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Melissa Farley, Jan Macleod, Lynn Anderson, and Jacqueline M. Golding

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Attitudes and Social Characteristics of Men Who Buy Sex in Scotland

Melissa Farley

Prostitution Research & Education, San Francisco, California

Jan Macleod

Women's Support Project, Glasgow, Scotland

Lynn Anderson

Scottish Coalition Against Sexual Exploitation

Jacqueline M. Golding

University of California, San Francisco

We investigated attitudes, behaviors, and demographics of 110 men who bought sex in Scotland. Those men who most frequently used women in prostitution were most likely to have committed sexually aggressive acts against nonprostituting women. High-frequency users of women in prostitution used pornography more frequently than men who used women in prostitution less frequently. We found strong associations of these men's acceptance of rape myths with their hostile masculine identification and their acceptance of prostitution myths. Acceptance of rape myths was associated with the men's belief that prostitution prevents rape of nonprostituting women. The men's perceptions of prostituted women's experiences of prostitution tended to differ from the actual perceptions of prostituted women in other studies. Deterrents to prostitution include public exposure or jail time if the men were convinced that laws would be enforced. The ambivalence and guilt of men who buy sex may serve as points of entry for prostitution prevention programs.

Keywords: prostitution, men who buy sex, rape myths, prostitution myths, pornography, deterrence, hostile masculine identification, sexual aggression

Public awareness about prostitution has grown in recent years, along with an understanding of the psychological trauma resulting from sexual exploitation as commercial enterprise, regardless of its legal status (Farley et al., 2003; Vanwesenbeeck, 1994; Choi, Klein, Shin, & Lee, 2009). The psychological trauma of prostitution can be understood as a process of victimization across the life cycle (Brannigan & Van Brunshot, 1997). The lifetime experiences of the majority of those prostituted usually includes childhood sexual assault by family and community (Silbert & Pines, 1982a, 1983; Nadon, Koverola, Schludermann, 1998; Abramovich, 2005; Ennew, Gopal, Heeran, & Montgomery, 1996; Putnam, 1990; Widom & Kuhns, 1996), emotional neglect (Cusick, 2002; Mayfield-Schwarz, 2006; MacLean, Embry, & Cauce, 1999), childhood physical abuse (Dalla, 2006; Giobbe, 1992), domestic violence (Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Zimmerman et al., 2006; Potterat et al., 2004), rape in prostitution (Silbert & Pines, 1982b; Oberman, 2004; Farley, et al., 2003), verbal abuse, and domination

(Herman, 1992; Schwartz, Williams, & Farley, 2007), all of which most frequently occur in a social context where racism and poverty increase vulnerability and interact with the foregoing (Tyler, 2009; Farley, Lynne, & Cotton, 2005; Raymond et al., 2002).

Violent behaviors against women have been associated with attitudes that promote men's belief that they are entitled to sexual access to women, that they are superior to women, and that they are licensed as sexual aggressors (Flood & Pease, 2009; Koss & Cleveland, 1997). Men who use women in prostitution endorse such attitudes toward women (Cotton, Farley, & Baron, 2002; Cotton, Farley, & Schmidt, 2001).

Social and legal tolerance of prostitution may contribute to attitudes justifying the maltreatment of women, generally (Leidholdt, 2003; MacKinnon, 2001). Mainstreamed and normalized prostitution is an example of a social ecology that offers men "the opportunity to aggress and force women to accept their aggression" (Koss & Cleveland, 1997).

Historically, discussions about prostitution have centered on prostitution as a problem of women (Pateman, 1988) or as a problem of HIV transmission from prostituted person to john to the rest of the community (Farley & Kelly, 2000). Just as a shift in awareness and research moved from battered woman to batterer, there is today an interest in the prostitute in addition to the prostituted. Theory and research about battering, for example, originally focused on victim characteristics such as the battered woman's alleged masochism (Caplan, 1984; Koss et al., 1994) rather than on social attitudes associated with tolerance of battering.

To have an understanding of prostitution, it is necessary to learn more about the perpetrators of the traumatic stress caused by prostitution. Less is known about men who buy sex than about the

Melissa Farley, Prostitution Research & Education, San Francisco, California; Jan Macleod, Women's Support Project, Glasgow, Scotland; Lynn Anderson, Scottish Coalition Against Sexual Exploitation; Jacqueline M. Golding, Institute for Health & Aging, University of California, San Francisco.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Melissa Farley, Prostitution Research & Education, PO Box 16254, San Francisco, CA 94116-0254. E-mail: mfarley@prostitutionresearch.com

women from whom they purchase it. Perkins (1991) estimated that only 1% of all research on prostitution has addressed men who buy sex. Some have speculated that men's purchase of sex is assumed by many researchers to be normal and therefore not worthy of investigation (Ben-Israel & Levenkron, 2005). The Internet has contributed to the notion of prostitution as normal male activity. Blevins and Holt (2009) noted that the online subculture of sex buyers promoted the idea that paid sexual encounters are normal and nondeviant, with higher social status conferred on men who had experiences and knowledge of the sex trade. A 1986 random sample of 1,000 men in Norway found more demographic similarities than differences between men who buy sex and men who did not buy sex. There were no differences in age, occupation, or social status. However, the researchers were not able to interview the men regarding their attitudes toward women, nor about their attribution of meaning to the prostitution transaction (Hoigard & Finstad, 1992).

Across countries, there is no agreement on the percentage of men who have ever purchased sex, with estimates ranging from 9% to 80% (see Table 1). Variation in sample selection may have contributed to divergence among estimates, with public health estimates (Bishop & Robinson, 1997) likely to be higher than household telephone surveys (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994). Definitions of prostitution range from purchased intercourse to other forms of impersonal commercialized sexual behavior such as spanking to ejaculation. Traditional distinctions between prostitution and stripping have become blurred (Matthews, 2008). For example, a lap dance in which a man is masturbated by a woman's body to ejaculation or an erotic massage are in fact prostitution but may not be named as prostitution by men who purchase those sex acts.

Studies of men who buy sex find a wide age range, with a mean in the late 30s. McKeganey (1994) interviewed 70 men who purchased sex in Glasgow whose average age was 37 years, ranging from age 23 to 61. Likewise, Busch and colleagues (2002) interviewed 1,342 men arrested for solicitation of prostitution in the western United States whose average age was 39, ranging from 18 to 84 years.

Two studies of the frequency of Swedish men's purchase of sex found that most men who buy sex do so only a few times, with a minority (2–5%) buying sex more than 20 or more than 50 times

(Mansson, 2001; Træen, Eek-Jensen, & Stigum, 2005). In the United Kingdom, Ward and colleagues (2005) found that men who paid for sex were significantly likely to report 10 or more sex partners in the past 5 years. Only a minority of these men's lifetime sex partners (19%) were women in prostitution.

Some researchers have asked men why they buy sex. Results to date suggest that men seek out sex acts from women in prostitution that they cannot obtain from their regular partners (McKeganey, 1994; Plumridge, Chetwynd, & Reed, 1997). McKeganey (1994) found that 66% of Glasgow sex buyers were married or living with a partner. Chetwynd and Plumridge (1994) found that 50% of New Zealand men who bought sex were married or partnered. When men in a United Kingdom study were asked to summarize their reasons for buying sex, the primary reasons given were a biological imperative or the assertion that men have a right to sexual access (Coy, Horvath, & Kelly, 2007). Additional reasons for men's purchase of sex include convenience, variety, the thrill, male bonding, and feeling addicted to sex (Bernstein, 2001; Lowman & Atchison, 2006; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Pitts, Smith, Grierson, O'Brien, & Misson, 2004; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000).

