The Sexual Other:

Discursive constructions of migrant sex workers in New Zealand media

By Matilda F. F. Neyland

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies

Victoria University of Wellington

Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

June 2019

Abstract

Sex workers comprise one of the most marginalised and stigmatised groups in society, alternately framed as diseased, immoral criminals, or as victims of abuse and exploitation. New Zealand is one of only two jurisdictions worldwide with a decriminalised sex industry, a system shown to reduce harm and improve workers' rights. However, people in the country on temporary visas are still prohibited through immigration law from doing sex work.

Recognising the power of the media to reproduce hegemonic ideologies, particularly in representations of socio-politically disempowered groups, in this study I apply a critical approach to discursive constructions of migrant sex workers in the media. Following other critical discourse scholars who have incorporated corpus linguistic methods in their analysis of media texts, in this study I combine quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse a corpus of recent New Zealand newspaper articles relating to sex work. The research aims to examine how the media discursively constructs migrant sex workers in ways that contribute to their marginalisation and stigmatisation.

The findings indicate that the discourse routinely constructs migrant sex workers as Other, drawing on existing narratives that associate sex work with disease and crime. Also evident are trafficking and anti-immigration Discourses, which construct migrants as either vulnerable victims or as cunning tax evaders taking jobs from locals. In the Discussion, I argue that the media displays Orientalist tendencies, betraying New Zealand's own anxieties around sex work and immigration. By highlighting the discursive stigmatisation and marginalisation against migrant sex workers, I provide support for the current campaign to change the discriminatory law excluding migrants from decriminalisation.

Acknowledgements

First thanks are due to my supervisor Professor Meredith Marra, for the myriad ways you have supported and guided me through this process, from well before it officially began. I truly appreciate the time and effort you have put into helping me develop my research and ideas. My work has benefited immeasurably from your eye for detail, your high expectations, and your willingness to push me towards them.

I am grateful to Dr Rolando Coto Solano for your help with the Voice analysis, to Dr Brian King for your valuable feedback on Chapter 4, and to the Discourse Analysis Group at Victoria for your insightful contributions to the qualitative interpretation of the data. Thank you to Emeritus Professor Janet Holmes for your supervision in the preliminary stages of this research, and to Professor Miriam Meyerhoff for your early encouragement to continue studying linguistics. My sincere thanks also to the family of Emeritus Professor Graeme Kennedy, whose scholarship has supported me in completing this dissertation.

To Shannon and Hannah, thank you for your companionship, solidarity and friendship. This experience would not have been nearly as rich without the laughs and emotional support we have shared. Thank you to all the sex workers I've had the privilege of knowing and learning from; to Harriet for everything; to Peter, my oldest and most trusted proof-reader; and to Jennie and Siobhan for your lifelong love and support.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to the staff and volunteers of the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective. Thank you for your openness with me over the course of this research, for your tireless political advocacy over the years, and for your unwavering support of all those who sell sex in Aotearoa, wherever they may come from.

This dissertation is dedicated to all migrant sex workers who have been deported from New Zealand, and to those still here.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Sex workers comprise one of the most marginalised and stigmatised groups in society. Historically, they have been associated with crime, disease, deviance and moral corruption; more recently, some have framed sex workers as victims of patriarchal exploitation, often conflating sex work with trafficking. Perceptions may be changing as sex workers continue to advocate for their work to be respected and as their rights in some territories improve. Within sex worker communities globally, Aotearoa/New Zealand is upheld as a world-leader, being one of only two jurisdictions to have decriminalised sex work (along with New South Wales in Australia[1]). Following a long campaign by the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC), the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) was passed in June 2003 with the purpose of decriminalising sex work. The evidence in the years since indicates that the law has improved sex workers' health and safety, working conditions and relations with police (Abel et al 2007), as well as their legal empowerment, as illustrated in a landmark case in which a sex worker won a sexual harassment lawsuit against her manager (Duff 2014).

Amid the praise of the New Zealand model, an important caveat is often glossed over: the protections and benefits associated with decriminalisation are only afforded to some sex workers. Section 19 of the PRA deems it illegal for those in the country on temporary visas to work in the sex industry, and threatens them with deportation if found to be involved[2] (Prostitution Reform Act 2003:10-11). At the time the law was passed, the motivation for including this clause stemmed from concerns among some in Parliament that allowing migrants to do sex work would encourage trafficking. However, research suggests that this Section in fact *facilitates* the conditions that make sex workers vulnerable to exploitation (Abel and Roguski 2018). Under the threat of deportation, migrants have less power in

---

[1] There will soon be a third jurisdiction to add to this list, with Mexico City congress voting on 31 May 2019 to decriminalise sex work in their city (Reuters 2019).

[2] It is not a *criminal* offense for migrants to work in the sex industry, although it does constitute a breach of visa conditions. In practice, the law means only citizens and permanent residents of New Zealand and Australia are permitted to work in the New Zealand sex industry. I refer to this group as 'New Zealand sex workers' or 'citizen sex workers', and those on temporary visas as 'migrant sex workers'. Additionally, Section 19 of the PRA states that 'no visa may be granted … to a person on the basis that the person … has provided, or intends to provide, commercial sexual services' (Prostitution Reform Act 2003:10). This means border officials can refuse entry into New Zealand to people they suspect to be (former, current or future) sex workers.

negotiations with employers, and minimal recourse against abusive clients who may take advantage of a worker's reluctance to report violence for fear of immigration authorities (Armstrong 2018). Claiming the reductive concept of trafficking as a justification for this clause fails to recognise the wider context of global migration, labour markets and borders, and the various personal and economic forces that lead people to travel and sell sex (Agustín 2007). Additionally, by locating the villain in shadowy 'traffickers', the New Zealand Government obscures its own role in facilitating harm against those it purports to be concerned about (cf. Smith and Mac 2018).

Migrants are the only population prohibited from selling sex in New Zealand[3], and sex work is the only industry those on temporary work visas are excluded from. Given this particular legal corner occupied by migrant sex workers, amplified by the entrenched stigma attached to sex work generally, the question arises as to how the media treats this group. A critical approach to language recognises that socio-political structures of inequality are both reflected and reproduced in discourse[4], which can in turn influence attitudes, behaviour and even policy. The media wields particular power in reproducing hegemonic ideologies, due both to its mass audience and to the privileged access elite social groups have in controlling it. Critical discourse studies (CDS) has the emancipatory agenda of exposing and countering this 'discursive injustice' (van Dijk 2009), particularly as perpetrated by the media. Some CDS scholars have fruitfully applied corpus linguistic methods to the analysis of media discourse surrounding other marginalised groups such as refugees, as a way of providing systematicity and warranting for interpretations. Following this approach, in the current study I combine quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse a corpus of New Zealand newspaper articles relating to sex work, spanning a recent period of 26 months. The research aims to examine how the media discursively constructs migrant sex workers in ways that contribute to their marginalisation and stigmatisation.

---

[3] Aside from people aged under 18 (Prostitution Reform Act 2003:11).
[4] In this study, I employ Gee's (1990) concept of d/Discourse. 'Little d discourse' refers to everyday talk and text, or language in use. 'Big D Discourse' denotes wider societal narratives; dominant ways of thinking and talking about the world.

The goal of CDS is not to uncover an inherent 'truth' about the world, but rather to examine how discourse *constructs* reality, to consider how it functions to empower certain groups and disempower others, and to 'unmask' embedded ideologies that are often hidden by the force of hegemony (Wodak and Meyer 2016:8). The purpose of this study is therefore not to seek some fundamental 'truth' about prostitution or to reveal the 'reality' of experiences within the sex industry, but rather to critically analyse how the media uses language to construct migrant sex workers[5] in ways that deepen their existing disempowerment. By showing how the illegal status of their work permits the media to discursively stigmatise and marginalise them, the aim of this study is to provide support for the current campaign to change the discriminatory law that excludes migrant workers from decriminalisation. The questions the study asks include: how are migrant sex workers discursively constructed as Other? How are they positioned as an outgroup to New Zealand communities, including 'acceptable' sex workers? What are the discursive strategies involved in this positioning? How does the discourse perpetuate stigma and deny agency to migrant sex workers? What is the influence of the wider sex work Discourses identified by previous research, such as those associating sex workers with disease and criminality? And how does the media draw on trafficking narratives and anti-immigration sentiment in its portrayals of migrant workers?

To address these aims, the present study first reviews the relevant literature on media discourse, corpus-informed CDS and sex work Discourses. After identifying a gap in the field to motivate the research questions for the study, I present the data and methodology used. The subsequent analysis is divided into three chapters. Chapter 4 applies corpus linguistic tools to identify salient trends and patterns across the data, which indicate the existence of wider Discourses at play. In Chapter 5, I present an analysis of Voice to compare the speech attributed to migrant sex workers with other groups in articles, as a measure of the agency and representation afforded to them. With these trends as a starting point, in Chapter 6 I use the discourse-historical approach to conduct a detailed qualitative analysis of the various

---

[5] *Migrant* is a term I use somewhat reluctantly, aware that it is rarely used to describe White English-speaking people, and of its potentially dehumanising effect on those it is applied to, as convincingly argued by Malone (2015). In the context of a global border system that favours the West and disadvantages those from elsewhere, there is no politically neutral way to describe people of colour who travel for work (cf. Stubbs 1996). Still, *migrant sex worker* remains the least problematic (and clearest) option for referring to people who sell sex in New Zealand while on a temporary visa.

ways in which migrant sex workers are discursively constructed as Other in the data. With Othering as a salient focus throughout the analysis, the Discussion chapter applies a lens of Orientalist theory to illuminate the Orientalist tendencies apparent in the discourse, such as ambivalence and anxiety. I conclude with a note on the social, theoretical and methodological implications of the study, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 – Literature review

This study applies a critical lens to the construction of migrant sex workers in the media. In order to situate the research, in this chapter I summarise the existing literature on sex work discourse, including the construction of sex workers in the news. To this end, it will be necessary to look to feminist theory, sociology and media studies. First, however, I review the linguistic scholarship informing my theoretical and methodological approach within critical discourse studies. The literature gap I identify in this review will motivate three research questions for the study.

Discourse, media and the critical approach

Underpinning my research is a conception of discourse as social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), that at once constitutes and is constituted by socio-political reality (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). Speaking to this notion is Foucault's (1972:49) foundational definition of discourse as 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak'; that is, social actors, events, and institutions are constructed discursively. Combining this understanding of discourse with concepts of critique, power and ideology (Wodak and Meyer 2016), critical discourse scholars highlight the ways discourse functions to both reflect and reproduce structures of inequality. Critical discourse studies (CDS) is a research program that recognises the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, and can be used to uncover the power structures underlying language use. Formerly referred to as critical discourse *analysis*[6], CDS emerged in Europe in the 1980s (van Dijk 1991:6) as a network of scholars interested in critiquing power relations in society. Since then it has grown into an established discipline, regularly drawn on when questions of language and power intersect (Wodak and Meyer 2016:5).

---

[6] Van Dijk (2009; 2013) makes the case for this shift in terminology, arguing that 'critical discourse *studies*' emphasises the important role of critical *theory*, and avoids the misconception among some scholars that 'critical discourse *analysis*' refers to a specific methodology rather than a general attitude.

Influenced by Critical Theory, CDS research takes a 'problem-oriented' approach, based on the premise that by reproducing the domination by certain groups over others, some forms of text and talk are *unjust* (van Dijk 2009:63). With this 'discursive injustice' in mind, CDS approaches the study of language with the overt political agenda of not only describing societal power structures but critiquing and ultimately changing them (Wodak and Meyer 2009:6-7). Two central questions of CDS are: (1) how do (more) powerful groups control public discourse; and (2) how does such discourse control the mind and action of (less) powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such as social inequality? (van Dijk 2001:355). These consequences are the motivation for the CDS program, which asserts that discursive domination and discrimination are not innocuous, but capable of contributing to tangible, material harm against certain populations (e.g. Luke 1997).

A consistent site of scrutiny for CDS scholars is media discourse, since mainstream media institutions wield significant power in shaping constructions of social reality (Fairclough 1989). As van Dijk (2000:36) argues, the media is the central source of the 'knowledge, attitudes and ideologies ... of ordinary citizens'. Its power arises from the privileged access elite social groups have in controlling the media (van Dijk 1996), the mass audience that it reaches, and the uncritical manner in which the news is usually consumed (Santa Ana 1999:189). The propensity among readers to accept the news as an authoritative voice of truth (Richardson 2001:148), and the tendency of mass media institutions to reinforce dominant ideologies (van Dijk 1991), contribute to the 'hidden' power of media discourse (Fairclough 1989:54), where hegemonic Discourses or 'common-sense' ways of viewing the world can become 'naturalised' through repetition (Fairclough 1989:75; Lazar 2005). CDS aims to expose the linguistic strategies involved in this process.

CDS is not a concrete method of analysis but rather a critical attitude and political stance towards discourse (van Dijk 2009:62). It is multidisciplinary; its practitioners adopt any analytic method that allows them to answer their particular research questions and reveal the power structures and ideologies underlying text and talk. One methodological approach that has been effectively applied to discursive representations of marginalised groups is corpus-informed CDS.

Corpus-informed critical discourse studies

As Baker (2006:47) points out, 'language is not a random affair … words tend to occur in relationship with other words.' Utilising corpus linguistic (CL) methods within the critical approach can trace these relationships between words by identifying patterns of language use, in what Baker (2006:13) calls the 'incremental' effect of discourse, where the meaning of a word accumulates by repeated use in particular contexts. Hoey (2005:13) expresses this idea through the concept of lexical priming: 'every word is primed for use in discourse as a result of the cumulative effects of an individual's encounters with the word', while Stubbs (2001:215) concludes 'repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community'. With this understanding of discourse as a constellation of patterns, corpus-informed critical discourse studies (CICDS)[7] combines the quantitative insights offered by CL with critically-focused qualitative interpretations. A key method favoured among CICDS researchers is the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2016), which forms the basis of the qualitative analysis in this study.

The 'research synergy' (Baker et al 2008) of CICDS has been demonstrated in a number of studies that examine the discursive constructions of marginalised groups. The corpus-informed approach was pioneered by Paul Baker and colleagues in the RASIM project at Lancaster University, which compellingly illuminates the discursive discrimination against refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in the UK press (e.g. Baker et al 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Baker and McEnery 2005)[8]. The same approach has been fruitfully applied to similar data from New Zealand (Greenbank 2014; Salahshour 2017), and has been usefully extended to the constructions of other disempowered groups such as Muslims (Baker et al 2013), gay men (Baker 2004) and trans people (Baker 2014). For sex worker representations, Hunt and Hubbard (2015) apply CICDS to South African news articles,

---

[7] Within CICDS, some scholars distinguish between corpus-*driven* and corpus-*based* approaches, while others consider this distinction overstated (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2006:35); here I simply use corpus-*informed* in order to remain agnostic on this point. Different again is *corpus-assisted discourse studies*, a term disfavoured by CICDS practitioners for its implication that the corpus analysis is subservient to the qualitative component (Baker et al 2008:274). See Flowerdew (2012:178-180) for a discussion of these different approaches.

[8] See Gabrielatos (n.d.) for a complete list of publications associated with the RASIM project.

providing a helpful reference point for corpus analysis of sex work discourse, however the qualitative component of their analysis is lacking in detail. McEnery and H. Baker combine corpus methods with historical analysis to examine 17th-century discourse around both female (2017) and male prostitution (H. Baker and McEnery 2018), although these findings are based in history and are somewhat limited in their applicability to contemporary texts.

The incorporation of CL methods into CDS, demonstrated in the above studies, arose as a response to the criticism that CDS scholars 'cherry-pick' data to suit their agenda (Koller and Mautner 2004:225; Baker 2012). CL methods can serve as a form of triangulation (Baker 2006:15-6) or warranting for qualitative interpretations: if the findings emerging from two different methods of analysis correspond, then the researcher can be more confident in their claims (Baker 2012). While Baker (2006:10) warns against false belief in complete analyst objectivity, this systematicity provided by CL helps to check the cognitive biases researchers may have (Baker 2006:10-11). Additionally, CL can process large quantities of data, revealing the consistent linguistic trends that point to the existence of wider Discourses (Baker 2006:13; Baker and McEnery 2005:98). The identification of Discourses from CL can provide a 'way in' to the data (Baker 2012:248); a starting point for in-depth qualitative analysis, by indicating the salient themes across the corpus.

In addition to the critique that practitioners of CL may exaggerate its potential for objectivity, issues arise in the *decontextualised* use of corpus analysis, that is, undue emphasis on the micro, word-level detail provided by CL without its crucial contextualisation within wider Discourses and socio-political setting (Mautner 2016:173). CL provides *tools* to be operationalised within a framework but is not a framework in itself: as Baker (2006:18) points out, 'corpus data does not interpret itself' and the researcher maintains an important role in making sense of the findings, drawing on their knowledge of the layers of context within which the discourse operates. The CICDS approach as implemented in the studies summarised above, where CL findings are contextualised within a critical frame and warranted with detailed qualitative analysis, makes a convincing case for the strength of this combined approach. Frequently utilised in the analysis of news discourse around marginalised groups, it is ideally suited to be applied in the context of media representation of sex workers.

Sex workers in the Western cultural imagination

Sex work has long attracted controversy. Victorian-era depictions portrayed prostitutes as Other along gender and class lines: first, patriarchy establishes women's inferiority to men, then a 'respectable'/'disreputable' dichotomy divides women along lines of sexual behaviour, with commercial sex representing the ultimate deviance because it is commercialised, non-monogamous and non-reproductive (McLaughlin 1991:250-1). While historic ideas of 'fallen women' (1991:252) continue to fuel contemporary depictions of sex workers as morally destitute deviants, a parallel discourse positions sex workers as victims (Doezema 2001). Anti-prostitution feminists since the 1970s have viewed sex work as inherently harmful to women (e.g. Jeffreys 1997), labelling it 'paid rape' (Raymond 1995), and rising concerns around the notion of sex trafficking have led to its conflation with consensual sex work (Bettio et al 2017). Some scholars have compellingly characterised the anti-trafficking movement as a moral panic (Weitzer 2007; Hill 2011; see also Cohen 1972), based on myth and fed by cultural anxieties around sexuality (Doezema 2000). Key throughout this history is the dominance of the victim-criminal dichotomy, which is consistently identified in analyses of characterisations of sex work (Majic 2014; Hoefinger and Srun 2017). Meanwhile, the sex worker rights movement continues to agitate for a conceptualisation of sex work as a legitimate form of labour, in which workers exercise agency and choice within the constraints of capitalist structures (Smith and Mac 2018).

Sex workers in popular media

> Our lives are almost always sneered at, or pitied, or used as a symbol of inevitable tragedy (Moore 2016).

The overwhelming negativity of representations of sex workers in popular entertainment is well-attested (Weitzer 2018:721; Mendes et al 2010). The media plays an influential role in shaping the stigma associated with sex work, peddling narratives that are generally morally rather than empirically driven (Benoit et al 2018:461) and fuelling the conflation of sex work and trafficking (Weitzer 2018). The above quote is from an essay by British sex worker and writer Audrey Moore, which laments that if sex workers appear on television, it is usually

either as a mutilated victim of violent crime, or used as a punchline, and frequently referred to in whorephobic slurs such as *hooker*. In video gaming, feminist critic Anita Sarkeesian (2014) argues sex workers are inserted as background props to infuse 'gritty or racy flavouring' into game worlds and to titillate presumed straight male players. These representations in popular culture are part of a wider discursive landscape that constructs sex workers in various negative ways. These representations feed into individuals' mental representations of sex workers (van Dijk 2009), facilitating discrimination and dehumanisation: they make it possible for university students to joke about becoming strippers[9], for the public to dismiss and ridicule porn stars[10] and for a Prime Minister to snigger about phone sex workers[11]. They can also carry more serious material consequences, such as police officers' reluctance to believe reports made by sex workers[12], hiring practices that discriminate against (former) sex workers (Boyajian 2018), and globally high rates of violent crime, including murder, against sex workers (Smith and Mac 2018).

Sex workers in the news

As well as popular media, the news is a powerful source of the discursive disempowerment of marginalised groups. Acknowledging this, a number of researchers have investigated representations of sex workers in the press. A survey of relevant literature identified five studies (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008; Strega et al 2014; Hunt and Hubbard 2015; Easterbrook-Smith 2018) which examine datasets of news articles from three countries. With different disciplinary groundings, but all with a critical approach, each of these studies establishes dominant narrative themes (or Discourses). The findings are summarised in Table 1, with the most salient themes described below.

---

[9] See Ferguson (2016) https://wearyourvoicemag.com/body-politics/joking-drop-sex-work
[10] Public discourse surrounding the Stormy Daniels / Donald Trump sex scandal frequently fixated on Daniels' work in pornography, arguably a strategy to undermine her voice and symptomatic of wider cultural refusal to take sex workers seriously. See MacMillen (2018) https://www.allure.com/story/stormy-daniels-porn-career-does-not-discredit-trump-allegations
[11] In 2014, then-Prime Minister of Australia Tony Abbott was recorded on camera winking and smirking in response to a 67-year-old pensioner radio caller saying she 'work[s] on an adult sex line to make ends meet'. See S. Anderson (2014) https://www.sbs.com.au/news/tony-abbott-winks-as-sex-line-pensioner-talks-on-radio
[12] A UK police chief commented that he was less likely to believe a complaint by a 'drunken prostitute'. See Hamilton (2018) https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/edward-heath-inquiry-police-chief-mike-veale-in-drunken-prostitute-slur-5d7nw5sfc

Table 1. Narrative themes identified in five studies on discursive representation of sex workers in news media.

	Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008 (Canada 1980-2004)	Strega et al 2014 (Canada 2006-2009)	Hunt and Hubbard 2015 (South Africa 2009-2010)	Easterbrook-Smith 2018 (NZ 2010-2016)
Culpability -victimhood -criminality	✓	✓	✓	✓
Contagion & Containment -moral pollutant -disease/vermin	✓	✓	✓	✓
Deviant (racialised) female sexuality	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual danger/risky lifestyle	✓	✓	✓	
Enslavement; predatory pimps	✓			
Community failure	✓			
Police harassment			✓	
Human rights			✓	

In culpability narratives, articles position sex workers as either savvy criminals flouting the law or helpless, exploited victims in need of rescue; both characterisations are presented as morally unsalvageable (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2008; Easterbrook-Smith 2018). These dual constructions emerge across all the studies, corresponding to the pervasive victim-criminal dichotomy mentioned above. Victimhood discourse links to enslavement narratives, which draw on ideas of trafficking (see Doezema 2000) through voyeuristic descriptions of innocent young girls lured or forced into prostitution by predatory pimps. Also common to all the studies are contagion narratives, which construct sex workers as vectors of moral and/or medical contagion, positioning them as a threatening Other to 'decent people' (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008), and frequently likening them to vermin (Strega et al 2014). This story type, linked to historical ideas about social hygiene (Strega et al 2014), is closely related to that of containment, where workers are characterised as a 'problem' needing to be 'dealt with' by police and legislators in the interest of urban aesthetics (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2008:125).

Another striking similarity across these studies is the underlying cultural anxiety surrounding female (particularly non-white) sexuality. In the media construction of Asian sex workers as savvy manipulators (Easterbrook-Smith 2018), their sexuality is framed as deviant by virtue of their choice to profit from it (cf. McLaughlin 1991). Alternatively, many media texts construct an infantilised image of a naïve non-white victim tricked or forced into prostitution and in need of rescue (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2008). Meanwhile, risky lifestyle narratives focus on individualised accounts of drug use, violence and 'lifestyle choices', reflecting neoliberal ideologies around personal responsibility (Strega et al 2014:16). Of the studies reviewed, only Hunt and Hubbard (2015) find evidence of a human rights approach to the industry, with one of the newspapers they examine offering a pro-decriminalisation stance, indexed by use of the more agentive term *sex worker* in place of the negatively-connoted *prostitute* (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of this lexical choice).

Taken together, these studies highlight the entrenched stigma attached to sex work globally, with the media drawing on familiar tropes of workers as diseased, immoral and lacking agency. Seminally defined as a 'deeply discrediting' social attribute that 'reduces the bearer from a whole and usual person to a tainted and discounted one' (Goffman 1963, cited in Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006:268), the concept of stigma is related to Othering. Salient throughout the literature is the construction of sex workers as Other (Bell 1994:2; Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; Easterbrook-Smith 2018), a discursive process which outcasts a particular group due to a perceived deviant characteristic, marginalising them from an imagined ingroup community (Staszak 2009). Other CICDS work identifies Othering as a salient discursive strategy in the media's construction of minority groups such as Muslims (Baker et al 2013) and refugees (Greenbank 2014), and the links between deviance, Othering and stigma are established in Toft's (2014) analysis of the discursive construction of homeless people in policy documents.

The findings from this literature suggest that rather than helping sex workers, dominant Discourses are ultimately concerned with controlling women's sexuality and 'shor[ing] up social, ethnoracial and gender inequality' (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2008:134). The studies also argue that news articles routinely offer gratuitously voyeuristic insights into sex workers' lives under the guise of concern, described by Doezema (2010:3) as 'combin[ing] salaciousness

with moral righteousness – causing in the reader a discomfiting but also pleasurable mix of outrage and titillation'. Even in a decriminalised environment, Easterbrook-Smith (2018) demonstrates how New Zealand media constructs only some sex workers as 'acceptable', while those deemed 'unacceptable' – including street-based workers and people on temporary visas – remain stigmatised. They argue that New Zealand media variably or simultaneously portrays migrant workers as exploited victims and cunning manipulators of the visa system (2018:153). The discourse also draws on anti-migrant sentiment by expressing economic concerns, namely that migrant sex workers are defrauding the tax system, taking their earnings overseas and undercutting 'local' workers in their pricing (2018:153). This apparent stigma around sex work persisting in New Zealand, particularly in the case of migrant sex workers, is yet to be addressed from a linguistic perspective.

Research questions

This gap motivates the research questions for the current study. To ground my work within CDS, and to frame the purpose of the research as providing evidence from a linguistic perspective that the current law contributes to discursive injustice, the overarching question for the study is:

> *How do New Zealand media's discursive constructions of migrant sex workers contribute to their marginalisation and stigmatisation?*

This is operationalised in two sub-questions:

1. *What discursive trends surrounding sex workers, particularly migrant sex workers, emerge from the corpus?*
2. *How does the media discursively construct migrant sex workers as Other?*

The first of these is addressed in Chapter 4 using tools of corpus linguistics, and in Chapter 5 which analyses the distribution of Voice. Chapter 6 considers the second sub-question through a lens of discursive Othering.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

Data

The corpus for Chapter 4 was compiled in line with the definition offered by McEnery et al (2006:5): a corpus is 'a collection of (1) *machine-readable* (2) *authentic* texts […] which is (3) *sampled* to be (4) *representative* of a particular language or language variety (emphasis in original). Machine-readability and authenticity are easily achieved in the case of electronically available news articles.[13] Following other corpus-informed CDS research in New Zealand (Greenbank 2014; Salahshour 2017), articles were first sourced from Newztext (The Knowledge Basket 2019), an online repository of New Zealand newspapers. Initially the ten most widely circulated newspapers were considered, as I expected articles in regional papers might offer relevant data. It became apparent, however, that articles about migrant sex work in these smaller publications were almost all duplicated from one of the three largest daily papers, so following Greenbank (2014), I limited my data collection to these: the *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), *The Press* (TP) and the *Dominion Post* (DP). Information on these publications is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. New Zealand print media publications (New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulations 2018).

Publication	City	Circulation (Sept 2018)	Owned by	Founded
The New Zealand Herald	Auckland	108,790	NZME	1863
The Press	Christchurch	43,225	Fairfax	1861
The Dominion Post	Wellington	42,703	Fairfax	2002

Within these newspapers, a top-down sampling technique (Mautner 2016:163) was used, based on the criterion that the texts should reference sex workers. The search terms were

---

[13] Although, as Mautner (2016:162) points out, satisfying the machine-readability requirement necessarily inflicts a semiotic reduction on the data by excluding multimodal information (van Leeuwen 2015) which may compromise the texts' authenticity. See Chapter 8 for further discussion of the images accompanying articles.

therefore *sex work** and *prostitut**[14], which returned any and all articles containing either or both of these terms in any context, creating a 'specialised' corpus: texts of a particular genre which refer to a specific topic (Baker 2006:26). A preliminary survey of data from the regional *Bay of Plenty Times* (owned by NZME) had identified several syndicated articles relating to migrant sex workers, that were credited to NZH and although not apparent in the Newztext dataset[15], they were published on the NZH website. Alerted to the fact that potentially not all relevant articles had been returned in the original search, I retrieved further items by entering *sex work* and *prostitute* in the NZH website's search tool, and added the resulting articles (from within the date range of my study) to the corpus, until I felt confident that I had coverage of all relevant articles, satisfying the final criterion of representativeness. The same issue did not arise for other publications; after checking *Stuff* (the Fairfax NZ online news outlet) I was confident there were no online articles that did not also appear in TP and/or DP.

To avoid duplication of articles appearing in both TP and DP, these were collapsed into a single Fairfax sub-corpus, which additionally gives a combined readership figure closer to that of NZH. Newztext search results from the Sunday editions of the newspapers were collapsed with their daily counterparts: NZH's *Herald on Sunday* and Fairfax's *Sunday Star Times*. While Sunday papers may present stylistic differences (e.g. longer form, human interest-style articles), a comparative analysis of daily and weekend papers is not my aim here, and the collapsing was done in parallel across the two outlets to maintain consistency.[16]

The final search spanned 1 January 2017 to 5 March 2019. This period continues from where Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) data on sex workers in New Zealand media (2010-2016) left off, and ends at the date of collection in order to provide as current a picture as possible. The period also includes the fifteenth anniversary of decriminalisation (Prostitution Reform Act 2003) and captures a number of key events surrounding sex work (see below), while producing an appropriate number of articles and words for a study of this scope. My inclusion

---

[14] Terms with stars search for all words with the given root, for example *prostitut** returns results containing *prostitute*, *prostitution*, *prostituted* etc.

[15] A check of the relevant dates in online news database PressReader (2019) confirmed that these articles had not been published in the print version of NZH.

[16] A contrastive analysis of the different papers is not my aim either, however it is worth noting that New Zealand newspapers are primarily delineated by region; their political distinctions are less clearly defined than in other countries where certain outlets are known to reflect variously conservative or progressive views.

of letters to the editor in the corpus recognises the legitimation of the views they express, and therefore their contribution to discourse, afforded by their publication in newspapers (Richardson 2001:148). The final dataset is summarised in Table 3.[17]

Table 3. The corpus.

	Articles (% of total)	Occurrences of *prostitut**[19]	Occurrences of *sex work**	Words (% of total)
NZH	220 (41%)	312	344	139,236 (39%)
Fairfax	312 (59%)	433	462	215,095 (61%)
Total	532 (100%)	745	806	354,331 (100%)

Following Hunt and Hubbard (2015), metadata (reporter name where possible, date of publication, newspaper section, photo and reporting credits) was deleted as this could cloud the corpus results.[18] Remaining were headlines, subheadings (reporter names are sometimes embedded in these), body and photo captions. This cleaning process allowed me to skim through the data and identify broad trends. Several events/topics emerged as key, with recurrent articles addressing them:

- A residential brothel in Auckland upsets neighbours; suggested the sex workers are migrants (August-September 2018)
- Sex work added to skilled employment list by Immigration New Zealand (INZ) then removed (April-May 2018)
- Deportation of 27 migrant sex workers in INZ 'crackdown' (June 2018)
- New Zealand citizen sex workers, led by Lisa Lewis, lodge complaint with INZ about migrant sex worker advertisements (April 2018) and write open letter to the Government rejecting the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC) and calling for Minister of Prostitution (June 2018)
- Concern about human trafficking and exploitation of migrant workers in general (April 2018)
- Tensions between street based sex workers and residents in Christchurch (ongoing)
- Trial of Sainey Marong over 2016 murder of Christchurch sex worker Renée Duckmanton (February-July 2018)
- Catherine Healy, national coordinator of the NZPC, awarded a damehood in the Queen's Birthday Honours (June 2018)
- Not For Sale fundraising campaign run by NZH and World Vision to prevent 'exploitation of girls in Asia' (September-November 2018)

---

[17] As the proposed research uses publicly available electronic data whose creators 'would realistically be aware of its availability to third parties', it does not require review by the Human Ethics Committee (Victoria University of Wellington 2018:4-5;10).

[18] Newztext presents results with this information for every article; if this metadata was left in, words such as *herald*, *news*, or particular reporter names would likely appear as keywords in the corpus analysis since they occur so frequently.

- Anti-sex trafficking legislation in US causing ban of websites sex workers use to advertise (April 2018)
- Focus on the rise of sugaring in New Zealand (late 2018-early 2019)
- Allegations involving US President Donald Trump and Russian sex workers (April 2018)
- Scandal surrounding Oxfam staff accessing services of sex workers (February 2018)

These key issues provide the contextualisation that quality corpus linguistics (CL) requires (Mautner 2016:173), that is, the corpus analysis is guided by an understanding of the broader discursive and societal context in which the articles were written. The first five items on the list are most relevant to my overarching research question about migrant sex workers; articles relating to these topics are central to the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 (see Appendix for a numbered list of these). Further categories in the corpus include crime reporting (usually where a sex worker has been killed or violently assaulted), and articles about homelessness or drug abuse.

More articles still had unrelated topics but mentioned one of the search terms in passing. Such articles are not irrelevant to the analysis; on the contrary, I argue that the ways sex workers are talked about – or often simply *used* for effect – when they are not the focus of attention can be particularly revealing of ideologies around sex work, whereas more care might be expected to be taken when they are in focus. The in-passing references in the corpus tend to associate sex workers with a sense of urban decay (examples 1-2), petty criminal behaviour and disadvantage (3-4), or otherwise negatively (5). These themes echo findings of previous studies around sex work in the media, such as containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2008) which position sex workers as a problem in need of control, and those that construct workers as urban pests threatening social hygiene. The inclusion of these articles with in-passing mentions in the CL analysis, in line with Greenbank (2014), captures a better picture of the broader media discourse around sex workers.

1) *...the complex attracted squatters and prostitutes and was vandalised and tagged* (TP, 17/4/18, 'No sign of hotel redevelopment')
2) *...one of Canada's worst neighbourhoods characterised by high rates of violent crime, prostitution, drugs and alcohol* (NZH, 15/7/17, 'Artist shuns "stable" life for path through back streets')
3) *Depardieu began running with bad company early on, hanging out with prostitutes before himself working as a rent boy* (TP, 1/9/18, 'French cinema's leading man is accused of rape')
4) *Sexually abused as a child, she turned to prostitution in her teens and became addicted to meth* (DP, 30/9/17, 'I want to fix the streets I poisoned')
5) *She said: 'I felt like a prostitute, an utter disappointment.'* (DP, 24/10/17, 'Movie director faces sex claims')

Interestingly, in-passing mentions appear to favour the term *prostitute* as opposed to *sex worker*. A key tenet of CDS is the understanding that language is not neutral; the choice of using one word over another is frequently an ideological one (Stubbs 1996:107), whether conscious or not (Baker 2006:48). The lexical choice between *sex worker* and *prostitute* can reveal a political stance, as Hunt and Hubbard (2015) indeed concluded in their corpus analysis of South African newspapers. *Prostitute* carries heavy negative connotations (Pheterson 1993), with dictionary definitions of the verb including 'to sell oneself, talents or integrity for low or unworthy purposes' (Collins 2019) and 'to devote to corrupt purposes; debase' (Merriam-Webster 2019). As Law (1999:525) puts it, 'the word "prostitution" both describes and condemns'. Further, the common use of *prostituted* as an adjective – as in *prostituted women*, the term abolitionist feminists such as Julie Bindel (2018) use to describe sex workers – suggests prostitution is something done *to* a person, rather than an agentive act. For these reasons, many sex workers consider *prostitute* to be a slur (Easterbrook-Smith 2018:26), preferring *sex worker*[19] as a term that emphasises their agency (the suffix *-er* denoting a person who acts) and their labour (Smith and Mac 2018). Considering the contrasting ideologies underpinning each term, the use of *prostitute* in the media may index a hostile stance towards sex workers, and using the terms interchangeably, as many articles do, neglects to appreciate their different political connotations.

Methods

Corpus-informed CDS is a mixed-methods approach; using at least two different methods to arrive at similar findings provides warranting for interpretations. My analysis is divided into three chapters: Chapter 4 presents the CL analysis, taking as its data the entire corpus described above. I use the freely available CL software AntConc (Anthony 2018), used in similar studies (Hunt and Hubbard 2015; Greenbank 2014). The CL tools of frequency, keywords, collocations and concordances provide mostly quantitative measures to indicate salient trends across the dataset and illuminate the semantic prosody attached to the search terms.

---

[19] The term *sex work* was coined in 1978 by US sex worker and activist Carol Leigh (Smith and Mac 2018:1).

The subsequent two chapters each analyse a subset of the corpus, focussing on articles specifically relating to migrant sex workers. These articles are referred to in the analysis by numbers; see Appendix 1 for a numbered list of these. In Chapter 5 I present an analysis of Voice, following the methods of Barclay and Liu (2003), to look quantitatively and qualitatively at the amount of speech attributed to different social actors, as a measure of agency and representation afforded to them. In Chapter 6 I draw on the various tools of the discourse-historical approach (DHA), set out by Reisigl and Wodak (2016), in an in-depth qualitative analysis of the various ways in which migrant sex workers are constructed as Other in the data. This detailed method places great emphasis on the importance of context in discourse analysis, and distinguishes four levels thereof: text-internal; intertextual and interdiscursive; social and institutional; and broader socio-political and historical (Weiss and Wodak 2003:22). For example, to situate the data in an interdiscursive context I link the salient themes to wider sex work Discourses identified by previous research, such as contagion narratives, while the list of key topics and events identified earlier in this chapter form the socio-political and historical context. I also highlight the particular discursive strategies (nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivisation), established by the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2016:33), that the articles use to Other migrant sex workers. These methods are demonstrated in greater detail alongside the analysis in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 – Corpus analysis

Introduction

As discussed in my review of the relevant literature, using corpus linguistic (CL) methods within the critical approach is a useful way to gain quantitative insights into a large range of data, revealing the linguistic patterns that point to the existence of wider Discourses (Baker 2006:13; Baker and McEnery 2005:98). In this chapter I present the findings from the CL analysis, using the tools of frequency, keywords, collocations and concordances. This chapter takes as its data the entire corpus of articles from the search period containing either of the terms *sex work** or *prostitut**, in order to capture the widest discursive context in which sex workers are referred to. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this means most of the 532 articles do not specifically discuss migrant sex workers; that smaller set alone would provide fewer than the minimum 25,000 words recommended for a corpus analysis (Baker et al 2008:275). I begin by asking what discursive trends around sex workers *in general* emerge via corpus techniques, with a later emphasis on the patterns that relate specifically to migrant sex work.

Frequency and keywords

Measuring lexical frequency is a helpful starting point for corpus analysis. To generate a frequency word list, the CL software AntConc compiles a list of every word in the corpus and ranks them by how many times they occur. The resulting high-frequency words tend to be function words such as prepositions and articles. Since these are largely not relevant to understanding discursive patterns, following Baker (2006:54) the function words were manually removed from the list in order to provide a clearer picture. The remaining content words are presented in Table 4.

High-frequency words indicate salient semantic domains in the corpus (Hunt and Hubbard 2015); Table 4 suggest these domains surround sex, New Zealand, (sex) work(ers), women and police. However, the list also includes words (*says*, *said*, *told*) that would naturally be expected to occur frequently in news articles which report the views of informants. A stronger

statistical measure of saliency is provided by keyness (Baker 2006:125). This tool calculates how likely a word is to occur in the corpus under investigation compared to a reference corpus, with the resulting top keywords indicating the 'aboutness' of the corpus (Baker 2006:127). Because news discourse is a specific genre, it was decided to use a corpus of news articles rather than a general corpus such as the British National Corpus (Baker 2006:43; McEnery et al 2006:15). This comparability helps account for words that occur frequently in news texts, in order to indicate what is 'key' in this particular corpus compared to news discourse generally. The reference corpus used here was a file of 628,736 words compiled from online news articles, downloaded from the frequently-used and freely available Leipzig Corpora Collection (Deutscher Wortschatz 2018) and imported into AntConc. The top 25 keywords in my corpus are given in Table 5.

Table 4. Frequency word list.

Rank	Freq	Word
1	1895	said
2	1461	sex
3	1054	new
4	868	people
5	709	year
6	683	years
7	678	says
8	661	police
9	648	time
10	645	work
11	640	zealand
12	579	workers
13	527	women
14	503	life
15	494	first
16	406	woman
17	400	told
18	388	back
19	386	found
20	380	old
21	370	day
22	369	sexual
23	356	prostitutes
24	344	family
25	344	made

Table 5. Keyword list.

Rank	Freq	Keyness	Keyword
1	1461	+2426.79	sex
2	2579	+1540.69	her
3	2660	+1296.95	she
4	640	+1148.52	zealand
5	4464	+870.04	was
6	579	+717.74	workers
7	356	+680.04	prostitutes
8	323	+583.39	prostitution
9	1783	+550.24	had
10	270	+520.8	christchurch
11	255	+473.55	auckland
12	235	+463.95	marong
13	369	+449.51	sexual
14	188	+371.15	prostitute
15	251	+359.01	worker
16	2986	+329.48	he
17	661	+297.48	police
18	527	+293.43	women
19	406	+293.13	woman
20	146	+288.22	duckmanton
21	147	+279.14	brothel
22	131	+239.71	wellington
23	131	+214.93	trafficking
24	206	+205.19	murder
25	106	+198.84	healy

The keywords *sex(ual)*, *worker(s)*, *prostitute(s)/tion*, *brothel* and *healy*, as well as *zealand*, *christchurch*, *auckland* and *wellington* indicate the corpus is 'about' sex work in New Zealand

(Healy being the surname of the director of the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective). Four of the top keywords (*her*, *she*, *women* and *woman*) directly index femininity, while only one indexes masculinity (*he*). This may suggest the corpus is gendered in some way: when talking about sex workers we are talking about women, which corresponds with the historical and persisting notion of the gendered nature of the sex industry (McLaughlin 1991), and aligns with the finding of McEnery and H. Baker (2017:169) that 17th-century prostitution discourse was gendered feminine. There is also a thread of crime-related terms such as *police* and *murder*; *marong* and *duckmanton* are the perpetrator and victim names respectively in the case of a murdered sex worker. Terms relating to immigration do not feature as top keywords, likely because they also occur frequently in the reference corpus in reporting about migrants in general, although *trafficking* does, suggesting salience of both migration and sex work.

