Twitter Thread by Elly Arrow

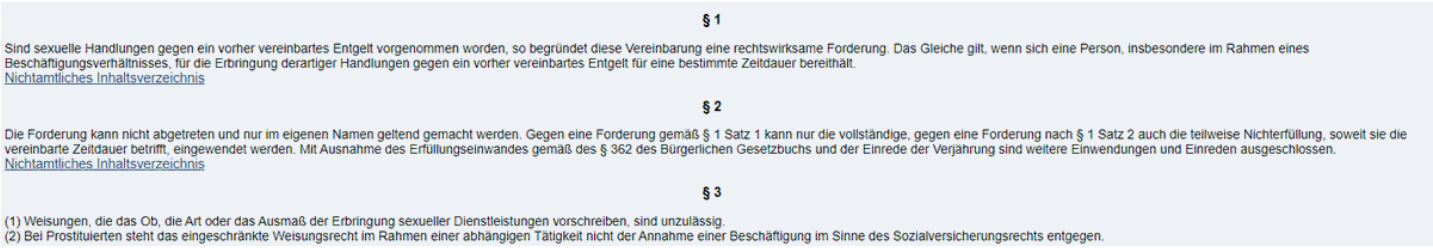


Elly Arrow
@EllyArrow

New research on the history of legal #prostitution in Germany focussing on the murders of women in the sex trade by @manuelaschon and Anna Hoheide. I am proud to have helped with translating this work that shines a light into the darkest corners.

Key findings on the murders of women in German legal #prostitution: The daily fear of violence, potentially lethal, remains real for women, despite less fear of arrest by police. The primary perpetrators are sex buyers. The state does not care to collect official statistics.

Critics will claim the German law is a form of legalization (tight regulation forcing some women into illegal status) while one should support New Zealand's decriminalization (minimizing laws specific to prostitution). False distinction: German law on the left, NZ on the right...



§ 1

Sind sexuelle Handlungen gegen ein vorher vereinbartes Entgelt vorgenommen worden, so begründet diese Vereinbarung eine rechtswirksame Forderung. Das Gleiche gilt, wenn sich eine Person, insbesondere im Rahmen eines Beschäftigungsverhältnisses, für die Erbringung derartiger Handlungen gegen ein vorher vereinbartes Entgelt für eine bestimmte Zeitdauer bereithält.
Nichtamtliches Inhaltsverzeichnis

§ 2

Die Forderung kann nicht abgetreten und nur im eigenen Namen geltend gemacht werden. Gegen eine Forderung gemäß § 1 Satz 1 kann nur die vollständige, gegen eine Forderung nach § 1 Satz 2 auch die teilweise Nichterfüllung, soweit sie die vereinbarte Zeitdauer betrifft, eingewendet werden. Mit Ausnahme des Erfüllungseinwandes gemäß des § 362 des Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuchs und der Einrede der Verjährung sind weitere Einwendungen und Einreden ausgeschlossen.
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§ 3

(1) Weisungen, die das Ob, die Art oder das Ausmaß der Erbringung sexueller Dienstleistungen vorschreiben, sind unzulässig.
(2) Bei Prostituierten steht das eingeschränkte Weisungsrecht im Rahmen einer abhängigen Tätigkeit nicht der Annahme einer Beschäftigung im Sinne des Sozialversicherungsrechts entgegen.

Back to the study into murders of women in German #prostitution: The authors contacted the Federal Office for Criminal Investigations who said that they do not collect statistics on these murders because they don't want to contribute to stigma. Read that again!

The study has to rely on cases reported by police (searching for witnesses) or by the media (sometimes tactfully reporting, sometimes sensationalizing lethal violence against women in the sex trade). Of course, this data is incomplete. But that's a conscious choice by German gov!

A small group of volunteers, including sex trade survivors, have been working to collect this data through online and archive searches, Google alerts, and asking press offices for old publications on the subject. Their work is recorded here: https://t.co/61spoohExk

They found 272 cases between 1920 and 2017, but the real number is likely much higher. For example, an old Spiegel report found 88 murders between 1950 and 1965, while the team behind Sex Industry Kills could only identify 11 names and has no information on the other 77 women.

These 272 cases include 41 cases of attempted murder, which women survived, but which left many traumatized for life, some severely disabled. Finding old cases of murder attempts is nearly impossible, so no clear conclusions can be drawn about increases or decreases.

Over 98% of documented victims murdered in the German sex trade 1920-2017 were female. 2 victims were transwomen and there was 1 male victim. They were aged 15 to 67. In total there were 5 underage victims and four over the age of 60. Children sometimes exploited next to adults.

There is a strong increase in migrant women murdered in the legal German sex trade: In the 90s 27.5% were migrants, in the 00s 48.5% and in the 2010s it was 60.7% of identified victims. The number may be higher since the nationality of some victims couldn't be determined. @ENoMW

In the 90s most migrant victims were from Russia, Poland, and Slovakia. In the 00s murder victims in German legal #prostitution were predominantly Thai, Polish, and Ukrainian. Since 2010 victims are mostly from Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Ukraine, and Poland.

Indoor #prostitution is often touted as considerably safer than street prostitution and while there is evidence to support this it's important to understand that 1) the vast majority of prostitution is indoors and 2) the risk of lethal violence remains a realistic fear there, too

While in the 90s most recorded murders did happen in a street prostitution context (50%), this trend reversed: In the 00s 77.6% occur in indoor #prostitution. 76% after 2010. Indoor means both mega #brothels with some security measures and small apartment brothels.

Germany's three biggest mega brothel chains (Paradise, Pascha, and Eros Center) were all the scenes of several murders of women in #prostitution despite panic buttons, cameras, and security. They collectively come up to 13 cases until 2017. No images of naked women, just pimps:

The murderers of women in German legal #prostitution: All cases were committed by men (with a tiny number of female accomplices), who cover all age groups, walks of life, and relationship statuses. If any relation existed to the victim, it was almost always as a #sexbuyer.

Motives for murders of women in German legal #prostitution include: Explicit #misogyny, attempts to cover up rape and/or robbery, jealousy, anger over disinclination to perform specific sex acts and fights resulting from price haggling. Some were killed over as little as 20€.

Obviously, no amount of money justifies murder. That should go without saying. However, this showcases how worthless prostituted women's lives are to these men, that they would use violence that ended up being lethal for just a few euros.

Killers of women in #prostitution do not even require a murder weapon: Preventing them from bringing knives or guns into brothels is not enough, a significant minority of women were strangled with bare hands or suffocated by pillows.

Frequency of murders of women in legal German #prostitution correlates with population density (e.g. most occur in Berlin, Hamburg, the Ruhr Basin, & the Rhine-Mine-Area). But women have been murdered in all 16 federal states and not only in big red-light districts in the cities.



Figure 5: Geographical Distribution of Murders in Germany Red: Murder; Purple: Murders with Known Exact Address; Turquoise: Attempted Murder; Yellow star: Missing person

Case Study on women murdered in legal German #prostitution: "Gerit" or "Linda" (stand-in photo), 25, Romanian, was murdered in front of the Paradise mega-brothel in Stuttgart by a sex buyer, 53, married with 4 kids, who wanted exclusive access to her.