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Best Practices to Address the Demand Side of Sex Trafficking

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Something must be done, and that 'something' is that men must learn to live virtuously.

Josephine Butler, Great Britain, 1896

The first step in understanding the sex industry is to understand the customers, the johns.

Joseph Parker, United States, 1997

Without men's demand for prostitute women, there would be no such women.

Sven-Axel Månsson, Sweden, 2003

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Introduction

Each year, hundreds of thousands of women and children around the world become victims of the global sex trade. They are recruited into prostitution, often using tactics involving force, fraud, or coercion. Criminals working in organized networks treat the victims like commodities, buying and selling them for profit. This modern-day form of slavery is called sex trafficking.

The transnational flow of women and children for the sex trade occurs among sending, transit, and receiving countries. Traffickers recruit victims in sending countries, where there is poverty, unemployment, or political instability that motivate people to seek work and opportunities in other countries. They move victims through transit countries on the way to their destinations. In receiving countries, the pimps await the arrival of the women and children they have ordered for their prostitution operations. Men come to establishments offering prostitution to pay money for sex acts. The dynamics of this trade in women and children for sex acts is a balance between the supply of victims from sending countries and the demand for victims in receiving countries.¹

Sex trafficking, slavery, and prostitution are not new forms of exploitative criminal activity. Over a hundred years ago, sex trafficking was called the “white slave trade” and prostitution was called “vice.”² Societies that value the freedom and dignity of people have long recognized the harm of these activities to women, families, and communities, and consider them incompatible with universal standards for human rights. In 2002, President George W. Bush directed the U.S. government to adopt an “abolitionist approach” to combating trafficking in persons. He said: “Prostitution and related activities, which are inherently harmful and dehumanizing, contribute to the phenomenon of trafficking in persons...”³

Analyzing trafficking and prostitution as parts of an interlocking system reveals how the components are linked, and studying the dynamics of supply and demand for victims reveals what keeps the system working.

Over the past decade, most of the analyses of the causes of sex trafficking have focused on factors in the sending countries. And efforts to combat trafficking have aimed to stop trafficking on the supply side through education and prevention campaigns in sending countries to alert people about the phenomenon of trafficking. Potential victims are warned

¹ Donna M. Hughes, “Men create the demand; Women are the supply,” Lecture on Sexual Exploitation, Queen Sofia Center, Valencia, Spain, November 2000.

² It was called the “white slave trade” in Europe to distinguish it from the African slave trade.

³ National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD)-22, “Combating Trafficking in Persons,” December 16, 2002 (Classified), as cited in: Program Integrity Directorate, Office of Deputy Inspector General for Investigations, “Assessment of DOD Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Phase I United States Forces in Korea,” Department of Defense, Case Number H03L88433128, July 10, 2003, p 5-6.

about the tactics used by recruiters and the consequences of trafficking, with the aim of reducing the supply of victims. In comparison, there have been few campaigns or efforts aimed at reducing the demand for victims.

The movement to abolish trafficking and sexual exploitation needs a more comprehensive approach, one that includes analyses of the demand side of trafficking, and develops practices to combat the demand in receiving countries.⁴ A focus on the demand side means making men personally responsible and accountable for their behavior that contributes to the sex trade. In October 2003, at the United Nations, President George W. Bush spoke about the role of the demand in perpetuating the global sex trade: “Those who patronize this industry debase themselves and deepen the misery of others.”

This report will describe efforts to address the demand side of sex trafficking. It will define the demand and describe its different components. It will describe laws, policies, and programs aimed at reducing the demand for prostitution in communities and entire countries. It includes a review of research on men’s behavior and attitudes towards prostitution and researchers’ analyses of men’s behavior and motives to purchase sex acts.

What Is the Demand?

The demand for victims to be used for commercial sex acts can be divided into three components. The first factor is the men (and occasional women) who seek out women, children, and sometimes men, for the purpose of purchasing sex acts. The purchasers of sex acts are the primary actors and constitute the primary level of the demand. Without them making the decision to buy sex acts, prostitution would not exist.

Men who solicit and buy sex acts are often called “customers,” “clients,” and “consumers.” These terms normalize men’s behavior. In this report these men will be called “purchasers of sex acts” or sometimes by the term of common usage - “johns.”

The second factor or level of demand is the profiteers in the sex industries. They include the traffickers, pimps, brothel owners, and supporting corrupt officials who make money from sex trafficking and prostitution. They make a profit by supplying victims to meet the demand created by men. They have vested economic interests in maintaining the flow of women from sending to receiving countries. They are criminals and often members of transnational organized crime networks.

The third factor is the culture that indirectly creates a demand for victims by normalizing prostitution. Media depictions of prostitution and other commercial sex acts, such as stripping and lap dancing, that romanticize or glamorize these activities influence public

⁴ Donna M. Hughes, “The 2002 Trafficking in Persons Report: Lost Opportunity for Progress,” Foreign Government Complicity in Human Trafficking: A Review of the State Department’s 2002 Trafficking in Persons Report, House Committee on International Relations, Wednesday, June 19, 2002.

knowledge and opinions about the sex trade. These images suggest that prostitution is a victimless crime. Individual writers, academics, and groups advocating the idea that prostitution is a form of work for women claim that providing sexual services can be an empowering for women. These representations usually overlook the violence and victimization involved, or suggest that more empowerment is the solution to exploitation and abuse of victims of the global sex trade.

All of these factors are supported by cultural attitudes that relegate women and girls to second class status in society. In places where women and girls or certain ethnicities or classes of women and girls are devalued, there is more acceptance of prostitution and the exploitation of a female relative in prostitution to financially support the family.

This study will focus on the primary level of the demand and the primary actors in creating the demand for victims - the men who purchase sex acts.⁵

When the focus shifts to the primary level of the demand, there is no evidence that men distinguish between women and children who are victims of trafficking and those who are not. For a woman to be considered a victim of sex trafficking by most legal criteria, she must perform the commercial sex acts as a result of force, fraud, or coercion.⁶ In considering

⁵ There are several recent developments in support of the abolition of the global sex trade that go beyond focusing on the primary level of demand that are worthy of mention. South Korea has announced a plan to close 70 red-light districts in 2007. Prostitution is illegal in South Korea, but as in many places, has been tolerated for years. In 2002, there were an estimated 330,000 women in 80,000 sex industry establishments. The illegal and legal sex industry combined brings in \$20 billion each year. Starting in September 2004, all profits from brothels will be seized. The government will create 14 “self-support” centers to retrain workers for other jobs. The Gender Equality Ministry, the Justice Ministry, and the Korean National Policy Agency support the new policy. The Prime Minister announced the plan saying that South Korea would no longer tolerate the trafficking in women’s bodies. The government said that it will enact a new law in 2005 that will empower police to close brothels and beginning in 2006, it will be carried out gradually in phases. The widespread closures will begin in 2007 (Joseph Giordano and Choe Song-won, “South Korea plans to shut down red-light districts,” *Stars and Stripes*, April 3, 2004.) The other noteworthy development is a recommendation by the Committee on Women’s Rights and Equal Opportunities to the European Parliament to prohibit business entities that profit from the sale of human bodies to be quoted on the stock exchange in any European Union member state. (Marianne Eriksson (Rapporteur), Committee on Women’s Rights and Equal Opportunities, European Parliament, “Draft report on the consequences of the sex industry in the European Union” (20032107OINI)). January 4, 2004.)

⁶ In the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, “‘Sex trafficking’ means the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.” A commercial sex act is defined as “any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.” For criminal charges to be brought against perpetrators, their activities must meet the criteria of “severe form of trafficking in persons,” which is “sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age.”

In the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime “trafficking in persons” is defined as follows:

men's selection criteria for purchasing a sex act, which will be discussed in detail later in the report, there may be some indications that a victim of trafficking is preferred, but whether or not the woman or child is being compelled to engage in prostitution seems to be irrelevant to men when they purchase sex acts.

Therefore, in researching the demand for commercial sex acts, is it not possible to distinguish between men's demand for victims of sex trafficking from men's demand for commercial sex acts.⁷

Prostitution is the activity through which men purchase sex acts. It occurs at the community level. Consequently, this report discusses prostitution and men's behavior and attitudes towards purchasing sex acts. It is not known if the women involved meet the criteria to be considered victims of trafficking or not. Specific types of evidence are important for determining who is a victim of trafficking according to anti-trafficking law, it is irrelevant when researching and writing about the demand side of sex trafficking.

The Impact of Prostitution on Women, Children, and Community

This report is about the demand side of prostitution, but first a brief note about the women in prostitution and the impact of prostitution on the community.

In contrast to many myths and misconceptions about prostitutes, women do not want to be in prostitution. A 1998 study on the sex industries in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand found that 96 percent of those interviewed would leave prostitution if they could.⁸ A nine-country (Canada, Columbia, Germany, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, United States, and Zambia) study of 854 individuals in prostitution found that 89 percent of

(a) 'Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, or abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments of benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used.

⁷ For purposes of this report, the term "commercial sex act" will mean any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by traffickers, exploiters or purchasers, either directly or indirectly, for sexual acts or practices performed by victims of commercial sex acts.

⁸ Lim, L. L (ed) 1998. *The Sex Sector: The economic and social bases of prostitution in Southeast Asia*. International Labor Organization, Geneva.

them wanted to escape prostitution.⁹ A 1995 study of women in prostitution in San Francisco reported that 88 percent of 130 women interviewed wanted to get out of prostitution.¹⁰ These research findings overwhelmingly demonstrate that women on every continent want to be free of prostitution.

Many professionals who have contact with women in prostitution recognize their inability to leave. In one study, 76 percent of law enforcement officials and 71 percent of social service providers who were interviewed said that some women in prostitution are held captive and are not free to leave.¹¹

Women's inability to escape prostitution leads many of them to self-destructive behaviors. A health study in Minnesota found that 46 percent of the women in prostitution had attempted suicide, and 19 percent had tried to physically harm themselves in other ways, such as cutting themselves.¹² The Council for Prostitution Alternatives in Portland, Oregon found that 65 percent of prostituted women had seriously attempted suicide, and 38 percent had attempted it more than once. Public hospital records show that 15 percent of all suicide victims are prostitutes.¹³ There is a limited amount of research on this aspect of the harmful nature of prostitution and some of the studies are dated. This indicates a need for more research in this area.

Society bears the cost of prostitution, as well. Prostitution hurts the community, particularly, the neighborhoods where there is street prostitution. The streets are left littered with condom wrappers, used condoms, soiled tissues, used syringes, and other unhygienic and unsightly garbage. Men looking for prostitutes often accost women who live in the area. Sex acts are performed in places where they are visible to children and people living nearby. Parents become afraid to let children go outside by themselves. Local streets become markets where men drive by looking for women to proposition. Certain neighborhoods and streets acquire a reputation as places where prostitution markets operate.

Because of the violence, disease, and addiction associated with prostitution, the community also bears the cost of medical treatment and support for victims. For example, in San Francisco, prostitutes are one of the heaviest uninsured users of emergency rooms and health

⁹ Farley, M., Alvarez, D., Zumbek, S., Sezgin, U., Lynne, J., Gonzales, K., Spiwak, F., DuPlessis, A., DuPlessis, J., Kiremire, M, Cotton, A. and, Baral, I. "Prostitution and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Update from Nine Countries," *Journal of Trauma Practice*, Vol. 2, Numbers 3/4, 2003, pp. 33-74 .

¹⁰ Norma Hotaling, "What Happens to Women in Prostitution in the United States," In: *Making the Harm Visible: Global Sexual Exploitation of Women and Girls – Speaking Out and Providing Services*, Donna M. Hughes and Claire Roche (editors), The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, 1999, p. 245.

¹¹ Janice G. Raymond, Donna M. Hughes, and Carol J. Gomez. *Sex Trafficking of Women in the United States*, The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, March 2001.

¹² Ruth Parriott, "Health Experience of Twin Cities Women Used in Prostitution: Survey Findings and Recommendations, May 1994.

¹³ Nancy Erbe, "Prostitutes: Victims of Men's Exploitation and Abuse," *Law and Inequality*, Vol. 2, No. 2, August 1984, p. 623.

clinics. In the late 1990s, the 200 heaviest users of the health care system cost the city \$25 million a year. Of that number, 40 were prostitutes. Their care cost the city as estimated \$5 million a year.¹⁴

Prostitution is not a victimless crime for the women trapped in it who want to leave or for the community. There is compelling evidence that more efforts are needed to abolish sex trafficking and the harmful activities that keep traffickers in business.

Research on Men Who Purchase Sex Acts

Men who purchase sex acts have for the most part remained invisible and anonymous in the universal consciousness on prostitution. They are “faceless and nameless.”¹⁵ When the topic of prostitution arises, the focus is usually on the women, and their participation in prostitution is the focus of analyses and debates. Women’s behavior is often considered to be the sole cause of prostitution. Their imagined experiences and motivations are represented in countless novels and movies. The new focus on the demand requires that we consider men’s responsibility for the existence and continuation of prostitution, and how they create the demand for women and children to be used in prostitution.

This section of the report will summarize what is known about men’s choice to buy a sex acts and their behavior towards the women and children they purchase for a limited time.

How Many Men Purchase Sex Acts?

There is little research on how many men or what percentage of the male population purchase sex acts. It is difficult to compare statistics from one country to another or from one survey to the next because of different methods used to collect data and different definitions used. The few studies that are available indicate that the percentage of men who purchase sex acts varies widely among countries and cultures. A summary of findings on this topic indicates that in Europe the percentage of men who purchase sex acts varies from a low of 7 percent in Great Britain to a high of 39 percent in Spain (Other percentages by country: Finland, 13%; Norway, 11%; Sweden, 13%; Netherlands, 14%; Switzerland, 19%; and Russia, 10%).¹⁶ The percentage of men who purchase sex acts appears to be higher in Asian

¹⁴ This calculation was based on \$500-\$1500 per emergency room visit and \$500-\$1300/day per hospital admission. Public health costs for each uninsured person contracting HIV exceeded \$150,000 from infection through death, and 20-30 percent of prostitutes are HIV infected. In addition, the average woman in prostitution has two children. If she cannot care for them due to incarceration, illness, or addiction, foster care placement costs range from \$450-\$1400 a month per child.(First Offender Prostitution Program, Application for Innovations in American Government 1998 Awards Program, Semi-finalist Application, April 10, 1998).