Using qualitative in-depth interviews, Prieur and Taksdal suggested that prostitution is an arena in which men obtain confirmation that women exist for the purpose of pleasing men. They quoted a buyer who stated "... it's important that prostitution exists even though you don't make use of it and perhaps also for many more of those who would even dream of making use of it... Going down to take a peek is like checking that the door isn't locked..." (study in Norwegian reported in Hoigard & Finstad, 1992, p. 97). Yet the need of men for prostitution also speaks to an underlying vulnerability.

Investigating sex buyers' attitudes, Schmidt (2003) found an association between self-reported sexual aggression and acceptance of prostitution in college-aged men. She also found that college-aged men who used women in prostitution reported significantly more sexually coercive behaviors than men who had not used women in prostitution, concluding that men who buy sex may be more predisposed toward violence than previously suspected. Support for Schmidt's findings can be seen in Kinnell's (2008) observation that many men who buy sex believe that "buying sex

Table 1
Estimates of Population Percentages of Men Who Buy Sex in Different Countries

Study	Estimated percent	Country
Benjamin & Masters, 1964	80	United States
Public Health Ministry (in Bishop & Robinson, 1997, p. 160)	75	Thailand
Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948	69	United States
Phan & Patterson (in Brown, 2001)	65	Cambodia
Dahl, 1999	60	The Netherlands
Monto, 1998	45	United States
Leridon, Zesson, & Hubert, 1998	39	Spain
Leridon et al., 1998	19	Switzerland
Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994	16	United States
Lewin, 1998	13	Sweden
Haavio-Mannila, Rotkirch, & Kontula, 2005	13	Finland
Træen et al., 2005	13	Norway
Haavio-Mannila et al., 2005	10	Russia
Johnson et al., 2001	9	United Kingdom

entitles them to do anything they want” or that paying “gave them the right to inflict any kind of assault they chose.”

Most men who buy sex are aware of and have witnessed exploitation, coercion, and trafficking, but this does not affect their decision to buy women for sexual use (Anderson & O’Connell Davidson, 2003). The same qualities in women that are sought by many men who buy sex are known to be risk factors for sex trafficking, for example, young age, low price, foreigner or “exotic,” and inability to speak the local language (DiNicola, Cauduro, Lombardi, & Ruspini, 2008; Farley, 2009).

There is a need for research about those who Marttila (2008) described as “the invisible subjects of the sex industry.” Some research suggests that sex buyers hold contradictory attitudes. The appearance of free choice, the myth of economic reciprocity, and the role-playing skills of women in prostitution contribute to an illusion of mutual attraction subscribed to by prostitution buyers (Bishop & Robinson, 1998). Men who buy sex are frequently aware that their relationship with a woman in prostitution is not a genuine attachment and that the sex, race, and economic inequality in the relationship make genuine reciprocity impossible. Yet the buyers believe in a myth of mutuality in prostitution, and they report disappointment and feeling “tricked” by what they know is the woman’s simulation of emotional and sexual response (Coy, 2008; Earle & Sharp, 2007; Mansson, 2004; Plumridge, Chetwynd, & Reed, 1997).

Some studies of masculinity and men’s sexual aggression are relevant to this study. Levant and colleagues (2003) described a masculine ideology that was associated with alexithymia and a preference for impersonal or nonrelational sexuality. Investigating behavioral and attitudinal correlates of sexual aggression, Malamuth and Thornhill (1994) developed a scale to measure hostile masculine identification. Malamuth and Pitpitan (2007) summarized evidence for a number of interacting factors that contributed to men’s sexual aggression against women including pornography use, promiscuity/impersonal sex, hostile masculine identification, a history of family violence, delinquency in adolescence, and attitudes supportive of aggression. To the extent that prostitution is itself a form of socially sanctioned sexual aggression, some of these variables would be expected to be elevated among men who buy sex.

We investigated several of the variables found by Malamuth, Addison, and Koss (2000) to be associated with sexual aggression: pornography use, hostile masculine identification, promiscuity or lifetime number of sex partners, and self-reported sexual coercion. We predicted that the men we interviewed who scored higher on our measures of these variables would have a greater acceptance of prostitution myths, more frequent use of women in prostitution, and a higher level of acceptance of rape myths. We predicted more frequent pornography use among men who more frequently bought sex.

On the basis of studies of women in prostitution (Kramer, 2003), we also predicted that men would use women in prostitution both indoors (strip clubs, lap dance clubs, bars, hotels, massage parlors, and private homes) and outdoors (prostitution transaction negotiated by the buyer and the person he buys in a vehicle or on the street).

Some men who use women in prostitution have described prostitution in terms of the economic and psychological domination of a subordinate or as “renting an organ for 10 min” (Farley, 2006).

We sought to better understand the complex of attitudes and behaviors that contributes to men’s use of women in prostitution by using both standardized psychological measures and a structured interview that yielded qualitative data. This study is among the first to use standardized psychological measures to study men who buy sex. The study focused on attitudes and social characteristics of a sample of 110 men who bought sex in Scotland.

Method

Participants

Recruitment. We recruited the majority of our interviewees through a newspaper advertisement seeking men who were clients of prostitutes in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scotland. A number of callers assumed that we were offering prostitution. Interviews were scheduled with 173 men, and 110 interviews were completed.

Demographic characteristics. The average age of the 110 men we interviewed was 37, ranging from 18 to 77 years of age. Approximately half of our interviewees (47%) were between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age. One-third were between 26 and 35 years old. Forty-one percent were aged 36 to 49 years. Only 13% were older than 50 years of age.

Approximately three-fourths of the men we interviewed (77%) described themselves as White Scottish; 4% were African; 2% were Asian Scottish; 1% Caribbean; 1% Mixed Ethnic Background. Sixteen percent chose to define themselves as members of other groups including Australian, Burmese, English, Irish, New Zealander, and South African.

A large majority of our 110 interviewees (89%) identified themselves as heterosexual, and 11% identified as bisexual.

Approximately half the men (52%) reported a family income of less than \$27,600; 36% reported family incomes of \$27,601 to \$55,000; 11% reported family incomes over \$55,000. These amounts are dollar conversions from income reported in Scottish pounds.

Procedure

Prostitution Research & Education (PRE) is a nonprofit (501c.3) research and educational organization that conducts research on prostitution and sex trafficking in collaboration with partner organizations, in this case, the Women’s Support Project in Glasgow. PRE’s Ethics Review Board reviewed the research protocol and the questionnaires used in this study and approved the research plan, which included interviewer training in research ethics, data security, informed consent for interviewees, referral resources for interviewees, verbatim note-taking, rapport-building using a non-judgmental and friendly attitude, confidentiality, and interviewer self-care.

We recruited interviewees by running an advertisement in a Glasgow newspaper that read: “Ever been a client of a prostitute? International research team would like to hear your views. Honorarium will be paid. Confidentiality guaranteed.”

The informed consent process included a referral with phone number for obtaining counseling in the event that interviewees were distressed by the questionnaires or the interviews. No one chose not to participate after consenting to the interview, and no one sought postinterview counseling. We paid a £20 honorarium to

each interviewee in appreciation of his time and transportation costs.

