , kissing , etc)</p> <p>My last question in my initial post was " Do girls have a right to choose who they see just like the guys do ?".</p> <p>I apologize if it wasn't clear what I was talking about.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to provide any type of service during session</p> <p>-sex worker expectation that no services are guaranteed and whether or not the sex worker provides the service is dependent on client's qualities</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER C (in response to CLIENT H): “How about you start threads on those polls yourself? What do they have do with THIS question?</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>

<p>I wrote a thread a few months ago about turning a guy away at the door. Why? Because he had a fever and I take temperatures at the door.</p> <p>Are you really saying I should have still seen him anyways and risked my health? Because by ignoring THIS question and replying defensively, it is basically saying women don't have the right to choose and I don't want to think that is what you are saying.</p> <p>Yours are important topics too, don't get me wrong. Ones that have been discussed in length but you are more than welcome to post threads and polls about them. By choosing not to answer this question and instead respond with what impacts you, is selfishly ignoring what impacts us. If you want a cooperative relationship between escorts and clients or at least want us to be understanding to your issues, you have to be able to be open to our issues. This is one of them. So let's discuss this in this thread and you or someone else can start a thread about your concerns and we escorts can jump in there and give our opinion about those topics."</p>	<p>they can refuse to accept any client for any reason</p> <p>-sex worker expectation that they can cancel appointment when client arrives at door</p> <p>-sex worker expectation formed based on own safety/health</p>	<p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT H (in response to SEX WORKER C): "[SEX WORKER C], perhaps read all my posts in this thread.</p> <p>I did say that Yes, girls generally get to choose, especially if there's an alarming reason to do so.</p> <p>I was simply highlighting the fact that it's not a simple Yes or No in such a poll.</p> <p>What I did notice is that there are opposite perspectives (provider vs client) and we don't necessarily hear or even want to hear each other."</p>	<p>-conflicting expectation between client and sex worker</p>	<p>-lack of established/known rules/boundaries /protocol for sex work services/session</p>
<p>CLIENT I: "A woman's body belongs to her and only her - her choice end of discussion."</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT H (in response to SEX WORKER C): "I get it. Girls refuse service and get called names, bad reviews, threatned etc. It's ugly.</p> <p>I'm not being offensive or defensive or us vs them or whatever you want to call it.</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept a client depending on</p>	

<p>What if some other business refused services to you?</p> <p>Can they all refuse service? Absolutely!</p> <p>Should they? In what manner? It would depend, wouldn't it? And that's my point!"</p>	<p>the situation and as long as the reason is provided to the client</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires/feelings</p>	
<p>CLIENT J: "It may be a mindset ingrained in our society. For instance, if I were to refuse to serve someone because I had a bad feeling about them, I could very well be dragged through court for discrimination. It's generally frowned upon to deny service unless the customer is blatantly be threatening or posing a health risk to me.</p> <p>Obviously escorting is slightly different, and more personal. I personally think *any* business or service provider should be able to deny service for any reason, but I don't think a human rights tribunal would agree with me! lol</p> <p>Nor would I personally deny service except for serious reasons. But that's my stance."</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason</p> <p>-client expectation that sex workers refusing to accept a client could be seen as discriminatory</p> <p>-client expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT K (in response to CLIENT H): "An Uber car belongs to the driver and only to the driver: would it be OK for him to refuse service for someone (except in the case when the client wears a cloth that can stain/damage the car)? I would say yes for both the Uber driver and SP, but both of them will get deserved negative review to alert future clients and may lose some business. So, yes, girls have the right o refuse and refused clients hae the right to write bad honest revies to alert others."</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should be able to refuse to accept any client for any reason</p> <p>-client expectation that sex workers who refuse to accept clients should</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex worker</p>

	<p>expect negative reviews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions -sex worker pressured by client -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost potential clientele) 	
<p>SEX WORKER A: “If an sp turns down a client for whatever reason during the text exchange , I do not believe that warrants a bad review / threatening a bad review because he can not evaluate her services , looks , personality , etc. As some have said before it is just what they do / say to manipulate a girl into seeing them.</p> <p>It gets a little tricky when your comparing different businesses to the sex business”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that sex workers should not get a negative review for refusing to accept a client -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions -sex worker pressured by client -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (lost potential clientele) -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (pressure to have less restrictions) 	<p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>
<p>SEX WORKER C (in response to CLIENT A): “escorts reject clients all the time. Age Restrictions, race restrictions, weight restrictions, screening, deposits only, etc, etc. The list goes on. That is not even getting into hygiene issues, rude</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that they can refuse 	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>

<p>behaviour, boundary pushing, etc...it is not fair to say that every client that sees an SP is paying to not be rejected. The purpose of seeing an escort is to get bust a nut and get some companion.”</p>	<p>to accept any client for any reason</p>	
<p>CLIENT A: “but men CAN visit escorts to prevent rejection. That’s what I am trying to say.</p> <p>I’m utilizing this hobby as a method to spend time with women who are my type. Seeing escorts who are my type greatly lessens my chances of getting rejected vs asking women who are my type out on a date.”</p>		
<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT A): “You kind of proved my point lol. Guys tend to see sps who are their "type" so why shouldn't a girl have the same rights ?</p> <p>If she feels that her and the client do not click / mesh well via the initial call / text/ booking process than doesn't she have the right to turn him down to avoid giving him a bad experience / sub par experience ?”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any client for any reason</p> <p>-sex worker expectation formed based on desire to avoid subpar experience for client</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p> <p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT A (in response to SEX WORKER A): “You do have every right, reason and obligation to turn down a client. I’m not sure how you can “click” well with a client during the booking process. Maybe they have poor business etiquette or don’t know how to fill out a screening form properly that makes you not want to see them? Then that’s a valid reason to not see them.</p> <p>If you don’t click with them because you don’t personally find them attractive or vibe with them, then I find that counter-intuitive. I don’t see why that matters when you’re a professional. I also don’t see why some SPs feel the need to mix their personal dating preferences with their clients.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should not be able to refuse to accept a client if the reason for refusal is personal taste</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal view of the role of sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectation</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT A): “I dont know of any ladies that mix their dating preferences with this business/ their clients. It has nothing to do with looks and more to do with how comfortable an escort and client are.</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they can refuse to accept any</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p> <p>-how sex worker expectations are</p>

<p>For example if you text me and you are coming off as creepy, rude , or demeaning then I feel I do have the right to turn you down . If you are rude over text than what makes me think you won't be rude in person ? . It has nothing to do with rejecting you and more to do with how comfortable I/ we are meeting you.</p> <p>There are also tons of guys who go and see an escort and yes the service was great but the chemistry was off which can make for a lackluster session. Wouldn't you want to see someone who makes you comfortable , pleases you and you can have great conversations ? Or do you prefer the wham bam thank you ma'am approach ?”</p>	<p>client for any reason -sex worker expectation formed based on desire to avoid subpar experience for client -sex worker expectation formed based on comfort</p>	<p>formed</p>
<p>CLIENT L: “If prostitution were ever made legal, this might become an interesting legal problem. Sex is a service, and businesses aren’t allowed to refuse service based on race etc.... So, the girls might end up legal obligated to service anyone who met the asking price.”</p>	<p>-client expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws</p>	<p>-how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>SEX WORKER B (in response to CLIENT L): “Wrong. Businesses can still refuse service to anyone. There have been a ton of court cases on this. It can be seen as discriminatory, and maybe it is, but business owners have rights to refuse, as they should, within reason.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws</p>	<p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT M (in response to CLIENT L): “Yes, businesses could get in trouble for refusing service based on section 15 of the Charter.”</p>	<p>-client expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws -client expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be similar to expectations for other services</p>	<p>-how client expectations are formed -client expectations</p>