Collocations

Collocations, defined as the 'above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span' (Baker et al 2008:278), are a key measure of the linguistic patterns in a corpus that lead to the identification of the Discourses underlying it (Baker 2006:13). This is because frequent collocations contribute to semantic prosody (Louw 1993; Baker et al 2008:278), or how the 'connotational meaning of one word can be passed on to its frequent collocates' (Louw 2000:9). For example, while the lemma *cause* is theoretically neutral in isolation, it has been shown to overwhelmingly occur in relation to negatively evaluated events (Stubbs 2001:65), creating a negative aura around the word itself (Louw 1993:157).[20]

Tables 6 and 7 present the top 25 collocates of *sex work** and *prostitut** respectively, to five words on either side of the search term, following Sinclair (1991:170). Collocates are ranked by Mutual Information (MI) score (following Hunt and Hubbard 2015), an AntConc calculation which favours low frequency words in order to measure the likelihood of the collocate, with scores of 3 or more deemed statistically significant (Baker 2006:101). This test can however

---

[20] Some scholars distinguish *semantic prosody* from *discourse prosody* and some use the terms interchangeably. The differences are rather technical; in this discussion I refer only to semantic prosody for reasons of clarity. Another related concept is *semantic preference*, which is less relevant here. See Baker (2006:86-8) for a more detailed explanation of the distinctions between these three terms.

favour low frequency words too strongly, assigning high scores to words that may only occur alongside the search term once (2006:102). It was therefore decided to set a minimum frequency of 5 in order to avoid these less relevant collocates. It was also determined that the collocates *collective*, *reform*, *act* and *nzpc* were best removed from the list, as their high MI score arises predominantly from frequent occurrence of the phrases 'New Zealand Prostitutes Collective' and 'Prostitution Reform Act'. These uses of *prostitut** as part of an unanalysed, proper name unit are not in focus here as they arguably do not contribute to the semantic prosody of the term in the way other uses do. Including these collocates would overstate their importance and skew the results.

Table 6. Collocates of *sex work**.

Rank	Freq	MI	Collocate
1	5	7.93607	larissa
2	10	7.35111	tensions
3	5	7.25800	occupational
4	8	7.12872	lisa
5	8	7.02918	skilled
6	33	6.93607	migrant
7	70	6.74343	based
8	7	6.74343	abel
9	5	6.67304	restrictions
10	9	6.58244	lewis
11	15	6.31940	asian
12	6	6.27311	prices
13	10	6.21361	stigma
14	5	6.17054	advocate
15	79	6.10030	street
16	5	6.01007	strategy
17	5	6.01007	chat
18	14	5.98854	foreign
19	8	5.93607	korean
20	29	5.89924	illegal
21	6	5.82060	suspected
22	26	5.81633	rights
23	12	5.79301	renee
24	7	5.78912	murdering
25	9	5.71357	escort

Table 7. Collocates of *prostitut**.

Rank	Freq	MI	Collocate
1	5	9.97297	decriminalising
2	9	9.68347	decriminalised
3	5	9.29490	gambling
4	20	9.29490	coordinator
5	9	9.14290	legalised
6	5	9.12497	preventing
7	13	9.02956	prevent
8	5	8.83547	bylaws
9	29	8.72243	catherine
10	7	8.69286	soliciting
11	5	8.48754	regulate
12	5	8.48754	allegation
13	22	8.28266	areas
14	29	8.08949	forced
15	5	8.04697	pimps
16	22	7.98946	residential
17	30	7.98504	illegal
18	26	7.94549	healy
19	10	7.93735	underage
20	5	7.83547	motel
21	5	7.77134	ring
22	5	7.77134	lewis
23	6	7.75058	review
24	8	7.72504	involving
25	5	7.70994	decriminalisation

To understand the Discourses underlying these results, the collocates can be categorised by the contexts in which they appear. Using the list of key topics and events in the corpus in Chapter 3, these contexts were identified by examining the concordance lines for the collocations. Several collocates in these lists refer to specific people (NZPC coordinator

Catherine Healy, Hamilton sex worker Lisa Lewis and murdered sex worker Renée Larissa Duckmanton). A strong category of collocate arises from numerous articles in the corpus discussing community debate over street-based sex work in Christchurch: *tensions*, *street*, *based*, *restrictions* and *prices* collocate with *sex work**, while *prevent(ing)*, *bylaws*, *regulate*, *areas*, *residential* and *soliciting* collocate with *prostitut**. Some of these words (*restrictions*, *prevent(ing)*, *bylaws*, *regulate*) belong to a semantic field of control, in a link to containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008) that suggests sex work is constructed in this corpus as a problem causing 'tension' and requiring regulation and restriction by authorities. This Discourse has a long history, with McEnery and H. Baker (2017:169) reporting that in data from Early Modern English *whore* collocates consistently with terms relating to those exercising control over sex workers.

Some of the collocates of *sex work** suggest a more rights-based approach (*stigma*, *advocate*, *rights*) and professional language (*occupational*, *skilled*, *escort*). This aligns with an understanding of sex work as a legitimate form of labour in capitalist societies (Smith and Mac 2018), and supports Hunt and Hubbard's (2015:41) finding that the lexical choice of *sex work** as opposed to *prostitut** is associated with human rights Discourse. *Legalise* and *decriminalis(e/ed/ing)* collocate with *prostitut**, predominantly in the context of articles' explanations of the function of the Prostitution Reform Act. Other collocates of *prostitut** suggest petty criminality or seediness (*gambling*, *soliciting*, *motel*, *pimps*), and more serious crimes (*forced*, *ring*, *underage*, *murdering*, *allegation*, *suspected*). By routinely referring to sex work within contexts of criminality and danger, the discourse creates a semantic link which may prime the reader to associate the two concepts (Hoey 2005), as argued by Hunt and Hubbard (2015:41) who similarly found collocations between *prostitut** and *forced*, *underage*, *murder* and *illegal* in their corpus analysis of South African newspapers.

This semantic association with criminality is bolstered by the strong collocation of *illegal* with both search terms (30 occurrences with *prostitut** and 29 with *sex work**), suggesting an influence of culpability narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008) which construct sex workers as criminals. Because sex work is decriminalised in New Zealand, the use of *illegal* might be expected to refer to those excluded from decriminalisation, i.e. migrants. This suspicion is confirmed by examining the co-occurrences as they appear in context, which

include 'foreign, illegal prostitutes' and 'illegal migrant sex workers' (discussed further in the concordance analysis below). A semantic field of foreignness arises in the top collocates of *sex work** (*migrant, foreign, asian, korean*), which, along with *illegal*, suggest the corpus is significantly concerned with migrant sex work. As this is the central topic of the current study, in the following section I use concordance analysis to focus specifically on discourse around migrant sex work in the corpus.

Concordances

Examining occurrences of a particular term alongside its immediate co-text can help to identify repeated patterns of language use and understand how semantic prosodies develop through repetition. The concordance tool (also called Key Word In Context) in AntConc provides a list of occurrences of either a single search term, or of collocations between two items, presented in the adjacent context. Since the collocation analysis found a strong link between *illegal* and *prostitut**, I examined the concordance lines for this collocation, reproduced in Figure 1 (words in analytical focus are underlined for clarity). When these terms co-occur, a semantic field emerges of nationality, immigration and its associated controls: *Asian, Chinese, foreign, migrant, temporary, visas, Kiwis, New Zealanders, local, deportation, outnumbered, Immigration, INZ, police, crackdown* and *raids*. This strengthens the association between *sex work** and nationality found in the collocation analysis, suggesting the semantic fields of illegality and immigration are linked.

This argument is triangulated by the concordance lines for the collocation between *foreign* and *sex work** (Figure 2). Here, there are several references to *illegal(ly)*, as well as other terms indirectly indexing criminality such as *suspected*. These repeated co-occurrences between the semantic domains of sex work, illegality and immigration arguably work to associate these concepts in the reader's mind through semantic prosody (Baker 2006:87). The high frequency of *foreign* is notable considering its xenophobic undertones in immigration discourse (Salahshour 2017:167) and the existence of an alternative in the (somewhat) more neutral *migrant*. As with the interchangeable use of *prostitut** and *sex work** despite those terms' different political connotations, articles appear to use *migrant* and *foreign* as

synonyms. This echoes Baker et al's (2008:287) finding that terms for distinct groups (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants) are used as near synonyms.

Figure 1. Concordance lines for the collocation between *illegal* and *prostitut**.

her opposition to the current US administration.	Illegal prostitutes working 'terrified' The one occupation forbidden
herine Healy said pimps had "almighty power" over	illegal migrant prostitutes. Some illegal workers had been served
cation of the Immigration Act, section 19, in the	Prostitution Reform Act deems it illegal for any temporary
hedonistic heyday was the 1980s, and 90s - when	prostitution was illegal - but a series of vanishings and
I spoke to likened golf in China to	prostitution. That's illegal, too. But there are still
progressing initiatives to resolve the concerns. "	Prostitution is not illegal in New Zealand and there
y police in Singapore and accused of facilitating	illegal prostitution in Malaysia. Sugar dating is where an
about the company in South East Asian states.	Prostitution itself is not illegal in Singapore, but prostitution
e criminalised. Soliciting and brothels were also	illegal in Malaysia, and prostitution activities were punishable with
. For people in New Zealand on student visas,	prostitution is illegal. Sugar relationships may also breach temporary
boo in the conservative, Muslim-majority country.	Prostitution is illegal. Trump 'ordered Cohen to lie to
New Zealanders have been able to work as	prostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on temporary
down on illegal trade An Immigration crackdown on	illegal prostitution has resulted in the deportation and voluntary
. Although Kiwis have been able to work as	prostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on temporary
he was "not against" officials cracking down on	illegal prostitutes but he believed most raids were being
how local sex workers could help to end	illegal prostitution. Immigration confirmed it had received allegation
hristchurch sex worker Amber O'Hara said foreign,	illegal prostitutes now outnumbered New Zealanders in the industry
NZPC for using taxpayer money to "knowingly aid"	illegal prostitution. New Zealand legislation specifically excludes mi
both the ministry and NZPC are knowingly aiding	illegal forms of prostitution in New Zealand, and using
also been dancing, took her to a club.	Prostitution is illegal in most parts of the US,
the view that random raids on brothels were	illegal. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 had made it legal
to New Zealand. But they were not told	prostitution was illegal for people here on work, visitor,
the illegal service is wrong." She said the	illegal prostitutes have an edge also because they were
against" INZ and the police cracking down on	illegal prostitutes but believed most raids were being conducted
of 10 times the cops don't have one."	Illegal prostitution crackdown: 27 Asian sex workers deported Chinese
e. An Immigration New Zealand (INZ) crackdown on	illegal prostitution has resulted in the deportation and voluntary
. Although New Zealanders are able to work as	prostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on temporary
sher stance against migrant sex workers. Although	prostitution is decriminalised, it is illegal for temporary migrants,

Figure 2. Concordance lines for the collocation between *foreign* and *sex work**.

oblems with drug addiction, illegal under-age and	foreign sex workers, and bad operators are just that:
bly New Zealand's most haunted building. 350	foreign sex workers turned away at border More than 350
ers turned away at border More than 350 suspected	foreign sex workers have tried to enter New Zealand
uly 2015 and October 2018, 353 suspected or known	foreign sex workers were refused entry, while 28 were taken
work. Taiwanese made up a third of the	foreign sex workers who were removed, followed by seven
without borders / Human trafficking: Brokers lure	foreign sex workers to NZ with 'half truths' The
eight brothels were raided and officials found 21	foreign sex workers working illegally. And in 2007, six broth
" and "a source country for children subjected to	sex trafficking within the country". Foreign women from Asia
er shoes at the NZ Prostitutes Collective. Former	foreign sex workers can be granted New Zealand residency
work. Taiwanese made up a third of the	foreign sex workers who were removed, followed by seven
out the increasing number of illegal underage and	foreign sex workers advertising their trade in New Zealand.
provide, operate or invest in commercial sex. NZ	sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website a
out the increasing number of illegal underage and	foreign sex workers advertising their trade in New Zealand.
vertising their trade in New Zealand. New Zealand	sex workers are furious that foreign prostitutes who come
rker, is concerned about the increasing number of	foreign sex workers operating illegally in New Zealand. Some

Figure 3. Concordance lines for *temporary*.

fied' The one occupation forbidden for those with	temporary work visas is leaving some migrants very vulnerab
reports. Migrant prostitutes working illegally on	temporary visas are "terrified" they will be deported if
. Sex work is the only occupation migrants on	temporary visas are not legally allowed to take up.
However, migrants who have entered the country on	temporary work, visitor, holiday or international student v
all sex workers in New Zealand were on	temporary visas. She and other women sex workers were
all of the prostitutes were working illegally on	temporary visas, she said. One woman working on a
sociology study. Half of them were here on	temporary visas. Most of the illegal sex workers told
just be told to stop sex work?" Often	temporary migrants, particularly international students, we
Prostitution Reform Act deems it illegal for any	temporary migrant to work as a prostitute or invest
want to be identified said prostitutes working on	temporary visas knew it was illegal, but they were
ew Zealand's prostitutes are working illegally on	temporary visas. Catherine Healy says pimps have huge powe
Shiite cleric who she said had sought a	temporary marriage with her, a tradition in Shiite communit
tation. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 bans any	temporary visa holder in this country from performing sexua
ved deportation liability notices to 38 people on	temporary visas who were found to be engaging in
titutes Collective says the law barring people on	temporary visas from engaging in sex work is discriminatory
e said. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 bans any	temporary visa holder in this country from performing sexua
manger Peter Devoy said the agency was aware	temporary migrants who breached their visa conditions by wo
change the "discriminatory" law to allow those on	temporary visas to engage in sex work. Catherine Healy
fore travelling. In the same period, 38 people on	temporary visas were found to be engaging in sex
9 of the Prostitution Reform Act, which prohibits	temporary migrants working as prostitutes. Sex work is lega
on New Zealand that such relationships may breach	temporary visa conditions for international students and ri
the law, it was illegal for people on	temporary visas to provide commercial sexual services. Immi
service and would be a breach of a	temporary visa. Immigration also said there was no visa
n is illegal. Sugar relationships may also breach	temporary visa conditions and students risk being deported,
ules for international students or any migrant on	temporary visas to legally work in the sex industry.
n liability notices were served on 38 people with	temporary visas and 27 have been deported - either by force
minister." The letter claimed migrants coming on	temporary visas to work as prostitutes were "taking money
ostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on	temporary visas to do sex work. "NZPC's current
ostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on	temporary visas to do sex work. Taiwanese made up
iability notices have been served on 38 people on	temporary visas found to be providing commercial sexual ser
$1m programme used 'from time to time' by	temporary visa holders Illegal sex workers are accessing a
egislation specifically excludes migrants holding	temporary visas from being able to lawfully work in

The frequent occurrence of *temporary* in the concordances for *illegal* and *prostitut**
encourages examination of the concordances for this term, shown in Figure 3. Again, a
semantic field of law, transgression and control emerges: *breach*, *forbidden*, *deported*,
illegal(ly), *deems it illegal*, *law barring*, *bans*, *excludes*, *served*, *deportation liability notices*,
and *breached their visa conditions*. These words are associated with legal discourse (Eades
2008), perhaps because 'temporary visa' is the terminology the Prostitution Reform Act uses
for those prohibited from working in the sex industry. *Illegal** and *temporary* are strong
collocates (MI score 9.53, frequency 15), again creating a link between migrant status and
illegality. These three concordance examples reveal the prevalence of other dimensions of
immigration discourse in the corpus, with their emphasis on numbers of migrants: *350 foreign*
sex workers, 21 foreign sex workers, 27 Asian sex workers, 38 people on temporary visas,

increasing number, and *outnumbered*. Baker et al (2008:286) identified 'numbers' as a dominant category of collocate associated with refugees, and the dehumanising effect of this quantification has been attested by CDS scholars (Baker and McEnery 2005; Rheindorf and Wodak 2018). Other categories identified by Baker et al (2008:286) are also evident in these concordances: 'entry and return' (*refused entry*, *tried to enter*, *removed*, *deported*) and 'provenance' (*Taiwanese*, *Chinese*, *Asian*, *from Asia*).

Contrasting this emphasis on criminality and migrant influx is the Discourse of vulnerability that also emerges. *Trafficking* was found to be a keyword in the corpus (*traffick** occurs 164 times in total), and although it does not appear in the top 25 collocates for either search term, it has significant MI scores as a collocate of the search terms (3.71 as a collocate of *sex work** and 6.40 for *prostitut**). This suggests a significant strand of sex work discourse in New Zealand is concerned with trafficking; it therefore merits some attention. The collocates for *traffick** include *exploitation* (MI score 8.68), *forced* (7.67), *slavery* (8.46), *victims* (7.14), *child* (7.65), *girls* (6.98), *women* (5.37), *suspected* (8.71), *prevent* (8.36), *scale* (8.96) and *millions* (8.42). These suggest people who are trafficked belong to vulnerable populations (*child*, *girls*, *women*) that lack agency (*forced*, *slavery*, *victims*), while *scale* and *millions* suggest trafficking is occurring on a large scale. A semantic field of vulnerability and passivity also arises in the collocates of *migrant*, constructing migrants as acted upon: *deceived* (11.88), *exploitation* (8.98), *vulnerable* (8.76) and *concerns* (8.53); however other collocates such as *illegal* (9.18), *ban* (8.65) and *authorities* (8.64) speak more to the discourse of legality (Baker et al 2008:286) discussed above.

The dual Discourses of illegality and vulnerability evident in the corpus results align with a consistent finding in other literature on sex work discourse: sex workers are routinely constructed as both deviant criminals and passive victims (McLaughlin 1991; Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; Majic 2014; Hoefinger and Srun 2017; Easterbrook-Smith 2018). Criminal constructions in this corpus are perhaps assisted through the priming of readers (Hoey 2005) to associate sex work with crime, by regularly situating prostitution within contexts of (petty) criminality and delinquency, and drawing on containment narratives to construct sex workers as a problem requiring restriction. Also apparent is anti-immigration discourse, evident in the preoccupation with Asian nationalities and 'foreignness' of migrant sex workers, the numbers

in which they enter New Zealand, and the control over them exercised by immigration authorities. These salient domains within which sex workers are situated indicate an overall negative semantic prosody attached to sex workers in New Zealand media. The trends identified by CL tools provide a starting point for Chapter 6's qualitative analysis of how the media discursively Others migrant sex workers. First, however, in the following chapter I present an analysis of Voice to illustrate one way in which the discourse denies migrant sex workers agency.

Chapter 5 – Voice

As van Dijk (1996:91-4) points out, minority groups are frequently the object of public discourse, but have little control over their representations in it. Due to unequal distribution of *access* to discourse (van Dijk 1996), this means speakers from minority groups are less quoted in the media than members of more powerful groups (van Dijk 1991), which affords them less opportunity to participate in the construction of their own identities and narratives (Baker 2006:74). When they are quoted, their viewpoints are often framed in terms of suspicion and distance (Teo 2000:18). Building on Fairclough's notion of 'voices' (1995:14), the concept of Voice is useful here. Analysing the distribution of attributed speech can provide a measure of the access (van Dijk 1996), representation (Coupland 2010) and agency (Ahearn 2001) afforded to different social actors in media discourse. It can also give an indication of what the discourse-historical approach terms *perspectivisation strategies*, which consider whose views and perspectives are represented in discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2016:32). Media publications, wielding significant political power – what Carvalho (2008:168) calls 'framing power' – position themselves in alignment with views of those they give Voice to (Baker et al 2008; Reisigl and Wodak 2016); by privileging majority perspectives over marginalised ones, they contribute to the reproduction of structural inequalities.

Acknowledging this link between Voice and agency, several CDS scholars have measured the perspective afforded to marginalised groups in media discourse. Baker et al (2008) argue that refugees are provided little space in British news texts about them. Teo (2000) reports that in news items concerning issues in the Sydney Vietnamese community, less than a quarter of quotes are attributed to Vietnamese people, in favour of White 'expert' voices. In media reporting of the 1995 occupation by Māori of Pakaitore/Moutua Gardens in Whanganui, Barclay and Liu (2003) demonstrate that Māori voices are outweighed by Pākehā, while for New Zealand news articles about refugees, Greenbank (2014) found that only a quarter of the total words of represented discourse in her corpus are attributed to refugees. Teo (2000) and Greenbank (2014) both connect lack of Voice to the media's Othering of marginalised groups. Using a simplified version of Barclay and Liu's (2003) method, in this section I present an

analysis of Voice in articles from the corpus about migrant sex workers, measured by number of words of quoted speech or 'discourse representation' (Fairclough 1995:54).

Demonstrating Voice

To demonstrate the relevance of Voice, two example articles discussing migrant sex workers are presented in Figures 4 and 5, with the quoted discourse highlighted. Article (i) is about a group of New Zealand citizen sex workers expressing anger about their migrant counterparts; Article (ii) relates to a residential brothel – where the workers are coded as Asian migrants – arousing disquiet among neighbours. The content of these articles is not the primary focus here (both are analysed in more detail in Chapter 6), however the colours provide a visual impression of the overall distribution of Voice.

Figure 4. Discourse representation in example article (i).

NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements
Lisa Lewis, a sex worker, is concerned about the increasing number of foreign sex workers operating illegally in New Zealand.
New Zealand sex workers are furious that foreign prostitutes who come on temporary visas can advertise their services here despite it being illegal for them to work.
High profile escort Lisa Lewis is one of several who have taken their complaints to Immigration New Zealand (INZ) and the Minister of Immigration Iain Lees-Galloway - calling for a harsher stance against migrant sex workers.
Although prostitution is decriminalised, it is illegal for temporary migrants, such as those on student or work visas, to provide sexual services in New Zealand.
"There are laws in place regarding who can and cannot work as a prostitute in New Zealand," Lewis said.
"But why is there no questions being asked when migrant sex workers advertise their services on websites and the back pages of newspapers here."
She wants INZ to shift its focus from just deporting migrant sex workers to punish those that profit from helping the promotion of these illegal sex workers.
Lewis said the increase in number of foreign prostitutes coming over has hit local sex workers in the pocket.
"Many of the girls no longer meet the same quota as they did a few years ago," she said.
These foreign girls were also offering services such as "natural" acts or unprotected sex, Lewis said, which is unlawful under prostitution laws here.
"These not only put their health and safety at risk, but also clients' health and safety at risk," she said.
Lewis, who has been involved in sex work for the last 10 years, said she has seen the number of advertisements by migrant prostitutes more than double over that time.
Some advertisements openly declare that the sex workers had "just arrived" or "here for a short time" along with their foreign nationalities. Others openly say they offer specials like "natural" sex acts.
Another sex worker, who spoke to the *Herald* on the condition of anonymity, said her income had halved from about $12,000 weekly to about $6000 in the last two years.
In 2015, a 27-year-old Korean sex worker who came to New Zealand and was caught by police after working for 20 days was found to have earned $32,875 over that time.
Police found she had 196 customers and charged up to $100 extra for special services, including unprotected sex.
"We can't compete with the type of services they offer, and besides it is illegal for us to do so," she said.
"But the fact is, every dollar that these migrant prostitutes make is a dollar taken from the back pockets of New Zealand working girls."
The Auckland-based sex worker is hoping the complaints will lead to stronger enforcement of the laws.
"The laws are there for a reason. What's the point of having them if they are not being policed," she added.
Amber Ohara, a sex worker from Christchurch, is calling for a sex worker registration system similar to the one in Victoria, Australia.
"There every sex worker must have a registration number showing on her advertisement or the advertiser gets fined," Ohara said.
"This would wipe out large numbers of the illegal ladies overnight."
INZ has received eight complaints in relation to migrants using the services of websites, including newzealandgirls.co.nz.
"The nature of the complaints were in relation to allegations that migrants were using these and other websites to advertise their services," said INZ spokeswoman Emma Murphy.
Murphy said the complaints had been made anonymously.
INZ said no investigation had been undertaken as a result of these allegations as there was "insufficient evidence to warrant further immigration action".
The *Herald* has approached newzealandgirls.co.nz for comments.

Figure 5. Discourse representation in example article (ii).

Blue highlighted text is speech attributed to sex workers with New Zealand citizenship, yellow is Immigration New Zealand (INZ) officials, green is residents living near the 'home brothel', orange is an Auckland Council representative, and purple is 'an occupant' at the brothel – in these cases, the only voice representing migrant sex workers. A paler colour indicates paraphrasing as opposed to direct quotes.

As these examples indicate, articles about migrant sex workers in New Zealand media heavily feature represented discourse, but rarely the voices of the group being discussed. The actors whose perspectives are represented are ingroup members (New Zealand sex workers[21] and local residents) or representatives of authority (Council and INZ). These groups are in opposition to migrant sex workers; some express hostility (citizen sex workers calling them 'illegal ladies' and residents declaring the sex workers' departure from the street 'brilliant') while those representing authorities speak to the restriction and policing of migrant workers' behaviour. Despite migrant sex workers being the subject of both articles, a voice representing them appears only once, in the form of an unnamed 'occupant' at the brothel property (not necessarily a sex worker themselves). This quote, reproduced in (1), frames their perspective in terms of anonymity (*an occupant*), suspicion (*denied*), and distance (*had earlier told*), all of which presents the paraphrased claim as dubious. This corresponds with Baker et al's (2008:294-5) contention that in mainstream media, outgroup members are

---

[21] The positioning of New Zealand sex workers as an ingroup is discussed further in Chapter 6.

predominantly only provided a voice when they can be represented as inarticulate, illogical or threatening (cf. Teo 2000:18).

(1) ***An occupant*** *at the property, who **denied** the house was being used as a brothel, **had earlier told** the* Herald *it was a rental accommodation for international students from China.*

Quantifying Voice

These example articles illustrate the power of the media to legitimise the perspectives of socially dominant ingroups and undermine those of less powerful outgroups (Barclay and Liu 2003:5). With this understanding of Voice, I conducted a quantitative analysis of represented discourse in 18 articles from the corpus (see Appendix 1 for a numbered list of these). These were selected manually on the criteria that they directly discuss migrant sex workers and include quotations. Social actors were categorised according to their stance towards migrant sex workers and level of institutional or social power, resulting in the following groups:

- INZ: representatives of Immigration New Zealand (the vast majority of this group), police and Ministry of Health
- NZPC: representatives of New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (the vast majority of this group) and other sex worker rights advocates
- NZSW: sex workers with New Zealand citizenship
- MSW: migrant sex workers
- Other

In order for the analysis to be meaningful, the number of groups was kept small, therefore the 'other' group included a somewhat disparate array of speakers (each one featured infrequently) who could not otherwise be logically categorised[22]; for the same reason, articles about the residential brothel were excluded as 'neighbours' could not be reasonably grouped. The 'home brothel' articles are nevertheless important, and are analysed in Chapter 6. Direct quotes were counted by the number of words inside quotation marks, and paraphrased

---

[22] The 'other' group consists of: Tuariki Delamere (immigration adviser), an unnamed 'immigration expert', representatives of various organisations (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Auckland, New Zealand Association of Migration and Investment, NetSafe, Ecpat Child Alert NZ, Streetreach), Bob McCoskrie (director of Family First NZ), US sex workers, Joy (a hospitality worker on a temporary visa), Oubonwan Tan and Cherry Chia (massage parlour owners), Queenstown Lakes District Council, A Queenstown businessman involved in adult entertainment.

speech by words following explicit attributions of speech (following Greenbank 2014).[23] In ambiguous cases of paraphrasing, for example where it was unclear whether a comma separated a single string of attributed speech or ended it, decisions were kept conservative and consistent, counting only the words before the comma. I initially considered direct and paraphrased quotes separately, however they patterned closely with one another, therefore here I present only the results of total Voice (direct and paraphrased combined). See Appendix 2 for the percentages of speech attributed to each group in each article.

As Table 8 shows, INZ is the dominant group in these articles, being quoted in all but two articles and afforded over a third of the total attributed speech. NZPC, New Zealand sex workers and migrant sex workers have fairly similar quantities of Voice, with attribution in 7-9 out of 18 articles and between 10-14 per cent of the total Voice. With 18 articles there are insufficient data points to reliably test the statistical significance of the different numbers; according to the central limit theorem, the minimum required is 30 items. Further, the abnormal distribution of the data and the prevalence of zeros (due to the fact that not every group is quoted in every article) make even a simple statistical test difficult. However, each group's percentages of total represented discourse in the articles can be plotted[24] (Figure 6) (R Core Team 2018; Wickham 2009). This plot suggests that the speech attributed to INZ is significantly greater than the other groups (excluding Other), with the differences between the three middle groups unlikely to be statistically significant.
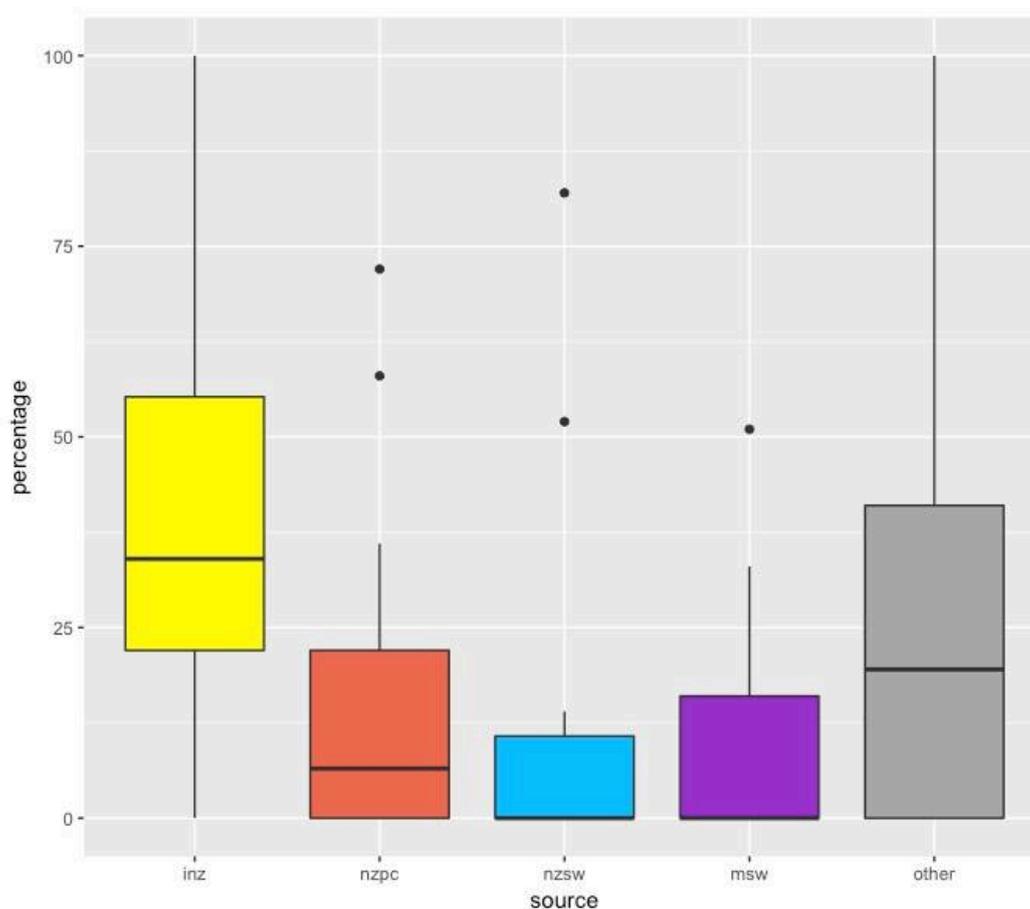
Table 8. General distribution of Voice.

Group	Articles featuring their voices	Percentage of total attributed speech
Immigration New Zealand	16	36
New Zealand Prostitutes Collective	9	14
NZ sex workers	7	10
Migrant sex workers	7	13
Other	12	27
Total	*18*	*100*

---

[23] These terms were *say, tell* (as in 'she told the *Herald*'), *confirm that, argue that, insist that, warn that* and *according to*.

[24] Thank you to Hannah White helping with this plot.

Figure 6. Distribution of Voice across 18 articles.

Legitimate voices

The finding that New Zealand sex workers and migrants are afforded similar amounts of Voice is unexpected based on the pattern in the example article in Figure 4. The most probable explanation for this is that citizen sex workers feature heavily in two articles, and moderately in another four (see Appendix 2), while migrant sex workers appear mostly in a different set of articles, which relate primarily to trafficking and exploitation. Qualitative analysis of these instances suggests that the roughly equal quantitative attribution of Voice does not necessarily equate to equal agency. When citizen sex workers are quoted talking about migrant sex workers, they express hostility towards them, as shown in examples (2-4): in paraphrased or direct quotes, two New Zealand sex workers refer to migrants as 'foreign girls' and 'illegal ladies'. Use of their full names (Lisa Lewis; Amber O'Hara) and introductions such as 'high profile escort' and 'sex worker from Christchurch' grant these workers insider

subjectivity and give legitimacy to their perspectives. When migrant sex workers are quoted (5), details such as their age and nationality are given in place of their names[25], and they are referred to as 'prostitutes' (in this case the speaker is a 'former prostitute with permanent residency' so is in fact no longer either a temporary migrant nor a sex worker).

(2) **High profile escort Lisa Lewis** *is one of several who have taken their complaints to Immigration New Zealand ...* **calling for a harsher stance against** *migrant sex workers.* (Article 11)

(3) *These* **foreign girls** *were also offering services such as "natural" acts or unprotected sex, Lewis said, which is unlawful under prostitution laws here.* (11)

(4) **Amber O'hara, a sex worker from Christchurch,** *is calling for a sex worker registration system similar to the one in Victoria, Australia ... "This would wipe out large numbers of the* **illegal ladies** *overnight."* (11)

(5) *A* **24-year-old Chinese former prostitute** *with permanent residency who did not want to be named, estimated about 40 per cent of all sex workers in New Zealand were on temporary visas ... "They say, 'You really need to do this or ... you won't get any more jobs'. They persuade you until you give unprotected oral sex."* (19)

(6) **Immigration New Zealand's acting general manager compliance, risk and intelligence services Jock Gilray** *said it would be* **against the rules** *for migrants on temporary visas, such as international students, to legally work in the sex industry.* (2)

(7) **INZ assistant general manager Peter Devoy** *confirmed a Chinese woman* **caught in a brothel raid** *was among those who were voluntarily removed.* (8)

(8) **New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective co-founder Dame Catherine Healy** *previously said bylaws such as Queenstown Lakes' were unduly restrictive, inhibitive and pushed the sex industry underground.* (22)

The content of quotes from migrant sex workers typically relates to negative industry experiences of exploitation, abuse or deception, usually in the context of articles conflating sex trafficking and labour exploitation (e.g. Articles 16, 18 and 19 in Appendix 1). Meanwhile, quoted INZ representatives declare what the 'rules' are (example 6) and police migrant sex workers (7). Along with their long official titles, these authoritative statements contribute to an 'expert' status, constructing a Voice that *decides* (van Dijk 1996). This pattern echoes Greenbank's (2014) finding that when refugees are afforded Voice in articles about them, this serves a primarily affective function, drawing on emotion and personal experience, while refugee 'issues' are left for 'experts' to speak on. Van Dijk (2000:39) also argues that if minority voices are permitted in news texts to 'speak alone', this is usually followed by an 'expert' voice that supports or contradicts their statements. For migrant sex workers in this

---

[25] Although they do have a particular need for anonymity.

corpus, these experts are INZ voices providing reminders of the law, or less frequently, representatives of the NZPC (8) who take a supportive stance towards them.

This preliminary analysis is not able to capture the complete picture of Voice distribution in the corpus; there are other dimensions of Voice that remain avenues for future investigation. These include the pattern within texts of which groups are quoted more at the beginning of articles, as these are likely to be read by more people (van Dijk 1991:50), as well as length of quote (Barclay and Liu 2003). The quantitative results do however indicate that voices representing immigration authorities are quoted significantly more than other groups, affording them perspective, representation and agency. The content of their quotes construct them as authoritative actors and official titles legitimise their views. In one set of articles, Voice assists in constructing New Zealand sex workers as an ingroup while migrants are demonised. Greenbank (2014) and Teo (2000) both use analysis of quotation patterns in media texts to convincingly argue that denying Voice to minority groups is a powerful strategy that entrenches their status as outsiders. The same argument can be made about this data: that migrant sex workers are Othered through patterns of Voice distribution that largely deny them meaningful control over their own narratives in New Zealand media, in favour of authoritative voices that repeatedly emphasise the illegality of their behaviour and hostile voices emphasising their unwelcome presence. With this trend of Othering established, in the next chapter I examine more closely the various ways migrant sex workers are discursively constructed as Other in the data.

Chapter 6 – Discursive Othering

Introduction

The corpus linguistic analysis presented in Chapter 4 reveals patterns across the dataset that contribute to an overall negative semantic prosody attached to migrant sex workers, with evidence of anti-immigration Discourse emerging though emphasis on their illegality, Asian nationalities, arrival numbers, and immigration controls. The Voice analysis in Chapter 5 suggests migrant sex workers are rarely afforded meaningful opportunities to construct their own narratives in New Zealand media, which contributes to their status as Other. Taking these trends as a starting point, in this chapter I examine more closely the principal ways in which migrant sex workers are discursively Othered, through their positioning as an outgroup to three different but overlapping ingroups. Firstly, they are constructed as Other to residents and families, through discursive strategies that portray them as vectors of moral and literal contagion and as threatening to safe neighbourhoods. Secondly, there are articles that position migrant sex workers as Other to moral, law-abiding people by emphasising their perceived sexual deviance and their illegal behaviour. Finally, they are constructed as an outgroup in relation to New Zealanders, with strong evidence of anti-immigration discourse and 'us' and 'them' dichotomies emerging. Here, migrant sex workers are framed as foreign outsiders attempting to benefit from New Zealand's public services while taking work from locals.

I argue that these three ingroups overlap to create an image of an 'ordinary', 'good' citizen: somebody who belongs in New Zealand, obeys the law, and behaves 'normally': a figure in whom the reader is expected to see themselves. The various steps and tools offered by the discourse-historical approach (DHA) as set out by Reisigl and Wodak (2016) underlie my analysis, informed by a lens of discursive Othering (Coupland 2010). Othering is a process by which outgroups are defined in opposition to ingroups, and undesirable qualities are located in the Other as a way to construct the identity of the Self (Staszak 2009), usually resulting in the marginalisation and disempowerment of the Othered group (Coupland 2010).

In order to centre this qualitative analysis specifically on migrant sex workers, the corpora were searched for the terms *migrant, immigration* and *visa* to identify all articles referencing both sex work and migration. From these, articles relating directly to migrant sex workers were selected. This produced 18 articles from NZH and six from the Fairfax corpus (including one letter to the editor and one news-in-brief item) which provide the data for this chapter. See below for a numbered list of the articles (reproduced with author names and URLs in Appendix 1)[26]; I refer to them in the analysis by their number alone for reasons of clarity and space. The article titles provide a sense of both topics covered and thematic patterns that arise: a particular 'home brothel' in Auckland (Articles 1-3), INZ's relationship with the sex industry (4-7), sex worker deportations (8-10), complaints from New Zealand sex workers (11-13), and stories of exploitation and trafficking (15-23). These correspond with the five key topics and events that contextualise the corpus, established in Chapter 3.

1. Home brothel where 'up to eight prostitutes work' upsets Northcote neighbours (NZH, 12 Aug 2018)
2. Northcote 'home brothel': Women 'sex workers' have moved out, neighbours say (NZH, 16 Aug 2018)
3. Auckland Council orders Northcote brothel to cease operations (NZH, 19 Sep 2018)
4. Sex work/escort is on skilled employment list, Immigration NZ confirms (NZH, 25 Apr 2018)
5. Immigration New Zealand pulls sex worker from skilled employment list checker (NZH, 4 May 2018)
6. INZ: Ex-sex workers can be granted NZ residency, despite immigration rules saying no (NZH, 19 Sep 2018)
7. Immigration NZ officials asking sex workers for a 'coffee and a chat' (NZH, 1 Sep 2018)
8. Illegal prostitution crackdown: 27 Asian sex workers deported (NZH, 5 Jun 2018)
9. Migrant sex workers finding ways to evade visa crackdown (NZH, 14 Jun 2018)
10. Sex tricks used [news-in-brief] (NZH, 15 June 2018)
11. NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements (NZH, 22 Apr 2018)
12. Sex workers turn back on collective and seek Minister of Prostitution (NZH, 12 Jun 2018)
13. Illegal sex workers access million-dollar taxpayer-funded health programme (NZH, 31 May 2018)
14. Genuine therapists fight 'tainted' massage sector image (NZH, 18 Apr 2018)
15. Human trafficking: Brokers lure foreign sex workers to NZ with 'half truths' (NZH, 17 Apr 2018)
16. Human trafficking: Lured migrants face dark reality (NZH, 16 Apr 2018)
17. International student caught in police brothel raid told sex work is 'legal' (NZH, 16 Apr 2018)
18. Exposed: Human trafficking happening right here in NZ (NZH, 16 Apr 2018)
19. Illegal migrant prostitutes too 'terrified' to report exploitation (DP, 18 Mar 2018)
20. Migrant sex workers abused (DP & TP, 18 Apr 2018)
21. Prostitutes deported amid trafficking fears (DP & TP, 7 Jun 2018)
22. More than 350 foreign sex workers turned away at New Zealand border (TP, 22 Jan 2019)
23. Calls for legal migrant prostitution after research finds some exploited (DP & TP, 11 Oct 2018)
24. Who we let in [letter to editor] (DP, 20 Apr 2018)

---

[26] As mentioned, a contrastive analysis of the different newspapers is beyond the scope of the current study, however it is notable that three quarters of the articles directly discussing migrant sex workers come from the *New Zealand Herald*, despite data from this paper making up only 40 per cent of the total corpus (in fact, these articles were all written by one person, NZH reporter for diversity, ethnic affairs and immigration Lincoln Tan). This may suggest a disproportionate preoccupation with migrant sex workers on the part of Tan and/or NZH, as Easterbrook-Smith (2018:125) argues.

Migrant sex workers as Other to residents and families

Several articles in the corpus construct migrant sex workers as a literal or symbolic threat to the safety and decency of New Zealand communities. To this end, texts draw on contagion narratives and position migrant sex workers in contrast to families. For example, although the issue reported in Articles 1, 2 and 3 is ostensibly a 'home brothel' in an Auckland suburb breaching bylaws and 'upsetting' neighbours, the workers at the 'suspected' brothel are coded as migrants through repeated references to their Asian appearance and a suggestion they are 'international students from China'. Evidence of the construction of an ingroup and outgroup first emerges through the *nomination strategies* (Reisigl and Wodak 2016:33) used to refer to each group. The residents are referred to as 'neighbours'[27] (examples 1, 3, 5) and situated in a semantic domain of local community and safety, with references to their wealthy suburb and 'cul-de-sac' (1) and their 'once-quiet residential street' (2). References to families and children (3) construct the residents as 'ordinary', family-oriented citizens, with whom the reader is expected to relate.