¹⁵ Cecilie Høigård and Liv Finstad, *Backstreets: Prostitution, Money and Love*, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986, p. 25.

¹⁶ Sven-Axel Månsson, “Men’s practices in prostitution and their implications for social work.” In: *Social Work in Cuba and Sweden: Achievements and Prospects* (Sven-Axel Månsson and Clotilde Proveyer, eds):

countries, with reports of 37 percent in Japan and 73 percent in Thailand.¹⁷ In the United States, a national health study found that 16 percent of men had ever purchased a sex act, but only .6 percent of men did so on a regular basis.¹⁸

A recent pilot study interviewed men, some of whom had experience with purchasing sex acts, in Denmark, Thailand, India, and Italy. They found significant cross—national differences with regard to the extent and nature of social acceptance for men to buy sex. For example, Danish men said they never experienced social pressure to buy sex, and disagreed with the idea that purchasing sex was a mark of virility or masculinity. In contrast, the Thai men said that purchasing sex acts was a normal masculine behavior.

More research is needed to determine the approximate number and proportion of men in different countries who purchase sex acts, with a special focus on cultural differences on acceptance of purchasing sex acts. Research is also needed on what deters men from purchasing sex acts. For example, fewer men in the United States seem to purchase sex acts with less frequency than in other countries. Can this be attributed to the criminalization of soliciting sex acts? The role of law in setting social norms needs to be explored.

Is There a Demand for Trafficked Women?

An International Organization for Migration (IOM) study has attempted to determine if there is a demand for identifiably trafficked women. The researchers start with problems of definition, saying that the lack of universal definitions of terms such as “sexual exploitation” and “exploitation of the prostitution of others,” make it “virtually impossible to specify who has or has not been trafficked into the commercial sex trade.”¹⁹ In addressing a demand for trafficked women for use in prostitution, they conclude:

“[Q]uestions about the demand for a ‘trafficked’ person’s labour/services are analytically and temporally inseparable from the more general questions about the demand for the labour /services of all those who are unable to freely retract from an exploitative situation because they are tied to their exploiter through some form of non-economic compulsion.”²⁰

Given definitional limitations, the researchers proceed in addressing whether the purchasers of sex acts create a demand for trafficked women. They used semi-structured interviews with

Department of Social Work, Göteborg University & Department of Sociology, University of Havana (forthcoming 2004).

¹⁷ Bridget Anderson and Julia O’Connell Davidson, “Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven? A Multi-Country Pilot Study,” International Organization for Migration, December 2003.

¹⁸ Martin Monto, “Focusing on the Clients of Street Prostitutes: A Creative Approach to Reducing Violence Against Women – Summary Report,” Submitted to the National Institute of Justice, October 30, 1999, citing the National Health and Life Survey, 1992.

¹⁹ Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, December 2003, p. 7.

²⁰ B Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, December 2003, p. 9.

men, some of whom had experience with purchasing sex acts in Denmark, Thailand, India, and Italy. They considered men's preferences in choosing a prostitute to determine if the woman or child was a victim of trafficking.

The researchers found that men from India, Italy, Thailand, and Japan looked for "youthful" women. Over 75 percent of men interviewed said they had a preference for women under age 25, and 22 percent said they preferred girls under age 18. Swedish men were the only ones that expressed no interest in girls under age 18, although 57 percent of them said they liked women aged 19 to 25. The men who said they preferred to have sex with girls under 18 imagined that the girls would be capable of consent and not harmed by the sex acts..²¹

Different countries have different ages of consent, but by universal standards, 18 is the age of consent for girls for sexual activity. Anti-trafficking laws consider anyone under the age of 18 being used for commercial sex to be victim of trafficking. An almost universal preference among men for young women leads many men to purchase sex acts from underage girls, whether intentional or not.

Approximately 50 percent of the men interviewed said they had purchased sex acts from foreign prostitutes. About a third of the men surveyed believed that foreign women were "cheaper and more malleable than local women."²² Some men saw dark-skinned prostitutes as cheaper, less desirable, and more likely to have been forced into prostitution. In Thailand, 42 percent of men said they preferred "light-skinned" women. Most men of all nationalities preferred to purchase sex acts from someone who spoke their language.

The study found that men, who knowingly purchased sex from trafficked women, did not perceive consent as an issue for women in prostitution. They viewed all women and girls in prostitution as objects or commodities over which they had temporary powers of possession after they paid their money.²³ Some men indicated that purchasing sex from someone forced into prostitution gave them the advantage of being able to control them. Two Indian men thought they might receive better treatment from women forced into prostitution because the women would be "isolated and unhappy" and might turn to them for support and care. Other men said they did not want to have sex with someone forced into prostitution because it was "a sexual turn-off." Even though some men said they did not like the idea of purchasing sex from a woman who was not fully consenting, they admitted that they may have done so because they were drunk or could not afford the more expensive prostitutes they imagined were more likely to be consenting. The researchers pointed out that the men have stereotypes, of what they think a victim looks like that are based on race, skin color, ethnicity, and cost of the sex act.

This study begins to look at cultural differences among men and their behavior in purchasing sex acts, including the desirability of different attributes of foreign women, but they conclude

²¹ Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, December 2003, p. 19.

²² Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, December 2003, p. 21.

²³ Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, December 2003, p. 24.

by recommending against government policies to reduce men's behavior. Instead, they recommend regulation of prostitution as a labor market segment.²⁴

There is a group of men who seek women who are likely to be victims of trafficking. According to Joe Parker, Clinical Director, Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation, an agency that assists women to escape prostitution, these men seek victims for sadistic sex acts, which entail acts of violence and requires that victims be forced into these situations.²⁵ There are also reports from Asian countries, particularly Cambodia, of the sale of virgin girls to men who can afford them.^{26 27} These types of activities would constitute a demand for trafficked victims.

Behaviors and Attitudes of Purchasers of Sex Acts

Men who purchase sex acts are all ages and come from all socioeconomic levels, all occupations categories, and ethnic/racial groups.²⁸ Their behavior to buy a sex act is a choice. In contrast to many of the women and girls' experience in prostitution or trafficking, for men, purchasing a sex act is a choice and voluntary behavior.²⁹

This section of the report will describe the behavior and attitudes of men who purchase sex acts based on research findings. Most of the information is based on surveys of and interviews with men who have been arrested for soliciting commercial sex acts or who self-report that they purchase sex acts. Over the past decade, programs for men arrested for soliciting commercial sex acts have created samples of men who could be surveyed about their attitudes and behaviors.

There is one behavior of men that is rarely covered in surveys and rarely reported by men: acts of violence against prostitutes. Men do not usually voluntarily admit to committing violent crimes. One research study on men convicted of soliciting prostitutes who were court ordered to attend a psychoeducational program found that 38 percent of them admitted that they had "previously committed other illegal sexual acts, but had not been caught or convicted." The survey did not ask about the nature of the illegal sex acts.³⁰ Most researchers do not ask the men questions about violent behavior, instead they ask questions that are more

²⁴ Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, December 2003, p. 43-47.

²⁵ Interview, Joe Parker, Lola Greene Foundation, Portland, Oregon.

²⁶ Joe Cochrane, "Virgins for sale to AIDS-wary men," *Australasian Business Intelligence*, November 10, 1999.

²⁷ "Child prostitutes make tearful plea," *Hong Kong Standard*, 30 November 1998.

²⁸ M. Alexis Kennedy, Boris B. Gorzalka, John C. Yuille, "Men Who Solicit Prostitutes: A Demographic Profile of Participants in the Prostitution Offender Program of British Columbia," Prepared for the Vancouver Police Department and the John Howard Society of Lower Mainland, February 2004.

²⁹ The exception might be teenage boys who are taken to prostitutes by friends or relatives for a "first time" experience.

³⁰ Steven Sawyer, B. R. Simon Rosser, and Audrey Schroeder, "A Brief Psychoeducational Program for Men Who Patronize Prostitutes," *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, Vol. 26 (3/4), 1998, pp. 111-125.

sympathetic to men's motivations and decision to purchase sex acts. In order to cover the full range of men's behavior when they purchase sex acts, this section of the report will include findings on violence against women in prostitution as reported by the women and children.

Women's Reports of Men's Violence

Women and children in prostitution are subjected to high rates of violence and abuse from the men who pay them for sex acts. In some men's minds, the act of paying money entitles them to do whatever they want to a woman or child. In one study, two-thirds of women (foreign and U.S. citizens) in prostitution, some of whom were trafficked, said that once a man paid money she was expected to comply with everything the purchaser wanted. If they complained or resisted, the men would reprimand or punish them.³¹ Women are rarely protected from violent men, even when they are indoors in a brothel. One woman said, "The only time they protect anyone is to protect the customers. For instance they only put in the surveillance camera after a customer was killed."³²

Research findings from the last 25 years have consistently documented the high incidence of battery and sexual assault against women in prostitution by the men who buy them. "Certain customers commit some of society's most vile crimes through their abuse of prostitutes."³³

In the early 1980s, a study of 200 women and girls in street prostitution, most of whom were minors (70% were under 21, almost 60% were 16 or under, and numbers were 10 and 11 years old), in the San Francisco area found that 70 percent of them had been raped or sexually assaulted by a man an average of 31 times, and 65 percent of them had been physically abused or beaten by men an average of 4 times. According to the women and girls perceptions of why men beat or raped them: 40 percent said the men "got off on it, enjoyed it, and thought it was part of sex;" 32 percent said it was because the men couldn't or didn't want to pay the money promised; and 16 percent said it was because the men hated prostitutes or hated women in general. Forty-six percent said the beatings were arbitrary – "no specific reason, just crazy, that's how they are" – and eight percent said they did not know the reason. More than 75 percent of the victims said there was nothing they could do about the men's abuse.³⁴

The Oral History Project by WHISPER (Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt) in Minneapolis, Minnesota found that 74 percent of the women interviewed had been assaulted while in prostitution, of which 79 percent were beaten by a customer. Fifty percent had been raped, and 71 percent had been victims of multiple customer assaults.³⁵

³¹ Raymond, Hughes, and Gomez, March 2001, p.73.

³² Raymond, Hughes, and Gomez, March 2001, p. 74.

³³ Erbe, August 1984, p. 610.

³⁴ Mimi H. Silbert and Ayala M. Pines, "Occupational Hazards of Street Prostitutes," *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, Vol. 8, No. 4, December 1981, pp. 395-399.

³⁵ WHISPER, Oral History Project Minneapolis, 1990.

In the early 1990s, the Council for Prostitution Alternatives in Portland, Oregon collected data on violence against women from 55 victim/survivors of prostitution. They found that 81 percent of women in the program had been victims of aggravated assault - "horribly beaten" - by men an average of 45 times per year. Seventy-eight percent had been victims of rape by "johns" an average of 33 times per year. Forty-three percent of the women had been physically abused or tortured by men an average of five times per year. Forty-seven percent of women had been victims of kidnapping/abduction by men an average of five times per year.³⁶

In 1990, the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault reported that 57 percent of women in prostitution are victims of kidnapping, mostly by men who solicited them for sex acts.³⁷

A study on the health of 73 women in prostitution in Minnesota found that a "john" had physically assaulted half of the women. Twenty-three percent of those assaulted were beaten severely enough to have suffered a broken bone. Sixty-two percent of the women had been raped.³⁸

A study of street prostitution and crack cocaine, found that 94 percent of those in street prostitution had been victims of sexual assault and 75 percent of them had been raped by one of more men.³⁹

In the mid-1990s, another study of 130 prostitutes in San Francisco found that 55 percent were assaulted by men. Forty-six percent of those who reported rapes said that they had been raped by men who solicited them for sex acts. Forty-nine percent reported that pornography was made of them in prostitution; and 32 percent had been upset by an attempt to make them do what men had seen in pornography.⁴⁰

In an international study of 475 people (including women, men and transgendered) in prostitution in South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, USA, Zambia, 55 to 82 percent of them reported being physically assaulted, 50 to 78 percent reported being raped, and 35 to 58 percent reported being raped more than five times. Of those who were raped, 17 to 75 percent

³⁶ Susan Kay Hunter, "Prostitution is Cruelty and Abuse to Women and Children," Council for Prostitution Alternatives Newsletter, 1994.

³⁷ National Coalition Against Sexual Assault, *National Coalition Against Sexual Assault Newsletter* (Fall/Winter 1990), 12.

³⁸ Ruth Parriott, "Health Experience of Twin Cities Women Used in Prostitution: Survey Findings and Recommendations, May 1994.

³⁹ Miller, J. (1995) Gender and Power on the Streets: Street Prostitution in the Era of Crack Cocaine. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 23(4): 427-452.

⁴⁰ Melissa Farley and Howard Barkan, "Prostitution, Violence Against Women, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder," *Women and Health*, 27 (3): 37-49. 1998.

reported being raped by a purchaser of a sex act. Forty-one percent of those interviewed said they were upset by men's attempts to coerce them into imitating pornography.⁴¹

A study of 40 U.S. and foreign women in the sex industry in the U.S., found that 64 percent of them were victims of physical violence, with some of the injuries were so severe the women were permanently disabled. Sixty-two percent were victims of sexual assault, including 33 percent who said they were subjected to sadistic sex acts. Forty-four percent of them had a weapon used against them.⁴²

In 2002, the Center for Impact Research in Chicago published a study of 222 women representing various segments of the prostitution industry in Chicago. About three-fourths of the women in prostitution in drug houses had been forced to have oral, anal, or vaginal sex. Eighty-six percent of women on the street had been slapped, 70 percent punched, and almost 80 percent threatened with a weapon at least one time. Purchasers of sex acts also victimized women in off-street prostitution venues. In escort services, half of the women had been raped. Exotic dancers were subjected to violence, including being threatened with a weapon or threatened with rape. Their clothes were ripped, and they were slapped, grabbed, and had objects thrown at them. Women working out of their own residences were also victims of frequent violence: 21 percent had been raped 10 or more times. Purchasers of sex acts were the most frequent perpetrators of violence across all types of prostitution. Men were responsible for 62 -100 percent of the different, multiple acts of violence against women in street prostitution, 30-100 percent of the different, multiple acts of violence against women in exotic dancing, and almost all were acts of sexual violence.⁴³

It is not known what proportion of men who purchase sex acts commits acts of violence against women and children. It is likely that a minority of the men commit most of the acts of violence. Prostitutes are considered to be population that can be violated with impunity, and violent perpetrators seek them out knowing they are unlikely to be apprehended.