This study included both quantitative and qualitative measures that were administered as part of individual face-to-face, structured interviews. Interviews included both previously validated scales and questions developed specifically for this study. The Results reported below include both standardized measures as well as anecdotal accounts from structured interview questions in which interviewees were encouraged to elaborate on their views. The interviews generally lasted from 1.5 to 2 hr.

Rape myth acceptance was measured by the short form of the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance scale (IRMA-SF; Payne, 1993). In the present sample, Cronbach's alpha was .87, suggesting strong internal reliability. Rape myths have been theoretically and empirically linked to attitudes regarding sex roles and to coercive interpersonal behavior (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991).

We administered the Hostile Masculinity Scale, a self-report scale that assessed hostility toward women, the desire to be domineering and controlling in relationships with women, and attitudes accepting of violence against women (Malamuth et al., 1991). In the present sample, internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the Hostile Masculinity Scale was .87.

We used the Sexual Experiences Scale (Koss & Oros, 1982) to assess interviewees' self-reported sexually aggressive behaviors such as verbally or physically threatening a partner or using physical force to obtain sexual intercourse. In the present sample, internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for the Sexual Experiences Scale was .71.

Interviewees responded to 46 Likert-scored questions about acceptance of and justification for prostitution (Farley et al., 1998). For example "Women are prostitutes because they want to be. It's their choice." and "It's OK for a man to go to a call girl if his wife doesn't find out." A 4-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree was used. Reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the prostitution myths scale in this sample was .84.

Over a period of several years and with input from formerly prostituted women, attorneys, trafficking experts, psychologists, service providers, and advocates, we constructed items regarding buyers' general perceptions of women and their attitudes toward prostituted women in particular. The structured interview contained both quantitative and qualitative items and can be made available for use by other researchers. Questions were asked about the men's history of using women in prostitution, what type of sex business was used in locating women for sex, what they sought when they bought sex, their evaluations and perceptions of women in prostitution, including what they thought the women were feeling during prostitution transactions, pimp-prostitute relationships, and how they discussed prostitution with their friends. Sample items include

1. "Prostitutes are different from other women." (Please indicate extent of your agreement): 100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0%

We then asked the interviewee to explain his response.

2. "What have you noticed about pimp-prostitute relationships?"

3. "Are there certain sex acts that you would not consider asking your wife or girlfriend to do?" Yes No

We asked what might deter men from buying sex using a scale listing 11 possible deterrents such as greater criminal penalty, educational program, and public exposure.

Empathy was operationally defined in this study as the men's ability to accurately describe the percentage of negative or positive emotions that prostituted women themselves reported in a separate study (Kramer, 2003). To further clarify interviewees' construction of the emotional reality of prostitution for women, we asked them to describe what they assumed the prostitute herself felt.

Promiscuity was operationally defined in this study in terms of the men's lifetime number of sex partners.

Results

Lifetime Number of Sex Partners

Approximately half of the men (48%) told us that they were currently in a relationship. Two-thirds (66%) told us that they had had more than 16 sex partners in their lifetimes.

Experiences of Prostitution

Age when first bought sex. The age range for these men's first use of women in prostitution was 14 to 49 years of age, with 37% of the men first buying sex between ages 18 and 20. Approximately half the men (52%) had bought women in prostitution before they were 21 years of age, and 74% had bought sex by age 25.

Circumstances of first buying sex. We asked the men about the social circumstances of their first use of women in prostitution. Approximately half the men (55%) were alone when they first bought sex, 41% were with one or more friends, and 3% were accompanied by a family member. Of the men we interviewed, 17% told us that prostitution was their first sexual experience.

In the structured interviews, interviewees spoke about intense pressure from other men to use prostitutes. "There was pressure to go along with the guys. It was a common experience for young guys, for their 16th or 18th birthday." "There was an atmosphere of all the lads egging each other on," another man told us. "One in particular was a virgin and seemed like he didn't want to do it but all the guys pushed him into it and he did it."

One of our interviewees said that he visited the Amsterdam legal prostitution zone with his friends as a "rite of passage." One of this young man's friends chose not to buy sex and as a result was harassed by the rest of the group. Another man described how a group of his friends took him to London to celebrate his 18th birthday. When they arrived at a club that functioned as a brothel, his friends "shoved" him through the doorway where he discovered that they had paid in advance for him to use a prostitute. Unable to publicly refuse prostitution, he proceeded to use the young woman in prostitution but told the interviewer, "I've always wished I hadn't and just pretended to my friends that I'd done it."

Awareness of pimping. Approximately one-fourth of our interviewees (28%) reported that they had used a woman in prostitution who they knew was under control of a pimp. Of the study participants, 42% said that they had observed a prostituted woman who had a pimp, and 20% had talked to a pimp or had friends who had done so. Half of the buyers we interviewed tended not to acknowledge the extent of the violent coercion that exists in

prostitution. Half of them (50%) stated that prostitutes are victimized by pimps, whereas the other half disagreed with that statement. Some men spoke about the victimization of women in prostitution by pimps, for example “The poor lass was on drugs. He’s supplying her and using her to get money. They can be very brutal to the woman, violent if they’re not getting enough money. I’ve observed this through my old work. I locked up a couple [of pimps] for breach of the peace because of what they were doing.” Another interviewee said, “Prostitutes are afraid of pimps. I’ve mostly noticed the fear.” Another explained debt bondage: “Pimps like to be domineering of the women, they could be trafficked, brought into the country. They need to pay someone back.” And “Pimps use the prostitutes for their own good, they exploit them, make them work like sex slaves and get more money from them.”

Other interviewees were doubtful about the exploitation of women by pimps. “The situation I was in, the guys left them alone but I think more was probably going on. I think the women were there by choice but I wouldn’t be certain.” Another said, “I didn’t think it [pimping] went on in the U.K., just in America. The traditional view is that pimps are abusive but I don’t know if it is or not.” Also uncertain, another interviewee responded, “I don’t really know, I only thought he might be. You know they take the money, but that’s about all I know.” Another man said, “I never noticed anything about prostitute-pimp relationships.”

Locations where men purchased sex. The men we interviewed bought women for sex in both indoor (80%) and outdoor (56%) locations. A significant majority (71%) bought sex in more than one location.

These interviewees most frequently bought sex indoors in a brothel or a private flat that functioned as a brothel (61%), a massage parlor (52%), a sauna (44%), or a lap dance club (31%; see Table 2). Other locations where men bought sex were bars (28%), private flats (19%), escort agencies (16%), and private clubs/hotels (9%).

Buying sex in the Armed Forces. One in five men in this sample (20%) had been in the Armed Forces. Half of those men (50%) had bought a woman in prostitution during their time in military service. In the structured interviews, respondents told us that their superior officers were aware of the use of women in prostitution by men under their command. In some instances, prostituted women were offered to soldiers as a reward by commanding officers. “The girl was a present from the sergeant, a thank you: ‘I’ve brought you some girls.’ In Belfast it was organized through the sergeant. We’d ask him and he would set it up.” Another man said, “Superiors in the Navy were aware of this and

they do it as well. It’s just a known thing, it’s just a recognized thing in the Navy, everyone on the ship does it.” “In Germany we went to the Reiperbahn in Hamburg. About 90% of the guys would go . . . We were advised in the military to avoid the street prostitutes, to use the indoors prostitutes. We were advised that cheaper prostitutes would be less careful and quite often had unprotected sex.”