(1) ***Neighbours*** *in a **Northcote suburb** are up in arms about a residential brothel operating at the top of their **cul-de-sac**, which they say is breaching council rules.* (Article 1)

(2) *The man said "**strange characters**" had appeared on the **once-quiet residential street** since the brothel opened.* (1)

(3) *Another **neighbour**, a **father** with a **10-year-old daughter**, said he no **longer felt safe** letting **the girl play in the yard or walk down the street**. "She's asking me if she can **walk to school** on her own but **I don't feel safe** letting her do that," he said.* (1)

(4) *The woman, who **gave her name as Candy, denied** the house was being used as a brothel.* (1)

(5) *However, one neighbour told the Herald she believed the business operated **late into the night** "judging from **the cars that come and go**".* (1)

(6) *The house had a **high-wooden fence** with the **curtains fully drawn**.* (1)

In contrast, nomination strategies firmly position workers at the brothel as Other: they are repeatedly referred to as 'prostitutes' (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the negative connotations attached to this term) and framed in terms of suspicion by phrases such as *suspected home brothel* and inverted commas in the headline *women 'sex workers'*, a use of

---

[27] Italics and inverted commas are variously used in this chapter to directly quote from the data. Italicised text highlights particular terms or phrases used in articles; inverted commas are used to incorporate phrases from the data into my argument. When directly referencing one of the examples this is indicated by its number in brackets, e.g. (1). In the examples, phrases in analytical focus are bolded.

punctuation which Bishop and Jaworski (2013:262) identify as a strategy of de-authentication. This perception of untrustworthiness is exemplified in (4), which implies a woman at the house gave reporters a name that is likely false. Clients are indirectly painted as shadowy figures through phrases such as *'strange characters'* (2) and *'the cars that come and go'* (5), while the property's fence and closed curtains (6) are suggested to be evidence of unsavoury or illicit activity.

Contagion

The effect of this ingroup/outgroup dichotomy is strengthened by the construction of migrant sex workers as posing a threat to the local community. For this, articles draw on the contagion narratives identified in previous studies on media representation of sex workers (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008; Strega et al 2014; Easterbrook-Smith 2018). These frame sex workers as vectors of disease: either as spreaders of a moral malaise that threatens to infect decent society and corrupt children, or as literal carriers of sexually transmissible infection. Evidence of both types of contagion narratives in the present study emerges consistently across articles about migrant sex workers[28], employing the topos – the persuasive strategy or 'location' of an argument (Wodak 2001:74) – of 'danger and threat' to justify their Othering.

(7) *A sign outside massage and beauty shop Mind, Body and Soul reads: **"Baby & Child friendly"**. Owner Cherry Chia said this was to differentiate it from Asian massage shops which provide sexual services for extra money. Besides the signage, Chia's spa on Apollo Drive also has a **children's play area**. (14)*

(8) *Chia said some Chinese and Thai massage shops had **tainted the sector** and many New Zealanders now associated oriental massage and massage therapists with sex. (14)*

(9) *Residents there had complained of **parking issues** and **safety concerns** since the brothel started operating. (3)*

(10) *Residents on the street often faced parking problems … "And it will continue to be bad right **until close to midnight**," she said. (1)*

---

[28] There is also a thread in the corpus of non-migrant sex workers being framed as vectors of contagion. This occurs in relation to street-based workers, particularly in several articles published in *The Press* which report tensions between outdoor sex workers in Christchurch and the residents in the areas where they work. Such articles routinely refer to condoms being found in residents' front yards (indirectly invoking literal contagion) and workers and clients keeping children awake at night (implying a moral threat and danger to children). An analysis of these articles is beyond the scope of this study; see note in Conclusion.

Articles position migrant sex workers as a symbolic threat by invoking the presence of children. In (3), a resident laments that he 'doesn't feel safe' allowing his daughter to play outside or walk to school because of the nearby brothel. The reader is expected to make the link – that sex workers and/or their clients are dangerous – necessary to understand this statement and sympathise with the man. The precise threat posed by sex work is ambiguous and left to the reader's imagination; perhaps the girl will meet a sex worker and be inspired to become one herself, be lured into work at the brothel, or be approached for sex by a client. Implicit in this option is the assumption that people who pay for sex are naturally predatory or abusive. In (7), babies and children are similarly invoked in juxtaposition to the presumed seediness and menace of a sex workplace. This pattern directly aligns with Strega et al (2014:15) and Easterbrook-Smith (2018:94-5), who highlight suggestions in the media that children will be corrupted upon any contact with sex workers. Further evidence of contagion narratives arises in lexical choices such as *tainted* (8), suggesting contamination, and *safety concerns* (9).

Interwoven with this sense of threat are links to containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008), where sex workers are constructed as a problem of urban aesthetics; a symbol of societal degradation that must be 'cleansed' (Easterbrook-Smith 2018:106). The disturbance of a safe neighbourhood by migrant sex workers is represented in (2, 5, 9, 10), where the residential brothel is portrayed as having attracted a hive of shadowy activity to the 'once-quiet' street. O'Neill et al (2008) discuss how the Othering of street sex workers in Britain emerges from 'moral panic' (Cohen 1972) surrounding specific groups, 'with [D]iscourses of disorder and deviance fuelling efforts by the dominant to exclude these groups from their proximity' (O'Neill et al 2008:74). These concerns over proximity and order are evident in this set of articles; citing unspecified 'safety concerns' and traffic congestion characterises the problem as a practical one, while phrases such as 'once-quiet street' suggest the deeper issue underlying these articles is fear of crumbling social fabric and dismay over sharing physical space with a deviant population.

As well as moral corruptors threatening social order, migrant sex workers are constructed as vectors of literal (sexually-transmitted) disease. Examples (11-14) achieve this by suggesting they have unprotected sex with clients, which is prohibited under Section 9 of the Prostitution

Reform Act (2003:6-7). Repeated occurrences of *health and safety* in collocation with *risk* create an image of migrant sex workers as dangerous carriers of disease, posing a threat to community wellbeing, calling on wider Discourses which discursively link sex workers with vermin (Strega et al 2014). The inverted commas around *'extras'* in (11) is Othering; whereas 'extra' is the normal word used in the sex industry to refer to any service that incurs additional payment[29], by immediately following *disregard health and safety rules* here it implies an illegal or dangerous act.

(11) *She said the illegal prostitutes have an edge also because they were **prepared to disregard health and safety rules and offered "extras"**. (9)*

(12) *These foreign girls were also **offering services such as "natural" acts or unprotected sex**, Lewis said, which is unlawful under prostitution laws here. "These not only put their **health and safety at risk**, but also **clients' health and safety at risk**," she said. (11)*

(13) *Some advertisements … **openly say** they offer **specials like "natural" sex acts**. (11)*

(14) *A 27-year-old Korean sex worker … charged up to $100 extra for **special services**, including **unprotected sex**. (11)*

These repeated linguistic patterns solidify migrant sex workers' position as Other, while the reader is invited to identify with the ingroup of residents and families and feel threatened by the presence of this outsider. This 'us' and 'them' distinction is deepened in a second Othering strategy which implicitly defines the ingroup as 'normal' people.

Migrant sex workers as Other to moral, law-abiding people

Throughout the data, migrant sex workers are routinely constructed as Other along two lines of deviance: firstly due to their perceived immorality, which is expressed as sexual deviance, and secondly to their status as law-breakers. Feeding into contagion narratives' depiction of migrant sex workers as vectors of disease and moral corruption is their construction as sexually different to 'ordinary' people. In (11-14), which associate migrant sex workers with dangerous sexual behaviour, it is their alleged *willingness* to offer unprotected services which frames them as deviant. Phrases such as *prepared to disregard, offering services* and *openly say* suggest migrant sex workers are agentively and happily engaging in these activities, either

---

[29] These services could include any number of (often ordinary) acts, such as kissing.

because they are devoid of the sexual morals that render such acts taboo, or because they have a blatant disregard for the law that deems such acts illegal in a commercial context. Both explanations relegate migrant sex workers to a position of outsider; people unlike the upstanding and law-abiding citizen to whom the reader is expected to relate.

Sexual Othering

As well as their transgressive sexual behaviour of offering unprotected services, migrant sex workers are positioned as deviant by virtue of their perceived promiscuity. Articles often reference how many clients a worker might see over a particular time frame, as in (15-17). At first glance, (15) might be seen as evoking pity at the gruelling plight of the workers, but an alternative reading implies they are sexually available and promiscuous, and allows the reader to take pleasure in the image it creates of young Asian women having copious amounts of sex. The woman discussed in (16) is framed as entirely deviant and morally corrupt: not only does she offer unprotected sex but she is a nymphomaniac, having sex with 196 people in 20 days. Additionally, she is portrayed as financially greedy, earning an extravagant sum of money and charging for the extras she provides. In (17) it is even suggested that it is eyebrow-raising to have sex on a weekday morning. The portrayal of Asian women as a sexual Other is bolstered by their sexualisation in the discourse: in (18), the gratuitous, salacious detail of the woman's clothing serves no other purpose than to titillate, as does the description in (19) of the humiliation of a sex worker at the hands of police.

(15) *The most popular prostitutes worked 12-hour shifts, often having **sex with nine clients a day,** before **spending the night with another.** (19)*

(16) *A 27-year-old Korean sex worker who came to New Zealand and was caught by police after working for **20 days** was found to have earned **$32,875** over that time. Police found she had **196 customers and charged up to $100 extra for special services,** including **unprotected sex.** (11)*

(17) *It was **just after 11am on a Friday** when the Herald went to the street, and **at least five men** were seen coming and going from the property **in less than half an hour** (1)*

(18) *A young Chinese woman **dressed in pink lingerie** answered the door. (1)*

(19) *A Chinese woman caught in a brothel raid was … found at a Ponsonby brothel **naked and with a customer.** According to police, the woman was **given an opportunity to fully dress** before they spoke to her. (8)*

Further discursive strategies which position Asian sex workers as sexually deviant and morally corrupt are exemplified in Article 14, 'Genuine therapists fight "tainted" massage sector image'. Here, they are constructed as Other to massage therapists who do not offer sexual services. The owner of a massage parlour, Cherry Chia, is quoted discussing the problem of sexual harassment from clients who expect additional sexual services as a result of parlours which do offer them. Chia's desire to differentiate her business from 'Asian massage shops which provide sexual services for extra money' (example 7) designates an ingroup and outgroup. Those workers offering sexual extras are constructed as illegitimate opportunists earning 'extra money' in the shadowy grey economy (Agustín 2007:20) and 'tainting' the sector, while Chia is described in legitimating detail (Bucholtz and Hall 2004) as having worked in 'England, Malaysia and in a five-star-hotel in Auckland before starting her own boutique spa business on Auckland's North Shore'. Notably, blame for the sexual harassment of 'genuine' therapists seems to be attributed to the workers who have allegedly created the expectation for sexual acts, rather than to the clients who are perpetrating the harassment.

Illegality

Migrant sex workers are also discursively constructed as deviant law-breakers. In (20-22) they are depicted as cunning manipulators, deviously and intentionally 'evading' New Zealand laws with 'tricks' and 'moves'.[30] Short of incorrectly labelling migrant sex workers as criminals[31], these repeated lexical choices work to *imply* criminality through a semantic prosody (Stubbs 2001) that associates them with law-breaking and deviousness. The INZ representative quoted in (24) links migrants who have overseas prostitution offenses with criminality and implies they are not of 'good character', while in (25), the phrase *caught by police* and legalese terms (Eades 2008:122) like *charged* and *operating* suggest criminal culpability. These examples employ *argumentation strategies* that invoke the topos of 'law and right' to construct migrant sex workers as the opposite of law-abiding citizens and justify their positioning as Other. This links to culpability narratives, which emphasise the criminal status

---

[30] The expression 'sex tricks' in (22), from the headline of Article 10, seems deliberately misleading: the body of the short article makes clear *tricks* refers to the same 'moves' described in (21) that is, migrant sex workers' strategies to avoid deportation. However, 'sex tricks' could easily be interpreted as exotic sex acts unfamiliar to New Zealanders (Easterbrook-Smith 2018:136), a further way to sexually Other Asian women.
[31] See footnote 2.

of sex workers, identified in other studies in jurisdictions where sex work is (partially or fully) criminalised (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008; Strega et al 2014; Hunt and Hubbard 2015).

(20) Migrant sex workers **finding ways to evade** visa crackdown (9)

(21) Using NZ residents and citizens to front for advertisements…these are **some of the moves illegal** sex workers are using to **evade** Immigration NZ's **visa crackdown.** (9)

(22) Sex **tricks** used (10)

(23) Some advertisements **openly declare** that the sex workers had "just arrived" or "here for a short time" along with their **foreign nationalities.** (11)

(24) "Because providing commercial sexual services is illegal in many other countries, visa applicants … may have **criminal convictions.**" **Foreign nationals** who applied for a visa to come to New Zealand **must be of good character,** he said. "People with **criminal convictions** … will generally not be granted a visa." (6)

(25) She was **caught by police** … and was jointly **charged** with her broker and pimp for… **operating a prostitution business** … and **aiding a person to breach their visa conditions** for material benefit. (15)

(26) "**Compliance officers** may enter any premises, whether a brothel or private property, without a warrant in order to **serve or execute a deportation liability notice or order.**" (9)

(27) Eight brothels were **raided** and **officials** found 21 foreign sex workers **working illegally.** (16)

(28) A **brothel raid** resulted in three sex workers being **served deportation liability notices.** (16)

(29) **INZ compliance officers** visited the property and found two Chinese nationals on visitor visas who were **working unlawfully** in the sex industry. (22)

In (25-29) and many other examples across the dataset, references are made to the authority (in the form of the police, Immigration New Zealand, and the law itself) that exists to control and punish those acting illegally (van Dijk 1991:96). These references also draw on containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006), constructing sex workers as a disorderly population; a 'problem' needing to be 'dealt with' by state powers. Such characterisations further entrench migrant sex workers' outsider status, with their construction as 'illegal' and unlike 'ordinary' citizens leading into a third category of discursive marginalisation, located in the figure of the immigrant.

Migrant sex workers as Other to New Zealanders

The discursive constructions of migrant sex workers presented thus far, as sexually deviant criminals infesting communities, correspond strongly with the Discourses established by existing literature. However, there is a further category (still in line with Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) findings) which draws on anti-immigration discourse and frames the 'problem' of

migrant sex work in xenophobic, protectionist terms. This discourse emphasises their foreignness and positions them as taking jobs from local sex workers and defrauding the tax system. This characterisation appears to be unique to New Zealand: decriminalisation for sex workers with citizenship allows them to be portrayed favourably as an ingroup under threat from outsiders.

In Articles 8, 11, 12 and 13, the dichotomous positioning of sex workers with citizenship as 'good' and migrant sex workers as 'bad' is evident in the nomination strategies used to refer to these two groups, listed in Table 9. Citizen sex workers are referred to in ways that index national belonging (*Kiwis*, *New Zealand*(*ers*), *local*, *Hamilton*, *Dunedin*) and legitimacy (*legal*, *escort*, *high profile*, giving full names). Such lexical choices exemplify the contrast between the two groups; New Zealand sex workers are referred to as 'escorts', denoting high income and relative privilege within the sex industry, while those on temporary visas are 'prostitutes'. Meanwhile, strong semantic domains emerge in constructions of migrant sex workers: illegality (*illegal*, *unlawfully*, *not legally able*), un-belonging (*temporary*, *visa*, *deported*, *those unlawfully in NZ*), foreignness and Asian-ness (*foreign*, *migrant*, *internationals*, *Asian*, *Taiwanese*), as well as untrustworthiness (*suspected*). Details such as age and nationality are given in place of their names. As van Leeuwen (1996:48) notes, when social actors are not named, they are 'treated as distant "others" rather than as people "we" have to deal with in our everyday lives', while naming citizen sex workers affords readers a 'point of identification' with them (1996:53-4).

Table 9. Nomination strategies in constructions of different categories of sex workers in Articles 8, 11, 12 and 13.

Ingroup	Outgroup
Kiwis, New Zealanders, local sex workers, a local sex worker, New Zealand sex workers, New Zealand working girls, legal sex workers, legal and local sex workers, legal New Zealand sex worker, Hamilton sex worker Lisa Lewis, high profile escort Lisa Lewis, Amber O'Hara, a sex worker from Christchurch, the Auckland-based sex worker, male escort Connor Green, Dunedin escort Dahlia Cypher	Illegals, illegal prostitutes, foreign prostitutes, foreign illegal prostitutes, sex workers, migrant sex workers, foreign sex workers, illegal underage and foreign sex workers, illegal sex workers, illegal migrant workers, migrant prostitutes, illegal ladies, foreign girls, foreign nationalities, internationals, those unlawfully in NZ, those unlawfully here, sex workers who are not legally able to work in New Zealand, people on temporary visas, 38 people on temporary visas found to be providing commercial sexual services, temporary migrants, temporary visa holders, 312 suspected prostitutes, 27 Asian sex workers, Asians, Taiwanese, Hong Kong, Malaysian, Indian, Thai, a Chinese sex worker, a Chinese woman, the deported Taiwanese sex workers, a 27-year-old Korean sex worker

Infestation and invasion

The repeated indexing of Asian nationalities, which occurs across the dataset, contributes to an overall coding of migrant workers as Asian, obscuring the fact that those working in the New Zealand sex industry on temporary visas come from many parts of the world, including other Western countries (Abel and Roguski 2018; Armstrong 2018). The nomination strategies in Table 9 also extend the findings from the corpus analysis in Chapter 4, revealing the repeated co-occurrences of *illegal* with *foreign/migrant* and *prostitute/sex worker*, which creates a powerful semantic association between migrant sex workers and illegality. There is also a repeated focus on the numbers of migrant sex workers thought to be in or entering the country: *38 people on temporary visas*; *312 suspected prostitutes*; *27 Asian sex workers*, with further examples in (30-31). As noted in Chapter 4, CDS scholars investigating immigration discourse (e.g. Baker and McEnery 2005; Rheindorf and Wodak 2018) have argued that this strategy of quantification dehumanises migrants and portrays them as a vast and chaotic population.

(30) *More than **350 suspected foreign sex workers** have **tried to enter New Zealand** in the past three years.* (22)
(31) *In the past year, **136 migrants suspected of coming here** to carry out sex work were **denied entry*** (19)
(32) *Christchurch sex worker Amber O'hara said foreign, illegal prostitutes **now outnumbered New Zealanders** in the industry* (8)
(33) *Lewis said the **increase in number** of **foreign prostitutes coming over** has hit **local sex workers in the pocket**.* (11)
(34) *"[A registration system] would **wipe out large numbers of the illegal ladies overnight.***" (11)

Adding to this quantification are expressions such as *tried to enter New Zealand* (30), *coming here* (31) and *denied entry* (31), which characterise migrants as opportunists attempting to enter the country. These discursive strategies feed into metaphors of increase, infestation and invasion (32-33), where migrants are represented as a growing presence that threatens to 'outnumber' or inundate local communities. Further, the desire expressed by Christchurch sex worker Amber O'Hara in (34) to 'wipe out' migrant sex workers arguably recalls ethnic cleansing.

Jobs and tax

Further evidence of anti-immigration discourse is evident in depictions of migrant sex workers as taking jobs from non-migrant sex workers, and/or draining publicly-funded services. Migrants are positioned as directly competing with, and undercutting, New Zealand sex workers (11, 33, 35-36), who are portrayed as victims suffering financial losses (37-38). These examples clearly draw on racist discourse that depicts migrants as actively harming 'locals'. This depiction is usually accompanied by a contradictory belief that migrants are also simultaneously abusing public services (Mehan 1997:249), as demonstrated in (39-40), which discuss the fact that the services of the NZPC (referred to as a 'million-dollar taxpayer-funded sex programme') are available to all sex workers in New Zealand, meaning they are at times accessed by those on temporary visas. Here, the appeal to the 'taxpayer', i.e. the reader, routinely used to stoke anti-migrant sentiment (van Dijk 1991:96), invokes a sense of injustice that migrants working illegally may benefit from such services. The figure of the taxpayer appears again in a letter to the editor (41), which locates the problem in the cost of sex worker deportations they are forced to bear. The issue of taxation resurfaces in (36), suggesting migrant sex workers are defrauding the New Zealand tax system. These examples draw on several topoi identified by Wodak (2001:74) as discursive justifications for anti-migrant arguments: 'burdening', 'finances' and 'numbers'.