All research findings conclude that men who purchase commercial sex acts are not a homogenous group of men. They have a range of motives, behaviors, and attitudes about prostitution.

Age of Men When They First Purchased a Sex Act

The age at which men first purchased a sex act varies widely, but for most, they were young men. Based on a sample of men arrested for soliciting a prostitute, the average age when they first purchased a sex act was 24 (with a median of 21); the range was from nine to 62.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Melissa Farley, Isin Baral, Merab Kiremire and Ufuk Sezgin, "Prostitution in Five Countries: Violence and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," *Feminism and Psychology*, 1998, Volume 8 (4): 405-426.

⁴² Raymond, Hughes, and Gomez, March 2001, p.75.

⁴³ Jody Raphael and Deborah L. Shapiro, "Sisters Speak Out: The Lives and Needs of Prostitutes Women in Chicago: A Research Study," Center for Impact Research, August 2002

⁴⁴ Martin A. Monto, "Focusing on the Clients of Street Prostitutes: A Creative Approach to Reducing Violence Against Women – Summary Report," Report submitted to National Institute of Justice, October 30, 1999.

Another survey found the range of when men first purchased a sex act to be from 12 to 57, with an average of 27.⁴⁵ These findings were typical for all the surveys of men arrested for soliciting a sex act in the United States and Canada.

A Norwegian study interviewed sailors who had purchased sex acts. All of them reported that they had purchased sex for the first time when they were teenagers. For the most part, they copied older men's behavior. For them, engaging in sex with a prostitute was a ritual and passage into manhood that the older men arranged for the young sailors.⁴⁶ A noted minority said that they did not want to participate, but were forced into it by the older men. One man said:

“I resisted the best I could, but what’s a 16-year-old out on his first voyage compared to a couple of real sailors, a husky officer and a few other guys who’d decided. They followed me to the door, and they told the woman to make sure that I wasn’t a virgin when I came out again. I would call it rape, well, to the extent that you can call it that when it’s a boy. When I came out afterwards the guys were standing there clapping, what I really wanted to do was to throw up.”

It is not known how the age at which a man first purchases a sex act influences his subsequent behavior. Nor is the impact on men and boys of being forced into a commercial sex act known.

Frequency of Purchasing Sex Acts

Among men arrested for soliciting or who self-report that they purchase sex acts, there is a considerable range on how often men purchase sex acts. There are indications from research findings that a subgroup of men, who are “hard core, habitual” users, may account for a disproportionately high percentage of the demand for commercial sex acts.

A Norwegian study of 74 men who had purchased sex acts found that only 10 percent of them had done so three or fewer times. Over 50 percent of them had purchased sex acts between 20 and 50 times, and over 33 percent had purchased sex acts more than 50 times.⁴⁷ Research on men from the First Offender Prostitution Program in San Francisco had similar findings: habitual buyers accounted for a disproportional share of the demand for prostitution. More than 33 percent of the men had purchased sex five or more times, and approximately ten percent of men had purchased sex between four and 15 times in the previous year. Another U.S. based survey found that 22 percent of men had purchased sex up to four times, 19 percent between 5 and 10 times, 14 percent between 11 and 25 times, and 11 percent more than 100 times.⁴⁸

Sven-Axel Månsson in Sweden compared what he called “occasional buyers” – “men who buy sex on a few occasions during their whole life course” and “habitual buyers.” He

⁴⁵ Kennedy, Gorzalka, Yuille, February 2004.

⁴⁶ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 29.

⁴⁷ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

concluded that the occasional buyers were most sensitive to legal measures, meaning they were more likely to respect a law against purchasing sex acts. They were more worried about public prosecution; therefore, legal measures probably have a more discouraging effect on their behavior. The habitual buyers were relatively few in number, but accounted for a large number of prostitute contacts. Månsson described them as “deeply troubled,” and suffering from heavy sexual dependency problems, excessive involvement in prostitution and pornography that led to financial, occupational, relationship, and personal difficulties. They only related to women in sexualized ways, and projected their own psychological problems on to the women. They were more likely to use excessive violence to humiliate and degrade prostitutes. Månsson concluded that this group would not be sensitive to legal measures, and they would continue their behavior regardless of the law.⁴⁹

The Norwegian researchers concluded that it was the “habitual buyers” who sustained the “buyer side” of the sex trade.⁵⁰ These conclusions indicate that intervention strategies directed at habitual purchasers would significantly reduce the number of sex acts purchased.

Men’s Motives for Purchasing Sex Acts

A frequent assumption about why men purchase sex acts is that they are single, lonely or have an unsatisfactory sexual relationship with their partner. Research findings from surveys and interviews of men who purchase sex act indicate that this may be an incorrect assumption for many men.

The majority of men surveyed or interviewed in the studies reviewed were married or had a steady partner (57%,⁵¹ 59%,⁵² 70%⁵³). In these studies, at least half of the men had families. A survey of 495 men arrested for soliciting in Vancouver, Canada, found that 53 percent of the men had children, and of those who did not currently have children, 85 percent said they planned to in the future.⁵⁴

According to a U.S. study, 80 percent of the men who had been caught soliciting a sex act said that their marriage or steady relationship was sexually satisfying.⁵⁵ Norwegian researchers found two different types of married men who purchased sex acts. The first were relatively young and had not been married very long. They said they were content and pleased with themselves and their married life and sex with their wives, but wanted more variety and excitement. The expressed “few scruples” about their behavior. They wanted

⁴⁹ Månsson, (forthcoming 2004)

⁵⁰ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 28.

⁵¹ Kennedy, Gorzalka, Yuille, February 2004.

⁵² Steven Sawyer, Michael E. Metz, Jeffrey D. Hinds, and Robert A. Brucker, “Attitudes Towards Prostitution Among Males: A ‘Consumers’ Report,” *Current Psychology: Developmental, Learning, Personality, Social*, Winter 2001-02, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp 363-376.

⁵³ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

⁵⁴ Kennedy, Gorzalka, Yuille, February 2004.

⁵⁵ Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, and. Brucker, Winter 2001-02, pp 363-376.

particular sex acts that they felt could only be purchased. The other group of married men was older. They had little sexual experience before marriage. Sexual activity and intimacy had begun to decrease in their marriage and they sought to replace it by buying sex acts.⁵⁶

A Swedish study found that “the experience of paying for sex is greatest among men with a lot of sexual partners.”⁵⁷ A U.S. study made similar findings: Men who purchased sex acts were more likely than men who didn’t purchase sex acts to report that they had more than one sexual partner over the past year (56 percent as compared to 19 percent).⁵⁸

These finding indicates that many men who purchase sex acts do not fit the stereotype of the lonely, sexually dissatisfied man. Nor are the majority of the men satisfied from buying a sex act. Although men sought out prostitutes, often repeatedly, a significant portion of the men said they were dissatisfied with the experience and wanted to stop. In one study, only a third of men surveyed said they enjoyed sex with prostitutes, and 57 percent of them said they had tried to stop going to prostitutes.⁵⁹ In a later analysis, the U.S. researchers categorized men who had been caught soliciting into subtypes based on their motivations and attitudes towards seeking sex with prostitutes. Below are the four subgroups:⁶⁰

Negative Compulsive Type	Men who say they do not enjoy sex with prostitutes, but go anyway
Positive Compulsive Type	Men who say that they enjoy sex with a prostitute, but have attempted to stop going
Positive Accepting Type	Men who say they enjoy sex with prostitutes, do not try to stop, support legalization of prostitution
Socially Inadequate Type	Men who exhibit characteristics of shyness, social discomfort, and introversion

Norwegian researchers identified a group of men in their research similar to the “socially inadequate type.” They said they were mostly single men who had trouble establishing lasting relationships with women. They are characterized by “distance, anxiety, and

⁵⁶ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 33.

⁵⁷ Månsson, Sven-Axel. (1998) “Commercial sexuality.” In: B. Lewin (ed.), *Sex in Sweden: On the Swedish Sexual Life*, Stockholm: The National Institute of Public Health.

⁵⁸ Monto, M.A. “Why men seek out prostitutes.” In: R. Weitzer (ed.), *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*, London: Routledge, 2000.

⁵⁹ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

⁶⁰ Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, and Brucker, Winter 2001-02, pp 363-376.

helplessness toward women.” Purchasing sex was a way to avoid women’s expectations and “confrontations with their own inadequacies or failures.”⁶¹

One set of researchers concluded that men were not soliciting prostitutes to meet their needs for intimacy, but for other reasons.⁶² According to Sven-Axel Månsson in Sweden, men use prostitutes as a “solution to problems that men have in their relations with non-prostitute women.”⁶³ Norwegian researchers who interviewed men who purchased sex acts found that sailors often found women to do domestic chores for them as well as provide sex while they were in one port. After interviewing these men, the researchers concluded that there are things the men are longing for, but they resolved the needs through sexual means: “Their needs are sexualized.”⁶⁴

In one study, 65 percent of men said that someone close to them, such as a wife, girlfriend, family member, or friend, knew that they purchased sex acts, yet 71 percent of them said that no one had ever expressed concern about their behavior.⁶⁵

It appears a significant proportion of the men is troubled by their behavior. This may indicate that these men are amenable to change.

Analysis of Men’s Motivations, Attitudes, and Behavior

Not surprising, the more often men purchased sex acts the more likely they were to accept the idea that sex is a commodity.⁶⁶ In addition, the more they thought that sex was a legitimate commodity; the more they had attitudes that justified violence against women. They conveyed their attitudes in supporting violence against women by indicating that they agreed with rape myths (thinking that women are responsible for rapes, invite rape, and are not hurt by rape), were attracted to violent sexuality, and refused to use condoms for commercial sex acts. The researchers concluded that a commodified view of sexuality could be related to lack of respect for and violence against prostitutes.⁶⁷ This finding also indicates that frequent or habitual buyers of sex acts may also be the ones committing acts of violence.

Psychological testing of 140 men arrested for soliciting a prostitute found that about one third of the men had significant psychopathology.⁶⁸ These men held conflicting attitudes towards prostitution and had internal conflicts about their behavior.⁶⁹ (See Appendix A for survey

⁶¹ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 31.

⁶² Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

⁶³ Månsson, (forthcoming, 2004)

⁶⁴ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 30.

⁶⁵ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

⁶⁶ Monto, October 30, 1999.

⁶⁷ Monto, October 30, 1999.

⁶⁸ Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, and Brucker, Winter 2001-02, pp 363-376.

⁶⁹ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

questions and men's responses.) The same group of men held false beliefs, referred to as cognitive distortions, about prostitutes and prostitution, such as: "Prostitutes enjoy their work," "Prostitutes make a lot of money," and "Women are prostitutes because they want to be. It is their choice." The researchers concluded that men may cling to these beliefs as a way to justify their behavior to themselves.⁷⁰ It also suggests an educational remedy for changing the behavior of men. A number of these men may be willing to change their behavior if their ideas about prostitution are challenged and debunked.

A study of the views of 1,342 men arrested for soliciting a woman for prostitution on the street found eight significant conceptual groupings in their attitudes⁷¹ (See Appendix B for attitude and behavior items):

- 1) Beliefs that prostitution is not wrong, does not hurt anyone, and should be legalized,
- 2) Narcissistic (self-centered) views of sexual relationships,
- 3) Belief that prostitution is a rewarding choice of women,
- 4) Aversion to traditional relationships with women,
- 5) Feelings of inadequacies with women,
- 6) Belief that women are responsible for violence against women,
- 7) Enjoyment of sexual violence, and
- 8) Use of threats and violent physical behavior to gain sex.

Three of the groupings (6, 7, and 8) are associated with sexual aggression and men's use of power and control over women. The authors of this study state that the men who perpetrate violence against prostitutes are probably only a minority of men who purchase sex acts.⁷²

Several researchers who have conducted in-depth interviews with men who purchase sex acts have put forth analyses that explain men's motivations and behaviors. They emphasized that men who purchase sex acts are a heterogeneous group. Each subgroup of men has a different profile, motivations, and behaviors that are important to understand in order to design different therapeutic and criminal justices responses.⁷³

Sven-Axel Månsson, a Swedish academic researcher, has conducted a number of studies on men's motives and demand for commercial sex acts. His goal is to understand men's role in

⁷⁰ Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, and Brucker, Winter 2001-02, pp 363-376.

⁷¹ I have reworded some of the category names for clarity of meaning.

⁷² Noel Bridget Busch, Holly Bell, Norma Hotaling, and Martin A. Monto. "Male customers of prostituted women: Exploring perceptions of entitlement to power and control and implications for violent behavior toward women," *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 8, No. 9, September 2002, pp. 1093-1112.

⁷³ Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, and Brucker, Winter 2001-02, pp 363-376.

prostitution. Based on analyzing in-depth interviews with men, he identified five major narrative themes used by men to explain their behavior.

The dirty whore fantasy	Man is aroused by feelings of contempt for the woman
Another kind of sex	Man purchases a sex act that his regular partner will not perform or he feels is inappropriate to ask of her
No other woman	Man says he is shy, fearful of women; has an unattractive appearance or mental disability that makes him unable to establish a normal relationship
Shopping for sex	Man sees sex as a consumer product to be evaluated and purchased
Another kind of woman	Man wants a non-feminist woman with a true, natural femininity

Månsson points out that none of these explanations is about men's physical need, but about his emotional need and the meaning he attaches to the commercial sex act.⁷⁴ "The actual content of the visit to the prostitute is of less importance than the meaning it has in the man's fantasy."⁷⁵

A few researchers and therapists are looking at the connections between purchasing sex acts and using pornography. One researcher found that men who purchased sex acts are twice as likely to have watched pornography in the past year than those from a random national sample of men.⁷⁶

In the U.S., there are 12-step groups and faith-based treatment programs for men with sexual addictions. These programs address a range of sexual behaviors that have become problems in men's lives, but most focus on their use of or addiction to pornography, particularly Internet pornography. Clay Allen, the President of Avenue, a U.S. Christian ministry for people healing from sexual sin, says that in his experience use of pornography always proceeds men's use of prostitutes. He explains that when men start using pornography, they enter into a cycle of learning, desensitization, escalation, and finally actualization where they act out rituals, such as purchasing sex acts. The acting out is ultimately not satisfying, and after a period of time, the man repeats the cycle of behavior. The financial, as well as the emotional, cost of maintaining this cycle can be high. One researcher found that 38 percent of men enrolled in a psychoeducational program for convicted offenders had spent more than

⁷⁴ Winick, C. (1962) "Prostitutes' clients' perception of the prostitute and of themselves," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, vol 8, no. 4.