<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT M): “We are not talking about regular businesses here lol. We are talking about a girl and a guy being extremely intimate with each other . Two totally different ends of the spectrum if you ask me”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should not be similar to expectations for other services -conflicting expectation between client and sex worker</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -lack of established/known rules/boundaries/p rotocol for sex work services/session</p>
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Table 8. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A (about SEX WORKER A): “she does no kissing (I’m a hot guy and I get pretty high milage), which was a turn off as I prefer GFE”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual acts associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B (in response to CLIENT A): “No kissing means no GFE so how is she \$300 per hour”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual acts associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation that safe GFE/GFE/PSE sessions come at specific price points</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT C (in response to CLIENT B): “It’s not a meritocracy. She sets her rate. It’s up to hobbyists to do the research.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that services provided for specific rates dependent on sex worker</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT D (in response to CLIENT C): “Disagree completely At each agency you know by the price point what services are provided. God this page is so pro provider lol”</p>	<p>-client expectation that the specific</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

	services provided are directly related to price of session	
<p>CLIENT E (in response to CLIENT D): “LOL, it has never been that way. Historically, most agencies had the exact same rate for every girl regardless of service, looks or anything else.</p> <p>The whole reason for having a review board is exactly because you don't know what services to expect from each provider.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that the services provided by sex workers cannot be predicted based on price of session</p> <p>-client expectation that all agency sex workers have the same rate for different services</p> <p>-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with other sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>

Table 9. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: "Curious which escort agencies prices are all inclusive and which have upsell. Is this a thing or am I asking a stupid question?"</p> <p>Thanks in advance for answering my question."</p>		
<p>CLIENT B: "Mostly all inclusive. Some agencies will specify if extras prior."</p>	<p>-client expectation that the price of a session usually includes the cost of all individual sexual services</p> <p>-client expectation that some sexual services may cost extra on top of session cost</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT C: "There might be some upcharges that are specific to individual SPs"</p>	<p>-client expectation that some sexual services may cost extra on top of session cost</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT D: "I'll start by saying that I am in no position to dictate what a lady should be comfortable offering and what she should charge for it.</p> <p>What I will say however is that there should be some clear, upfront and honest information about restrictions and upcharges (if applicable). Each SP/agency should be clear on what they consider to be GFE/PSE. Does GFE include COF? Does PSE include CIM? Answers to these questions should be clear. I always text to find out if it isn't and I feel like most of you do the same...so providers/agencies might as well be upfront about that information to save themselves dozens, hundreds or thousands of texts asking for the same thing.</p> <p>Now, MY experience has shown me that most providers who up charge for a service never want to do it in the first place. That's why I only book with ladies who charge for their time and who commit to an "all-inclusive" PSE session. The only upcharge I can understand is Greek. But if you're telling me you're charging extra for BBBJ, CIM, SF2, etc - that tells me you're not interested in doing those things in the first place. I've paid extra for stuff before (+20 for CIM, +20 for this and that) and each and every time - it's half-assed. Think about it from a "what's sexier?" perspective: the girl who has like 5 extras she'll only do once you pay up, or the girl who will rock your world for a flat rate (her time's worth)? You may end up paying the same amount - which is why this isn't about money - this is about service and being upfront and honest about what you're comfortable doing. Personally, I'll take the provider who charges \$300 an hour and tells me: "let me</p>	<p>-client expectation that advertisements for sex workers should contain information on specific services provided</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires/feelings</p> <p>-client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with other sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>

<p>know when you're close 'cause I HAVE to taste your cum" vs the provider who starts at \$240 an hour and works her way up to \$300 with extra this and extra that (sometimes interrupting the heat of the moment to demand the money right there right then) and ends up half-assing the service and killing the mood.”</p>		
<p>CLIENT E (in response to CLIENT D): “In theory no agency is allowed to do that. It's a violation of the Criminal Code provisions against 3rd party advertising of another person's sexual services. Agencies that make such information available are potentially leaving themselves open to legal trouble. Some risk it; most don't.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that the specific services offered by a sex worker may not be outlined in their ad -client expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT F: “More or less standard: BBBJ and covered FS. A few girls will only do covered BJ on first date or because your dick looks unclean.</p> <p>Most girls who do CIM or CIMS W just do it and don't charge. It's a little hard to negotiate it with a dick in her mouth. A few will charge like \$20 or so for CIM/CIMS W.</p> <p>The real upcharge tends to be Greek. Not all girls will do it, and those that do won't do it with all clients, but generally if they do it at all they'll charge like \$100.</p> <p>It hurts.”</p>	<p>-client expectation of ‘full service’ each session -client expectation of specific sexual services included in the cost of a ‘standard’ session -client expectation of specific sexual acts not included in the cost of a ‘standard’ session</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

Table 10. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “I see people asking for PSE. It is my understanding that Gfe is dfk/daty/bbbj. What is PSE? Does cim make it pse or are more services involved like Greek and ff?”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B (in response to CLIENT A): “It is a feeling you get post session.</p>	<p>-client</p>	<p>-client</p>

<p>When you leave a session and think you're gonna catch an STD you probably had a PSE session.”</p>	<p>expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT C: “They will vary by provider. Pse means Greek for some, means cim for others, etc., etc. Sometimes it's more the style of the interaction. Hence keep an eye on reviews. But know there is no industry standard.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT D: “It’s those extra things the the regular GF won’t do. Includes but not limited to CIM, rimming, DT to the point of gagging, Greek, FF, facials. Pretty much the stuff you see in porn but your GF probably won’t do.”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT E: “Lol there's also the "happy user bias" ... You think you got PSE, cause she let you touch her asshole, vs ... The other guy that says, he did Greek to cimsw and calls that PSE..</p> <p>Context of definitions are dependent on the poster, etc, and all SP's are different.</p> <p>Basically - the only thing for sure with GFE or PSE... Is 99.99% You'll be putting your covered member in some SP's orifice. That's guaranteed. (If that doesn't happen, I'll substitute for that sp, pay me, and we can talk. you won't get your member going anywhere, but I'll gladly take your money lol)</p> <p>GFE or PSE is very subjective. Depends on the gal and depends on the reviewer</p> <p>E.g... Some people think they'll get an STI being in the same bed with an sp.. is it possible?... Yeah, you can get crabs and or scabies . Probability is extremely low.. But for some people that's a lot.”</p>	<p>-client expectation of ‘full service’ each session</p> <p>-client expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT F: “GFE is supposed to be a more passionate service while PSE is rather</p>	<p>-client</p>	<p>-client</p>

<p>intense. There are a lot of speculations there. Speaking abbreviation language I would say that the minimal set for GFE is: DFK, DATY, BBBJ, CFS. Light front DIGITS, CIM, DT could be considered as a bonus. PSE include all above plus: DT, FF, CIM (or CIMSW), COF, COB, intense DIGITS, some rough play. GREEK and rear DIGITS could be included or extra. However, it varies depending on the provider. There is not a reliable regulatory document for that”</p>	<p>expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation that sexual services provided vary depending on sex worker</p>	<p>expectations</p>
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Table 11. The Lounge