Buying sex outside of Scotland. The men we interviewed described their purchase of sex legally and also illegally in the United Kingdom and other countries (see Table 3). Of the 110 men we interviewed, 56% had bought sex outside of the United Kingdom, having traveled to 40 different countries on six continents. The study participants had bought women for sex in Austria, Cambodia, Canada, Croatia (Dubrovnik), Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia (Tallinn), Georgia (Tbilisi), Gibraltar, Greece (Crete), Italy, Kenya, Laos, Latvia, Morocco, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Slovakia, Sweden, and Turkey (Marmaris).

Interviewees spoke during the structured interviews about how a group mentality influenced their decision to buy sex in other countries. Men used women in prostitution when they were traveling with fellow employees on vacation or when they were going to a sports event in another country. One man who traveled to Amsterdam with friends said, “I had been to Amsterdam before and walked around but didn’t do anything but this time I was confident that the others I was with wouldn’t hold it against me, there was no stigma.” “I was with a group of pals. We’d been talking about it for years; I think all blokes do. Eight of us specifically went to get the puff and prostitutes . . . It was a rite of passage. We went to prostitutes three times a day. We were like pigs in shit . . .” Another man mentioned that he had taken Viagra before visiting a brothel because “I wanted to do (my football team) proud.”¹

An interviewee described his purchase of Internet vacation packages that included prostitution. These excursions, he told us, “give you a choice of women when you go there. I paid by credit card; it was all organized. There were other men there.” Another man was filmed while using a prostitute in a Czech Republic brothel. The film was broadcast on the Internet.

One man remarked that in some countries “women were desperate for money,” especially Eastern European and Russian women. While in Cyprus, he noted that all of the prostituted women appeared to be Russian.

Another study participant was a frequent prostitution tourist in Asia who spoke about the harsh conditions women were subject to in Thai and Cambodian prostitution. Rationalizing the commission of sexual violence against women and children, he told the interviewer, “I struggle with it but I can’t deny my own pleasures. In Cambodia I knocked back a lot of children; it makes it hard to sleep at night. But I don’t see the point in making a moral stance.”

Sexual Aggression Against Nonprostituting Women

Three-fourths of our interviewees (74%) acknowledged that they had bought women in prostitution in the year before we

Table 2

Indoor Locations Where Men Purchased Sex

Type of indoor location	Percent	<i>n</i>
Massage parlor	52	58
Sauna	44	49
Brothel	42	47
Lap dance club	31	35
Bar	28	31
Private apartment belonging to prostitute or pimp	19	21
Escort agency	16	18
Private parties, hotels, nightclubs	19	21

¹ Women in prostitution report that since the advent of drugs that produce and prolong erections such as Viagra or Cialis, they experience significantly more vaginal and cervical injuries. This health concern deserves investigation.

Table 3
Countries Outside Scotland Where Men Purchased Sex

Country	Number of times noted	Cities and regions specified
The Netherlands	35	Amsterdam
Germany	18	Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt
Spain	11	Barcelona, Canaries, Ibiza, Tenerife
France	9	Paris
United States	8	Atlantic City, New York, Daytona Beach, Orlando
Thailand	7	
Belgium	6	
Ireland	3	Dublin, Belfast
Brazil	3	Rio de Janeiro
Czech Republic	3	Prague
Australia	2	
China	2	Hong Kong
Cuba	2	Havana
Mexico	2	
New Zealand	2	
Russia	2	St. Petersburg

interviewed them. We compared men who frequently used women in prostitution (once a month or more often) with men who less frequently used women in prostitution (less often than once a month). About half of the men who more frequently used women in prostitution (54%) had committed sexually aggressive acts against nonprostitute partners compared with 30% of the less frequent users, $\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 4.701, p = .030$.

The association of hostile masculine identification with self-reported sexual aggression (Koss Sexual Experiences Scale [SES]) approached, but did not reach, conventional levels of statistical significance, $r = .186, p = .059$. We estimated a hierarchical logistic regression model using number of lifetime sexual partners, hostile masculine identification score, and their interaction as predictors of sexual aggression, indicated by a score of 1 or more on the SES (48% of the men). In the first hierarchical step, lifetime number of sexual partners predicted self-reported sexual aggression, $\log\text{ odds} = .481, p < .05$. In the second hierarchical step, hostile masculine identification was added as a predictor. In this model, number of sex partners continued to predict sexual aggression ($\log\text{ odds} = .700, p < .05$), and the coefficient for hostile masculine identification again approached, but failed to reach, conventional levels of statistical significance, $\log\text{ odds} = .018, p = .06$. The third step in the hierarchical model included lifetime number of sexual partners, hostile masculine identification, and their interaction as predictors of Sexual Experiences Scale scores of 1 or more. The interaction did not reach or approach conventional levels of statistical significance.

One-third of the study participants stated that rape happens because men get sexually carried away (32%) or their sex drive gets "out of control" (34%). Ten percent of the men we interviewed stated that they would rape a woman if they could be assured that they would not be caught. Acknowledging their sexually coercive behaviors with nonprostitute women, 12% told us that they had sex with a woman partner after they had continually verbally pressured her into sex. Nearly half the men (43%) had pressured women into having sex by lying to them.

During the structured interviews, some of the men guessed at the effect of buying sex on relationships with nonprostituting women.

"Men think if they can buy a prostitute and treat her as an object, they can do the same with other women." "Prostitution could have a bad effect if men treat others like they treat prostitutes. It could break up marriages." "Most of the men who go see it as a business transaction and don't see the girl as a woman. This could impact on how a man sees women in general." "Some men in general look down on women. This is a byproduct of prostitution."

On the other hand, some men felt that prostitution was a method to improve sexual performance. Approximately half (46%) endorsed the belief that going to a prostitute made a man a better lover. One man commented, "all [variety of sex acts] should be considered and talked about. If she doesn't like it, fair enough."

Pornography Use Associated With Use of Women in Prostitution

We compared men who had recently been high frequency users of prostitutes (once a month or more in the past year) with those who were low frequency users (once or twice in the past year) with respect to their use of print, video, and Internet pornography. We found a significant association between the men's pornography use and the frequency of their use of women in prostitution. Those who were most frequent users of pornography were also the most frequent users of women in prostitution, $r = .26, p = .006$, and expressed a greater degree of acceptance of prostitution myths, $r = .26, p = .007$.

During the structured interview, one man noted the role of pornography in guiding his sexual preferences. "Some guys watch a lot of pornography and expect their partners to perform certain acts. They'll either pressure their partner to a certain point or then go and get what they want." Another man explained his view that pornography and prostitution were the same. 'Porno' is from the Greek word for selling the body. Hard core porn is prostitution."

An interviewee felt that pornography helped his sex life. "I bought videos, saw oral sex, blow jobs, all different positions. It helped me to have sex with my wife after it. We both watched it." Another man estimated that while "Seventy percent in porn are just taking their clothes off for the money, 30% are enjoying it."

Attitudes Related to Prostitution

Prostitution myth acceptance and associated attitudes.

There was a significant association of these men's acceptance of myths about prostitution with their acceptance of myths about rape, $r = .28, p = .004$. Prostitution myth acceptance was also associated with the extent of interviewees' hostile masculine identification, $r = .20, p = .037$, and the frequency with which they used women in prostitution, $r = .34, p = .004$.

A minority of the men endorsed specific myths about prostitution. For example, approximately one in eight (12%) told us that the rape of a prostitute or call girl was not possible, and a similar number (10%) asserted that the concept of rape does not apply to women in prostitution. Some men on the other hand, commented that "some women have different boundaries," aware of differences among women in prostitution. Another said, "she's still a human being." And another man explained, "They normally lay down the rules. The majority of girls tell you what you can and cannot do. If you want wacky stuff, you have to pay extra."