(35) *"Every dollar that these **migrant prostitutes** make is **a dollar taken from the back pockets of New Zealand working girls**," [an Auckland-based sex worker] said.* (11)
(36) *The letter claimed migrants **coming** on temporary visas to work as prostitutes were "**taking money off legal sex workers, not paying tax and going home with the money**".* (12)
(37) *"Many of the girls **no longer meet the same quota** as they did a few years ago," she said.* (11)
(38) *Another sex worker ... said **her income had halved** ... in the last two years.* (11)
(39) *Illegal sex workers are **accessing a million-dollar taxpayer-funded** sex programme* (13)
(40) *"The fact that the ministry and NZPC are **using taxpayer dollars to assist illegals** is appalling," Lewis said.* (13)
(41) *The sex workers **came here** because **they heard they could make more money here**... Perhaps if we paid more attention to **who we let into this country, taxpayers** would have to spend less on deportation costs.* (24)

Anti-migrant sentiment is also evident in the frequent use of *illegal* as an adjective to describe migrant sex workers themselves, rather than their actions. As noted earlier, in (34) New

Zealand sex worker Amber O'Hara is quoted referring to migrant sex workers as *illegal ladies*; this structure is repeated in recurrent phrases such as *illegal prostitutes* (see Table 9). The adjective *illegal* when attached to people who migrate, in phrases such as *illegal immigrants* or *illegal aliens*, can be understood as an offensive, misleading and xenophobic term (Rosa 2012; Santa Ana quoted in Gambino 2015). This phrasing actively alienates and Others people who migrate, and obscures the reality that no human being is or can be 'illegal'. New Zealand sex worker Lisa Lewis takes this further in (40) by using the noun *illegals*, an anti-migrant slur (Easterbrook-Smith 2018:126; see also Baker 2006:48), to refer to those on temporary visas. This adjectival and nominal use of *illegal* is a strong example in the data of a *predication strategy*, or attribution of negative traits used to discursively qualify social actors (Reisigl and Wodak 2016), although negative predication occurs throughout.

The three ingroups against which migrant sex workers are discursively constructed as Other (families, upstanding citizens and New Zealanders) are artificially separated here for analytic purposes; in reality, they are extensively overlapping. They combine to form an ideal ingroup figure: a family-oriented, neighbourly, moral, law-abiding New Zealand citizen; in sum, an 'ordinary' person in whom the reader is expected to see themselves. The discursive strategies employed in the articles also overlap across these distinctions, for example the sexual deviance of migrant sex workers distances them from 'moral people', but also strengthens New Zealand sex workers' ingroup status where unprotected services (the root of migrant workers' perceived deviance) are presented as something 'local' workers would never offer. The overall effect of this repeated Othering is deeply stigmatising. It feeds cultural perceptions of sex workers as deviant women while shifting the burden of this representation onto a group still excluded from the protection and legitimisation afforded by decriminalisation. After establishing migrant sex workers as Other and portraying them as unlike an imagined 'us' – as sexually different, disease-spreaders, child-corruptors and law-breakers – it is acceptable to commit such discursive injustice against them. Before beginning a discussion of these findings, I highlight a further category of Othering in the data: victimhood narratives.

The other Other: migrant sex workers as victims

> Much as immigrants are seen as lazy scroungers while somehow also stealing the jobs of 'decent people', sex workers are simultaneously victim and accomplice, sexually voracious yet helpless maidens. (Smith and Mac 2018:18)

Within the critical frame of the DHA, one goal is to 'discover inconsistencies, (self-)contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in text-internal or discourse-internal structures' (Reisigl and Wodak 2016:25). An internal contradiction salient in several articles in the dataset is the variable or simultaneous construction of migrant sex workers as both deviant actors and passive victims. This dichotomy, which Smith and Mac (2018) point out parallels the depiction of migrants as both job-takers and dole-bludgers, has been identified in other studies on sex worker representation (Nead 1988; Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006; 2008; Strega et al 2014; Easterbrook-Smith 2018). Hallgrímsdóttir et al (2006) track this dichotomous trope of sex workers as 'fallen women and rescued girls', noting how in victimhood narratives:

> Instead of being culpable, sex workers appear to be legally and morally incapacitated, incapable of making safe and reasonable choices for themselves … while contagion narratives suggest that workers pose a risk to innocent others, victimhood narratives tend to locate and bound risk within the confines of the sex industry … Victimhood/risk stories are often racialized and highlight the vulnerability and youth of the women involved; references to global trafficking of women and children from less-advantaged countries. (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2006:272)

Long-held conceptions of sex workers as victims rely on the assumption that no woman would freely choose to sell sex, unless she was a morally corrupt, sexually depraved criminal (McLaughlin 1991:251). Several articles in the dataset become the site of this 'discursive struggle' (Smart 1999), where the discourse appears ambivalent as to whether sex workers are victimised or deviant, and so dually frames them in terms of vulnerability and suspicion. Examples (42-44) begin with migrant sex workers as victims (*deceived*, *coerced*, *victims of trafficking*, *protect vulnerable people*, *sex trafficking*) but immediately switch to a semantic

domain of illegality (*police, caught, deported, suspected illegal sex workers, deports illegal sex workers*). This pattern is reversed in (45) which begins with *suspected foreign sex workers* then shifts to referring to them as *vulnerable people*. Immigration authorities and their representatives (in these examples, Immigration Minister Iain Lees-Galloway and INZ assistant general manager Peter Devoy) are key actors in negotiating this discursive struggle; these state bodies are constructed as both 'protector' (*protect vulnerable people, worried, extremely concerned*) and punisher/controller (*raids, deported, stamp out, prevented, kicked out*).

(42) *Migrants who had been **deceived or coerced** to work in the sex industry would be treated as **suspected victims of trafficking**, Immigration New Zealand said … **Immigration NZ and the police** have a long history of brothel **raids** and many **migrant workers** have been **caught and deported** that way.* (15)

(43) *Lees-Galloway said he was **worried** about **sex trafficking and sex worker exploitation** … "It's a matter that Immigration New Zealand takes very seriously and I'm satisfied they're making good efforts to **stamp out** these practices. Eliminating the **exploitation of migrants** is one of my top priorities. We must make every effort to **protect vulnerable people** while they are in New Zealand," he said. In the year to February 2018, 132 **suspected illegal sex workers** had been **prevented from entering** New Zealand.* (21)

(44) *Immigration Minister Iain Lees-Galloway says he's "**extremely concerned** by the numerous allegations of **sex trafficking**", as Immigration New Zealand **deports dozens of illegal sex workers**.* (21)

(45) *More than 350 **suspected foreign sex workers** have tried to enter New Zealand in the past three years and 38 have been **kicked out** of the country…The rule [Section 19 of the PRA] intended to "remove any incentives for … **vulnerable people** to enter New Zealand for the purpose of providing commercial sexual services", Devoy said.* (22)

'Sex trafficking' is mentioned several times in these victimhood narratives without elaboration, suggesting it is a topic with which the reader is expected to be familiar. Despite compelling critique of the notion of trafficking from several scholars (e.g. Doezema 2000; 2010; O'Connell Davidson 2006; Agustín 2007; Weitzer 2007; see Chapter 7 for further discussion), it remains a pervasive and hegemonic cultural narrative and is therefore available for articles to draw on without explanation or qualification. In the above examples, the link between migrants and trafficking occurs in the context of articles where migrant exploitation is the specific topic; in other instances, the link is stretched much further.

Sex work and trafficking: from discursive links to discursive leaps

In some cases, the notion of sex trafficking is introduced in articles about apparently unrelated topics, in what I term a 'discursive leap'. Article 2 (example 46) discusses a brothel alleged to be exceeding the maximum number of people permitted by local bylaws to work out of a residential property, as well as neighbours' complaints and a subsequent investigation by Auckland Council. Just over half way through the article, after indirectly implying the workers may be 'international students from China', it shifts to a discussion of sex work law in New Zealand, suggesting the brothel may be a site of forced prostitution:

(46) *An occupant at the property, who denied the house was being used as a brothel, had earlier told the Herald it was a rental accommodation for **international students from China**.*
Immigration New Zealand's acting general manager compliance, risk and intelligence services Jock Gilray said it would be against the rules for migrants on temporary visas, such as international students, to legally work in the sex industry.
*Gilray said **the agency did not have any investigation** under way into activities at the Northcote address.*
*But he is urging anyone who knew if **the women were being forced to work in New Zealand illegally** to contact the agency on 0508 558855 or the Labour Inspectorate on 0800 209020, or contact Crimestoppers anonymously.*
*"Immigration NZ recognises that some migrants have been reluctant to come forward to report **exploitative practices** by employers," Gilray said. (2)*

In an even more tenuous leap, Article 14 (47) begins with a discussion of the problem of sexual harassment in the massage industry. Here, women working at 'Asian massage shops' who provide sexual services are framed as illegitimate, deviant and the cause of the harassment. About half way through, the article switches inexplicably to concerns expressed by Family First over 'vulnerable people', 'a huge market for trafficking' and 'sexual abuse' (for context, the line of text preceding the leap is included here):

(47) *Tan, who had worked at several other Thai massage centres ... said therapists were often propositioned for sex acts.*
Family First New Zealand is ... opposed to calls to allow international students and other temporary migrants to work legally in the commercial sex industry.
*"Allowing migrants on student visa or work visa to work as prostitutes will simply open up a **huge market for trafficking and exploitation** which, based on anecdotal evidence, is already happening," said spokesman Bob McCoskrie.*
*"More and more **vulnerable people** are becoming **victims** because of the flawed decriminalisation of prostitution."*
*..."How can we be serious about **reducing sexual violence against women** when the state legitimises the **sexual abuse and exploitation of vulnerable people**," he said. (14)*

Within these articles, two separate issues are conflated. In Article 2, titled 'Northcote "home brothel": Women "sex workers" have moved out, neighbours say', the 'problem' is presented as a brothel disrupting the community, while in Article 14, 'Genuine therapists fight "tainted" massage sector image', the topic is sexual harassment in the massage sector. By the end of each, the problem in focus is the 'exploitation' or even 'trafficking' of 'vulnerable people'. How are readers supposed to make sense of this contradiction, and those in examples (42-45)? I argue that this discursive leap functions by relying on the reader's presumed understanding of trafficking. Here, the concept of the 'ideal reader' (Fairclough 1989) is useful. The ideal reader is someone 'with particular intertextual experiences … who will indeed make the "right" inference' (1989:52;153) The intertextual experiences necessary to make the correct inference in these articles come from Discourses around sex trafficking, which rely on the infantilising trope of a vulnerable victim easily tricked into exploitation and in need of rescue from others (Doezema 2001:17).

This trope provides the key that helps the reader make the inference necessary to follow the leap. Crucially, the articles execute the leap after having coded the workers as Asian: Article 2 suggests the brothel workers are international students from China; in Article 1, it is 'Chinese and Thai massage shops' that are said to have 'tainted the sector'. Having evoked the image of an Asian sex worker – a figure recognised by the ideal reader as a victim lacking agency – it is not too far a leap to suggest that the workers are somehow being forced, trafficked or exploited. Thus, even when constructed as victims, migrant sex workers are Othered: they become what Doezema (2001:16;23) calls the 'damaged' or 'suffering Other', whose rescue is the self-appointed mission of anti-prostitution campaigners. The apparent fascination with the figure of the Asian sex worker that has emerged so saliently throughout this analysis, as well as the ambivalence expressed towards her in text-internal dilemmas of victimhood/deviance, recalls Orientalist theory. To extend this chapter's focus on *discursive* Othering, the following discussion explores the concept of the Other in a more philosophical sense, by applying a lens of Orientalism.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

The sexual Other: an Orientalist anxiety

Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, New Zealand media discourse appears to express a simultaneous fascination and condemnation towards migrant sex workers. This discourse-internal dilemma is evident in articles' focus on Asian sex workers' sexuality and the sexual nature of their work, often reported in voyeuristic and salacious detail, as well as the repeated attribution of negative qualities such as immorality and illegality. This ambivalent attitude, expressed by a powerful Western media institution towards a marginalised and disempowered group, along with the strong presence of 'us' (Self) and 'them' (Other) distinctions throughout the data, invokes Orientalism as a useful lens to critically examine the ideologies behind the discourse. This theory, introduced by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (2003[1978]), offers a critique of the power imbalance inherent in European depictions of the East.[32] Using concepts afforded by Orientalist theory, I argue in this chapter that the media's Othering representations analysed in the previous chapter reveal more about New Zealand society than they do migrant sex workers themselves. Specifically, the ambivalence evident in the discourse points to dual cultural anxieties around both sex work and immigration.

Despite the developments in postcolonial studies and associated critiques of Orientalism in the decades since the first publication of Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (e.g. Bhabha 1994; Young 2004), the theory provides an enduringly useful framework for critical analysis of texts produced by Western societies about non-Western ones. Orientalist theory considers power imbalance to be produced discursively (cf. Fairclough 1989; van Dijk 2000). Critical discourse scholars in recent years have similarly applied Orientalism to the analysis of US political speeches about the 'war on terror' (Lazar and Lazar 2004), promotional tourist material about Oman (Feighery 2012), portrayals of Pakistani Muslim women in *Time* magazine (Rahman

---

[32] 'Orientalism' may refer to the genre of post-Enlightenment European art and literature depicting the Middle East and northern Africa, or to Said's theory of Orientalism (as set out in his book *Orientalism*) in which he critiques that genre.

2014) and BBC news' treatment of Somali piracy (Way 2013). Here I make use of Orientalism's relevant core concepts to frame media constructions of Asian sex workers. In the previous chapter I demonstrated the discursive Othering of migrant sex workers in New Zealand media. In order to make sense of the analysis, I begin this chapter by contextualising this Othering within broader societal Discourses that construct Asian sex workers as an ultimate deviant Other. I then introduce Orientalist theory, followed by its application to the present data: in the ambivalent colonial gaze; the Orientalist attitude of trafficking discourse; the anxieties provoked by sex workers and migrants; and the desire to control this threatening Other.

Sex workers of colour: compound Othering

To situate the discursive construction of migrant sex workers as Other in this study's dataset of New Zealand media texts, it is necessary to understand the Asian sex worker as a symbolic figure in the Western imagination. This trope, whose importance is evident in its role as the key to make sense of the 'discursive leaps' within articles (examples 42-47 in Chapter 6), operates within rich and intersecting discursive, historic and cultural contexts that position women, people of colour and people who sell sex as Other. Sex difference is a primary site of Self/Other distinction (Freud 1913). In seminal feminist text *The Second Sex* Simone de Beauvoir (1953) contends that:

> Humanity is male, and man defines woman, not in herself, but in relation to himself …
> she is the inessential in front of the essential. He is the Subject; he is the Absolute. She
> is the Other (1953:6).

In parallel with feminist theory, postcolonial scholarship has examined how the European gaze towards non-White cultures has worked to construct people of colour as Other through racist stereotypes (Staszak 2009; Bhabha 1994). These two forms of Othering combine to create numerous tropes of women of colour. Scholars in various disciplines have noted the ways in which non-White women, particularly Asian women, are presented as simultaneously vulnerable and sexually threatening. Marchetti (1993:105) in film studies notes how depictions of Asian women in American cinema play into the 'Yellow Peril' racist stereotype, portraying 'Asian femininity as alluring, provocative, and mysterious as well as passive,

yielding, and vulnerable … reconciling the impossible duality of femininity as both unobtainable Madonna and sexually available whore'. This seductive yet vulnerable figure is embodied in the present data, for example in the 'young Chinese woman dressed in pink lingerie' (example 18 in Chapter 6). Hannis (2009) has pointed out the existence of the Yellow Peril stereotype in New Zealand, where he argues the media 'typically depicts Asians in New Zealand as a mysterious Other, often involved in crime' (2009:117). The linking of Chinese immigration and crime that Hannis identifies in New Zealand media provides a context to understand the findings in Chapters 4 and 6 of this study; that Asian sex workers are routinely situated discursively in contexts of criminality and illegality.

Alongside the Othering of women of colour, there is a parallel and intersecting discursive history that portrays people who sell or trade sex as Other. The Othering of sex workers has its roots in the Other status of women, of the working classes, and of people whose sexuality is considered deviant. The prostitute in Victorian Britain was a symbol of society's moral degeneration, a figure embodying chaos to be feared and controlled by the middle classes (Nead 1988). The perceived aberration of sex work is closely linked to homophobic discourse, with both commercial and gay sex accumulating in deviance by virtue of being non-reproductive, (often) non-monogamous, and occurring outside marriage (McLaughlin 1991:250-1; Lucas 1995:48; Cameron and Kulick 2006:165). Like sex workers, men who have sex with men are portrayed as a threat to decent society. As in contagion narratives, expressed in the dataset via repeated emphasis on 'health and safety' and unprotected sex (examples 11-14), this threat may be of physical disease, such as in the homophobic moral panic surrounding the HIV/AIDS epidemic which promoted fear of gay men (Nead 1988:122). Alternatively, it may invoke a danger to children, a symbol of society's innocence, such as in the conflation of homosexuality with paedophilia (Clark 2006).

As well as the deviant characteristics listed above, commercial sex has the added feature of being paid, the ultimate insult to hegemonic ideals of female sexual morality (Nead 1988). This provides an explanation for the media's apparent outrage at the earnings of migrant sex workers as an added layer of deviance, such as the woman in example (16). The apparent anger or discomfort provoked by members of marginalised groups earning a comfortable

income goes to the heart of class and gender hierarchies within capitalist systems, as argued by feminist scholar Heather Berg (2019):

> 'part of the anxiety around sex work is the ability of sex workers to make money outside the traditional wage relationship … part of the power and the force seems to be that predominantly women and queers can make money without a single boss or a husband-daddy'.

As McLaughlin (1991:251) summarises, 'the perception of the prostitute's deviant sexuality was so powerful that she became an icon for deviant sexuality in general … society's anxieties were deflected by mythologizing the prostitute and situating her as [O]ther.' Like representations of Asian women, sex workers are commonly positioned as either vulnerable or threatening (or both) (Doezema 2000:28), as evident in examples (42-45). Racism, misogyny, classism and whorephobia (Jack 2007) thus combine to produce a representation of the Asian sex worker as the ultimate deviant Other, a representation similarly identified in other investigations of sex work media discourse (Hallgrímsdóttir et al 2008:128; Easterbrook-Smith 2018:136).

Orientalism and Self/Other

Said's theory of Orientalism developed as a critique of European artistic and literary representations of the Middle East that, throughout the post-Enlightenment period, had portrayed the Arab societies colonised by Europe as uncivilised, backward and dangerous. It provides a lens for understanding the production of knowledge by Europeans about non-Europeans, which emerges from this unequal relationship between 'the West and the Rest' (Hall 1992), with Orientalism defined as:

> the corporate institution for *dealing with* the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views on it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it … a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and *having authority over the Orient* (Said 2003:3) (emphasis added).

Said employs Foucault's concept of *discourse* as 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972:49) in order to understand Europe's *production* of the Orient as a discursive feat, achieved by 'describing' or 'making statements about it' (Said 2003:3). Texts[33] therefore mediate and entrench the unequal relationship between the Western gazer and the non-Western object of its gaze. Combining this with the CDS view of discourse as socially constitutive (Fairclough 1995; van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999:92), and media discourse as particularly powerful in reproducing unequal power relations (van Dijk 2000), the data in my study can be understood as texts ripe for Orientalist interpretation: they are produced by a powerful Western institution (New Zealand mainstream media) about a systematically disempowered group (migrant sex workers). The relationship between Europe and the East goes to the heart of fundamental psychic distinctions: subject/object, coloniser/colonised, Self/Other. By describing the Orient, the West discursively places it in the realm of Otherness, defined by Staszak (2009) as:

> the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ('Us', the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups ('Them', Other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination. To state it naïvely, difference belongs to the realm of fact and otherness belongs to the realm of discourse (2009:43).

Central to Said's argument is that the construction of the Orient – not a reality but an 'invention' of the European imagination – is in fact an identity project (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) for the West itself. That is, by locating undesirable qualities in the Other, Europe is able to construct itself as a morally superior subject:

> The Orient … has helped to *define Europe* (or the West) as its *contrasting image*, idea, personality, experience … European culture *gained in strength and identity by setting itself off* against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self' (Said 2003:1-3) (emphasis added).

---

[33] For Said, texts may be paintings; for this study, they are news articles.

Echoing this notion, Laclau (1997:298) argues that 'community' is an impossible ideal, because a community's sense of identity can only be realised in relation to a 'constitutive outside', with Staszak (2009:43) adding, 'the out-group is only coherent as a group as a result of its *opposition to* the in-group … The Other only exists relative to the Self, and vice versa.' This view is useful in understanding the construction of ingroups and outgroups in the data of the current study. Chapter 6 analysed how migrant sex workers are constructed in media discourse as an outgroup to various ingroups, these being residents and families, law-abiding 'ordinary' people, and New Zealanders. These ingroups are more implicit than the outgroup; positioned as the 'default' against which the deviance of the outgroup is contrasted (cf. S. Neyland 2014). An Orientalist approach therefore suggests that by defining and redefining migrant sex workers as outcasts ('them'), the discourse reassures the reader of their status and belonging in the implicit ingroup ('us').

Taking this further, Bhabha (1994) argues that Orientalist texts in fact reveal more about the culture producing them (the coloniser-gazer) than the one they ostensibly depict. In this sense, the articles in my dataset illuminate more about New Zealand cultural values and anxieties than they do about migrant sex workers. Speaking to the notion that the Orientalist pursuit is in fact a self-assuring identity exercise for the West, Said states that 'the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different", thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal"' (2003:40). This expression bears strong applicability to the media's discursive constructions identified in Chapter 6, where for example, workers at the residential brothel (Articles 1-3) are portrayed as irrational or untrustworthy (example 4) and depraved (by having sex all day) (17), while residents are constructed as reasonable (9-10) and 'ordinary'. By repeatedly emphasising migrant sex workers as dangerous, diseased and immoral, as well as naïve, New Zealand media discourse is in fact effectively working to construct the reader, and thus the imagined national community (B. Anderson 1983), as the opposite of those things, creating a 'moral distance' (Burke 2002) between them. Bhabha (1994) explains this urge to outcast the Other and thereby define the Self as a symptom of the inherent instability of colonial identity, which must perpetually reassure itself of its sovereignty and moral superiority (cf. S. Neyland 2014:63).