<p>SEX WORKER A: “I am posting this in hopes in clarifying what seems to be a point of debate.</p> <p>EXPERIENCES.....</p> <p>“The girlfriend experience (GFE) refers to a specific type of sex trade work in which the female sex worker role plays as the client's girlfriend. This type of service is similar to an escort service. The focus is more on the complete interpersonal experience rather than the focus being primarily on sex. On the contrary, The porn star experience (PSE) focuses primarily on the sexual encounter. Services provided can and often do vary from service provider depending on a variety of factors.....”</p> <p>SERVICES.....</p> <p>Here is a link to approximately 200 related acronyms and abbreviations regarding escorts with many to do with services</p> <p>https://www.allacronyms.com/escorts/abbreviations</p> <p>There are “safe services” available and can be offered REGARDLESS of the experience. GFE or PSE EXPERIENCES can include a wide variety of many, many, many, many different services</p> <p>To state again</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>
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<p>Gfe - #1. date like experience with connection, #2. Sexual connection</p> <p>Pse - #1. Concentration on sexuality only</p> <p>SERVICES are specific “acts” offered by the lady, NOT THE EXPERIENCE</p> <p>Once again</p> <p>Experience = experience offered</p> <p>Service = services offered”</p>		
<p>CLIENT A: “The terms SAFE GFE, GFE or PSE describe what to expect from an SP in a session, and have the following abbreviations attached to them, and I am sure the majority of hobbyists and SP's would agree. As always not considering YMMV</p> <p>Safe GFE-----LK, CBJ, FS no exchange of body fluids of any type and everything is protected GFE-----LFK, DFK, BBBJ, DATY, DIGITS, FS PSE-----Same as GFE plus any of the following services GREEK, DT, CIM, CIMSW, SLAPPING, SPITTING, SUB, DOM, Rough sex.....It doesn't have to be all could be just one of the services for eg there are some PSE providers who will provide GREEK but not CIM which is fine because that's what they are comfortable with. But just because they don't offer one it doesn't mean the other is not an PSE service.</p> <p>Services are specific acts offered by the SP and would fall in one of those 3 categories, and not based on what the SP feels is GFE otherwise every person would have a different meaning for SAFE GFE, GFE and PSE. CBJ is not considered GFE services and GREEK is not considered GFE, neither is BBBJ considered SAFE GFE. They are categorized as I stated them above. LL girls used to pull the trick of posting in their ads or telling clients over the phone and in texts they were GFE providers to get them to book and when clients showed up none of those GFE services were offered or provided.</p> <p>The very high majority of hobbyists when told the SP is a GFE provider will expect the above acronyms in terms of service.”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A: “You are talking about something completely and totally different than the point. I did not ever state that certain things go with certain words. Expectation of “SERVICES” is not the experience.</p> <p>It is disappointing to be so misunderstood</p> <p>Of course there are specific services that are understood BUT there is a reason for</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that no specific services should be expected for GFE/PSE -sex worker</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>

<p>“YMMV””</p>	<p>expectation that clients should not assume specific services will be offered to everyone (YMMV)</p>	
<p>CLIENT A (in response to SEX WORKER A): “Again services are specific acts offered by an SP that would fall under one of those 3 categories. When you say she is a GFE provider but does not provide BBBJ, DFK or DATY (not withstanding YMMV) that is incorrect as you are describing a SAFE GFE provider. It's really not that hard to understand”</p> <p>“Safe GFE-----LK, CBJ, FS no exchange of body fluids of any type and everything is protected GFE-----LFK, DFK, BBBJ, DATY, DIGITS, FS PSE-----Same as GFE plus any of the following services GREEK, DT, CIM, CIMSW, SLAPPING, SPITTING, SUB, DOM, Rough sex.....It doesn't have to be all could be just one of the services Most would agree these acronyms represent the experience (not withstanding YMMV). If there is an SP who is listed as a GFE provider and a client shows up with BO and she gives him a CBJ that is called YMMV, but if there is an SP who is listed as a GFE provider and provides CBJ to all of her clients she is a SAFE GFE provider.”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “This is interesting. When I first started I assumed what services are provided is different than GFE/PSE as the latter is more the type of session and connection a provider has. But I was wrong and as posters correctly pointed out when someone mentions GFE or PSE it is referring to a set of services for the most part . Things like GREEK are always considered PSE and BBBJ vs CBJ is GFE.</p> <p>Having said that there is no formula, your not ordering an object from a menu and everyone is different so I think it’s best practice to always check with a girl re specific services to make sure everyone is on the same page early when you first meet them. I do this once when I meet someone and it takes away the guess work. For example CIMWS a common PSE thing is sometimes offered by “GFE” providers. Another example DIGITS is sometimes not provided by a GFE girl who does everything else like BBBJ DFK etc. I think it’s common sense to check with someone before you stick your finger in. Another thing is sometimes a girl whose okay with BBBJ may not be okay with it for round 2 given exposure to cum, that’s rare but has happened to me before. So while GFE/PSE refers to a set of services when referenced for me there does exist variations based on provider</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation of rules/services formed based on client reviews</p>	

<p>and that makes sense cause people are different and not everyone can be categorized into 2-3 categories. So I think when people talk about services just saying gfe or PSE is not always specific enough</p> <p>Overall I hate to say this but I agree with [CLIENT A] in that when GFE or PSE is mentioned the services he mentions are expected but my point is it's best to always just check for some specific things in advance as some provide "extras" or the opposite.</p>		
<p>CLIENT C: "Given what I've seen in the industry, when a woman starts talking about the 'experience' vs. 'services', what she really means by the 'experience' is when a guy pays to sit with, look at, and talk to an SP in some social situation, buy her gifts, take her to a show, out to dinner, all on his dime, and over and above the hourly rate. At the end of their time together, there is likely to be at a minimum FS, but not guaranteed. This is NOT a girlfriend experience. This is a BLIND DATE.</p> <p>Lots of guys date, unsuccessfully, in real life and never get even a sniff of sex. They're called incels.</p> <p>There are also guys who will pay hookers for this kind of interaction as well, but they are the exception, not the norm, or even a close majority, regardless of the narrative some providers try to advance.</p> <p>This thread seems like an another attempt to simply lower client expectations of receiving sexual services from a provider based on a twisted definition of GFE.</p> <p>[CLIENT A]'s definition is without a shadow of a doubt EXACTLY how the client side of the industry describes the variations of client-SP relations."</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p> <p>-conflicting expectation between client and sex worker</p> <p>-client expectation that sex worker trying to clarify service expectations is an attempt at lowering client expectations</p> <p>-sex worker shamed for trying to manage client expectations</p> <p>-sex worker pressured to have less restrictions</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-lack of established/kn own rules/boundar ies/protocol for sex work services/sessi on</p> <p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex worker</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A: "Everyone seems to think I am attempting to explain which service goes with which experience. I am not. Perhaps in a simpler format using a fake review</p> <p>I seen fluffy yesterday. When I entered the location we sat and talked about my recent vacation and laughed about a funny video we seen. We shared a glass of wine then she invited me to take a shower. THIS IS DESCRIBING A TYPICAL GIRLFRIEND "EXPERIENCE". When I met her in the bedroom we (insert as many abbreviations you wish. THIS IS SERVICES</p> <p>I seen fluffy yesterday. When I entered the location we spoke briefly and then she invited me to take a shower THIS IS DESCRIBING A TYPICAL PORN STAR</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE</p> <p>-sex worker expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p>