Approximately one-fourth of our interviewees (22%) explained that once he pays for it, the customer is entitled to do whatever he wants to the woman he buys. One of the men we interviewed stated, “They’ll basically do anything for money.” The belief that the money paid for prostitution cancelled out the harm or exonerated the man who had bought sex was a recurring theme in a subset of our interviews.

The men with the highest scores on the hostile masculinity scale also tended to be those who most strongly endorsed rape myths, $r = .67, p = .0001$. We note that there is construct overlap among these two measures.

Belief in an inverse relationship between prostitution and rape. Forty-one percent of the study participants subscribed to the belief that there is an inverse relationship between prostitution and rape. We found a strong association between the men’s belief in prostitution’s function as rape prevention, on the one hand, and their acceptance of rape myths, $r = .309, p = .002$.

In the structured interviews, some men explained that if men’s sexual needs were not met then rape was inevitable: “. . . if men are looking for sex then *someone* is going to provide it.” And prostitution “keeps some men away from sexually harassing women; it gives them some outlet for their needs.” They reasoned that if prostitution did not exist then men would be more likely to rape women who were not prostitutes. Although few admitted that they themselves would rape, they asserted that other men were incapable of controlling an impulse to sexual aggression. “Men decide to use a prostitute as a surrogate instead of getting sex through subterfuge or force,” said one man. According to another interviewee, “People who might be tempted to commit a sexual crime could get rid of their frustration if they can go with a prostitute.” Another man said “Prostitution keeps a lot of people off the street who might otherwise attack women, such as shy people with no confidence.”

Lack of emotional connection and lack of empathy for women in prostitution. Only 16% of the men we interviewed told us that they had an emotional relationship with women they used in prostitution. One man described prostitution as “being able to go and have a temporary relationship and just leave after it with no other repercussions. I’m paying for anonymity.” Another of our interviewees constructed a faux mutuality in the prostitution transaction: “It has to do with desire—the male’s in the main—and the female’s business acumen.” On the other hand, several men stated that they had begun relationships with women who they had met in prostitution.

Empathy was here defined as the accuracy with which men who bought sex described the experiences of actual women in prostitution. We assessed empathy by asking the men what they imag-

ined the prostitute felt during their session and comparing their responses with actual responses of women in prostitution to the same questions. The men estimated that the prostitute was having positive feelings 45% of the time during their sessions. We compared their judgments about what women feel during prostitution with a different study in which women in prostitution were asked the same question (see Table 4). Only 9% of the women in Kramer’s (2003) study indicated that they had positive feelings during prostitution.

The men we interviewed estimated that women experienced a negative emotional state 44% of the time during prostitution, whereas according to Kramer’s study of women in prostitution, the women experienced a negative emotional state 77% of the time.

We asked the men to describe their own feelings before and after prostitution. They reported equal numbers of negative and positive feelings before and after buying sex. Slightly more than half of the men described positive emotions before (58%) and after (57%) purchased sex, whereas slightly fewer listed distinctly negative emotions before (40%) and after (41%) purchasing sex. Often, men reported mixed emotions; for example, an interviewee reported that after purchasing sex that he felt “better about myself” and “confident, bragging about it” but also “doubtful, maybe I shouldn’t have done it” and “guilty.”

Several men commented on their ambivalence about purchased sex, saying that even though they used women in prostitution, they put it out of their minds immediately afterward. Many described feelings of emptiness after prostitution. Approximately 6 in 10 of the study participants (59%) reported feeling some degree of guilt or shame (“Part of my regret is my lack of certainty that the woman wants to do it”), with 25% expressing these feelings to a significant degree (“I wouldn’t encourage prostitution - it’s someone’s mother or daughter. It’s an empty experience. It sounds enjoyable at the beginning but it’s just horrible, degrading”).

Other findings from the structured interviews. A number of the men emphasized their pleasure in asserting their dominance over women in prostitution. “It’s a power thing really—being able to get a woman to give you sexual services by handing over money.” “In order to really enjoy prostitution you need to know how to control them.” “You need to know how to manipulate and control them which is easy with street prostitutes, you dangle drink and drugs in front of them.” “Prostitution’s exciting to the extent you know you’ve got control.” As one of the interviewees explained, “You are the boss and get what you want.” Other comments included “Women are becoming more domineering in the workplace and I think a lot of guys like to have power over women. They use prostitutes and talk bad about them, exercising

Table 4

Men’s Attribution of Positive and Negative Feelings to Women During Prostitution and Women’s Description of Their Actual Feelings

Sample	Positive feeling words		Negative feeling words		Neutral words	
	Percent	<i>n</i>	Percent	<i>n</i>	Percent	<i>n</i>
Scottish men who buy sex (present study)	45	132	44	127	11	33
United States women in prostitution (Kramer, 2003)	9	41	77	127	14	64

their power,” and “Everyone recognizes the objectification as part of the business exchange of prostitution.”

Some men described prostitution with misogynist language. “Nothing is going to deter me from masturbation and prostitution is an extension of that,” and “It depends on if the woman has track marks on her vagina. That’s a real turn off.”

Approximately one-third of the men justified prostitution simply as a means for men to satisfy their sexual desires. This was the most frequently offered justification for prostitution. For them, prostitution was a place where men have “freedom to do anything they want in a consequence-free environment.” Another explained, “Prostitution is just like emptying yer baws.” And “If a guy wants his hole, go and get it done with, get it out your system.”

The men we interviewed often simultaneously held diametrically opposing attitudes about prostitution. Nearly all the men (96%) stated that to a significant extent (50% or greater extent of agreement) prostitution was a consenting act between two adults. Yet at the same time, 73% noted that women prostitute strictly out of economic necessity, and 85% acknowledged that women did not enjoy the sex of prostitution. One interviewee pointed out cultural differences. “Because money is involved, it’ll always be about money. In Tunisia it was about slavery, submission, bullying—there are cultural and geographic differences.”

Approximately three-fourths of our interviewees (71%) stated that prostitution should be treated like any other business. Nonetheless, a substantial minority (42%) believed that prostitution lowers the moral standards of the community.

Some men attributed personality characteristics to prostitutes that justified prostitution. One man theorized that prostitutes are “morally different” from other women. Another suggested that women in prostitution are more materialistic than other women. Some men suggested that women in prostitution are more sexually liberated than other women. They described women in prostitution as “free-spirited” or as people who were comfortable having lots of sex. “Prostitutes are probably very comfy with their bodies.” On the other hand, suggesting that there were differences among prostituting women, an interviewee stated, “People may think that every single prostitute has serious social issues and tar them with the same brush, but this isn’t always the case.”

Many of the interviewees stated that the women they bought for sex were often sexually satisfied by the men’s sexual performances. Approximately half of the men (49%) asserted that the

women they purchased were sexually satisfied 50% or more of the time. On the other hand, 85% of the men also stated that prostitutes do *not* enter prostitution because they like sex.

Approximately three-fourths of the men (79%) acknowledged that it was easier for them to ask a prostitute to perform certain sex acts than to ask their regular partner. Most frequently, these sex acts tended to be oral and anal sex. They also sought corporal punishment, sadism and masochism, and “things you wouldn’t dare ask a normal female for - a female that’s not a prostitute, that’s not offering sex for cash.”