⁷⁵ Månsson, (forthcoming 2004)

⁷⁶ Monto, October 30, 1999.

\$5000 on buying sex or pornography.⁷⁷ It is only when the cycle of behavior is disrupted that men can begin to recover from their addiction.

A lot of research on men who purchase sex acts is rather sympathetic to the men, focusing mainly on their self-reports of loneliness, or a need for change, variety, or excitement. Two men who research and write about men's demand for prostitution have more critical views of men's behavior and motivations.

Joe Parker, the Clinical Director at the Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation in Portland has a more critical view and analysis of men's behavior. He says that most of the men he sees in the john school in Portland, Oregon are married, have children, and have "a life." He believes the core motivation of men who purchase sex acts is that they do not, and do not want to, respect women; they want control.⁷⁸

*"Some people do not want real relationships, or feel entitled to something beyond the real relationships they have. ...Some people do not want an equal, sharing relationship. They do not want to be nice. They do not want to ask. They like the power involved in buying a human being who can be made to do almost anything."*⁷⁹

He says these men do not want to have an extramarital affair with a woman because that would require them to be nice to the woman. They want to have sex on demand in which they do not have to be nice.

Research by Steve Grubman Black uncovers some of the darker, more violent, motivations of men who purchase sex acts.⁸⁰ He interviewed 92 men, aged 22 to 65, who self-identified as purchasers of sex acts. Generally, they believed that searching for and soliciting women for sex is a normal and natural behavior for men. A number of the men had been taken to a prostitute when they were younger by their father, an uncle, or other adult male identify figure. This first sexual experience made a lasting impression on them and established in their minds that women are second-class citizens that can be bought and used in this way. The following is his categorization of men's motivations for purchasing sex acts.

Lonely, shy, awkward

Men lack interest or ability to establish an intimate, long-term relationship with a woman. Sex for them is secretive and shameful, yet necessary

Wanting sex acts not able to have with

Men who want oral sex, anal sex, or a

⁷⁷ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

⁷⁸ Joe Parker, Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation, Portland, Oregon, March 23, 2004.

⁷⁹ Joe Parker, "How Prostitution Works," Lola Green Baldwin Foundation, Portland, Oregon, http://www.prostitutionrecovery.org/how_prostitution_works.html

⁸⁰ Steve Grubman Black, "Deconstructing John," Demand Dynamics Conference, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, October 16, 2003.

primary partner	threesome. They want to experiment.
Thrill of the hunt, including cruising and surfing	Men who are sexually excited by the search for a woman. They like the power of selecting a woman, and imagine disappointing the women they don't select.
Changing the rules	Men who force women to do sex acts they hadn't agreed on, keep her beyond the allotted time, hold her against her will.
Roughing her up	Angry, misogynist men who physically and sexually assault prostitutes, particularly when they discover that the "woman" is a man or transsexual. Refer to women and sex acts in degrading terms.
Ultimate control	Men who enjoy power and control. Believe they own the woman and can do whatever they want to her while she is with them.

The research by Grubman Black reveals the more violent attitudes and behaviors of men who purchase sex acts. He used a more confrontation interviewing style that uncovered more of men's aggressive attitudes and violent behaviors towards women. The profile of the men who fit into over half of his categories seem most capable of committing the many acts of physical and sexual violence that the women describe. Grubman Black's research is less sympathetic to the men, their motivations, and behaviors, and consequently, he identifies men's hostile attitudes towards women, their sense of entitlement, their callous indifference to others, and their self-serving excuses. He concludes:

*"A John is a man who believes he is entitled by virtue of his gender and money to have sex on demand. Whether he is shy or not, whether he calls her a girlfriend or a whore, and whether or not he abides by some set of rules or limits, he believes he can buy for sexual use a woman's body."*⁸¹

Clearly, men who purchase sex acts are a heterogeneous group with subgroups who have different motivations for purchasing sex acts. Some of these findings challenge society's assumptions of why men purchase sex acts. A better understanding of men's motivations to seek out prostitutes will provide a basis for a better criminal justice response, treatment, and rehabilitation.

⁸¹ Grubman Black, October 16, 2003.

Men's Motivation to Buy Sex Acts from Children and Adolescents

A few researchers and advocates have focused on the attitudes and motivations of men who seek out children for commercial sex acts. Although there are different national standards, according to universal standards, when a man engages in sex with a child under the age of 18, he is committing an act of sexual abuse, whether or not it is a commercial sex act. Men who sexually abuse children make a decision to commit criminal acts against children. The characteristics and behaviors of predators who sexually abuse children are fairly well known and described.^{82 83 84}

Less is known about men who buy sex acts from children. Are they similar or different from the men who sexually abuse children they access by seducing or “grooming” the child?

An obvious difference is the amount a time a man must expend to acquire a victim. Sexual predators often take long periods of time to “groom” children before they sexually abuse them. A man who purchases a sex act takes no time at all to “seduce” the child; he just pays money and has immediate sexual access. Child sex abusers who groom children must have fairly ready access to children or take time to establish themselves in organizations, professions, or relationships that will give them access to children. A “buyer” seeks immediate access and instant gratification.

Also, a man who buys a sex act may think he is taking less risk with his reputation and is less likely to be caught than someone who molests a child who might tell friends, relatives, or authority figures. Joe Parker of the Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation thinks that men who purchase sex acts from children are cruder and have a different sense of time than “groomers.” They want immediacy and act more directly on what they want. Men who purchase sex acts with children may be more overtly sadistic; they want to hurt children in ways that leave visible damage. They are less likely to get away with such brutality with known children. Men who want to torture, sodomize, and batter children go to pimps who specialize in providing children who can be hurt with impunity.

Experts who have worked with both victims and offenders believe there is a link between men's use of adult prostitutes and their eventual use of children. Norma Hotaling, founder and director of SAGE in San Francisco offers programs for women leaving prostitution and a john school for men. Running the john school has given her the opportunity to talk to over 5,000 men about their motives and behaviors.

The demand in the United States is predominately for the stereotypical young, white, blue eyed, and blond girls. ... Although some children are prostituted by and/or

⁸² Kenneth V. Lanning, “Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis For Law Enforcement Officers Investigating Cases of Child Sexual Exploitation, Third Edition,” National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, December 1992.

⁸³ Anna C. Salter, *Predators, Pedophiles, Rapists, and Other Sex Offenders: Who They Are, How They Operate, and How We Can Protect Ourselves and Our Children*, Basic Books: New York, New York, 2003.

⁸⁴ Max Taylor and Ethel Quayle, *Child Pornography: An Internet Crime*, Brunner-Routledge; 2003.

specifically for pedophiles and preferential abusers, the majority of the several million men who annually exploit prostitutes under the age of 18 are first and foremost prostitute users who become child sexual abusers through their prostitute use, rather than the other way around. ...Laws and social conventions make it difficult and dangerous for individuals to use children for sexual purposes in non-commercial contexts, but prostitution potentially provides instant access, often to a selection of children. ... The world of prostitution, whether legal or illegal, provides an arena where laws and rules that constrain sex with minors can be evaded. ...

Adult men who enter into prostitution bring with them very complex needs and emotions. They attempt to satisfy those needs with young adults whom they pay essentially lie to them. When this false intimacy proves unsatisfactory and their belief that they have a right to service and pleasure at any cost, they progress to younger and younger children. They use many justifications for their actions such as “they are poor and I am feeding them,” “they keep coming back, therefore, they must like it,” or having sex with younger children helps to prevent STDs or HIV...⁸⁵

In Peru, a journalistic investigation was conducted to understand the problem of child commercial sexual exploitation from the standpoint of the “client’s” responsibility. Save the Children Sweden funded the research and report entitled “The Client Goes Unnoticed.”⁸⁶ The objective was to identify what factors motivate men to pay to have sex with children and adolescents. The researchers wanted to know what the purchaser “thinks and feels,” whether he feels remorse for what he does, and if he imagines that the child could be his own child or grandchild. The goal of the project was to “make the client visible to society as a person mainly responsible for the increase in the supply of children and adolescents for commercial sex.”

The investigation was conducted in six areas of Peru (Lima, Puerto Maldonado, Cajamarca, Ayacucho, Chiclayo, and Iquitos), in the country’s coastal, highland, and jungle regions. Methods included direct testimony of people involved in the sex trade, including victims, people involved in economic exploitation of the victims, authorities, and the purchasers sex acts.

The investigators found that men in Peru are influenced by a “permissive education” that gives men greater freedom than women in their decision-making. Men also learn to expect that there will be “no criticism or judgment of his sexual activity.” Three major groups of purchasers of sex acts from children and adolescents were identified:

⁸⁵ Norma Hotaling, “Increased Demand Resulting in the Flourishing Recruitment and Trafficking in Women and Girls,” The Expert Meeting on Prevention of International Trafficking and Promotion of Public Awareness Campaign, Seoul, Korea, September 23-24, 2003.

⁸⁶ Juan Manuel Garland and Verushka Villavicencio, “The Client Goes Unnoticed.” Save the Children Sweden, Lima, Peru, March 2004.

- 1) Men who do not know they have a preference for children or adolescents and discover it by accident or through the influence of the environment;
- 2) Men who seek and have sex with adults as well as with children and adolescents as the opportunity presents itself;
- 3) Men who have a preference for child and adolescents and have sex only with this age group.

The purchasers of sex acts from children and adolescents enjoyed the “pleasure in the taboo.” They gave the following explanations for their behavior:

- 1) They wanted to reaffirm their manhood - “machismo” or masculinity
- 2) They wanted to prove to themselves and others that they could still perform sexually
- 3) They wanted to exercise power and dominance over someone
- 4) They wanted to increase their self-esteem through the use of an “innocent, defenseless person who is unable to question their sexual performance.”
- 5) They wanted greater excitement and pleasure because of the child’s small size, trying new sensations, and experimenting with inexperienced children.

The researchers were interested in the root causes of commercial sexual exploitation of children. They identified one of the principal factors in creating a vulnerable supply of children as the breakdown of the nuclear family, especially where the adults have little or no formal education, and where violence and sexual abuse are common. Although they recognized the social and economic factors contributing to commercial sexual exploitation, throughout their investigation, the researchers asked whether the prostitution of children and adolescents would disappear if there were enough jobs for everyone. They concluded that although many victims lived in poverty, the answer was “no.”

“The underlying problem is not the lack of jobs, but the increasing demand by clients who seek this service. If there were no demand, children and adolescents would have to find another activity.”

In each city or region in Peru, the exploiters who organized the prostitution operations did so to accommodate the types of men who purchased of sex acts. The researchers identified a series of domestic (internal) trafficking networks and some that likely extended beyond the Peruvian borders. In making comparisons among how prostitution operations were organized and expanded, the researchers concluded that:

“As the network focuses on satisfying the demand for an increasingly exclusive clientele, the criminal level becomes higher and more sophisticated. In those cases, the system of threats used by the network to keep the adolescents from fleeing become more violent. At this point, we find a criminal organization whose tentacles not only have a nationwide reach, but probably also extend beyond our country’s borders.”

Using another method of data collection, the researchers set up a fictitious pornographic magazine called “Sex in the Street.” They placed advertisements seeking administrative and creative staff for the publication. Two hundred people responded. They interviewed 130 people, and selected 85 people, aged 20 to 64, who supported sex with children, to participate in focus groups. They facilitated a discussion among these men on their involvement in the sexual exploitation of children, their sexual preferences, and how the magazine could best appeal to the target audience of child sex abusers.

They found that the attributes such a magazine should have are:

- 1) Sexual fantasies in which the adults have sex with children under age 18. The men suggested that each cover of the magazine should have a picture of an underage girl who “is wearing really short clothes that reveal something” and “suggests innocence and who charms with her grace.”
- 2) Convey dominance and power. Men preferred underage girls because they were able to dominate them.
- 3) *Machismo*. The domination of a girl is not enough; men must be validated by having other men see them. Many of the men see domination of a girl through purchasing sex acts as giving them prestige or an indication that the man engaged in this type of activity has prestige.
- 4) Portray girls as adults. Part of the fantasy of sex with the girls is related to a *machista* fantasy, which divides women into two groups, *madonnas* (mother/virgin) and prostitutes. The girl who can be purchased for sex acts falls midway between the two, and the man has the power to control her.
- 5) Convey sexual prowess. Sex with underage children is a way for men to reaffirm their masculinity by demonstrating they are still able to perform sexually.
- 6) Adolescents are consenting adults. The men lacked an understanding that a child is a minor. Although Peruvian law states that a person is an adult at age 18, the interviewees saw adolescents as being, or close to being, women.
- 7) Focus on men’s experience. In a commercial sex act, it is the experience of the men that matters. The child is not considered a partner. They thought an educational section of the magazine should include information about enjoyable safe sex and how to avoid contracting diseases.

The researchers concluded that men creating a demand for children and adolescents for sex acts were the driving force of the sex trade.

“[C]hildren and adolescents are ... the weakest participants in a sexual marketplace driven by adults, which will continue to expand as long as there are clients who demand this degrading service, especially while these clients remain anonymous.”

These findings indicate that there are some men who purposefully seek out children or adolescents for commercial sex acts because they are preferential child sex abusers or want to

cause such harm they are dependent on disposable children. There are men who frequently purchase sex acts and, at first, indiscriminately buy a child, and eventually this leads them to seeking children out for commercial sex on a regular basis. These advocates and researchers all conclude that it is men's demand for sex with minors that drives the child sex trade.

Criminalization of Purchasers of Sex Acts

To address the demand side of sex trafficking and prostitution, several countries have recently passed new laws that criminalize men who purchase sex acts.

Macedonia and Croatia

The countries of the Balkans are sending, transit, and destination countries for victims of sex trafficking. The presence of soldiers and peacekeepers has created an environment in which prostitution and trafficking have flourished.

Macedonia and Croatia have passed laws criminalizing buyers of sex acts if they know the woman has been trafficked.

The Macedonian law reads:

“A person, who uses or procures the sexual services of a person with the knowledge that that person is a victim of trafficking in human beings, shall be punished with imprisonment of six months to five years.”⁸⁷

The Croatian law reads:

“Whoever uses or makes it possible for another person to use sexual favors, or uses the person known to be a trafficking victim for other illicit purposes, shall be sentenced to imprisonment of one to five years.”⁸⁸

The shortcoming of these laws is that in order to have committed a criminal act the man must know that the woman is a victim of trafficking. As discussed earlier in this report, men rarely make decisions on purchasing a sex acts based on the likelihood of the victim being trafficked.