<p>“EXPERIENCE”</p> <p>[CLIENT A] is attempting to say services = experience</p> <p>I am simply saying any services can be included in any experience</p> <p>As an agency owner, let me put this one last way</p> <p>Gfe “experience” set up....may include lighting candles, putting a bottle of wine out, soft music, beautiful lighting, preparing a nice place to sit outside of the bedroom</p> <p>The lady provides any and all services</p> <p>Pse experience set up....may include music, perhaps porn on, I would not prepare a nice place to sit and chat</p> <p>The lady provides any and all services</p> <p>You can continue to argue which services go with which experiences but that is no way even near the point. You are stating this service goes with this experience which more speaks to the point of them being two different things.</p> <p>As a now agency owner, I speak VERY clearly and care that the wants, needs and expectations of our clients are met. I can assure you (giving the amount of very positive feedback we have received) that the individual needs, wants and desires are met with great success. While getting to know what the desired outcome of any client that calls, I ask what type of experience they want along with the services they are looking for which differ from client to client. Knowing the difference between experience and services is the key to a successful appointment</p> <p>Clients not getting services as promised is not what this is about. Actually the extreme opposite where all SERVICES are listed upfront so there are no issues, surprises or clients feeling like they got taken”</p>		
<p>CLIENT A (in response to SEX WORKER A): “That is exactly what I am saying. The majority of hobbyists would also agree with that.</p> <p>When it come to SAFE GFE (Which you keep omitting from your posts), GFE or PSE, although it stands for "Experience" they are associated with certain services. Matter of fact many if not all clients who use classifieds or have used classifieds in the past like LL or BP will refer to the above and then add the word services in the end. For eg they will ask the SP "Do you provide GFE services"?</p> <p>As the services I posted earlier are associated with those experiences the very high majority if not all the times.</p> <p>Again no one in their right mind would say I am looking for SAFE GFE then expect CIM, just like no one in their right mind would say I am looking for PSE</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with safe GFE/GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>and expect CBJ. Whether it's a client or an SP whose definition differs from that, they are wrong or doing it purposely.</p> <p>So when your website describes GFE Services include CBJ, DATY, LFK</p> <p>or</p> <p>GFE services include DFK, LFK, CBJ, and Protected DATY</p> <p>You are incorrect as those are SAFE GFE services which you are classifying as GFE services.</p> <p>(As always notwithstanding YMMV cases)</p> <p>You keep omitting SAFE GFE in all of your posts. The question is do you believe SAFE GFE providers exist?</p> <p>If yes what does that encompass?</p> <p>If no what is your reasoning?</p> <p>Do you believe an SP can provide CBJ to all her clients and be considered a GFE provider?"</p>		
<p>SEX WORKER B: "I resonate with what [SEX WORKER A] is alluding to, as it relates also to the realm of indy sps.</p> <p>Any sp can provide the exactly same set of services and be considered GFE or PSE in their experience and execution. In theory, this makes complete sense. However, in practice, most gents, especially those searching primarily based on services, are not so much worried about the sp's philosophy of sex work. Most just want the services. Therefore, it's become much simpler that services are synonymous with experience.. this is the way it's been for a long time and I don't think it will change.</p> <p>Just having had 2 duos with [SEX WORKER C] made me truly understand this.. my experience with her with 1 client was completely different than with another client. Though her menu offers a whole range of things, the experience catered and executed is a complete entity on its own.. from PSE to GFE she manoeuvred so gracefully. My reviews also say that I am a mix of GFE/PSE (as they are talking about certain services), however my philosophy and brand has always been and will always be GFE. It doesn't help the confusion when separate</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation that clients will have expectations for specific sexual services associated</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences</p>

<p>pricepoints are often reflected by advertising indys or agencies with GFE/PSE pricing.”</p>	<p>with GFE/PSE</p>	
<p>CLIENT E (in response to CLIENT A): “Completely agree.</p> <p>A lot of confusion arose when providers who did not provide true GFE came up with the term SAFE GFE, which is actually a contradiction in terms. Think about what GFE means. It means the types of things that a guy does with his Girlfriend. They French kiss and she gives him a BBBJ (with the occasional exception). So doing CBJ and LFK is not what you get from your girlfriend. I am a safe GFE means that I am not a GFE.</p> <p>Pretty sure that [SEX WORK AGENCY OWNER NAME] will back me up but I came up with the term Classic GFE, what GFE originally meant, i.e. DFK, BBBJ DATY.</p> <p>Since the term GFE has been bastardized and made ambiguous by the prefix of "safe" and can be interpreted different ways, Classic GFE means one thing and one thing only, the triumvirate of sexual services DFK, BBBJ, DATY.”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT F (in response to SEX WORKER A): “What [CLIENT A] is attempting to provide is the language and meanings commonly familiar, and used by the members of the TERB community to identify services. These may not accurately correspond to any outside definitions and meanings, but they are a part of our language and have been for years.</p> <p>To argue about experiences versus services is not productive, since the two are interrelated in the minds of most TERB members.</p> <p>Some terms have evolved to have their own meanings and understanding among the TERB community. As a new comer, you are not expected to understand or agree, however that is just the way the members here communicate services. What goes on outside this forum can be a source of confusion, and disappointment, since TERB has it's own community vernacular and language, and a hobbyist can sometimes also forget that fact. When such situations happen, it's a common reaction for TERB members to interpret the misunderstanding as an attempt to deceive, which is not necessarily the case, so please do not take offense.”</p>	<p>-client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation that TERB clients may have different expectations from non-TERB clients</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT A [in response to CLIENT F]: “This is not limited to TERB members. Anyone (SP's or Clients) who has been around this industry in the last 15 years or so, or any client that has booked an SP through some sort of online ad should be and is well aware of these acronyms and that they are associated with which experience.</p> <p>Ever since the birth and boom of online ads originally started with Craigslist and then onto Backpages I would say around 2005, SP's and agencies have been advertising GFE, PSE and even SAFE GFE and the clients know which acronyms</p>	<p>-client expectation that TERB clients do not have different expectations from non-TERB clients about GFE/PSE -client expectation</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>

<p>and services apply to which category. Even prior to C-36 all were able to even advertise every single service they provided.</p> <p>[SEX WORKER A] is not new, she has been working as an SP herself for quite a few years and is well aware of these terms, services and acronyms.</p> <p>As I said earlier whether it's a client or an SP whose definition differs from that posted above, they are either wrong or doing it purposely.”</p>	<p>of rules/services formed based on advertisements for sex workers</p>	
<p>CLIENT G: “experience = vibe service = things we did thats how I look at it”</p>	<p>-client expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -client expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER B: “Ok, I can't bite my tongue any longer on this topic.</p> <p>As someone who has been an indy SP & agency SP, and at times both. I have had this conversation many times over my 5 year career in this industry.</p> <p>It's right there in the acronym, girlfriend experience & porn star experience. These types of calls are referred to in such a way as to convey that one is sensual & bordering on romantic(GFE) the other is a call that is hyper-focused on sexual presentation & passion(PSE). For example kind of like the difference between a waltz & a tango.</p> <p>Services are a seperate ball game. Always has been.</p> <p>GFE & PSE services vary between providers & over the years industry standards have changed over time, sometimes in the same year. We are seeing that shift now some clients want safer services, others trust their providers to get tested & be cautious with new clients.</p> <p>Either way, nothing in this world is static, everything is fluid & ever changing. Being so rigid as to say; (I'm paraphrasing so don't bite my head off, k) "If I book GFE it has to include XYZ or it's not true GFE" or "I'm booking PSE & it must include greek or it's a scam"..</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that there are no specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation for specific feeling or style of interaction associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker expectation that clients should not assume specific services will be offered to everyone (YMMV) -sex worker shamed with negative client review for not meeting their</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>

<p>Clients who say these things make me scratch my head in confusion, like wouldn't you rather book someone who offers the service you seek? You know enthusiastic consent...</p> <p>But nope some will go "shit post" on an SP's good review to "teach her" for not offering the set list of services they feel fits their definition of GFE or PSE.</p> <p>When this is your only line of thinking, you are actually depriving yourself of a good time with a wonderful provider because "x service isn't offered" & frankly it's your loss. IMO.</p> <p>Now before I go, I'm going to speak to some of my experiences for a better perspective, you can read it or not, wanna twist my words you can try; frankly I think this argument has been hashed & rehashed so many times it's now being used, sometimes in a malicious fashion.</p> <p>When I started 5 years ago if you didn't offer BBBJ you barely got bookings, the first time a client asked me for CBJ, I was a bit shocked & he told me when he started CBJ was common, he joked I was probably in highschool when that was still a thing..</p> <p>Also when I started 5 years ago, I only offered GFE really until my 2nd year because I was scared as hell to call myself PSE incase some guy wrote me a bad review because I don't do greek & trust me clients who book PSE with me get quite the experience, what I lack in the offering greek I more than make up for..</p> <p>I've been called the energizer bunny, ffs, but by some peoples definition I'm not a real PSE because I don't offer greek & to that I call bullshit, because it is.</p> <p>What I'm trying to convey here is when you confuse experience with services, getting stuck on acronyms you deprive yourself of the true range available from individual providers who have so much more to offer than a list of letters."</p>	<p>expectations</p>	
<p>CLIENT B: "Just trying to pass on useful information that I've learned from using this board so other hobbyists specially new ones can educate themselves better and have more positive experiences and not be mis informed about the regularities of what is to be expected in the industry. Specially since there is a barrage of nefarious posters on the board in the last 2 years whose sole intentions are to represent the Twitter stance of SP's here."</p> <p>CLIENT B (in response to CLIENT G): "Service and experience will always be synonymous with one another. Just like I wouldn't show up to see an SP who advertises as a SAFE GFE expecting to receive GREEK or CIM from her, I would not show up to see an SP who advertises as GFE or PSE and expect to receive CBJ or LK. (As always not withstanding YMMV)"</p>	<p>-sex workers having rules that are not aligned with client expectations is seen as a scam -sex workers shamed for establishing rules not aligned with client expectations -client expectation for specific sexual services associated</p>	<p>-client expectations -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>