Having observed prostituting women’s dissociative symptoms, several men told interviewees that they believed that the capacity to detach or “switch off” differentiated prostitutes from other women. “It has negative effects therefore you pigeonhole your whole life, separate it from work life. They put what they do to the back of their mind. They couldn’t exist otherwise as a prostitute 24 hours a day.” “She’ll end up drinking and doing drugs just to get all those things out of her head.”

Deterrence

We asked these 110 men what would deter them from buying sex. The men’s responses suggest that there are a number of equally effective alternatives that would reduce demand for prostitution (see Table 5). These include being labeled as a sex offender and being publicly exposed via billboard, newspaper, Internet, or letter to his family. Greater criminal penalties including time in jail and higher fines would also effectively deter these men from buying sex if, and only if, they were convinced that laws would actually be enforced.

A significant majority of interviewees (89%) stated that being placed on a registry of sex offenders would deter them from buying sex. Most of the men (78–86%) said that they would be deterred by public exposure such as having their photos or names posted on the Internet, in the local newspaper, or on a billboard. A majority of the study participants (69–79%) stated that they would be deterred by greater criminal penalties, such as a greater monetary fine, having a car impounded, or jail time. Some of the men suggested that a combination of criminal sanctions and public exposure would be most effective. Most of the men told us that any amount of jail time would deter them. “An hour would be enough.”

Table 5
What Would Deter Men From Buying Sex

Potential Deterrent	Percent of men who said they would be deterred
Being added to a sex offender registry	89
Having your picture and/or name on a billboard	86
Having your picture and/or name in the local newspaper	84
Having to spend time in jail	79
Having your picture and/or name posted on the Internet	78
A letter being sent to your family saying you were arrested for soliciting a woman in prostitution	77
Greater criminal penalty	72
Having your car impounded	70
Higher monetary fine	69
Required to attend an educational program for men who buy prostitutes	56

Only 56% of the men we interviewed told us that being required to attend an educational program for men who buy prostitutes would deter them.

Despite Scotland's laws against buying sex, many men simply did not think that police or politicians would enforce the law. As one man explained, "If I thought any of those things were really going to happen it would be a deterrent." Another explained, "I wouldn't like to get caught but I'll go on the lack of probability of getting caught. If I got caught so would half the male population."

Differences in Glasgow and Edinburgh city ordinances and differential enforcement of laws against prostitution likely resulted in differences in the physical locations where men bought women in prostitution. Nearly all of the men interviewed in Edinburgh (93%) bought sex indoors compared with 74% of the men interviewed in Glasgow, $\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 5.62, p = .02$. Two-thirds (67%) of the Glasgow men bought sex outdoors compared with 38% of the Edinburgh men, $\chi^2(1, N = 110) = 9.09, p = .003$.

Approximately one-third of the Edinburgh men who bought sex indoors (34%) reported that they located prostitutes in a lap dance club. Significantly fewer (13%) of the Glasgow men located prostitutes in lap dance clubs, $\chi^2(1, N = 88) = 5.53, p = .02$.

Discussion

In interviews with 110 men who bought sex in Scotland, we investigated associations among rape myth acceptance, prostitution myth acceptance, frequency of use of women in prostitution, frequency of pornography use, and sexually coercive behaviors with nonprostituting women. As predicted, the majority of the men interviewed for the study bought sex both indoors and outdoors. Also as predicted, men who bought sex more frequently were more likely to report having committed sexual aggression against nonprostituting women and to report a greater degree of acceptance of myths about prostitution. Consistent with our predictions, more frequent use of pornography was associated both with more frequent use of women in prostitution and with greater degree of prostitution myth acceptance. In addition, the data were consistent with our hypotheses that acceptance of myths about prostitution would be associated with acceptance of myths about rape and with hostile masculine identification.

With regard to possible deterrents, most of the men indicated that being placed on a registry of sex offenders, public exposure (having their photos or names posted on the Internet, in the local newspaper, or on a billboard), and greater criminal penalties (a greater monetary fine, having a car impounded, or jail time) would deter them from buying sex. Many expressed the belief that deterrents were unlikely to be enforced.

Men who accepted myths about rape tended also to accept myths about prostitution. Cotton et al. (2002) reported a similar association between rape myths and prostitution myths in a study of 783 United States undergraduates from four states. A recurring theme in our interviews with men who bought sex was their belief that the money paid for prostitution entitled them to use women for sex while at the same time canceling out its harms. This theme was quantitatively supported by a strong association between rape myth acceptance and the men's belief that prostitution prevented rapes of nonprostituting women.

Characteristics of the Men and Circumstances of Buying Sex

The average age of our interviewees was 37, ranging from 18 to 77 years of age. The age distribution of our interviewees was consistent with three other studies of men who buy sex in Scotland and the United States. McKeganey (1994) interviewed 70 men in Glasgow, whose average age was also 37 years, ranging from age 23 to 61. Simpson and Schill (1977) interviewed 183 United States men who used women in massage brothels and found a mean age of 35, ranging from 18 to 67 years. Busch and colleagues (2002) interviewed 1,342 men arrested for solicitation of prostitution in the western United States whose average age was 39, ranging from 18 to 84 years.

Men do not decide to buy women for sex because they lack a sex partner. Almost half (47%) of our sample reported being married or living with a partner. Approximately three-fourths of the interviewees acknowledged that it was easier for them to ask a prostitute to perform certain sex acts than to ask their regular partner. Others have also reported that approximately half to two-thirds of men who buy sex are partnered (Chetwynd & Plumridge, 1994; McKeganey, 1994; Simpson & Schill, 1977). Johnson, Wadsworth, Wellings, & Field (1994) reported that the more sex partners a man has ever had, the more likely he is to have paid for sex. Two-thirds of the men we interviewed reported more than 16 sex partners in their lifetimes. It is possible that men who buy sex have a preference for what Levant and Brooks (1997) have termed nonrelational sex. An objectifying attitude that typifies nonrelational sex is exemplified in the following comment from one of our interviewees: "Nothing is going to deter me from masturbation and prostitution is an extension of that."

A majority of the men we interviewed first used women in prostitution by themselves rather than with friends or relatives. McKeganey (1994) also found that men's prostitution use was largely secretive and solitary. Monto (2000) found that approximately the same numbers of United States men had engaged in prostitution for the first time without the knowledge of their family or friends (31%) compared with those who had done so with the knowledge of friends or family (27%).

Hostile Masculine Identification, Frequency of Buying Sex, and Violence Against Women

We asked interviewees about the extent to which their identity as men was based on valuing psychological and sexual dominance and resentment of women, factors that are defined as hostile masculine identification (Malamuth & Thornhill, 1994). The men who were most accepting of myths about prostitution were also those who most strongly endorsed hostile masculinity.

When compared with men who bought sex less frequently, we found that the men who most frequently bought sex were more likely to acknowledge having committed sexually aggressive acts against nonprostituting women. In a related finding, Monto and McRee (2005) compared 1,672 United States men who had been arrested for using women in prostitution with United States men who had not used women in prostitution. Men who were either first time or repeat users of women in prostitution were significantly more likely to have raped a woman than men who had never used women in prostitution.

Busch et al. (2002) found that among men who had been arrested for soliciting prostitution in the United States, a subgroup had previously used violence to obtain sex from a nonprostituting woman. The more violent men were those who had many sex partners (both prostituting and nonprostituting women) in the previous year, who tended to have used a large number of women in prostitution in the past year, to regularly use pornography, to have served in the military, and to have themselves been physically or sexually abused as children.