Sweden

Sweden is unique in that it is the first country to pass a law exclusively criminalizing the buyers of commercial sex acts. In Sweden, under the “Act Prohibiting the Purchase of Sexual Services” passed in 1998, prostitution was defined as a form of male violence against women. The harmful effects of prostitution are considered gross violations of women and

⁸⁷ Criminal Code of the Republic of Macedonia, Chapter 34: Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, Article 418/a (Law for Changes and Amendments to the Criminal Law enforced in 10/2002), Official Gazette, No. 4.2002.

⁸⁸ Criminal Code of Croatia, Article 175 (6) Trafficking in Persons and Slavery, 2003.

girls' integrity, dignity, and rights as human beings. Sweden considers prostitution to be a serious form of oppression of women.⁸⁹

Sweden's action is also noteworthy because it is going against a trend in the European Union to legalize prostitution. In 2000, the Netherlands and Germany legalized prostitution and brothels. Although the Swedish law was controversial when it first passed, a survey in 2002 found that 80 percent of the general public was satisfied with the law.⁹⁰

The Swedish law came into effect in 1999. After 33 months of enforcement, 249 men were charged with buying sex – most were arrested for buying sex in the street.⁹¹ The Swedish government has reported the following number of arrests and convictions:

- 1999 94 cases were reported, 10 convictions
- 2000 92 cases were prosecuted, 29 convictions
- 2001 86 cases were prosecuted; 38 convictions.⁹²

According to the Swedish government, there has been a “dramatic drop in the number of women in street prostitution,” and a decrease in the number of men who buy sexual services.⁹³

Such a novel approach to the problem of prostitution and trafficking has generated a lot of international attention, and many groups, police, and government officials have been curious about the effectiveness of the new law. The Swedish National Criminal Intelligence Service has produced a report on the impact of the law on reducing the trafficking of persons. The following is an excerpt of the police report on how the law has reduced trafficking.

In recent years there have been obvious indications that the Act relating to purchase of sexual services have had a positive result as regards trafficking in human beings. Several women have in interrogations told that pimps and traffickers in human beings that they have been in contact with do not consider Sweden a good market for these activities. The women must be escorted to the purchasers and then they do not have time with as many purchasers as they would have had in a brothel or in street prostitution. So pimps and traffickers in human beings do not earn money quickly enough. Another aspect is that the purchasers in Sweden are very afraid of being discovered and they demand that the purchases of sexual services take place with much discretion. To carry on the activities indoors it is necessary to have several

⁸⁹ Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, Division of Gender Equality, *Prostitution and Trafficking in Women: A Fact Sheet*, Stockholm, Sweden, January 2004.

⁹⁰ Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, Division of Gender Equality, January 2004.

⁹¹ Maria Jacobson, “Why do men buy sex? Interview with Professor Sven-Axel Mansson, Sweden,” NIKK Magasin, No. 1, 2002, pp. 22-25.

⁹² Mohamed Mattar, “Statement on The Role of the Government in Combating Trafficking in Persons - A Global Human Rights Approach,” Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness Congress of the United States, Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, October 29, 2003.

⁹³ Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, Division of Gender Equality, January 2004.

apartments or other premises available and that the activities are not carried on too long at the same place. The necessity of several premises is confirmed in almost all preliminary investigations that have been carried on in 2002. Some women have also stated that countries like Denmark, Germany, Holland and Spain have appeared as more attractive for traffickers in human beings and pimps.

Telephone interception has also demonstrated that Sweden does not stand out as a good market for selling women. Also here it is understood that the criminals complain about the purchasers being afraid and about the fact that the activities in Sweden must be more organised to be profitable. On several occasions also the police from the Baltic States have informed that criminals in their native countries do not consider Sweden a good market for trafficking in human beings. The reasons that are stated here, are the same ones that have been mentioned above.

An opinion against the Act relating to purchase of sexual services has been that trafficking in human beings would go underground and that the women by that would run the risk of being subjected to more violence. Street prostitution has decreased drastically and in 2002 only few tip-offs have been received concerning foreign women in street prostitution. Women in prostitution always run the risk of being subjected to violence. Investigations as regards trafficking in women have involved violence before as well as after the introduction of the Act relating to purchase of sexual services. The fact that the prostitution and the trafficking are not visible does not mean that the police do not receive information of what is going on. Daily the police receive such information through Internet surveillance, physical surveillance, tip-offs from the public at large and other sources. The biggest problem of the police is not to get information but the lack of resources to go to the bottom of trafficking in human beings and see to it that the Act on purchase of sexual services is obeyed.⁹⁴

In their report, the Swedish National Criminal Intelligence Service highlighted the advantage of using the new law along side investigations and prosecutions for procuring and trafficking. In addition to arresting pimps and traffickers, the police can and should investigate and arrest the purchasers of sex acts as well.

In several preliminary investigations concerning trafficking in human beings and procuring sex purchasers have been identified, interrogated and prosecuted. By prosecuting for crime against the Act on purchase of sexual services, those that have actually exploited the women must also take the consequences of their actions.

On some occasions prosecutors have chosen to take legal proceedings with respect to crimes against the Act relating to purchase of sexual services at the same time as legal proceedings are taken for procuring and serious procuring. It has occurred that judges have not liked this, as they have not been of the opinion that purchasers of sex shall have to appear in close connection to a main hearing in a case of procuring.

In most cases of procuring, serious procuring and trafficking in human beings many purchasers of sexual services have been identified. These purchasers have sometimes

⁹⁴ Kajsa Wahlberg and Camilla Orndahl, National Criminal Intelligence Service, National Criminal Investigation Department, Sweden, "Situation Report 5: Trafficking in Women," December 31, 2002.

*more or less disappeared from the investigations and they have escaped possible criminal proceedings. This probably depends of the need to give, with limited resources, priority to the most essential part of the investigation, and possibly a lack of understanding the importance of investigating also these crimes. The aim should be, as a preventive measure, to also institute legal proceedings against the persons that have actually asked for and exploited the women for a sexual purpose.*⁹⁵

Even though the general public approves the law, there is still resistance within the judicial system to punishing the purchasers of sex acts. The National Criminal Intelligence Service reports on this:

*It has been observed that the judicial system has had a considerate attitude towards purchasers of sexual services. This attitude has been demonstrated by the fact that summons to interrogations have been sent to their place of work instead of their home that is the most usual procedure. Such actions indicate certain sympathy within the judicial system concerning the men that are suspected of purchase of sexual services. This is an unusual consideration that aims at protecting the suspect from social consequences that could be the result of his actions.*⁹⁶

The Swedish law and its philosophy have influenced the attitudes of young people who have come of age in the few years it has been in effect. An indicator of this is young peoples' response to seeing the sexual exploitation of women. Recently a group of Swedish students, aged 16 to 18, reported their teachers for buying women for prostitution while on a "friendship" mission to Kenya. One of the students said, "We went to Kenya to help people and then our teachers exploited them. It was disgusting."⁹⁷

The Swedish law is having an impact around the world as its new approach is discussed. Since it was passed, the debates on how to solve the problem of prostitution are no longer restricted to two alternatives - either prohibition, in which all prostitution-related acts are criminalized, or legalization, in which prostitution is regulated. Now an abolitionist approach is available which distinguishes between victims and perpetrators.

Finland

In October 2003, Finland passed a new law on public order that criminalized the buying of sex services in public places. Previously, selling sex acts was illegal, but purchasing them was not. Now, both are illegal. In Helsinki, the law is being used to crackdown on street

⁹⁵ Wahlberg and Orndahl, December 31, 2002.

⁹⁶ Wahlberg and Orndahl, December 31, 2002.

⁹⁷A study in Sweden found that almost 70 percent of Swedish men who bought sex said they did it while they were abroad on holiday or a business trip. "Pupils turn tables on red light teachers," *Ananova*, March 19, 2004.

prostitution. As of February 2004, other cities had made no arrest because they did not think that prostitution was a public problem.⁹⁸

Car Confiscation Programs

Some cities in the U.S. have implemented car confiscation programs for men arrested for soliciting a prostitute. There have been legal challenges to this practice. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) unsuccessfully challenged Oakland, California's car confiscation law, and in 1996, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, upheld a similar law in Michigan.⁹⁹

El Cajon, California

A new law to confiscate and assume ownership of cars belonging to men who are arrested for soliciting prostitutes went into effect in El Cajon, California in January 2004. The implementation of this law follows a tripling of the number of arrests for prostitution-related offenses in 2003 compared to 2002.¹⁰⁰

West Palm Beach, Florida, Combination Program

In West Palm Beach, Florida, police designed the Prostitute Impact Prevention Education (PIPE) program. The purpose was to address "the inequity in the prosecution of men and women arrested for solicitation of prostitution." When women were arrested, they faced jail time and high bonds, while the men who were arrested received a small fine. Jail time was rarely imposed on the men. Under the new PIPE program, when a man is arrested the traffic division impounds and searches his vehicle. The car is held until the man pays a \$500 administrative fee to the city and towing and storage charges to the tow company. The man is arrested and released on bond, or held overnight if he is unable to pay the bond. The defendant is offered the PIPE plea agreement. If he pleads not guilty, a court date is set. If he accepts the PIPE plea agreement, he is sentenced to 60 days in jail, but is released on his own recognizance to complete the conditions set in the plea. Conditions include attendance at the PIPE school (a john school) and testing for sexually transmitted diseases, hepatitis, and HIV at the health department. The man pays all required fees, including a fee for the john school. Upon completion, the adjudication is withheld, and if the man is not arrested for another offense, the sentence is reduced to time served.¹⁰¹

Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles, California has a car confiscation program for men arrested for soliciting a prostitute. In 2003, they carried out four operations, in February, June, July, and September.

⁹⁸ "Sex buyers fined in Helsinki: Police want prostitution off streets," *Helsingin Sanomat*, February 13, 2004.

⁹⁹ Brian Hazle, "El Cajon begins seizing vehicles for solicitation of prostitution," *SanDiego.com*, January 29, 2004.

¹⁰⁰ Brian Hazle, January 29, 2004.

¹⁰¹ James Rohr and Michael Ferrera, "Prostitution Impact Prevention Education (PIPE)," West Palm Beach Police, Florida, undated.

They seized 63 vehicles. The men have to negotiate the cost of the vehicle with the court to get it back. In the first three operations, 27 seized vehicles were sold back to their owners for a cost of \$250 to \$5000. The total income to the city was \$26,000.

The vice unit informs the media when they are going to set up a sting operation. The head of the vice unit thinks it is the media coverage of men being arrested and their cars seized that makes the operation effective and serves as the deterrent to other potential offenders.¹⁰²

Efforts to Combat Foreign Travel to Purchase Sex Acts

Many men purchase sex acts when they travel for business purposes, or they purposefully go abroad to purchase sex acts believing that they will be able to remain anonymous and are less likely be caught and arrested. A Norwegian study of men's participation in buying sex acts found that 80 percent of those who bought sex acts did so abroad.¹⁰³

Traveling for the purpose of buying sex acts is referred to as sex tourism. Certain cities and areas around the world have become notorious as destinations for sex tourists. In an effort to curb sex tourism, especially the sexual abuse of children, a number of countries have passed laws on the extra-territorial sexual abuse of children. There are now 32 countries with extra-territorial laws which allow for prosecution of national citizens for crimes committed abroad, regardless of whether the offence is punishable under the law of the country where it occurred. In addition, 12 countries have adopted specific anti-child sex tourism measures beyond extra-territorial legislation.¹⁰⁴

The PROTECT Act in the United States

In April 2003, the U.S. Congress passed the PROTECT Act (Prosecuting Remedies and Tools Against the Exploitation of Children Today Act of 2003). The PROTECT Act enhances U.S. law against Americans who travel abroad and sexually abuse children. American men are now subject to domestic child abuse/child exploitation laws even if the crime is committed abroad. It increased the maximum penalty to 30 years imprisonment. It criminalizes those persons or organizations that organize, assist, or facilitate sex tours.

In September 2003, the first arrest was made in Cambodia. The 69 year old man was arrested for sexually abused boys as young as 10. He may have sexually abused as many as 50 children on overseas trips over the past few years.¹⁰⁵ In March 2004, Michael Clark pleaded guilty to charges of having sex with two Cambodian boys and trying to have sex with children in foreign places. He is the first American to be convicted under The PROTECT Act.

¹⁰² Interview, Head of Vice Unit, Los Angeles Police Department, March 30, 2004.

¹⁰³ Høigård and Finstad, 1986, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ World Trade Organization and ECPAT's International Child Sex Tourism Action Survey, April 2001.

¹⁰⁵ "Seattle-area 'sex tourist' charged," *Reuters*, September 23, 2003.

Hawaii Bill Against Sex Tourism

The state of Hawaii is preparing a bill to prohibit the operation of agencies that organize sex tours for men going abroad. The bill states that prostitution and the related \$1 billion sex tourism industry are “inherently harmful and dehumanizing, contribut[ing] to the trafficking in persons as does sex tourism.” The bill recognizes that “discouraging sex tourism...is key to reducing the demand for sex trafficking” and states that among its purposes is “to promote and protect the human rights of women and girls exploited by sex tourists ... In so doing, the legislation forcefully declares Hawaii’s unequivocal opposition to any form of sex tourism.”¹⁰⁶

In its current form, the bill will make the promotion of travel for the purpose of prostitution a felony crime and the grounds for denial or revocation of a travel agent’s license.

“John Schools” - Education Programs for Purchasers of Sex Acts

Across the United States and Canada, a number of cities have implemented education programs for men arrested for soliciting sex acts. John schools are becoming increasingly popular in the U.S. and Canada.¹⁰⁷ Based on the slang term “john” for a man who purchases sex acts, these programs are informally called “john schools.” Their purpose is to eliminate recidivism for men who purchase sex acts. They are an effort to move from criminal prosecution of purchasers of commercial sex acts to intervention and rehabilitation. They aim to reduce criminal justice system costs and improve community health and quality of life.¹⁰⁸

The john schools have an educational curriculum designed to educate men about the harm their behavior causes to women, children, families, and communities. According to Terry Jackson, former assistant district attorney in San Francisco, the First Offender Prostitution Program “gets people thinking. It makes them think about prostitution. It makes them think about the exploitation of people, the social ramifications.”¹⁰⁹ At the john school, men’s role in creating a demand for prostitution is explained to them by Norma Hotaling, the founder and director of the First Offender Prostitution Program and SAGE in San Francisco, an agency that assists women to escape prostitution:

¹⁰⁶ Hawaii: Legislation to End Sex Tourism and Hold Sex Tour Operators Accountable, http://www.equalitynow.org/english/direct/hub_dir_action_2401_en.html, Accessed April 2004

¹⁰⁷ They have been set up in Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver, Canada (M. Alexis Kennedy, Carolin Klein, Boris B. Gorzalka, John C. Yuille, “Attitude Change in Prostitution Customers.”)