<p>CLIENT B: “Unfortunately there has always been and will always be some less than reputable SP's or agency who will attempt to change the definition of SAFE GFE to GFE because using the term GFE instead of SAFE GFE is a better way to market or advertise to clients, more accepted, and will garner them more clients. Just because they use false advertising tactics it doesn't and will not change the fact that certain services (CBJ, LK) are associated with SAFE GFE providers and not GFE providers.</p> <p>Most of these ads throughout the years who have attempted to change this definition were less than reputable SP's or agencies who for the very high majority were on BP, LL, and other classifieds. Some indy SP's and B&S Asian agencies tried doing this on TERB years ago and it didn't work, but those who were able to get away with it and continued to intentionally advertise this way were successful because they rely on clients who do not know any better. In many cases this was nothing but a tactic to upsell these basic GFE services as PSE.</p> <p>For Eg. the SP advertising under the guise of a GFE provider would then tell you LK and CBJ is a part of her GFE services but for \$50 extra you can upgrade to her PSE menu which will include DFK and BBBJ. Again those services are a part of GFE services if any SP or agency tells you otherwise they are either wrong or doing it purposely to charge the clients more or to provide less services. Thankfully I stay away from such providers who do not know the definition of the basics or those who are willfully advertising these differences to scam unsuspecting clients of money or services, and throughout the years I've avoided many SP's this way.</p> <p>Far too many reputable SP's and agencies in this city to pick from than to reward this type of behavior.</p> <p>For any new members who are reading this thread the following is a list of services that are associated with SAFE GFE, GFE, and PSE respectively.....Please learn the difference and book accordingly.</p> <p>SAFE GFE-----LK, CBJ, FS no exchange of body fluids of any type and everything is protected GFE-----LFK, DFK, BBBJ, DATY, DIGITS, FS PSE-----Same as GFE plus any one of the following services GREEK, DT, CIM, CIMSW, SPITTING, SLAPPING, SUB, DOM, ROUGH SEX</p> <p>(As always not withstanding YMMV)”</p>	<p>with GFE/PSE</p>	
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Table 12. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>SEX WORKER A: “As a companion it really makes no difference to me how the donation is given envelope, no envelope, whatever is most convenient for you as long as it's given in full and at the start of the date. This isn't to "ruin the mood" or anything of that nature but sadly it should be noted that in my experience agency behaviour can be to want to pay at the end. As companions this is ridiculous and it's actually very easy for a client to short the envelope [WITH PAYMENT INSIDE], have nothing even in the envelope when they give it (yes this actually happened to me) along with so many other potential issues. It's best to make your companion feel comfortable and offer that up respectfully before expecting play</p> <p>I have had gents say "what am I going to jump out the window without paying you" and at this point I would not be surprised if someone tried as I have had many gentleman show up to a date with 0 money”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that clients pay in full at or before start of session -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences -sex worker expectations formed based on desire to avoid chance of non-payment</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT A: “Funny was just thinking about this after seeing a girl recently. I've always placed the bills one by one on the bed or counter, but only after finishing and showering, in full view of the girl.</p> <p>For me personally I find being asked for the money upfront is a little offputting, although I get it and I do that when asked, usually by girls very new to the industry.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that clients should pay after the session</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “Paying up front puts the ladies mind at ease and should also your own. It eliminates the possible risk of stumbling out happy at the end of a great visit and forgetting to handover the donation.”</p>	<p>-clients expectation that clients should pay in full at or before start of session</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT C: “If I'm new to the lady, I always pay up front and place the cash on the table, dresser, nightstand or desk. If I'm a regular, sometimes I get caught up in the moment and am not thinking of money, but she knows I am good and there are no issues with payment.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that new clients of a sex worker should pay in full at or before start of session but regular clients can pay at the end - client expectation of rules/services formed based on previous experiences with other sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT D: “SPs can usually tell who will pay and who won't. I prefer paying after and my experience with outcalls with agencies is, the SP will eye me, eye the room and make a quick judgement that I have at least 300 and i come off like a proper dude. It kills my mood paying upfront (personal preference).”</p>	<p>-client expectation that clients should pay after the session -client expectation that sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

	should be able to make quick correct visual judgement to determine if a client will refuse to pay	
CLIENT E: “Always pay upfront otherwise you won’t get the best service. If you don’t pay upfront the sp will be thinking in the back of her mind that there’s a chance of getting ripped off. It’s a distraction to her. By paying upfront the sp will be relaxed and able to concentrate on you. I just don’t get why guys insist on paying after. A bad way to start your visit.”	-clients expectation that clients should pay in full at or before start of session	-client expectations
CLIENT F: “A friend i know was robbed. The girl came took the [MONEY] and said she left her phone in taxi and to come down with her. He went she got in cab then peeled off. This agency girl showed up and literally only wanted drugs, I called agency and explaind and they said just give her 100 and we will send someone free. So NO, I personally will not pay upfront. Agencies and indies can have issues. Im in a hotel. Where the fuck will I run to? Do I want a driver or pimp knocking at my door? NO”	-client expectation that clients should pay after the session -client expectation of rules/services formed based on other clients’ previous experiences with other sex workers -client expectations formed based on fear of getting robbed	-client expectations -how client expectations are formed
CLIENT G: “I never drop down the money up front unless the girl asks. The ones that do not ask never complain at the end when I pay them...and its not in an envelope either. Its like going to a nice restaurant, when you could dine in, eat first, pay later.”	-client expectation that clients should pay after the session -client expectation of rules/services formed based on understanding of other non-sex work services	-client expectations
CLIENT H (in response to CLIENT G): “It's not at all like going to a restaurant because you aren't putting your dick in anybody's orifices. A girl risking a client running away without paying is not only a monetary loss, it is a self esteem issue and rape. You cannot compare the two of them, if you dine and dash, you are hurting the restaurant \$40 or so; nothing else. A girl sucking and fucking has a lot more to lose than just money.”	-clients expectation that clients should pay in full at or before start of session -client expectation that expectations for sex worker services should be different from expectations for other services	-client expectations
CLIENT I: “If you are worried the girl will rip you off if you pay first, then see	-client expectation	-client

<p>reputable girls or use reputable agencies, avoiding random leolist girls. If you think leaving the donation till the end will make her “work harder” it’s a fallacy. The less comfortable she is with you, the less likely you will get extra special treatment.If you are worried the girl will rip you off if you pay first, then see reputable girls or use reputable agencies, avoiding random leolist girls. If you think leaving the donation till the end will make her “work harder” it’s a fallacy. The less comfortable she is with you, the less likely you will get extra special treatment.”</p>	<p>that well-reviewed sex workers are more trustworthy than sex workers with few/negative reviews -client expectation that sex workers working under agencies are more reliable / trustworthy than independent sex workers</p>	<p>expectations</p>
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Table 13. The Lounge