Consistent with Busch et al. (2002), we also found that men who reported having more lifetime sexual partners were more likely than men with fewer lifetime partners to report having committed sexually aggressive acts against women. This association persisted when hostile masculine identification was controlled. Our data suggested that among these men who buy sex, having many sexual partners is associated with sexually aggressive behavior over and above their hostility toward women, desires to be domineering and controlling in relationships with women, and attitudes accepting of violence against women. Malamuth and Pitpitan (2007) also found that promiscuity (here defined as lifetime number of sex partners) was a contributing factor in a confluence model of sexual aggression. A possible interpretation of these findings is that men who buy sex are caught in an addictive loop in which their desire for intimacy is sexualized but is never satisfied by the impersonal nature of prostitution sex (Hoigard & Finstad, 1992).

Jeffreys (1997) noted that men ascribe reactions and desires to women in prostitution in ways that are sexually arousing to the man who is buying sex but that have little basis in reality. Approximately half of the men interviewed in this study expressed the belief that women enjoy the sex of prostitution. Others have reported similar findings. With prostituted women themselves interviewing men who buy sex, Plumridge and colleagues (Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, & Gifford, 1997) noted that New Zealand men retained their conviction that women enjoy the sex of prostitution even when confronted by contradictory evidence, such as a woman telling the interviewee, "No, I did not enjoy that." In Norway as well, Hoigard and Finstad noted that men who buy sex go to extreme lengths to bolster their conviction regarding the mutual pleasure of prostitution sex. As one of their interviewees said, "it *can't* be just for economic reasons, there must be other things that come into it, too, that they have strong sexual drives and want experiences."

In the reality of prostitution, men are trained to premature ejaculation according to a number of women interviewed by the first author. The prostituted woman's goal is to speed up ejaculation so that the sex of prostitution is terminated quickly. Some of the men we interviewed spontaneously expressed awareness of this goal. For example, when asked what they believed women were thinking or feeling during prostitution, three interviewees responded, "get it over with" and others said "wish he'd hurry up" and "want you in and out as soon as possible."

Some of the men interviewed in this study displayed a misogynist tolerance for sexual aggression. Consistent with Monto and McRee's (2005) findings that men who bought sex were more likely to have raped women than men who did not buy sex, some of the observations of men who buy sex mirror the descriptions of prostitution by formerly prostituted women. Two examples from our interviewees were "If a guy wants his hole, go and get it done with, get it out your system," and "They know what they're there

for. You get what you pay for without the 'no.'" In a previous study, a man who bought sex described prostitution as "paid rape" (Farley, 2006), which are the same words used by some women to describe prostitution.

A formerly prostituted woman said that men who purchased sex were frequently "... wanting to tear your clothes off you, saying things like 'you bitch, you are nothing but a slut,' wanting to fuck you in your mouth. It is not for the orgasm as it is the acting out itself. It gets them real excited, you can see the look on their face, you can see the actual hatred on their faces. You can see it, and you can feel it in their touch. They are caught up in that cycle of whatever anger or hatred they are feeling, and they cannot control themselves" (Raphael, 2004, p. 78).

The Role of Pornography

The men in this study who were the most frequent sex buyers were also the most frequent users of pornography. Monto and McRee (2005) also found a strong relationship between pornography and prostitution. They compared the pornography use of 1,672 United States men who had been arrested for soliciting women in prostitution with samples of United States men who had not used women in prostitution. Men who had purchased sex were far more likely than men who had not purchased sex to use pornography on a regular basis. Men who were repeat users of women in prostitution were more likely than first time users of prostituted women to use pornography. First time users of women in prostitution were more likely than men who had not bought sex to have used pornography (Monto & McRee, 2005). It is possible that more frequent use of pornography supports and stimulates men in their use of women in prostitution. If prostitution were itself understood to be a form of violence against women, then our findings and those of Monto and McRee (2005) would be consistent with a meta-analysis from Hald, Malamuth, and Yuen (2010) that found a significant association between pornography use and attitudes supporting violence against women.

Attitudes Toward Women in Prostitution

The men we interviewed misjudged the extent to which women experienced both negative and positive emotional states during prostitution. As summarized in Table 4, men who bought sex evidenced a lack of empathy (as defined by accurate estimates of positive and negative feelings experienced by women in prostitution from another study) and indifference with respect to the women's feelings. McKeganey (1994) observed that the Glasgow men he interviewed who had used women in prostitution seemed to "place their own desires at center stage and to largely disregard the sexual preferences of their female partner." One of McKeganey and Barnard's (1996) interviewees said, "... it's like going in to have your car done. You tell them what you want done - they don't ask, you tell them I want so and so done . . ." (p. 53).

It is possible that these men's limitations in accurately identifying the experiences of the women they bought for sex may result from a lack of emotional connection with the women. Only 16% of the men we interviewed stated that they had an emotional connection with the women they bought for sex.

Men who buy sex often think that women in prostitution have no right to make emotional demands on them. This attitude may free

the men from the expectation that they acknowledge or respect the personhood of the woman they buy. "Money displaces the emotions. It frees you from that bond, that responsibility," explained a man who was interviewed after buying sex in the United Kingdom. "The distance you get from exchanging cash for sex means that afterward you don't contemplate the impact on the prostitute" (Spurrell, 2006). Similar attitudes were expressed by our interviewees. New Zealand men who had bought sex explained that "the payment of money for sex entitled them to freedom from the requirements normally associated with relationships" (Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, & Gifford, 1997). Analyzing prostitution in Thailand, Bishop and Robinson (1998) noted that sex buyers' denial of the fundamentally commercial nature of the prostitution transaction was one of the ways that women's subjectivity is eliminated in prostitution.

Although a number of the interviewees subscribed to the idea that prostitution prevents rape, there is no evidence supporting that myth. Rape rate statistics from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2004) raise the possibility that there may in fact be a positive association between legal prostitution in Nevada and that state's elevated rape rates. The Nevada rate of rape was higher than the United States average and was significantly higher than rates of rape in California, New York, and New Jersey. Rape rates in Las Vegas and Reno, Nevada, were significantly higher than rape rates in other United States tourist destinations such as New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco (Farley, 2007).

Prostituted women's dissociative symptoms (Ross, Farley, & Schwartz, 2003) were not seen by these men as symptomatic of prostitution's harm. Instead, they tended to view prostituted women as "simply another category of workers with special problems and needs" (Bullough & Bullough, 1996) or as workers who had a special capacity for detachment (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). The perspective that prostitution is unpleasant but not traumatic is common not only among men who buy sex but is also evident in discourse regarding public policy (Matthews, 2008).

A limitation to the generalizability of these findings was the study's recruitment of men who were willing to respond to a newspaper advertisement. These men may have differed from other sex buyers in unknown ways. On the other hand, the interviewees for this study were probably more representative of the population of all sex buyers than men who have been arrested for solicitation of prostitution and interviewed in a police-sponsored program. The latter group of men would be more likely to respond with a socially desirable response set than our interviewees who were not asked for their last names and who were guaranteed anonymity. Too, it is possible that men who are arrested for soliciting prostitution may differ from men who are not arrested.

Because of the need of men who buy sex to minimize the harms of prostitution and thereby justify its existence and because of their desire for social acceptance, it is likely that the numbers reported here are underestimates of the variables we were investigating; for example, the men's frequency of using women in prostitution, their self-reported sexual aggression, and their hostility toward women. Brewer and colleagues (2000) made a similar observation regarding their study of men who buy sex.