¹⁰⁸ N. Hotaling, J. Dutto, P. Gibson, J. Coleman, T. Jackson, D. Nothmann, A. Cassidy, S. Sawyer, P. Grant, “Social Justice, Health Education, Program Planning for Prostitutes and Solicitors” (unpublished outline).

¹⁰⁹ Terry Jackson, Assistant District Attorney, San Francisco, National Public Radio, 1996.

*Somebody is buying [the girls] ... the pimps would not be recruiting these girls in their violent, manipulative, and cunning ways, and they would not be doing the brainwashing that they do in order to keep them. The abuse that happens to these girls would not be happening. The physical and emotional abuse is severe. In working with the police department and their unit over the years, I've learned about how hostage takers get hostages to bond with them, and the hostages actually feel like they love and care for the hostage taker. That's what happens to these girls. It's done through alternating violence, severe violence, and then niceness, then violence, then niceness, and so on. There's a very, very sophisticated way that [the pimp] can get a kid to bond [with them] and have that kid feel as though they love [the pimp] and [he's] the only one in the world that can take care of them. That's what's happening to these girls in order for the pimps to make money from people like you. It's demand and supply. The pimps are the distributors.*¹¹⁰

Usually, men enter the “john school” thinking prostitution is a “victimless crime,” or that they are the victims of entrapment by the police. Most john schools are composed of the same basic educational units. They differ in their pedagogical approaches to changing the men’s attitudes and behavior. Some programs use a confrontation “shaming ritual” that includes a description of the damage and pain they have caused. Survivors of prostitution usually present this unit of the curriculum where they describe their histories and what it was like to be bought for sex acts. Other instructors believe that most of the men that purchase sex acts are so self-centered that it is more effective to appeal to the men’s self-interest to stop participating in an activity that will hurt them. Other john schools think it is important to be “respectful” to the participants.

Sexual Exploitation Education Program, Portland, Oregon

One of the first diversion and education programs for purchasers of commercial sex acts was the Sexual Exploitation Education Program (SEEP) run by the feminist NGO-agency Council for Prostitution Alternatives and the Multnomah County District Court. Started in May 1995, the “school” consisted of a 3-day, 17-hour program for men who attended in exchange for a reduced fine or as a condition for their probation.¹¹¹ The curriculum presented a feminist analysis of prostitution and violence against women, and included survivor testimony from women who were formerly in prostitution.

The SEEP education program aimed to:

- Reframe prostitution from a victimless crime to a system of violence against women

¹¹⁰ Norma Hotaling, SAGE Project, First Offender Prostitution Project – John School – Replication Project, July 2003.

¹¹¹ Rebecca Wilson, “My Thoughts about the Sexual Exploitation Education Project,” *The Council for Prostitution Alternatives Newsletter*, Winter 1995, pp. 2-3.

- Deconstruct male sexual identity to examine how socialization causes men's violence against women
- Stress the choice and responsibility that men have to create egalitarian relationships without coercion or violence¹¹²

The curriculum's strong ideological message challenged many people, from the purchasers of commercial sex acts to the county officials that sponsored the program. After two years of operation, the district attorney's office withdrew support for SEEP and the program ended in February 1997. A former SEEP educator said that conflict arose between the SEEP staff and county officials over the content of the curriculum. Officials objected to testimony from survivors of prostitution and the linking of prostitution to pornography, domestic violence, and rape. Officials wanted to expand the curriculum to include the harm of drugs and alcohol, which the SEEP staff felt diluted the message they were trying to convey.

Whether john schools reduce recidivism will be discussed in a later section.

First Offender Prostitution Program, San Francisco, California

The First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) in San Francisco is a diversion program that aims to educate men arrested for soliciting a sex act from a prostitute. The goals of the FOPP are to reduce the numbers of outstanding prostitution warrants in the court system, address neighborhood crimes linked to prostitution (i.e. drugs, violence, pimping), and focus on the root causes of prostitution such as violence, sexual exploitation, poverty, and misogyny.¹¹³

The FOPP is a collaborative effort between the SAGE Project, the District Attorney's Office, the Public Health Department, the Police Department, the Juvenile Justice System, the Probation Department, the Sheriff's Office, the Courts, the Public Defender's Office, the Mayor's Office, therapeutic/recovery services, and neighborhood activist groups.

These units agreed that to intervene in the problem of prostitution and trafficking, they had to address the "customers' ignorance, willful or otherwise, about the actual nature of the sex industry, from the economics of pimping to the recruitment and abuse of young girls." The goal was to "show men how they were implicated as the supporters of a brutal system, thus discouraging further participation."¹¹⁴

¹¹² Sexual Exploitation Education Program, Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1995, as cited in Monto, Martin A. and Steve Garcia. 2001. "Recidivism Among the Customers of Female Street Prostitutes: Do Intervention Programs Help?" *Western Criminology Review* 3 (2). [Online]. Available: <http://wcr.sonoma.edu/v3n2/monto.html>

¹¹³ N. Hotaling, J. Dutto, P. Gibson, J. Coleman, T. Jackson, D. Nothmann, A. Cassidy, S. Sawyer, P. Grant, "Social Justice, Health Education, Program Planning for Prostitutes and Solicitors" (unpublished outline).

¹¹⁴ First Offender Prostitution Program (SAGE) application for Innovations in American Government Award, 1998.

The men who attend the FOPP are arrested for soliciting a prostitute by an undercover decoy operation. The men receive citations, but are not jailed, if they are first time offenders. They are offered the opportunity of attending the FOPP in lieu of being charged and possibly receiving a criminal conviction. To attend the FOPP, they must pay an administrative fee (sliding scale, maximum \$500) to the city of San Francisco and attend the FOPP eight-hour class. The money from the fines is funneled back into support programs for victims of prostitution to provide treatment and assist them in exiting prostitution.

Although most state and local laws penalize both the prostitute and the purchaser, in practice, the majority of those who are arrested, fined, and imprisoned are women. The john school approach is “a paradigm shift from simply prosecuting prostitutes to targeting customers.”¹¹⁵ FOPP provides services to a minimum of 550 customers of prostitutes per year.¹¹⁶ Since March 1995, the FOPP has diverted over 5,000 men caught soliciting a prostitute from the court system.

The First Offender Prostitution Program is designed and facilitated by women survivors (former victims) of prostitution at the SAGE Project.

Curriculum includes:

- Review of laws on prostitution and “street facts” on prostitution
- Risk prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases
- Effects of prostitution on neighborhoods
- SAGE “Innovation Award” video that describes peer support program for women leaving prostitution
- Effects of prostitution on women’s lives – survivor testimony
- Dynamics of pimping and child prostitution
- Sex addiction behaviors and expectations of purchasers of commercial sex acts – challenges to men’s capacity for intimacy

A prominent feature of the FOPP curriculum is the personal testimony of survivors of prostitution who talk about the impact of prostitution on their lives, including violence and drug abuse. The testimonies of survivors educate the purchasers of commercial sex acts about prostitution. The act of speaking out and participating in educating perpetrators is part of the women’s own recovery from prostitution and reintegration into the community.

Approximately 75 percent of the men who are arrested for soliciting enroll in the FOPP. The majority is white, 24-40 years old, college-educated, employed, and earning over \$30,000 a year. While the participants are first offenders, meaning this is the first time they have been

¹¹⁵ Norma Hotaling, SAGE Project, 2002

¹¹⁶ Norma Hotaling, 2002.

arrested, over 61 percent of the men report they have previously purchased sex acts from prostitutes, and 33 percent say they have done so five or more times. Of those that indicate they have purchased sex acts more than five times, 23 percent say they have purchased sex acts between four to 15 times in the last year.

In the john school, members of neighborhood organizations whose communities have become prostitution markets confront men:

*You are the sole, only cause of prostitution in my neighborhood. It's that simple. Just in case you ever wondered where it came from, you always heard the routine about the oldest profession. Well, if it wasn't for gentlemen like you, we wouldn't have the oldest profession around.*¹¹⁷

Norma Hotaling, founder of the FOPP and SAGE talks to the men in the john school, also:

*"[I]t's especially difficult [for] men to work on issues of sexual abuse, domestic violence, sexual assault, and then prostitution. [Y]ou operate in prostitution totally alone usually. Nobody else knows you're here. Nobody else knows you ride around those streets. Nobody else knows about your history in prostitution or other things that have been going on. This is something that you do in secrecy and silence. ... When you walked in today, and there were other men here and people were looking in your face, you were like, "Oh my God. How do I deal with this? [I]t feels really shitty, shameful, and stigmatizing. [O]ne of the reasons that we allow you to come here today, and we don't do a John TV or send your names into [the] paper is that this is a chance to sit and think about your life and not tear apart any personal relationships you might have or not embarrass you or shame you, but to have you have a chance to think about a subject that nobody else is talking about. Nobody else talks to men about being involved in prostitution."*¹¹⁸

The First Offender Prostitution Program and SAGE have received wide recognition and commendation for their innovative program. In 1998, SAGE's First Offender Prostitute Program won the Innovations in American Government Award sponsored by the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and the Ford Foundation. In 2000, SAGE was the recipient of the Peter F. Drucker Award for Innovation in Non-Profit Management, and most recently, the Oprah's Angel Network Use Your Life Award.

Many cities throughout the U.S. and Canada have used the FOPP as a model for their programs.

Psychoeducational Program for Men Arrested for Soliciting a Prostitute

At the request of the local criminal court, Project Pathfinder in St. Paul, Minnesota designed a psychoeducational program to treat men who were charged with soliciting sex from female

¹¹⁷ PHILIP FAITH, *Community Organizer: NPR, 1996*

¹¹⁸ SAGE Project, July 2003.

prostitutes.¹¹⁹ The court referred men convicted for soliciting a prostitute to this program. The men were required to complete questionnaires and psychological testing and participate in a five to eight week psychoeducational program. The aims of the program are:

1. To challenge men's resistance, in the form of denial or minimization, to acknowledge their choice to seek prostitutes
2. To provide accurate information about prostitution and to provide a forum to discuss their involvement
3. To help men identify the physical risks involved in prostitution, including the risk of sexually transmitted diseases and physical assault
4. To assist men to talk about the emotional and relational consequences of their behavior, including public humiliation and potential family disruption
5. To teach concepts related to relationships with both men and women

Portland Prostitution Offender Program

The Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation runs the Prostitution Offender Program in cooperation with the Portland District Attorney's Office. (See Appendix D for the program outline for the Prostitution Offender Program.) The men attend the education program after they have been convicted and as a condition of probation; it is not a diversion program like many other john schools. In Portland, the District Attorney is aware that men who purchase sex acts are also likely to commit other crimes, so they want to get the man's fingerprints and other personal information for their database.

The Lola Greene Foundation holds about six classes a year for six to 12 men. The classes meet in the Sheriff's Office to emphasize the connection to the legal system. The class is a six-hour educational program based on the counselors' pedagogical philosophy of what most likely works to change the attitudes and behavior of men who have committed this type of offense. Joe Parker, the clinical director, teaches two-thirds of the class. He believes a male instructor is more likely to be respected by this group of men who have already demonstrated their view of women as sexual merchandise that can be purchased. The class is six hours long: "If they don't get the point in six hours, they won't get it in 60."¹²⁰

A short portion of the class focuses on the harm the men have done in an effort to persuade the men not to repeat their behavior. These are moral arguments that Joe Parker, the instructor, thinks are of limited value.

"These men have already violated moral standards – and they know it. Talking about right and wrong aren't compelling arguments for them. They are criminals who have chosen to break the law and hurt people, many of them young people."

¹¹⁹ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

¹²⁰ Joe Parker, March 2004.

Parker believes these men are self-centered and have little regard for the women or children they purchased. Given this type of personality, Parker tries to change the men's future behavior by telling them why it is in their own self interest not to purchase sex acts. This john school believes the men are more likely to stop purchasing sex acts if it is in their own self-interest.

The counselors know that the men are looking for young girls. Since the average age of entry into prostitution is 14, it is quite likely that the men are purchasing sex from minors. The men are told the penalties for statutory rape and advised that not knowing the child's age is not a defense. If they are caught with an underage girl, the men can be convicted of rape and go to prison.

Many of the men are engaging in fantasies when they purchase sex acts, so the counselors try to punch holes in their fantasies by describing the damage that can be caused to their health by sexually transmitted diseases. The men do not like to be reminded that the women and children they had sex with have had sex with hundreds, maybe thousands, of other men.

There are several common beliefs or fantasies that men have about prostitutes:

- 1) The women choose to be in prostitution and like it;
- 2) The women are not alcoholics or drug addicts;
- 3) The women do not have a pimp, but are working on their own from their own motivation, and
- 4) The women think the man is attractive and enjoys having sex with him.

The instructors give the men information that disrupts these fantasies. They confront them with the fact that they are hiring a body as a prop to be used in their fantasy. They describe how the women and children really live and the sordid conditions of their lives. They describe the level of drug and alcohol use. "We use a heavy hammer against their fantasies, and that tends to hit them."

Men are told how they are physically at risk when they seek out prostitutes. For example, one fourth of people murdered in the sex industry are the "johns." Pimps and prostitutes frequently set men up for robbery, which many times includes being beaten up. Many of the women are filled with rage from many years of being prostituted and humiliated. A man may push her too far with his demands or she may be looking for an excuse to lash out and hurt or kill him. We tell the men, "You are stepping into the underworld. You can be robbed, beaten, poisoned by something in your drink, and murdered."

Sex Addiction Testimonies in John School

Most john schools include testimony from survivors of prostitution who describe their childhoods, how they got into prostitution, and what happened to them while in prostitution. At least one john school, in Toronto, Canada, includes testimonies from men from Sex and Love Addicts Anonymous (SLAA) who describe their "sex additions" which included purchasing sex acts from street prostitutes.