<p>SEX WORKER A: “From the SPs perspective... from what I've heard in group chats a lot of new ladies are scared to ask for the money [UPFRONT] or touch the envelope if they work for an agency and just pray that the money is there. They can be super worried about reviews and how they will be perceived by the board if someone complains. I have never been stiffed, just shorted pay once and 99% of the time I make sure I can see the money before proceeding just in case. The few times I didn't insist and had to wait until I was paid after made me a little preoccupied all session, and one guy even whipped out his wallet after we were done in a condescending way and said "So how much is it again FOR ME?" when I knew him and had come for outcall several times he knew the price he was just hoping for a discount... it can be stressful. A lot of girls have been stiffed and then it ruined their whole day or week because they felt stupid and violated not getting paid and someone ripping them off so it's understandable if anyone wants to make sure in advance.</p> <p>I don't think it's a knock against the SP as long as she's polite about it. I usually count the money while guys are in the shower at incalls, but for outcalls I can't do that so I just have to pray all of the money is in the envelope as it's almost always in an envelope and set aside on the desk when I walk in.</p> <p>Please understand that "seeming safe and friendly" doesn't really mean anything Ted Bundy seemed like a really nice guy. True scammers and psychopaths are experts in pretending to be someone they are not and in the industry we all have to deal with that kind of guy once in a while. It's not a knock against the truly nice gents we have nothing to fear from, but perhaps consider that you shouldn't knock a lady for wanting to be relaxed in the session instead of secretly being worried if she'll be paid at the end or not. A few ladies have even said guys put cut up paper in the envelope or fake bills so it looks real and don't find out until after they leave. Another lady was paid in Visa gift cards and when she checked them all of them were empty. Some even said only</p>	<p>-sex worker pressured by threat of negative reviews -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency) -sex worker expectation that clients pay in full at or before start of session -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences -sex worker expectations formed based on desire to avoid chance of non-payment</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>
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<p>after a client was a regular did they start shorting them or refusing to pay because they felt entitled based on their friendship.</p> <p>Unfortunately a few bad apples ruin it for everyone so don't take it to heart if someone wants to feel assured on the first time they meet at least. I love both incall and outcall and it's always appreciated when the gent just casually sets aside the money or an envelope in plain sight. If I can count it while he's showering I do, if I can't I'll check when I go to the bathroom before I leave and it's very comfortable and discreet for both parties.”</p>		
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Table 14. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “Thanks for the review. Surprised [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] hasn't responded - I've always regarded them as one of the best agencies for customer support. I wouldn't be surprised if they respond to this and make it right - maybe they are still investigating with [SEX WORKER A].”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex work agency will respond to negative client reviews</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “It sounds like she should not be in the business. But now, at least, she has a chance to defend herself, and maybe improve her services, quit, or [SEX WORK AGENCY NAME] should fire her, if they care about their own reputation.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex work agency should fire sex worker based on negative client review -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency)</p>	<p>-client expectations -negative impacts of clients expectations on sex workers</p>
<p>SEX WORK AGENCY A: “Hi sorry about your experience. We were pretty busy today only just saw your updated thread. We will have a talk with [SEX WORKER A]. Then we will see if she can improve or is better to cut ties with her. We did see that you messaged the booker about [SEX WORKER A]’s breath and she forgot to get back to you and pass us the message. Our bookers are usually good in responding. We will talk to her about this too. Hopefully you will never have an issue with one of our sp's again but if you do feel free to pm us. We would like to make it up to you check your pm.”</p>	<p>-sex work agency expectation that they should offer to fire sex worker or provide discount/refund for negative client review -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency)</p>	<p>-sex work agency expectations -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>
<p>CLIENT C: “...then all positive, glowing reviews should stop as they usually create a stampede of guys going to see them and may result in higher rates”</p>	<p>-client expectation that positive client reviews will increase a sex worker’s clientele -client expectation that</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

	<p>positive client reviews will increase a sex worker's rates -client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker's service</p>	
<p>SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT C): "But it's true, verified from an SP myself. The more reviews they get, the higher status they become. One SP was practically begging me to review her so she could earn more money lol"</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that positive client reviews will increase the sex worker's clientele -sex worker expectation that positive client reviews will increase the sex worker's rates -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT D: "I agree that with this agency the more positive reviews an escort gets the higher her salary will be, it does not benefit the terb community if we write positive reviews and the rates go up and up. Its what {SEX WORK AGENCY B} said to one member when he was complaining about all the escorts at his agency wanting to be VIP after literally one shift, what are you going to do about it."</p>	<p>-client expectation that positive client reviews will increase a sex worker's clientele -client expectation that positive client reviews will increase a sex worker's rates -client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker's service</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT E (in response to SEX WORK AGENCY A): "It is my experience that [SEX WORK AGENCY] will do exactly what they said on this thread. 1. Try to make it up to the OP. 2. Let the woman know of the issues and give her every chance to to turn things around, then re-direct her career if she doesn't."</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex work agency will fire sex worker based on negative client review -client expectation that sex work agency will provide compensation for negative client review -negative impact of</p>	<p>-client expectations -client expectation formed based on previous experiences with sex work agency -negative impact of</p>

	poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency)	client expectations on sex workers
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Table 15. Outcall Escort Agency Reviews

SEX WORK AGENCY A: “[SEX WORK AGENCY A] cleaned up from anyone who was unreliable or getting poor feedback from our clients just prior to our annual gathering. We thought it was best to start the year with only the best roster available for our clients.”	-sex work agency expectation that they should offer to fire sex worker or provide discount/refund for negative client review -negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency)	-sex work agency expectations -negative impact of client expectations on sex workers
CLIENT A: “My only gripe with them is that it used to be a lot easier to determine who provides the more interesting/kinky side of things, but since C36, they have removed that layer of detail from the site (used to have a fetish listing) and they have been much more reluctant to recommend someone when I contact them. “	-client expectation that the specific services offered by a sex worker may not be outlined in their ad -client expectation that advertisements for sex workers should contain information on specific services provided	-client expectations

Table 16. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

CLIENT A: “I understand there are certain things on any girl's menu that are YMMV (Like LFK/DFK). I've been fortunate in my hobbling experience to usually get the	-client expectation of specific sexual	-client expectations
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<p>high end of the YMMV stick. However, CBJ and CFS are musts in any SP's menu, especially an advertised GFE SP that charges \$250/hr. Or else what the heck are we paying for? And she wouldn't even provide the most basic activities of CBJ and CFS to me. I understand that she was having a shitty day before I came in the room, but that's not my problem. If you're having personal problems, then don't come into work and fail to provide the very basics of your job.”</p>	<p>services included in the cost of a ‘standard’ session -client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions</p>	<p>-negative impact of client expectations on sex workers</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “Does [SEX WORK AGENCY A] really need to keep this girl on their roster? I bitched to [SEX WORK AGENCY B] a while back about one of their girls and she was taken off their website less than a week later.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex work agency will fire sex worker based on negative client review -client expectation formed based on previous experiences with sex work agency</p>	<p>-negative impact of poor reviews by clients on sex worker (being fired by sex work agency)</p>

Table 17. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “I'll be honest and admit I try and contact every provider in advance and am straightforward as heck about who I am, what I like, dislike, and my limitations/restrictions. I have received a variety of responses. Some girls are completely good, respect the honesty and straightforwardness, and think I am an interesting character and a gentleman (all of which are true IMHO). A couple of providers have basically said they don't talk about services, leave them alone.....Where I sympathize with the OP is that there is money involved and I am the one paying. If this were a regular date, I'd pay for the meal/movie/drinks/etc. and would have zero expectations by the end. If I'm lucky enough to get a nice kiss, I'd be ecstatic. Anything more and I'm headed to the store to buy a lottery ticket. But if I'm paying a girl to spend time with her, why is it wrong to discuss what I am looking for prior to meeting?”</p> <p>“Unwise IMO. Sets them up for failure when a guy shows up and expects certain things that are not on the table. Some girls/agencies say check the reviews but (1) Reviews can be incomplete/inaccurate/BS (2) Many services are YMMV or (3) Girl may have changed what she offers. Got into a spat when I asked one SP about a service she no longer offered, citing a former review, and she let me have it (She had a dangerous/traumatic experience once so I understood and tried apologizing</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers provide information on what specific services they will offer prior to booking session -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal view of the role of sex workers -client expectation that reviews are not</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
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to no effect).”	true indicators of sex worker’s service	
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Table 18. Escort & massage 411