The ambivalent gaze

Borrowing from psychoanalytic theory, a central concept of postcolonial studies (the discipline founded by the publication of *Orientalism*) is the ambivalent nature of the West's relationship with the Orient. The Other evokes both fear and delight in the gazer, who is at once fascinated and repulsed (Bhabha 1994; Fanon 1986). This critique shows how Orientalist texts serve to fulfil a European desire to gaze upon yet distance itself from the Other. For example, paintings such as *Odalisque with a Slave* (Ingres, 1839-40), which depicts a sexual slave in an Arab setting, invite the European viewer to derive pleasure from looking at the nude while simultaneously condemning the backwardness of the scene and thereby confirm their own culture's moral superiority. In linguistics, a similar dynamic existed between past European language scholars and the 'exotic' yet 'primitive' languages they studied (Bolton and Hutton 2000).

This function of Orientalism can be seen playing out in the present dataset, in articles that serve to titillate the reader while giving them an opportunity to morally condemn their content, and additionally in the 'discursive struggle' (examples 42-45) where the text seems ambivalent as to whether migrant sex workers are victims or deviant. The Asian sex worker is presented as sexually available: through the mention of her pink lingerie (18), emphasis on her willingness to have unprotected sex (11-14), and her portrayal as sexually vulnerable (19, 42). These discursive strategies invite the reader to *look at* the Asian sex worker and derive sexual pleasure from her image. At the same time, in order to retain moral superiority over her, the reader-gazer must be able to condemn the situation in which she appears. The discourse offers two routes to this condemnation, which correspond to the deviant/victim dichotomy identified in Chapter 6. The reader may distance themselves from her by pointing to her deviance (as promiscuous, disease-carrying, corrupt, breaking the law, defrauding the tax system and harming local workers), or by pitying her as helpless and naïve, her victimisation a symptom of the patriarchal, backward Asian culture she belongs to (Lyons 1999). In order to function, this second option relies on the reader being familiar with trafficking Discourses.

'Suffering third world prostitutes': the role of trafficking narratives

The dataset of articles about migrant sex workers contain several unelaborated references to 'trafficking' (examples 42-47), which suggests that readers are expected to be familiar with this notion. This assumption is situated within a wider cultural fixation on sex trafficking or 'trafficking in women' (Doezema 2000), which since the 1980s has received increasing global attention from feminists, conservative groups and governments, and in turn, the press and the public. The 'victimising' discourse of trafficking (Agustín 2007:8) has evidently become hegemonic: so strong is its tie to the image of the vulnerable 'third world prostitute' – assumed by the Western gazer to be lacking agency and in need of rescue – that news articles discussing Asian sex workers are able to make these uncontextualised references to trafficking, recalling Baker's (2006:19) point that 'a sign of true power [in hegemonic discourses] is *not* having to refer to something, because everybody is aware of it'. This apparent fascination with trafficking, coupled with the condemnation attached to it, points to Orientalism as an illuminating approach to this discourse.

Several scholars (e.g. Doezema 2000; 2010; O'Connell Davidson 2006; Agustín 2007; Weitzer 2007; Smith and Mac 2018) have compellingly critiqued the notion of 'trafficking', arguing that it is a poorly defined concept, fed by moral panic and anti-prostitution ideology rather than reliable data, which obscures the complex realities of sex, work and borders. This literature also argues that by locating the 'villain' of trafficking in shadowy figures of pimps and smugglers, governments disguise their own role in creating the conditions that make migrants vulnerable to harm, namely immigration law and border control (Smith and Mac 2018:67). This plays out in the present data, which constructs Immigration New Zealand (INZ) as a 'protector' of migrants (examples 43-44) while failing to highlight the violent nature of the police raids and 'humanitarian' deportation they inflict on those they claim to be concerned about (Smith and Mac 2018:78).

This identity construction of Western authorities as a saviour of vulnerable migrant sex workers points to an Orientalist attitude in the discourse. In a similar way, by positioning the 'third world prostitute' as a 'damaged Other' (Doezema 2001), the victim of an uncivilised, barbaric culture (Lyons 1999), anti-trafficking groups can be understood as constructing

themselves as 'benevolent helpers' (Agustín 2007:7). By producing knowledge *about* non-White women and portraying them as child-like and naïve (Doezema 2000), Western feminists position themselves as civilised authorities equipped to save this helpless Other. Meanwhile, they deny agency to those they purport to be helping, treating migrant sex workers as 'passive subjects rather than as normal people looking for conventional opportunities, conditions and pleasures, who may prefer to sell sex to their other options' (Agustín 2007:8). Critiquing this self-construction of Western anti-trafficking feminists as enlightened to patriarchal systems, Doezema (2001) traces this identity project to Victorian-era English feminists who employed the Orientalist image of the 'backward, helpless' Indian prostitute as a prop to further their self-construction as worthy subjects of political enfranchisement (2001:17). In a similar way, articles in the dataset can be viewed as working to construct New Zealand society (represented by the Government, police and INZ) as protector and rescuer of migrant sex workers.

Sex, borders and anxiety

One explanation for the prominence and influence of the notion of sex trafficking is that it provokes two powerful and intertwining anxieties in the Western imagination: female sexuality and immigration; both are embodied in the figure of the migrant sex worker (Doezema 2010; Agustín 2007; Easterbrook-Smith 2018). Doezema (2000) argues that because women's sexual virtue has historically symbolised national honour (Nead 1888:92), fear of the prostitute Other and fear of the migrant Other each represent disorderly threats to national identity, morality and boundaries (see also McLaughlin 1991:252; Yuval-Davis 1997:45-6). This view helps to make sense of discussions in the data around migrant sex workers' willingness to have unprotected sex (examples 11-14). Here, this deviant act is presented as something citizen sex workers such as Lisa Lewis would never do, which keeps New Zealand's sexual morality and national innocence intact, while the problem is located in the foreign Other. This positioning of citizen sex workers as innocent and moral may be surprising as they are still sex workers (generally speaking, a heavily stigmatised group), however as Easterbrook-Smith (2018) showed, in decriminalised New Zealand they are the

right kind of sex workers: White, working independently and indoors, described as 'escorts' rather than 'prostitutes' and afforded a voice in the media.

The connection between prostitution and borders is elaborated by Kulick (2003), who contends that the Swedish law criminalising the purchase of sexual services in fact grew out of a fear of migration: 'anxiety about Sweden's position in the EU is articulated through anxiety about prostitution' (2003:199). Kulick describes such immigration panic as (homophobic) 'fear of penetration', echoing Rheindorf and Wodak (2018) who argue that in Discourses of refugeehood, nation states construct themselves as 'bodies … to be protected from invasion, penetration, infection or disease' (2018:21). This perspective frames the dual preoccupations in the data around increasing numbers of migrant sex workers (examples 30-33) and spreading disease (11-14) as representative of these underlying invasion/infestation anxieties.

The strong thread of anti-immigration discourse in the data (30-41) is evidence of immigration fears, while the fascination with the sexualities of sex workers (11-19) may be evidence of some kind of sexual unease. Part of the socio-political and historical context in which the discourse is situated (Weiss and Wodak 2003:22) is the ongoing immigration panic surrounding 'migrant crises' as a result of worsening economic, political and military situations in the Global South and 'boundary crisis' as a backlash to multiculturalism in the West (Yuval-Davis 1997). This fear may be pronounced in New Zealand (like Australia) by its status as an island nation with a violent colonial past (cf. S. Neyland 2014; Burke 2002) making it particularly vulnerable to invasion or 'penetration'. Parallel to this threat is unease around the topic of sexuality in New Zealand society (Kirkman and Moloney 2005:9). Thus, media discourse may be seen as displacing discomfort around sex onto deviant migrant sex workers in such a such a way that it allows the 'problem' of sexuality to be located in the Other, accomplishing the additional feat of demonising immigrants by framing them as taking jobs and evading tax (35-41).

Controlling the Other

These anxieties produced by the perception of (sexual and racial) difference demand that the Other be controlled, which is one function of the Orientalist pursuit: the act of describing and gathering knowledge about the Other is a way to exert dominance over it and reinforce the West's own power (Said 2003:3). This understanding offers an explanation for the copious references in the present dataset to control over migrant sex workers (examples 25-29). This focus can be demonstrated quantitatively: in the 24 articles discussing migrant sex work analysed in Chapter 6, *immigration* occurs 97 times, *deport** 65 times, *INZ* 56, *police* 40, *raid** 22, *liability notice** 19 and *compliance* 16. Thus, after alarming the reader over the pending chaotic invasion of a sexually corrupt Other, with these references the discourse offers a comforting reminder of the state force that exists to control, surveil and punish this disorderly population, in the form of police and immigration authorities.

This promise of state force against migrant sex workers is mirrored by a more subtle promise to the reader of sexual dominance over them. Sexualising details (example 18) present the Asian sex worker's body as sexually available, while references to the numbers of clients she might see (15-17) permits the reader to imagine themselves as one of those clients, or at least as a voyeuristic witness to the scene: a sex worker alone with a client, or even being humiliated when 'caught … naked' by police (19). These discursive strategies allay the fear of the foreign Other invoked in the (presumed White) reader by promising them sexual dominance over her, while at the same time evoking outrage at either her promiscuity (15-17) or at the external 'evil' forces inflicting such injury on the prostitute body (15, 42-45) (Doezema 2001).

Conclusion

The discursive Othering, dichotomies and ambivalence that emerge from the analysis in Chapter 6 point to Orientalism as an illuminating approach to interpret New Zealand media discourse surrounding migrant sex workers. Orientalist theory provides another lens for what we already know from CDS: discursively producing 'knowledge' about the Orient is what gives

the Occident its power (cf. Fairclough 1989). Employing the concepts offered by this theory, in this chapter I have argued that New Zealand media discourse perpetuates an Orientalist gaze towards migrant sex workers, and in doing so is revelatory of New Zealand society's uncomfortable attitudes towards sex work and Asian migration. While the destigmatising effect of decriminalisation appears to have filtered through in more agentive portrayals of 'acceptable' sex workers (Easterbrook-Smith 2018) (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6), the apparent lingering discomfort provoked by those with deviant sexualities is displaced onto migrants, who are rendered acceptable targets for xenophobic demonisation by repeated emphasis on their illegal behaviour (examples 20-29).

With Asian sex workers firmly positioned as Other by compounding wider Discourses, the reader-gazer is free to attribute negative qualities to this figure: dangerous, diseased and deviant, yet exotic and alluring. Thus the discourse executes a textbook Orientalist move: portraying the female body of the Other as sexually available yet judged for its attachment to a morally suspicious culture, thereby fulfilling a colonial desire to gaze upon yet distance itself from the colonised Other. Trafficking narratives further facilitate this gaze by portraying migrant sex workers as naïve victims and allowing New Zealand society, represented through state authorities, to construct its own identity as morally right. Finally, by promising sexual and state force over the 'disorderly bodies' (Smith and Mac 2018:131) of migrant sex workers, the discourse assuages the dual anxieties around prostitution and immigration that this group embodies. In the next chapter, I consider the real-world implications these findings hold for the sex worker rights movement and the law in New Zealand.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

This study has used methods of corpus-informed critical discourse studies to analyse the construction of migrant sex workers in New Zealand newspapers. Chapter 4 draws on corpus linguistic tools to identify salient patterns and trends in the data. The findings suggest sex work carries a semantic prosody linked to crime and degeneracy, and point to a significant focus on migrant sex workers and illegality, with evidence of anti-immigration and trafficking Discourses emerging. Chapter 5 uses Voice as a measure of the agency and representation afforded to different social groups, demonstrating that immigration officials speak most about migrant sex workers, who themselves are given relatively little opportunity to construct their own narratives. Building on these trends, Chapter 6 examines the various ways in which migrant sex workers are constructed as Other, a strategy of marginalisation and stigmatisation. They are routinely positioned as a deviant outgroup that poses a threat to local communities including children, local ('acceptable') sex workers and their livelihoods, and law-abiding, taxpaying New Zealand citizens. These themes draw on Discourses of containment, contagion, culpability and immigration.

Building on the link established by other literature (e.g. Toft 2014), I have shown how deviance, Othering and stigma are linked. A deviant characteristic (for example, migrants' alleged willingness to offer unprotected sexual services) is used to construct a group as Other, which serves to deepen the stigma attached to their identities. I also identify 'discursive leaps' within articles, which presume the reader's familiarity with hegemonic trafficking Discourses in order to portray migrant sex workers as victims. The analysis finds evidence of racist stereotypes in New Zealand, such as those linking Asian migrants to crime, and portraying Asian women as sexually different; simultaneously vulnerable and threatening. This duality, along with the focus on concepts of Self and Other, motivates Orientalism as a relevant theoretical lens to apply to the data. I argue in Chapter 7 that the discourse's apparent ambivalence – the simultaneous desire in the Western reader to gaze upon and distance themselves from the figure of the Asian sex worker – reveals dual cultural anxieties around both sex (work) and immigration. At the same time, the discourse serves to construct New

Zealand's own identity in opposition to the deviance of migrant sex workers: by Othering the Other, the Self is reinforced.

In contemporary multicultural Western democracies such as New Zealand, it might be expected that the racist stereotypes, anti-migrant sentiment and Orientalist perspectives that permeate the data in this study would be unacceptable in mainstream media. After 15 years of decriminalisation, it may have become less acceptable to New Zealand readers to stigmatise and dehumanise sex workers in ways that persist elsewhere (e.g. Hunt and Hubbard 2015).[34] However, there evidently remains an undercurrent of anxiety in New Zealand around both immigration and sex, which is expediently displaced onto migrant sex workers, with the added effect of demonising migrants. This manoeuvre is facilitated by the law, which by deeming their work illegal, provides justification for the discursive marginalisation and stigmatisation of migrant sex workers.

The most important implication of this research is therefore a social one. The study's aim has been to provide support for the current campaign, led by the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective and supported by leading researchers in the New Zealand sex industry (e.g. Roguski 2013; Abel and Roguski 2018; Armstrong 2018) to repeal Section 19 of the Prostitution Reform Act in order to extend to sex workers on temporary visas the safer working conditions and legal empowerment enjoyed by non-migrants. The finding that the media indeed perpetrates 'discursive injustice' against migrant sex workers, using the illegal status of their work as a justification to peddle racist and whorephobic attitudes, provides support from a linguistic perspective for the argument that the law should be changed.[35]

As Mautner (2016:162) points out, corpus-building necessarily inflicts a semiotic reduction on the data: in satisfying the requirement for machine-readability, multimodal information is lost

---

[34] Although, as suggested by the articles about street-based sex workers in Christchurch, and by Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) study, this is only the case for those workers deemed 'acceptable' (White, cisgender 'escorts' working indoors) (see discussion below).

[35] From a theoretical perspective, another contribution of this research is to demonstrate the usefulness of Orientalism as an illuminating lens with which to critically analyse this kind of discourse. This study has also added to the body demonstrating the methodological synergy of CICDS, combining contextualised quantitative corpus measures within a critical approach, especially in application to discursive constructions of marginalised social groups.

such as typography, colour and images, which form an integral component of meaning-making (van Leeuwen 2015). A preliminary survey of the images accompanying online versions of the articles in the dataset suggest a multimodal analysis would be a fruitful avenue for future research. For example, the articles centring New Zealand sex workers' views, such as 'NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements' (Article 11), feature an image of citizen sex worker Lisa Lewis facing the camera, affording her subjectivity and individualised representation. Meanwhile, articles such as 'Migrant sex workers finding ways to evade visa crackdown' (Article 9) are frequently accompanied by stock photographs of anonymous street-based sex workers at night-time, showing only their silhouettes or legs. As well as conflating migrants with stereotypical representations of street-based work, these images suggest migrant sex work is shadowy, seedy and illicit. One article about sex trafficking, 'Human trafficking: Brokers lure foreign sex workers to NZ with "half truths"' (Article 15), is accompanied by a photograph of a Pleaser (a type of platform heel worn by strippers). This is a clear example of how the media appropriates sex industry motifs to titillate readers, even when the content of the article relates to exploitation and abuse.

It should also be acknowledged that hierarchies exist within the sex industry that privilege some workers over others, and this study has not taken into account every construction of sex workers in the corpus. By focusing specifically on migrant sex workers, I have only examined citizen sex workers when they are positioned as a normative ingroup in opposition to migrant outsiders. However, New Zealand sex workers are by no means a homogenous group, nor are they constructed as such. Easterbrook-Smith (2018) identifies a hierarchy of 'acceptability' in New Zealand media discourse around sex work, where privately-working White 'escorts' are represented favourably as 'elite' and agentive businesspeople, with street-based sex workers (along with migrant sex workers) demonised. My corpus indeed features a strong media focus on street-based sex work, emerging through numerous articles from *The Press* about ongoing tensions between street-based sex workers in Christchurch and the residents in the areas where they work. These articles draw heavily on contagion and containment narratives to construct outdoor sex workers as a nuisance and a disorderly threat to community safety.

This point serves as a reminder that despite the celebrated Prostitution Reform Act, hegemonic structures of class, gender and race continue to permeate ideologies around sex work in New Zealand. This suggests the 'problem' of street-based work is not actually about neighbourhood safety, just as the 'problem' of migrant sex work is not really about sex trafficking. Rather, these discourses are ultimately concerned with shoring up the ongoing disempowerment of marginalised populations who refuse to conform to capitalist and sexual norms. When ethnic, gender and sexual minorities manage to profit and prosper outside these normative structures, more privileged social groups would do well to reflect on the root of their own discomfort rather than deepening stigma against the oppressed.

Appendices

Appendix 1. List of articles analysed in Chapter 6 (stars refer to those also analysed in Chapter 5). Slash used where print version and online version have differing headlines.

1. Home brothel where 'up to eight prostitutes work' upsets Northcote neighbours (NZH [online only], 12 Aug 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12104510
2. Northcote 'home brothel': Women 'sex workers' have moved out, neighbours say (NZH, 16 Aug 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12108200
3. Auckland Council orders Northcote brothel to cease operations (NZH [online only], 19 Sep 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12127704
4. *Sex work/escort is on skilled employment list, Immigration NZ confirms (NZH [online only], 25 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12039013
5. *Immigration New Zealand pulls sex worker from skilled employment list checker (NZH [online only], 4 May 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12045198
6. *INZ: Ex-sex workers can be granted NZ residency, despite immigration rules saying no (NZH [online only], 19 Sep 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12127717
7. 'Coffee and chat' with sex workers / Immigration NZ officials asking sex workers for a 'coffee and a chat' (NZH, 1 Sep 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12116847
8. *27 deported in prostitution blitz / Illegal prostitution crackdown: 27 Asian sex workers deported (NZH, 5 Jun 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12064121
9. *Migrant sex workers finding ways to evade visa crackdown (NZH [online only], 14 Jun 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12070696
10. Sex tricks used [news in brief] (NZH [print only], 15 June 2018) URL:
11. *NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements (NZH [online only], 22 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12037429
12. *Sex workers turn back on collective and seek Minister of Prostitution (NZH [print only], 12 Jun 2018, by Lincoln Tan)
13. *Tax dollars aid illegal sex workers / Illegal sex workers access million-dollar taxpayer-funded health programme (NZH, 31 May 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12061215
14. *Massage therapists fight 'tainted' image of sector / Genuine therapists fight 'tainted' massage sector image (NZH, 18 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12021100
15. *Sex without borders / Human trafficking: Brokers lure foreign sex workers to NZ with 'half truths' (NZH, 17 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12019717
16. *Lured migrants face dark reality / Human trafficking: Lured migrants face dark reality (NZH, 16 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12021043
17. *Chinese student: I was told it was legal / International student caught in police brothel raid told sex work is 'legal' (NZH, 16 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12019696

18. *Minister calls for an inquiry into worker exploitation / Exposed: Human trafficking happening right here in NZ (NZH, 16 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12025066
19. *Illegal prostitutes working 'terrified' / Illegal migrant prostitutes too 'terrified' to report exploitation (Sunday Star Times, 18 Mar 2018, by Madison Reidy) URL: https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/102248502/illegal-migrant-prostitutes-too-terrified-to-report-exploitation
20. *Migrant sex workers abused / No trafficking in NZ sex industry but migrant abuse is widespread, report finds (DP & TP, 18 Apr 2018, by Thomas Manch) URL: https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/103129627/no-trafficking-in-nz-sex-industry-but-migrant-abuse-is-widespread-report-finds
21. *Prostitutes deported amid trafficking fears / Immigration New Zealand deports migrants engaging in illegal sex work (DP & TP, 7 Jun 2018, by Laura Walters) URL: https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/104458021/immigration-new-zealand-deports-migrants-engaging-in-illegal-sex-work
22. *350 foreign sex workers turned away at border / More than 350 foreign sex workers turned away at New Zealand border (TP, 22 Jan 2019, by Jo McKenzie-McLean) URL: https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/110030221/more-than-350-foreign-sex-workers-turned-away-at-new-zealand-border
23. *Migrant prostitutes exploited / Calls for legal migrant prostitution after research finds some exploited (DP & TP, 11 Oct 2018, by Joel Ineson) URL: https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/107724700/calls-for-legal-migrant-prostitution-after-research-finds-some-exploited
24. Who we let in [letter to editor] (DP [print only], 20 Apr 2018)

Appendix 2. Percentage of total attributed speech (direct and paraphrased) of different actors across 18 articles.