One man told the participants: “At the height of my addiction I was spending tens of thousands of dollars on sex, drugs, and gambling. There was a lot of shame...porn movies, strip bars, pimps, and drug dealers.” He said his “addiction” cost him his business, his wife, his children, and his freedom.¹²¹

Speakers from SLAA suggest to the men that they too might have a sex addiction. This type of presentation is somewhat controversial because some people think it enables the men to see themselves as victims of the sex trade and avoid taking responsibility for their behavior. At the john school in Toronto, the facilitator concludes by saying that “everyone is a victim” of prostitution.¹²²

The percent of men who thought that prostitutes were victims fell from 48 percent in pre-program test to 41 percent in post-program test; in contrast, the percent of men who thought that the community was a victim rose from 25 percent in pre-program test to 58 percent in post-program test, and the percent of men who thought that “everyone” is a victim of prostitution rose from two percent in pre-program test to 15 percent in post-program test.

When a unit on sex addiction is included in the curriculum, men are much more likely to believe they have a sex addiction after attending the john school. In the Toronto john school, in the pre-program test only 11 percent of men indicated they had a problem with sex or an addiction to sex. After completing the john school that included a presentation on sex addiction, 42 percent of the men indicated that they had a problem with sex or a sex addiction. The facilitators of the john school think that inclusion of this unit may be important in helping men identify possible psychological causes of their behavior; they also acknowledge that it may have an adverse effect of providing the men with a convenient justification or excuse for the behavior.¹²³

Attitude Change Among Men Who Attend John Schools

The john schools usually have the men fill out evaluations at the end of the program. Several researchers have analyzed these surveys to determine if the john school was successful in changing men’s attitudes towards prostitution.

Evaluations completed by participants in the First Offender Prostitution Program in San Francisco indicate that the program is successful in changing attitudes and future behavior of the men. Of 747 participants surveyed, 100 percent said they learned something new, 97 percent said that it is unlikely or highly unlikely that they will solicit a prostitute again. They rated the program an average 4.48 on a scale of 1 to 5.

Responses from men after the program:

¹²¹ Laurie Monsebraaten, “A Design on Social Change,” *The Toronto Star*, February 23, 2003.

¹²² Scot Wortley, Bendikt Fischer, and Cheryl Webster, “Vice Lessons: A Survey of Prostitution Offenders Enrolled in the Toronto John School Diversion Program,” *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 44, 369-401, 2002.

¹²³ Wortley, Fischer, and Webster, 2002.

I think that now I learned what women went through when they were little. It was a hard time. And now I know that they have feelings, too, like everybody else.

*The thing I feel like I've learned the most is that I need to get help for myself, which in turn hopefully will help everybody else that's involved with this. I definitely can't say that I won't be there again until I figure out what it is that's wrong with me.*¹²⁴

*I will never be able to think of engaging the services of a prostitute without being stopped by the memory of hearing the pain in the voices of the women who spoke.*¹²⁵

Pre- and post-program surveys of 366 men who attended the “John School” Diversion Program in Toronto, Canada, found “significant” improvement in the men’s knowledge of Canadian prostitution laws and an increased awareness of the dangers associated with prostitution. The researchers concluded that the program was “somewhat” successful in changing men’s attitudes: The men were more likely to accept responsibility for their actions, more likely to admit that they might have a sex addiction, and are less likely to report favorable attitudes towards prostitution. The “vast majority” of the men indicated that they will never again attempt to purchase sex acts. However, 10 percent of the men said that they will continue to purchase sex acts in the future.¹²⁶

For purposes of evaluating changes in attitudes, researchers divided the men into four groups determined by their perceived guilt or innocence and their previous behavior in purchasing sex acts.

Deniers (35 percent of the men)	Claim that they are innocent of the prostitution charges and maintain they have never purchased a sex act in their life
First-Timers (25 percent of the men)	Claim they have never purchased a sex act and this arrest was the first attempt to do so
Novices (18 percent of the men)	Claim they have purchased sex acts one to four times in their life
Sex-Trade Veterans (22 percent of the men)	Claim they have purchased sex acts five or more times in their life

Following attendance at the John School, more of the Sex-Trade Veterans said they will continue to purchase sex acts, than the Deniers, First-Timers, or Novices. The researchers point out that although the Sex-Trade Veterans made-up only 22 percent of the sample, they

¹²⁴ Lubna Qureishi, Morning Edition, *National Public Radio*, April 10, 1996.

¹²⁵ James O. Clifford, “School for Johns: Teaching Them a Lesson,” Associated Press, March 9, 1997.

¹²⁶ Wortley, Fischer, and Webster, 2002.

made-up 83 percent in the pre-program test and 76 percent in the post-program test of the respondents who said they would continue to purchase sex acts.¹²⁷ This finding supports the conclusions of the researchers who found that there were “habitual” users of prostitutes who were less likely to change their behavior based on education or moral persuasion.

Following attendance at the john school in Toronto, men were significantly less likely to support the legalization of prostitution. Before the program, 48 percent thought that prostitution should be illegal, following the program that rose to 58 percent.¹²⁸

Recidivism Among Men Who Attend John Schools

The goal of john schools is to reduce the recidivism rate for men arrested for soliciting prostitutes. Recidivism is measured by whether men are re-arrested within a one to two year period within a certain area – sometimes a city or state.

All the john schools report very low re-arrest rates for the men who attend the schools. Of the 1,512 men completing the First Offender Prostitution Program in San Francisco (from 3/95 to 3/98), only 14 men had been re-arrested for soliciting a prostitute anywhere in California, for a recidivism rate of under 1 percent. According to the San Francisco District Attorney’s Office, there is a 33 percent recidivism rate for all misdemeanor offenders.¹²⁹

A study of the effectiveness of the Sexual Exploitation Education Program in Portland, Oregon was conducted by comparing the recidivism rate of men who attended the SEEP program and those re-arrested for soliciting a prostitute who had not attended. Of the 91 men who attended the SEEP program, only two men re-offended within a two-year period. This group was compared to 100 men arrested for prostitution, who did not attend the SEEP program. Among them, only one man re-offended within a two-year period.¹³⁰

The low incidence of re-arrests among men who attended a john school may indicate that the education programs are successful interventions to change men’s behavior. On the other hand, re-arrest rates for men caught soliciting prostitutes who do not attend john schools are also very low. According to an officer in a vice unit in a large U.S. city, he could only remember re-arresting one man. Interviews with experts in the area of prostitution agree that once a man is caught soliciting a prostitute, he is rarely caught again. This is most likely because most men are caught by the use of female decoys on the street. Men learn to recognize and avoid them or purchase sex acts in venues, such as escort services and massage parlors, where decoy police officers cannot or do not work.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Wortley, Fischer, and Webster, 2002.

¹²⁸ Wortley, Fischer, and Webster, 2002.

¹²⁹ First Offender Prostitution Program (SAGE) application for Innovations in American Government Award, 1998.

¹³⁰ Monto, Martin A. and Steve Garcia. 2001. “Recidivism Among the Customers of Female Street Prostitutes: Do Intervention Programs Help?” *Western Criminology Review* 3 (2). [Online]. Available: <http://wcr.sonoma.edu/v3n2/monto.html>

¹³¹ Monto, October 30, 1999.

Considering that some men report purchasing sex acts on multiple occasions, especially the habitual users, it may be that considerable numbers of men continue to purchase sex acts even after being arrested. Re-arrest records may not be an accurate reflection of their activity. This is an area for more research and evaluation.

Community Efforts to Reduce Demand

Communities are hurt by prostitution when streets become marketplaces for the buying of sex acts. Used condoms and drug paraphernalia litter the streets, and sex acts are often completed in cars or semi-public areas within the sight of residents. Often prostitution is considered “quality of life” crime, meaning that prostitution causes harm to the neighborhood by reducing the quality of life. The victimization and harm to individuals, particularly the women, is rarely seen or understood.

Police typically respond to neighborhood complaints once they reach a certain threshold. The typical police response is to crackdown on prostitutes, and sometimes the men, in a neighborhood sweep. Unfortunately, a police crackdown in one area usually just moves the market to another location.

When prostitution reaches a certain level and police have not responded effectively, neighborhood committees form to try to reduce the problem themselves. Neighborhood committees have tried a number of strategies to push prostitution out of their neighborhoods. Many of them focus on harassing the women and trying to drive them away. Neighborhood committees risk turning into vigilante groups, as particularly angry individuals harass and sometimes physically assault women they think are prostitutes. Because the men are in cars driving around, they are less accessible to angry members of the community and can more easily evade the threats and physical assaults.

A few neighborhood associations have strategically started to focus on the demand. According to Vednita Carter, the founder and director of Breaking Free, an Afrocentric agency in St. Paul, Minnesota that assists women to escape prostitution: “[I]t’s about supply and demand. If there’s no demand, if there was nobody out there roaming around the neighborhoods, trying to pick up women and buy them, prostitution would end.”¹³²

The Neighborhood Safety Organization Guide to Reduce Street Prostitution

The Neighborhood Safety Organization published a guide to assist neighborhood committees to reduce street prostitution.¹³³ Many of the actions they recommend focus on the demand by impeding or driving away the men. The guide recommends three strategies:

¹³² Leslie, Lourdes Medrano, “‘John school’ aims to reduce prostitution; St. Paul’s efforts to rid neighborhoods of prostitutes heads to the classroom today, where ‘customers’ can have their first violation forgiven,” *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN); July 24, 1999.

¹³³ Neighborhood Safety Legal Network Action Guide: Street Prostitution, <http://www.neighborhoodsafety.org/ns1/ag5.htm> Accessed on March 30, 2004.

1. Communicate community disapproval of street prostitution
 - a. Neighborhood patrols shadow the women on the street and the men when they approach. They write down the license plate numbers from the men's cars and photograph activities.
 - b. Signs are posted to warn prostitutes and the men that they are being watched and prostitution activity is reported to the police.
 - c. Community Cleanups: Generally cleaning up the street and improving lighting discourages prostitution.
 - d. Outreach to women with offers of assistance
 - e. Closing Problem Businesses: Some groups protest and picket bars, restaurants, and businesses that operate as bases for women, pimps and men. If protests are not successful file lawsuits against the establishments for being a nuisance. Challenge liquor and business licenses.
2. Limit access to marketing space
 - a. Change Traffic Patterns: Prohibit cars from making right hand turns to prevent men from circling the block in search of a prostitute
 - b. Establish an Automobile Cruising Ordinance that prohibits drivers from driving by repeatedly or circling the block in search of a prostitute
3. Remove the sense of impunity for prostitutes and patrons
 - a. Postcard Warnings mailed to the owners of cars seen cruising or stopping to solicit a prostitute. Messages can include information on health risks or a warning of the penalties for being caught soliciting a prostitute
 - b. Loitering Ordinances that enable police to prevent women from using the street to solicit.
 - c. Police Foot Patrols: The visibility of police officers in an area can frighten men away
 - d. Car Seizures: Forfeiture of vehicles used to solicit prostitutes
 - e. Driver's License Revocation: Revoke driver's licenses of persons who are convicted of soliciting a prostitute
 - f. Stay-Away Orders: Judges can order purchasers of sex acts to stay away from specific prostitution markets under penalty of incarceration
 - g. Court Watch: Community members maintain a presence in the court room to remind judges to use the laws effectively

Naming Men on Billboards

One city started a project to highly publicize the names of men arrested for soliciting a prostitute. In Omaha, Nebraska, the Ford Birthsite Neighborhood Association received a

grant of \$2500 from the Omaha Community Foundation for a project entitled “Spotlight on Prostitution,” which will display billboards with the names of men convicted of soliciting a prostitute. Two additional neighborhood associations have joined the campaign. The idea came from the Prostitution Task Force, a group of Omaha citizens from neighborhood associations. The billboards will appear in five locations initially. The billboards will have six to 12 names per billboard in English and Spanish. A court watch group has formed to monitor charges and sentences against alleged offenders.

Jan Quinley, president of the Ford Birthsite Neighborhood Association said:

*“[W]e don’t want [the men] to force their morals and values on our neighborhoods. The intent is actually to deter the people who come to the neighborhood looking for this. In turn, that will make it more difficult for men and women involved in prostitution to find business, and maybe they’ll look for some alternatives.”*¹³⁴

In Omaha, the local newspaper only publishes the names of those who convicted and fined \$100 or more, but men convicted of a first offense of solicitation for prostitution were only fined \$75, so their names never appeared in the paper.

Although the billboard may embarrass the men listed, the neighborhood association hopes that it will be a deterrent to other men.

The first billboard went up in October 2003 as a warning:

“If you are convicted of Soliciting a Prostitute....You WILL see your NAME here!”

In response to critics who say that the billboards are unfair to the offender’s family, Ms. Quinley replied, “But it’s the johns who don’t have any concern for their families, or they wouldn’t be carrying on like this.”

Billboards and neighborhood committees are responses from community members who are frustrated by the lack of effort or effectiveness of local police and authorities who have allowed a problem to grow. Members of the neighborhood feel they have to take action themselves.

Community organizing can be effective in generating awareness and lobbying for action and change by officials. But, over time, these efforts are not likely to be sustained.. More effective solutions are needed that decrease the problem by reducing the demand and providing services to victims.

Publishing Names of Men in “Black Books”

“Black books” are records that pimps, brothel owners, and escort service operators keep of the names, phone numbers, addresses, credit card information, sexual preferences, and behavior of men who patronize their prostitution operations. The actual “black book” today is

¹³⁴ Jan Quinley, president of the Ford Birthsite Neighborhood Association, Nebraska cited in Christopher Burbach, “Billboards to publicize prostitution violators,” World-Herald, <http://www.omaha.com>

often a computerized address book or accounting system. When police raid prostitution operations, these records are seized as evidence.

In recent years, “black books” have become the focus of several community debates and law suits over whether these records can be withheld from the public. The question is: should these records be kept sealed, or does the community have an interest in knowing the identities of men who bought sex acts from prostitution operations?

In Huntington Woods, Michigan, police seized a list of 20,000 men when they arrested a madam for running a prostitution ring. The madam was charged with racketeering and accepting prostitution earnings. If convicted of these charges, she faced a maximum of 20 years in prison. In pre-trial negotiations, the madam’s defense attorney said they would introduce the list of men as evidence at a trial, thereby making it public information. The list was rumored to contain the names of prominent businessmen and at least one elected official. The prosecutor wanted to keep the list sealed. In a plea bargain, the prosecutors dropped four counts of receiving proceeds from prostitution and allowed the madam to keep the house she used to run the prostitution ring. In exchange, she pleaded guilty to a felony charge of racketeering, but was sentenced only to probation and forfeiture of \$55,000 in proceeds from the prostitution ring, which was considered to be an exceptionally lenient sentence for a felony. Part of the agreement was that the list of men would not be made public.