<p>SEX WORKER A: “agencies usually offer less security unfortunately, since they don't actually care about the girls who work for them, they only care about the money. They put my life and the other girls who worked there lives at risk basically every day, and would get angry at us if we expressed feeling unsafe...An agency run by and for sex workers would be a huge difference, but with the legalities and all the start up necessary, most don't want to take the risk of starting one up.</p> <p>A lot of independents will speak badly of agencies, and as someone who worked at one I completely understand why, but the fact is that agencies can actually serve a purpose in this industry, if done as ethically as possible.</p> <p>I sometimes miss the days when I could just clock in, never have to worry about phones or texting or time wasters, just show up, work, then clock out and go home at the end of your shift like a regular job 😞”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that working for a sex work agency offers less screening/security</p> <p>-sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations</p> <p>-how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT A: “The best part with agencies is that you can br somewhat confident that the lady in the pic is the lady you will see. However, in talking with ladies who are now Indy but once were agency ladies, they often book the ladies up leaving little time to recover and they fo not screen well so they are faced with many uncomfortable situations. I prefer to see a lady who I get the sense wants to be there and is comfortable. I find that this is more likely with an Indy lady but even then it is hit and miss and Indys tend to charge more than I am willing to pay as their going rate seems to \$350 /h or \$200 /hh or more.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers working under agencies are more reliable / trustworthy than independent sex workers</p> <p>-client expectation that agency sex workers less likely to require screening than independent sex workers</p> <p>-client expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers</p> <p>-client expectations formed based on discussions with sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations</p> <p>-how client expectations are formed</p>

<p>SEX WORKER B: “back in my day, I definitely had my worst experiences when working at the agencies. I won't name the agencies that I worked for, but the business ethics of the agency owners were scummy. I felt more secure working as an independent than working for any agency. I would have thought that these agencies screen the clients properly, and don't send you to potentially dangerous clients, but it didn't look like they did any sort of due diligence, the only thing that mattered was the money for them. The fact that I could do a better job of screening clients for myself as an indy than these agencies could with their own management staff who only had this one job to do, is a scathing indictment for them. I'm glad those agencies are no longer around.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that working for a sex work agency offers less screening/security -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
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Table 19. Directory & Classified Listing Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “stick to agencies. No agency girl will pull that kind of crap on you. She has too much to lose, and you have somebody to complain to re any mistreatment.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers working under agencies are more reliable / trustworthy than independent sex workers -client expectation that agency sex workers are held accountable by sex work agency</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “some kind of an organization with structure that is interested in maintaining their reputation is definitely a better bet although I guess they also advertise girls not quite honestly (I don't know any agency that would provide real pics, and even real pics often do not give the full true view and they also all charge at least \$300 for at least 1 hr, but I guess they should then be ok if the client cancels upon seeing the escort without any fees...). And of course there are awesome ladies on Twitter who post their awesome pics and videos almost every day but gosh they charge \$500 per hr at least and still being independent they may also be unpredictable in their behaviors...”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers working under agencies are more reliable / trustworthy than independent sex workers -client expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

Table 20. The Lounge

<p>CLIENT A: “Let me be perfectly clear , everyone is entitled to manage their process in the best way that suits them and makes them comfortable. In that vain under no circumstances do I wish to reveal my true identity, by sending a picture , linkedin, work email or a deposit from my email. I have historically always used previous friends that would act as</p>	<p>-client expectation that they should not have to provide personally identifying information for screening when booking a sex worker</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
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<p>references, in the USA TER had a category called whitelist where former friends could vouch for you. When texting was required a burner phone, still not completely safe if found seemed to suffice but I must say I am truly stumped and could use some help and advice. I prefer indy's but not exclusively and if this trend [TREND FOR INDEPENDENT SEX WORKERS REQUIRING CLIENTS TO BE SCREENED TO BOOK] continues with no solution on my part my choices will become fewer and fewer.</p> <p>Again to be clear, this not a judgement on the practice but a cry for help?"</p>	<p>-client expectation formed based on need for discretion</p>	
<p>CLIENT B: 'I am in a similar situation. As the law in Canada as is now, the situation should be the reverse, as all legal burden is on the client. I would recommend a hard stance boycott against the practice and take those providers who corner the non deposit market.'</p>	<p>-client expectation that they should not have to provide personally identifying information for screening when booking a sex worker -client expectation formed based on need for discretion -client expectations of rules/services formed based on their understanding of Canadian laws</p>	<p>-client expectations -how client expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT C: "You are not alone. A gent I'm working with on a long term project right now who we know each other both go to strip clubs and escorts time to time, brought this exact concern up with me in a chat - Enjoys Indy ladies but the screening process was limiting his choices.</p> <p>My only advice I could give him, I give to you. Perhaps it's time to refocus on finding your ladies of choice from agencies. Once you have established your number or burner phone with them (typical practice is one voice call in from your number), assuming you are not already established with agencies you would work with, gives you the ability to keep your identity 100% anonymous and also agencies will never initiate contact with you is common practice we see, giving you the option to use your main phone versus a burner phone but ultimately your choice.</p> <p>I understand it may not be your preference, but it is the path of least resistance to enjoying beautiful SP's and fully meeting your privacy requirements along with a proven long term solution to the growing challenge you face."</p>	<p>-client expectation that agency sex workers less likely to require screening than independent sex workers</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT D: "Deposit question again. The OP uses it in the title but there are many other things that concern him. When someone's livelihood can be affected by no-shows by clients or by those who want to negatively affect her business with no intention to actually see her after making an</p>	<p>-client expectation that they should have to provide screening/deposits when booking a sex worker if</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>appointment, why is it so hard to understand why an increasing number of women are asking for deposits. They made their choice knowing full well how such a practice may affect their business. The beauty of their decision, potential clients have the last say in whether or not they want to comply. If not, move on to someone else. There is so much choice right now although I understand if a woman you really want to see has a deposit policy, why you would think it is not fair.</p> <p>You are purchasing her time and she put something in place to ensure her income is not hugely affected by cancelled appointments at the last minute. This puts the onus on the client to ensure they honour their commitment. As long as the women returns the deposit if they cannot keep the appointment is all that should matter.”</p>	<p>requested</p>	
<p>SEX WORKER A: “This is a very valid concern on both sides which I don't think there is a perfect solution for - just based on what the provider is comfortable with based on her personal experiences and what the client is comfortable with based on their personal experiences. I think reviews and reputation are paramount when deciding whether to go with a booking - regardless of deposits or information required. When you look at businesses outside of this industry who do require deposits and personally identifying information - they are businesses that just don't have time to waste on time wasting patrons anymore because they are not hurting for business. Hotels, spas, service providers who book well in advance for their services, restaurants with a reputation and can demand a deposit or credit card information. I think a lot of providers want to be recognized as a legitimate business and enforce regulations based on that. However, there is a real concern for privacy and legal repercussions to worry about on the client side, so it makes for a precarious position.</p> <p>I can only speak for myself when I say.. why would a regular patron of mine not be cool with providing me a deposit if he already knows I am reliable and has seen me before? That pisses me off. Also, why would someone be against me asking for a \$100 amazon gift card (as an alternative if someone is uncomfortable with etransfer or paypal methods) as a show of good faith and acceptable method of deposit when there is no identifying information there, is beyond me.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sex worker expectation that well-reviewed sex workers are more trustworthy than sex workers with few/negative reviews -sex worker expectation that the expectations for sex worker services should be similar to expectations for other services -sex worker expectation that clients provide a deposit/screening when booking a session -sex worker expectation of rules/services formed based on understanding of other non-sex work services 	<p>-sex worker expectation -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT E (in response to SEX WORKER A): “Someone who knows you already or believe in your goodwill through other people comments should have no problem with it. Someone who is new to lobbying will have a problem. So, basically, same reason why you would accept a booking from someone with good reputation without deposit but may ask for as deposit and/or references from an unknown client. Luck [LACK] of information leads to trust issue from both sides. From monetary perspective, client risks cash while SP risks lost potential income. From</p>	<p>-client expectation that deposits/screening should be expected from those who are new clients but not regular clients</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>safety perspective, SP risks physical safety while client risks potential blackmail. Solution? Brothels, or, as the second-best, agencies.”</p>		
<p>CLIENT F: “Why it is OK for SP to require deposit to make sure the client will show, but, at the same time, many SPs are late or cancel on clients without compensating them fro their time. Dis any SPs who demand deposit and later cancel the appointment last minute or was late by half an hour ever provide monetary compensation to the client (in addition to returning the deposit). Given legal asymmetry in prostitution law, it seems as it not a symmetric game. This is why I never see independent - only agency girls.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that they should not have to provide screening/deposits when booking a sex worker</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT G: “In my case, I stopped seeing independent girls long time ago because their rates are not in my range. In addition, many indies appear to have a bunch of rules as you guys mentioned above such as sending advance deposit, sending photo ID (sound likes they are working for LE lol), sending email from work email, cancellation fees (1-way cancellation fee BTW lol), frequently being late with no respect of clients' time and efforts and etc. To me, it's not worth the RISKS of complying to these RULES and REQUIREMENTS.</p> <p>Simply enough, I have been using agencies which don't require any of the above things to reveal my TRUE identity or sending them deposit before seeing the girls. I am very happy with the girls whom I have seen in a couple agencies. In the past when I still saw western girls, I booked with [SEX WORK AGENCY NAMES] with ease and I was so HAPPY with HAPPY ENDINGS with their lovely, friendly, beautiful and sexy girls as hell LOL. The guys or girls whom I talked to for booking were friendly and easy to book with. So, there is no complain and I am HAPPY with them.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that independent sex workers charge more than agency sex workers -client expectation that agency sex workers less likely to require screening than independent sex workers -client expectation that independent sex workers have more rules/requirements</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