Implications for Deterrence

Throughout our interviews with these men, we noted contradictions, inconsistencies, and ambivalence in their thinking about prostitution. These cognitive and emotional lacunae may suggest possibilities for development of prostitution prevention programs. For example, although slightly more than half of the men in this study described positive emotions before and after purchased sex, approximately 4 in 10 listed distinctly negative emotions before and after purchased sex. One in four of the men reported significant shame or guilt related to using women in prostitution. Nearly all said that they saw prostitution as occurring between two consenting adults, yet at the same time, large majorities believed that women prostitute strictly out of economic necessity and that women do not enjoy the sex of prostitution. Most said that prostitution should be treated like any other business, yet 4 in 10 believed that prostitution lowers the moral standards of the community.

Other findings from this study may be relevant to the development of prostitution prevention programs for young men. The interviewees spoke of intense peer pressure as a major factor in their first use of women in prostitution, some describing it as a "rite of passage." Although approximately half the men (52%) bought women in prostitution before they were 21 years of age, 74% had used women in prostitution by the time they were 25. A separate Glasgow study found that if a man had not paid for sex by the age of 25, he was less likely to do so in the future (Groom & Nandwani, 2006). Viewing prostitution as a means of asserting masculinity, Hoigard and Finstad (1992) described men's use of women in prostitution as a "ticket into the community of men."

According to these interviewees, there were a number of equally effective deterrents to prostitution if they had confidence that laws would be enforced. Effective deterrents included public exposure such as having their names on a billboard or published in the newspaper or Internet. Ambivalent about their purchase of sex, many of our interviewees were both attracted to and repulsed by it. Naming men who buy prostitutes as sex offenders would remove the glamour and mystery from buying sex instead categorizing buyers as sex predators. Other deterrents included jail time (79% told us that jail would effectively deter them), higher fines (69%), and greater criminal penalties (72%). In related findings, Brewer and colleagues (2006) found that arrest deterred 70% of men from buying women in prostitution a second time.

According to this study's findings, diversion or education programs alone (with no lasting adverse legal consequences) are least likely to deter men from buying sex. Approximately half (56%) of the men we interviewed stated that they would be deterred from using women in prostitution by being required to attend an educational program for men who buy sex. All other deterrents were listed as more effective. Anecdotal reports from police-supervised diversion programs suggest that men in these programs appear to be more compliant than those we interviewed who were guaranteed anonymity and who were not under police surveillance. Wortley Fischer, and Webster (2002), for example, reported that only 1 of 10 men arrested for soliciting prostitution and attending a Canadian diversion program stated that they planned to continue to use women in prostitution.

Educational programs are most effective when combined with sophisticated role modeling and participant behavior enactments

that challenge stereotyped notions about and acceptance of prostitution and sex discrimination generally. Katz (2006) discussed a program that encourages men to become active bystanders in confronting sexist abuse and violence such as prostitution. Using a mentoring program among college-aged male athletes, the program taught men specific techniques of countering peer pressure to commit acts of violence against women.

A sexual exploitation education program with a feminist perspective focused on the behaviors toward women of men who had been arrested for buying sex began in Portland, Oregon at approximately the same time a similar but less explicitly feminist program started in San Francisco (Monto, 1998). The Sexual Exploitation Education Program (SEEP, Oregon) goals were (a) to reframe prostitution from a victimless crime to a system of violence against women; (b) to deconstruct male sexual identity so as to identify how men's socialization leads to an increased propensity for committing violence against women (consistent with much of other research reported in this paper); and (c) emphasize that men have choice and responsibility to create egalitarian relationships without coercion or violence. SEEP ran a 17-hr, 2-day weekend workshop in which men were assigned to small groups and expected to participate in the sessions. SEEP has been effectively defunded.

Some laws are effective deterrents to buying sex. Sweden has introduced legislation aimed at abolishing prostitution based on a gender equality and human rights perspective that *criminalizes* the person buying sex while it *decriminalizes* the person selling sex. A 2010 governmental report summarized the intent of the Swedish law:

The [1999] legislative proposal stated that it is shameful and unacceptable that, in a gender equal society, men obtain casual sexual relations with women in return for payment and that Sweden, by introducing a ban on purchasing sexual services, also sent an important signal to other countries highlighting our outlook on purchasing sexual services and prostitution. It pointed out that prostitution entails serious harm to both individuals and to society. It was expected that criminalisation would have a deterrent effect on prospective purchasers of sex and serve to reduce the interest of various groups or individuals abroad in establishing more extensive organized prostitution activities in Sweden, which would have an inhibitory effect on the prevalence of prostitution here (Inquiry of the prohibition against purchase of sexual service, 2010).

Since the introduction of the Swedish law in 1999, street prostitution in Sweden decreased by 50%, and there was no increase in indoor prostitution (massage, sex clubs, hotels, restaurants) during that period. On the other hand, during the same period of time, both street and indoor prostitution in Norway and Denmark dramatically increased. There has been an increase in Internet-advertised prostitution in all Nordic countries including Sweden. The Swedish ban on the purchase of sex counteracted the establishment of organized crime groups in Sweden, resulting in Sweden's extremely low rate of trafficking compared with other members of the European Union. (Inquiry of the prohibition against purchase of sexual service, 2010; Ekberg, 2004).²

Conclusions and Recommendations

Because the prostitution transaction itself is paradigmatic of men's subordination of women, men's purchase of sex may "mag-

nify and clarify" some of the characteristics associated with hostile masculine sexual identity (Hoigard & Finstad, 1992). Our findings suggest that frequency of buying sex is predictive of sexual aggression and of other variables associated with sexual aggression. A study comparing men who buy sex with those who do not would permit a greater understanding of the nature of these associations. We did not have the resources to obtain such a sample in this study but are in the process of obtaining such a matched sample in another country.

Additional psychological research on men who buy sex is needed. Buying sex should be investigated as predictive of sexual aggression against nonprostituting women. The association of men's purchase of sex with factors that have been associated with sexual aggression such as pornography use, lifetime number of sex partners, hostile masculine identification, and other attitudes that are supportive of aggression is worthy of further investigation (Kingston, Malamuth, Fedoroff, & Marshall, 2009). These associations may be complex and interact with other factors as our finding that among men who bought sex, the effect of total number of sexual partners on sexual aggression was mediated by hostile masculinity.

Cognitive dissonance theory has been used to reduce HIV risk behaviors and might also generate predictions about changing attitudes toward prostitution and buying sex (Aronson, Fried, & Stone, 1991). Among the men who expressed conflict or ambivalence about their purchase of women in prostitution, are there specific interventions that would encourage their discontinuation of buying sex?

By categorizing some women ("prostitutes") as justifiable or natural recipients of sexual aggression, sexually aggressive men are given permission to define their coercive or violent behaviors as normal male sexuality (Koss & Cleveland, 1997). Further investigation of prostitution as an "intentionally created rape-facilitative environment" (Koss & Cleveland, 1997) and further investigation of the individual factors that increase or decrease the likelihood of men's purchase of sex is warranted.

² Those who are bought in prostitution are understood by the Swedish Parliament to be victims regardless of whether they were overtly physically coerced, whether they were emotionally coerced by previous sexual assault, abandonment, brainwashing by pimps, or whether they were coerced into prostitution by poverty. In Sweden, women in prostitution are not criminalized. Instead, they are offered social services like those offered by the Routes Out Project in Glasgow. The 1999 Swedish law "is a concrete and tangible expression of the belief that in Sweden women and children are not for sale" (Ekberg, 2004).

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