Article	INZ	NZPC	NZ sex workers	Migrant sex workers	Other
1	100	-	-	-	-
2	30	15	14	22	20
3	35	-	12	11	43
4	31	-	11	-	58
5	86	-	-	-	14
6	18	-	82	-	-
7	-	22	52	-	27
8	53	22	10	-	15
9	-	-	-	-	100
10	58	-	-	13	30
11	35	-	-	17	48
12	33	14	-	-	53
13	44	4	-	33	19
14	19	27	3	51	-
15	20	58	-	22	-
16	64	36	-	-	-
17	56	9	-	-	35
18	28	72	-	-	-
Total	36	14	10	13	27

References

Abel, Gillian, Lisa Fitzgerald and Cheryl Brunton 2007. *The Impact of the Prostitution Reform Act on the Health and Safety Practices of Sex Workers* [report]. Christchurch: University of Otago. URL: http://www.justice.govt.nz/prostitution-law-review- committee/publications/impact-health-safety/report.pdf (accessed 31 May 2019).

Abel, Gillian and Michael Roguski 2018. *Migrant Sex Workers in New Zealand* [report] (accessed in hard copy via the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective).

Agustín, Laura María 2007. *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry.* London; New York: Zed Books.

Ahearn, Laura 2001. Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 109-137.

Anderson, Benedict 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.

Anderson, Stephanie 2014. Tony Abbott winks as sex-line pensioner talks on radio. 21 May 2014. *SBS*. URL: https://www.sbs.com.au/news/tony-abbott-winks-as-sex-line-pensioner-talks-on-radio (accessed 27 May 2019).

Anthony, Laurence 2018. *AntConc*, Version 3.5.7 [computer software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. URL: http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software (accessed 23 April 2018).

Armstrong, Lynzi 2018. New Zealand. In *Sex Workers Organising for Change: Self-Representation, Community Mobilisation, and Working Conditions* [report]. Bangkok: Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women. 73-107.

Baker, Helen S. and Tony McEnery 2018. Using corpora to explore shadows from the past: Early modern male prostitution, an evasive marginal identity. In Anne-Julia Zwierlein, Jochen Petzold, Katharina Boehm and Martin Decker (eds), *Proceedings of the Conference of the German Association for the Study of English*, Volume 39. Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier. 9-20.

Baker, Paul 2004. 'Unnatural acts': Discourses of homosexuality within the House of Lords debates on gay male law reform. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(1): 88-106.

Baker, Paul 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London; New York: Continuum.

Baker, Paul 2012. Acceptable bias? Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies* 9(3): 247-256.

Baker, Paul 2014. 'Bad wigs and screaming Mimis': Using corpus-assisted techniques to carry out critical discourse analysis of the representation of trans people in the British press. In Christopher Hart and Piotr Cap (eds), *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies*. London; New York: Bloomsbury.

Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid KhosraviNik, Michał Krzyżanowski, Tony McEnery and Ruth Wodak 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse and Society* 19(3): 273-306.

Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos and Tony McEnery 2013. Sketching Muslims: A corpus driven analysis of representations around the word 'Muslim' in the British press 1998-2009. *Applied Linguistics* 34(3): 255-278.

Baker, Paul and Tony McEnery 2005. A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. *Journal of Language and Politics* 4(2): 197-226.

Barclay, Kelly and James H. Liu 2003. Who gets voice? (Re)presentation of bicultural relations in New Zealand print media. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* 32(1): 3-12.

Bell, Shannon 1994. *Reading, Writing, and Rewriting the Prostitute Body.* Indiana University Press.

Benoit, Cecilia, S. Mikael Jansson, Michaela Smith and Jackson Flagg 2018. Prostitution stigma and its effect on the working conditions, personal lives, and health of sex workers. *The Journal of Sex Research* 55(4-5): 457-471.

Berg, Heather 2019. Episode 69: Heather Berg & Sovereign Syre or porn work is work. 7 May 2019. *Against Everyone with Conner Habib* [podcast]. URL: https://soundcloud.com/user-940109391/aewch-69-heather-berg (accessed 13 May 2019).

Bettio, Francesca, Marina Della Giusta and Maria Laura Di Tommaso 2017. Sex work and trafficking: Moving beyond dichotomies. *Feminist Economics* 23(3): 1-22.

Bhabha, Homi 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London; New York: Routledge.

Bindel, Julie 2018. Prostitution is not a job. The inside of a woman's body is not a workplace. 30 April 2018. *The Guardian*. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/30/new-zealand-sex-work-prostitution-migrants-julie-bindel (accessed 3 June 2019).

Bishop, Hywel and Adam Jaworski 2003. 'We beat 'em': Nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity in the British press reportage of Germany versus England during Euro 2000. *Discourse and Society* 14(3): 243-271.

Bolton, Kingsley and Christopher Hutton 2000. Orientalism, linguistics and postcolonial studies. *Interventions* 2(1): 1-5.

Boyajian, Amy 2018. Nobody would hire me because I was a sex worker. So I started my own company. 29 November 2018. *Huffpost*. URL: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/sex-worker-how-to-leave-industry_n_5b463323e4b07aea7546b020 (accessed 1 June 2019).

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall 2004. Language and identity. In Alessandro Duranti (ed), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Malden, MA; Oxford; Melbourne: Blackwell. 369-394.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall 2005. Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4-5): 585-614.

Burke, Anthony 2002. Borderphobias: The politics of insecurity post-9/11. *Borderlands ejournal* 1(1). URL: http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide. edu.au/issues/vol1no1_2002/ burke_phobias.html (accessed 2 May 2019).

Cameron, Deborah and Don Kulick 2006. *The Language and Sexuality Reader*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Carvalho, Anabela 2008. Media(ted) discourse and society. *Journalism Studies* (9)2: 161-177.

Clark, Stephen J. 2006. Gay priests and other bogeymen. *Journal of Homosexuality* 51(4): 1-13.

Cohen, Stanley 1972. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Collins 2019. Definition of 'prostitute'. URL: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/ english/prostitute (accessed 2 May 2019).

Coupland, Nikolas 2010. 'Other' representation. In Jürgen Jaspers, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren (eds), *Society and Language Use*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 241-259.

De Beauvoir, Simone 1953. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage.

Deutscher Wortschatz 2018. Leipzig Corpora Collection download page. URL: http://wortschatz.uni-leipzig.de/en/download/ (accessed 5 October 2018).

Doezema, Jo 2000. Loose women or lost women? The re-emergence of the myth of white slavery in contemporary discourses of trafficking in women. *Gender Issues* 18(1): 23-50.

Doezema, Jo 2001. Ouch! Western feminists' 'wounded attachment' to the 'Third World prostitute'. *Feminist Review* 67: 16-38.

Doezema, Jo 2010. *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking*. London; New York: Zed Books.

Duff, Michelle 2014. Sex worker gets $25,000 over harassment. 1 March 2014. *Stuff*. URL: http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/industries/9777879/Sex-worker-gets-25-000-over-harassment (accessed 31 May 2019).

Eades, Diana 2008. *Courtroom Talk and Neocolonial Control*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Easterbrook-Smith, Gwyn 2018. 'Illicit drive-through sex', 'migrant prostitutes', and 'highly educated escorts': Productions of 'acceptable' sex work in New Zealand news media 2010-2016. Unpublished PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

Fairclough, Norman 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* London; New York: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman and Ruth Wodak 1997. Critical discourse analysis. In Teun A. van Dijk (ed), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, Volume 2. London: Sage. 258-284.

Fanon, Frantz 1986. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto.

Feighery, William G. 2012. Tourism and self-Orientalism in Oman: A critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies* 9(3): 269-284.

Ferguson, Sian 2016. Please stop joking about dropping out of university to do sex work. 20 December 2016. *Wear Your Voice*. URL: https://wearyourvoicemag.com/body-politics/joking -drop-sex-work (accessed 27 May 2019).

Flowerdew, Lynne 2012. Corpus-based discourse analysis. In James Paul Gee and Michael Handford (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London; New York: Routledge. 174-187.

Foucault, Michel 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock.

Freud, Sigmund 1913. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. New York: Macmillan.

Gabrielatos, Costas (n.d.). Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2006. *Lancaster University*. URL: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/projects/rasim/ (accessed 25 May 2019).

Gabrielatos, Costas and Paul Baker 2008. Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics* 36(1): 5-38.

Gambino, Lauren 2015. 'No human being is illegal': Linguists argue against mislabeling of immigrants. 7 December 2015. *The Guardian*. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ 2015/dec/06/illegal-immigrant-label-offensive-wrong-activists-say (accessed 22 April 2019).

Gee, James Paul 1990. *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Goffman, Erving 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Greenbank, Emily 2014. Othering and Voice: How media framing denies refugees integration opportunities. *Communication Journal of New Zealand* 14(1): 35-58.

Hall, Stuart 1992. The West and the rest: Discourse and power. In Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (eds), *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 275-320.

Hallgrímsdóttir, Helga, Rachel Phillips and Cecilia Benoit 2006. Fallen women and rescued girls: Social stigma and media narratives of the sex industry in Victoria, B.C., from 1980 to 2005. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropolo*gy 43(3): 265-280.

Hallgrímsdóttir, Helga, Rachel Phillips, Cecilia Benoit and Kevin Walby 2008. Sporting girls, streetwalkers, and inmates of houses of ill repute: Media narratives and the historical mutability of prostitution stigmas. *Sociological Perspectives* 51(1): 119-138.

Hamilton, Fiona 2018. Heath inquiry police chief Mike Veale in drunken prostitute 'slur'. 16 January 2018. *The Times*. URL: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/edward-heath-inquiry-police-chief-mike-veale-in-drunken-prostitute-slur-5d7nw5sfc (accessed 27 May 2019).

Hannis, Grant 2009. Reporting diversity in New Zealand: The 'Asian Angst' controversy. *Pacific Journalism Review* 15(1): 114-130.

Hill, Angela 2011. 'This modern day slavery': Sex trafficking and moral panic in the United Kingdom. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

Hoefinger, Heidi and Srorn Srun 2017. 'At-risk' or 'socially deviant'? Conflicting narratives and grassroots organizing of sex/entertainment workers and LGBT communities in Cambodia. *Social Sciences* 6(3): 1-20.

Hoey, Michael 2005. *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language*. London: Routledge.

Hunt, Sally and Beatrice Hubbard 2015. The representation of sex workers in South African media: Danger, morals and human rights. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 46: 25-49.

Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique 1839-40. *Odalisque with a Slave*. Oil on canvas, 72.1 x 100.3 cm. Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum.

Jack, Gavin 2007. A case of whorephobia? In Kevin Barnhurst (ed), *Media Q: Media/queered: Visibility and its Discontents*. New York: Peter Lang. 165-180.

Jeffreys, Sheila 1997. *The Idea of Prostitution*. Melbourne: Spinifex Press.

Kirkman, Allison and Pat Moloney 2005. Introduction: Mapping the sexual landscape. In Allison Kirkman and Pat Moloney (eds), *Sexuality Down Under: Social and Historical Perspectives*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press. 9-28.

Knowledge Basket, The 2019. Search Newztext. URL: https://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz/databases/newztext/search-newztext/ (accessed 5 March 2019).

Koller, Veronika and Gerlinde Mautner 2004. Computer applications in critical discourse analysis. In Caroline Coffin, Anne Hewings, and Kieran O'Halloran (eds), *Applying English Grammar*. London: Arnold. 216-228.

Kulick, Don 2003. Sex in the New Europe: The criminalization of clients and Swedish fear of penetration. *Anthropological Theory* 3: 199-218.

Laclau, Ernesto 1997. The death and resurrection of the theory of ideology. *Modern Language Notes* 112: 297-321.

Law, Sylvia A. 1999. Commercial sex: Beyond decriminalization. *Southern California Law Review* 73: 522-610.

Lazar, Michelle 2005. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in discourse*. New York: Palgrave.

Lazar, Annita and Michelle Lazar 2004. The discourse of the New World Order: 'Out-casting' the double face of threat. *Discourse and Society* 15(2-3): 223-242.

Louw, Bill 1993. Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? The diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies. In Mona Baker, Gill Francis and Elena Tognini-Bonelli (eds), *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 157-176.

Louw, Bill 2000. Contextual prosodic theory: Bringing semantic prosodies to life. In Chris Heffer and Helen Sauntson (eds), *Words in Context: A Tribute to John Sinclair on his Retirement*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham. 48-94.

Lucas, Ann M. 1995. Race, class, gender, and deviancy: The criminalization of prostitution. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law and Justice* 10(1): 47-60.

Luke, Allan 1997. The material effects of the word: Apologies, 'stolen children' and public discourse. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 18(3): 343-368.

Lyons, Harriet 1998. The representation of trafficking in persons in Asia: Orientalism and other perils. In Hugh Johnston and Sona Khan (eds), *Trafficking in Persons: Final Report of Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute Workshop on Trafficking in Persons in South Asia*. Vancouver and New Delhi: Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute and Simon Fraser University. 100-119.

MacMillen, Hayley 2018. Fixating on Stormy Daniels's porn career is just one more way to silence her voice. 26 March 2018. *Allure*. URL: https://www.allure.com/story/stormy-daniels-porn-career-does-not-discredit-trump-allegations (accessed 27 May 2019).

Majic, Samantha 2014. Beyond 'victim-criminals': Sex workers, nonprofit organizations, and gender ideologies. *Gender and Society* 28(3): 463-485.

Malone, Barry 2015. Why Al Jazeera will not say Mediterranean 'migrants'. 20 August 2015. *Al Jazeera*. URL: https://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/editors-blog/2015/08/al-jazeera-mediterranean-migrants-150820082226309.html (accessed 28 March 2019).

Marchetti, Gina 1993. *Romance and the 'Yellow Peril': Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mautner, Gerlinde 2016. Checks and balances: How corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 3rd edition. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: Sage. 154-179.

McEnery, Tony and Helen S. Baker 2017. *Corpus Linguistics and 17th-Century Prostitution.* London: Bloomsbury.

McEnery, Tony and Costas Gabrielatos 2006. English corpus linguistics. In Bas Aarts and April McMahon (eds), *The Handbook of English Linguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell. 33-71.

McEnery, Tony, Richard Xiao and Yukio Tono 2006. *Corpus-Based Language Studies: An Advanced Resource Book*. London; New York: Routledge.

McLaughlin, Lisa 1991. Discourses of prostitution/discourses of sexuality. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 8(3): 249-272.

Mehan, Hugh 1997. The discourse of the illegal immigration debate: a case study in the politics of representation. *Discourse and Society* 8(2): 249-270.

Mendes, Kaitlynn, Kumarini Silva, Ambar Basu, Mohan J. Dutta, Jennifer Dunn, Feona Attwood and Karen Boyle 2010. Commentary and criticism: Representations of sex workers. *Feminist Media Studies* 10(1): 99-116.

Merriam-Webster 2019. Prostitute. URL: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ prostitute (accessed 2 May 2019).

Moore, Audrey 2016. Why I'm fed up of the way TV portrays sex workers. 10 July 2016. *Refinery29*. URL: http://www.refinery29.uk/tv-sex-workers-murder (accessed 20 September 2018).

Nead, Linda 1988. *Myths of Sexuality*. Oxford; New York: Blackwell.

New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulations 2018. Newspaper Audit Results. URL: http://newspaper.abc.org.nz//audit.html (accessed 4 June 2019).

Neyland, Siobhan 2014. 'We will decide': The White imperial gaze in Australian refugee politics. Unpublished Honours thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

O'Connell Davidson, Julia 2006. Will the real sex slave please stand up? *Feminist Review* 83: 4-22.

O'Neill, Maggie, Rosie Campbell, Phil Hubbard, Jane Pitcher and Jane Scoular 2008. Living with the Other: Street sex work, contingent communities and degrees of tolerance. *Crime Media Culture* 4(1): 73-93.

Pheterson, Gail 1993. The whore stigma: Female dishonor and male unworthiness. *Social Text* 37: 39-64.

PressReader 2019. URL: https://www.pressreader.com/catalog (accessed 25 March 2019).

Prostitution Reform Act 2003. New Zealand Statutes. URL: http://www.legislation.govt.nz/ act/public/2003/0028/latest/DLM197815.html (accessed 4 June 2019).

R Core Team 2018. *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing* [computer software]. Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. URL: https://www.R-project.org/ (accessed 20 March 2018).

Rahman, Bushra Hameedur 2014. Pakistani women as objects of 'fear' and 'Othering'. *Sage Open* 4(4): 1-13.

Raymond, Janice 1995. Perspective on human rights: Prostitution is rape that's paid for. 11 December 1995. *Los Angeles Times.* URL: https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1995-12-11-me-12813-story.html (accessed 12 June 2019).

Reisigl, Martin and Ruth Wodak 2016. The discourse-historical approach. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 3rd edition. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: Sage. 23-61.

Reuters 2019. Mexico City will decriminalize sex work in move against trafficking. 1 June 2019. *The Guardian*. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/01/mexico-city-decriminalize-sex-trafficking (accessed 3 June 2019).

Rheindorf, Markus and Ruth Wodak 2018. Borders, fences, and limits: Protecting Austria from refugees: Metadiscursive negotiation of meaning in the current refugee crisis. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 16(1-2): 15-38.

Richardson, John E. 2001. 'Now is the time to put an end to all this': Argumentative discourse theory and letters to the editor. *Discourse and Society* 12(2): 143-168.

Roguski, Michael 2013. *Occupational Health and Safety of Migrant Sex Workers in New Zealand* [report]. New Zealand Prostitutes Collective and Kaitiaki Research. URL: http://www.nzpc.org.nz/pdfs/Roguski,-(2013),-OSH-of-migrant-sex-workers-in-NZ.pdf (accessed 20 March 2019).

Rosa, Jonathan 2012. Contesting representations of immigration. *Anthropology News* 53(8): 13-14.

Said, Edward 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.

Salahshour, Neda 2017. Representation of immigrants in New Zealand print media: A critical discourse analysis. Unpublished PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

Santa Ana, Otto 1999. 'Like an animal I was treated': Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse. *Discourse and Society* 10(2): 191-224.

Sarkeesian, Anita 2014. Women as background decoration (part 1): #Tropes vs women in video games. 16 June 2014. *Feminist Frequency*. URL: https://feministfrequency.com/video/women-as-background-decoration-tropes-vs-women/ (accessed 27 May 2019).

Sinclair, John 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smart, Carol 1999. A history of ambivalence and conflict in the discursive construction of the 'child victim' of sexual abuse. *Social and Legal Studies* 8: 391-409.

Smith, Molly and Juno Mac 2018. *Revolting Prostitutes: The Fight for Sex Workers' Rights*. London; New York: Verso.

Staszak, Jean-François 2009. Other/Otherness. In Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Volume 8. Oxford: Elsevier. 43-47.

Strega, Susan, Caitlin Janzen, Jeannie Morgan, Leslie Brown, Robina Thomas and Jeannine Carrière 2014. Never innocent victims: Street sex workers in Canadian print media. *Violence Against Women* 20(1): 6-25.

Stubbs, Michael 1996. *Text and Corpus Analysis*. Oxford; Mulden, MA: Blackwell.

Stubbs, Michael 2001. *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. London: Blackwell.

Teo, Peter 2000. Racism in the news: A critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers. *Discourse and Society* 11(1): 7-49.

Toft, Amoshaun 2014. Contesting the deviant other: Discursive strategies for the production of homeless subjectivities. *Discourse and Society* 25(6): 783-809.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. New York: Routledge.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1996. Discourse, power and access. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (eds), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London; New York: Routledge. 84-104.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2000. New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In Simon Cottle (ed), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Buckingham: Open University Press. 33-49.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2001. Critical discourse analysis. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton (eds), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Blackwell. 352-371.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2009. Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2nd edition. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: Sage. 62-86.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2013. CDA is NOT a method of critical discourse analysis. *EDISO Debate – Asociacion de Estudios Sobre Discurso y Sociedad.* URL: https://www.edisoportal.org/debate/ 115-cda-not-method-critical-discourse-analysis (accessed 29 May 2019).

Van Leeuwen, Theo 1996. The representation of social actors. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcom Coulthard (eds), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge. 32-70.

Van Leeuwen, Theo 2015. Multimodality. In Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2nd edition. Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell. 447-465.

Van Leeuwen, Theo and Ruth Wodak 1999. Legitimizing immigration control: A discourse-historical analysis. *Discourse Studies* 1(1): 83-118.

Victoria University of Wellington 2018. Human Ethics Guidelines. URL: https://www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/research-policy/appendix-a-human-ethics-committee-guidelines.pdf (accessed 23 October 2018).

Way, Lyndon C. S. 2013. Orientalism in online news: BBC stories of Somali piracy. *Journal of African Media Studies* 5(1): 19-33.

Weiss, Gilbert and Ruth Wodak 2003. Theory, interdisciplinary and critical discourse analysis. In Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak (eds), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 1-34.

Weitzer, Ronald 2007. The social construction of sex trafficking: Ideology and institutionalization of a moral crusade. *Politics and Society* 35(3): 447-475.

Weitzer, Ronald 2018. Resistance to sex work stigma. *Sexualities* 21(5-6): 717-729.

Wickham, Hadley 2009. *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Wodak, Ruth 2001. The discourse-historical approach. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: Sage. 63-94.

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer 2009. Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2nd edition. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: Sage. 1-33.

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer 2016. Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 3rd edition. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: Sage. 1-22.

Young, Robert 2004. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. Routledge: London.

Yuval-Davis, Nira 1997. *Gender and Nation.* London: Sage.