Table 21. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “I met [SEX WORKER A] last week as my first ever experience and booked for an hour. I was super hyped with all the fab reviews and experiences. But it was a very so-so experience only. As I was walking back to the parking lot, I was cursing myself for that spend! Probably it was not my day”</p>	<p>-client expectation that reviews are true indicators of sex worker’s service</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT B: “I find most girls can't live up to that hype”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers can’t live up to high expectations created from positive reviews</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

<p>CLIENT C: “That's why you should always clamp down on very high expectations based on what others have said. If you go in simply expecting a fun time with a good looking woman you'll rarely be disappointed. If you go in expecting fireworks from moment 1 you'll probably be let down.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers can't live up to high expectations created from positive reviews</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
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Table 22. Incall Escort Agency Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “Not much of a greeting - no hug or kiss - which was a warning sign. This was not going to be a GFE experience where I got to pretend for an hour that this hot young beauty was actually my girlfriend for an hour... When we got down to business, I quickly ran into some off-putting restrictions. Open-mouthed kissing but no tongue. I expressed surprise - DFK is usually a standard part of the GFE experience. But [SEX WORKER A] answered that she didn't even do that in her civilian life. She thanked me for my explicit instructions of what I liked but didn't do most of them (teasing, kissing all over). [SEX WORKER A] was happy to have me go down on her. She was fresh and responded well. I inquired about digits and was shot down.</p> <p>The most unpleasant surprise was when [SEX WORKER A] reached for a condom before beginning her blowjob. I was upset. Isn't that a standard part of a session? No, she explained, BBBJ is \$50 extra. She had told the booker to inform me about that in advance but the booker had failed to do so.”</p>	<p>-client expectation of specific sexual services included in the cost of a 'standard' session -client expectation for specific sexual services associated with GFE/PSE -sex worker shamed for establishing boundary -sex worker pressured to have less restrictions</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
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Table 23. Escort & Massage Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “The worst experience was...with this pretty Chinese girl and she promised me we'd do 'everything'. Things started out okay but when she heard another customer come in through the front door, she quickly finished me with her hand. Unfortunately, I had stupidly broken my rule and paid her in full before the session started. I was really ticked off and demanded a partial refund. She refused. I insisted once again only this time in a very 'emphatic' way and she reluctantly gave me back \$60. I figured that was better than nothing so I left. That was the only time I ever felt really enraged because the rip-off was so blatant and ignorant, I couldn't believe it.”</p>	<p>-client expectation of refund if not given 'full service' each session -client expectation of refund if expected sexual acts not delivered</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
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Table 24. Independent Escort Reviews

<p>CLIENT A: “Counting the donation right in front of me would definately put me in a pissy mood..theres plenty of ways to confirm the amount before the fun</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should not</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
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<p>starts..” “If he is a new client ask that he go wash up...shower..undress in bathroom or You can go into washroom with donation ...say youre gonna freshen up...get some mouthwash etc...etc...etc... plenty of time to do a quick count and those are the ones I've seen I'm sure the other ladies will have even stealthier ways to do the count' For the record I've had ladies text me... thanking me for the tip hours after we've been together But counting it right in front of a client?..bush league...IMO”</p>	<p>count payment in front of client -client expectation of rules/services formed based on personal desires/feelings</p>	
<p>CLIENT B: “Of course providers should count the money, but you wait until the client has gone into the shower. If everything is good you put it in a safe spot. It's never considered good form to count the money in front of the client, ask anybody in the business.”</p>	<p>-client expectation that sex workers should not count payment in front of client</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>SEX WORKER A: “I don’t know what’s wrong with counting money in front and i’ll still do it . Often it’s 20-40 missing so whT.. after the shower i should say oh wait before we start you missing 40. Lol it’s even worst. For those who aren’t happy, it’s fine just don’t come or etransfer me.” SEX WORKER A (in response to CLIENT C): “I never met an escort who do that. I find it weird because what if the client doesn’t pay? Or what if he didn’t come and he’s mad but time is up. Or Say the typical ‘i forgot my wallet ‘ like you have to be ready to fight ? Idk i’m just trying to avoid bad experiences.”</p>	<p>-sex worker expectation that they should be able to count payment in front of client -sex worker expectations formed based on desire to avoid chance of non-payment -sex worker expectations formed based on personal experiences</p>	<p>-sex worker expectations -how sex worker expectations are formed</p>
<p>CLIENT C (in response to CLIENT A): “My experience, most agency girls won't ask for the money upfront. Indy girls, maybe they are more likely to ask for the cash upfront. Most guys who say they forgot their wallet use that as a reason to bolt if the girl looks nothing like her pics”</p>	<p>-client expectation that agency sex workers won’t ask for money upfront but independent sex workers will</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>
<p>CLIENT D: “In all my years hobbying, I've always paid upfront. Its a courtesy and again very common practice. However, counting in front is rude and awkward. Find a subtle time to do it. If short nicely bring it up.”</p>	<p>-clients expectation that clients should pay in full at or before start of session -client expectation that sex workers should not count payment in front of client</p>	<p>-client expectations</p>

CLIENT E: "Guys, I want to comment on the money situation.

In my work if I accept cash I always make a point to count it and I make my customer watch me. That way we know everything is honest. Imagine doing a job for someone and then you tell them they were short? They might argue and say that they paid everything. Then where do you go from there?

Honestly, if you're so soft that you can't handle that this is a business transaction and not your real girlfriend then maybe e transfer the money."

-client expectation that sex workers should be able to count payment in front of client
-client expectation of rules/services formed based on understanding of other non-sex work services

-client expectations
-how client expectations are formed

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