The prosecutor, who pledged to keep the list secret, said, “My concern is not those on the list, but the unknowing, unsuspecting spouses and children.”¹³⁵ The assistant prosecutor said, “This is a victimless crime. From our standpoint, the most important thing was to shut this operation down, which is what we did.”¹³⁶

The *Detroit Free Press* filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the Huntington Woods Police Department for the release of the list. Faced with a lawsuit from The *Detroit Free Press*, the city released a list of 16,000 names on a CD-ROM. The newspaper did not publish any of the names.¹³⁷

In Frederick, Maryland, a “Black Book” - a collection of records with men’s names, addresses, phone numbers, and credit card information - was seized when police raided a local brothel. The madam pleaded guilty to operating a brothel, a misdemeanor offense and was fined \$100. As part of the bargain, all documents seized during the raid, including the “black book” were returned to her. The *Frederick News-Post* asked for a copy of the records under the Maryland Public Information Act. The city refused, citing an investigative-records exemption that shields some police investigatory files. The *Frederick News-Post* filed suit. The Circuit Court judged ruled that the city must turn over the records, and the Court of Special Appeals upheld the decision.

¹³⁵ L.L. Brasier, “Plea deal sets madam free,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 8, 1998, p. 1A.

¹³⁶ Brasier, December 8, 1998, p. 1A.

¹³⁷ “Suburban Detroit police release names of prostitution ring’s clients,” *Associated Press*, January 15, 1999.

The mayor of Frederick at the time of the plea bargain strongly supported the decision to keep the “black book” closed. His position generated suspicion that there might be influential people or public officials’ names in the records, and the low sentence the madam received was an effort to keep the names from becoming public. It was later discovered that the name of one elected official, a city alderman who was an ally of the mayor, was listed in the book. The mayor was defeated in the next election by a woman who supported the release of the records to the public.

Feminists have often charged that men in power collude with each other to keep men’s use of prostitutes a secret from their families and the public. Feminists contend that men in power often condemn prostitution, particularly prostitutes, but privately collude with each other to keep prostitution available. The disposition of “black books” and officials’ efforts to keep them from public inspection seems to support that claim.

Another factor to consider is that sex trafficking and prostitution are facilitated and often continue to operate only through official corruption. Criminal activity thrives in corrupt environments where there is no transparency or effective rule of law. Officials or influential people have a stake in preventing the arrest of traffickers, pimps, and brothel owners if there is a possibility that their criminal or immoral behavior will be exposed to the public. In addition, once arrests are made, criminals can plea bargain for greatly reduced fines and sentences if well-known or influential people want their behavior to remain secret.

The corruption of the justice process is also demoralizing for police who have invested large amounts of time and resources in investigations and evidence gathering only to see criminals lightly penalized in order to keep the identities of purchasers of sex acts secret.

Faith Based Healing and Treatment Programs for Men

There are a number of faith-based healing and treatment programs for men. They usually address a broader set of behaviors related to what they term sexual sin or sexual addiction than purchasing sex acts.

Avenue

Avenue is a Christian faith based recovery program for “people impacted by sexual sin.” Avenue takes a comprehensive approach that recognizes that once a man has a problem with his sexual behavior it has an impact on his wife or fiancée. The men’s program is called Operation Destiny and the companion programs for wives and fiancées is called Unintended Journey.

The program is voluntary, and Clay Allen, the president of Avenue, believes voluntary participation is essential for healing to occur: “If they are not ready to change, their hearts cannot change, and there can be no transformation of their lives.”¹³⁸ The program is based on a philosophy of sexual purity from biblical teachings. Seventy percent of the men are referred

¹³⁸ Clay Allen, President, Avenue, Danville, California, 2004.

to the program by church or family members or self-referred after hearing about the program through the media.

Men in the program are engaged in a gamut of inappropriate sexual behaviors, such as addiction to pornography, use of prostitutes, extra marital affairs, and bestiality. Their behavior runs in a cycle of learning, desensitization, escalation, and finally actualization, where they act out in inappropriate sexual ways. Men act out in a ritualistic way that may be temporarily satisfying to them, but leads to more feelings of shame and a repetition of the cycle. Use of pornography and prostitutes are parts of this cycle.

Allen says that years ago, a man could be in this cycle for a decade or more before he developed many problems as a result, but with the ready availability of pornography on the Internet, the length of time until problems arise can be quite short. Because young children are able to access pornography easily on the Internet, Allen is seeing inappropriate sexual behavior in teens and even preteens.

Operation Destiny uses a support group model for working with men. The groups are composed of 10 to 12 men. Allen believes working in groups is important because men see and confirm each other's progress. About 80 percent of the men have been physically or sexually abused or emotionally abandoned in their early lives. As a result, they have unmet emotional needs which they try to fulfill in harmful ways that lead them to shame-based emotional lives. They live in shame. The program helps men identify what has caused them pain in the past, and find appropriate ways to meet their needs. The program is experiential, emotional, and spiritual in nature instead of academic.

Allen says that many of the men are suicidal when they come into the program. They are looking for answers. "This is a window of opportunity. We see people who are dying and no one wants to help."¹³⁹ The first step is helping men deal with their denial that they have a problem. Not all the men who participate are Christians, and the program does not force religion on the participants, but this is a strongly spirituality-based program. The founder believes that men will heal and find their purpose in life through God.

Men Own Responsibility, Recovery, and Education

The Salvation Army's Wellspring Center in Omaha, Nebraska offers a recovery program for men called Men Own Responsibility, Recovery, and Education (MORRE) Program. It is an eight-week counseling program for men who have purchased sex acts or are compulsively going to strip clubs.

Counseling is done on an individual bases. Most of the men are referred to the program by their lawyers after they have been arrested, and they attend the counseling program before going to court. A few men are referred to the program by their probation officers. Some men enroll after seeing media coverage of the program. There is a \$15 charge for each session,

¹³⁹ Clay Allen, 2004.

and there is a sliding fee scale. In the past three years, 15-18 men have gone through the program.

The therapist at the program, Haley Foster, says that she does a lot of education during the sessions. The men have preconceived ideas about prostitution and prostitutes. They believe that the women are sex addicts and in prostitution because they like it and want to sell sex. The men are often shocked that women are actually repulsed by the men and the sex acts they perform for money. She challenges their common belief that prostitution is a victimless crime. She teaches them that there are many victims as a result of prostitution: the woman, her family, and members of the man's family.

A spirituality component is optional if the men want to talk about that aspect of their lives and how it relates to their recovery.

Child Sex Tourism Awareness and Prevention Programs

Most existing education programs are designed for men after they have been arrested. Increasingly, governments are assuming responsibility for educating men who are going abroad about the laws they break and the potential sentences they face if they sexually abuse children while they are abroad.

American men are estimated to account for 25 percent of the child sex tourists worldwide, and as high as 80 percent in Costa Rica.¹⁴⁰ To reduce the demand for children for commercial sex acts, the U.S. government has funded World Vision to implement anti-sex tourist campaigns in the U.S. and popular sex tourist destination countries.

The Child Sex Tourism Prevention Project aims to significantly reduce the number of Americans who sexually exploit children overseas. The project has implemented a media campaign in the United States and in several sex tourist destination countries (Cambodia, Costa Rica, and Thailand) to deter Americans from traveling to purchase sex from acts from children. The campaign plans to place anti-sex tourism messages “in [sex tourists] path at every step”: the Internet, airports, television, airline in-flight videos, billboards in destination countries, tourist maps, hotels, and magazines. (See next page for images of campaign posters.)

¹⁴⁰ World Vision, <http://www.stopchildtourism.org>

Three Campaign Posters for the Child Sex Tourism Prevention Project



The Child Sex Tourism Prevention Project is assisting local and U.S. law enforcement (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) to identify American sex tourists and provide information to aid in investigation and prosecution efforts. According to Joe Mettimano, director of the project: “We have thousands of ‘eyes and ears’ to assist ICE in their work to investigate, arrest, and prosecute American child sex tourists.”¹⁴¹ The project has already provided helpful information to U.S. and local law enforcement in Southeast Asia.

On the project’s web site (<http://www.stopchildtourism.org>) there is information on how someone can report an American who engages in sex acts with children under the age of 18 while abroad.

In Brazil, the government has initiated a Global Program to Prevent and Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, which includes projects on child sex tourism and sexual exploitation of children. The Ministry of Tourism has a campaign to raise awareness on sex tourism, and the National Human Rights Secretariat has a national awareness raising campaign against the sexual exploitation of children. The Ministry of Tourism has designed and distributed a poster warning travelers against having sex with minors. This poster was placed in the arrival areas of international airports. Additionally, the government distributes brochures to visiting tourists making them aware of the penalties associated with exploiting minors. The government is also asking hotels to be active in discouraging child prostitution on their premises. Hotels participating in the program receive a gold “star” in their quality rating.¹⁴² In Recife, there is a new law that prohibits minors from being in hotels and taxis without parental consent. there is a bylaw against minors in hotels and taxis without parental consent.¹⁴³ In Fortaleza, a Parliamentary Investigative Commission on Sexual Tourism began functioning in September 2001.¹⁴⁴

In Gambia, the government has set up a special tip line that enables visitors to give information to the police about sex tourists and the sexual exploitation of children. The government also requires fingerprinting of visitors before residence permits are issued to foreigners in order to check criminal records to prevent known exploiters from operating in the country. There is also a Tourism Bill before the National Assembly, which provides protective measures for children against sex tourists. The Gambia and The Netherlands have set up a special police unit to monitor and track Dutch pedophiles in The Gambia.¹⁴⁵

In France, the government has produced and distributed one million leaflets warning against child prostitution.¹⁴⁶ The state-run airline Air France is allocating a portion of in-flight toy

¹⁴¹ Joe Mettimano, Director, Child Sex Tourism Prevention Project, World Vision, 2004.

¹⁴² *State Department Annual Trafficking in Persons Report 2003 p. 18*

¹⁴³ *ECPAT Child Sex Tourism Action Survey*, April 2001, Groupe Developpement, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Department of Labor 2003 Report

¹⁴⁵ *State Departmen, 2003*, p. 18

¹⁴⁶ Eva Klein, Report on Prostitution of Children and Child-Sex Tourism: An Analysis of Domestic and International Responses. *National Center for Missing and Exploited Children*, April 1999, p. 42.

sales to fund awareness programs.¹⁴⁷ In February 2003, the Minister for Family Affairs started an inter-ministerial working group (that includes NGOs, tourism industry representatives, airline carriers, and travel agents) to look at ways to combat sex tourism abroad. In addition, the Ministry of Education and travel industry representatives developed training guidelines for inclusion of information on child sex tourism in the syllabi for tourism schools.¹⁴⁸

In the Czech Republic, a number of reports and media stories have revealed the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children along the border between the Czech Republic and Germany. In April 2004, the Czech Tourist Authority and police announced a campaign to warn men seeking to buy children for sex. Border guards began distributing flyers written in German to tourists crossing the German-Czech border at seven key locations. One side of the flyer explains that purchasing sex acts from children is illegal and that children are forced into the trade; the other side advertises traditional tourist attractions in the Czech Republic. The flyers are distributed to men crossing the border on Friday and Saturday nights.¹⁴⁹

In Italy and Sweden, tour operators have signed agreements with the government to educate their personnel about child sex tourism.¹⁵⁰

Child sex tourist destination countries, such as the Philippines are signing agreements with source countries for child predators. The Australian federal police now maintain a database of suspected or active pedophiles and may share it with police officials in the Philippines. They also have an agreement with the Philippine Government to cooperate in exchanging information relating to child-sexual exploitation. Also, the Philippines and the UK have a similar agreement where information is shared on suspected or active pedophiles.¹⁵¹

Prevention Education Program for Young Men in the Philippines

As there is increasing recognition of men's role in perpetuating prostitution and sex trafficking, there are new projects that aim to educate men and boys about prostitution and trafficking.

A project in the Philippines is aimed at educating young men about the impact of prostitution on women, girls, and the community. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW)- Philippines has an ongoing project in the Philippines called "Addressing the Demand Side of Trafficking and Prostitution." The project is for boys and men in school and communities where there is a high level of prostitution. The goal of the project is to prevent

¹⁴⁷ U.S. State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, May 2004.

¹⁴⁸ *ECPAT Child Sex Tourism Action Survey*, April 2001, p. 27.

¹⁴⁹ Jennifer Anne Perez, "Tourist Authority, police target sex tourists," *The Prague Post*, April 1, 2004.

¹⁵⁰ U.S. Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons citing ECPAT and UNICEF / ECPAT North American Launch of the Code of Conduct to Protect Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, New York City, April 21, 2004

¹⁵¹ Klein, April 1999, p. 47.

sex trafficking by discouraging the demand for prostitution by changing the attitudes and behaviors of boys and men that contribute to prostitution and trafficking.

The project will be implemented in 12 regions of the Philippines through three-day “camp” sessions. Participants must be no younger than 17, but no older than 18, as this is age young men typical become purchasers of sex acts. Several different types of educational media will be used:

- Video entitled “First Time” which describes how young men go through male rites of passage by using women in prostitution
- Educational flyers
- Comic books that tell the stories of women used in prostitution and the role the male buyers played

The materials describe the harm of prostitution and trafficking, the role men play in perpetuating prostitution, and men’s potential role in being catalysts for change. Flyers and comic books will be distributed in schools and communities.

Survivors of prostitution had input on the design and content of the materials, and young men were hired to assist in the development of materials for the project.

Focus groups to pre-test the questions and format for the future workshops have been held. Men were invited to an informal gathering to discuss what men thought about prostitution and what roles they play in perpetuating it. The facilitator led the group in an informal discussion about men and prostitution. During the discussion, all of the men admitted that they had purchased sex acts. Some of the issues addressed include:

- Why does prostitution exist?
- What do men get out of prostitution?
- How is prostitution sex different from sex with a girlfriend or wife?
- How do men feel after having sex with a woman in prostitution?
- What do men tell their friends about their experiences purchasing sex acts?
- How do men think that women or girls feel when they are paid for sex acts?

Following this discussion, facilitators from the project describe the work they do against trafficking and prostitution and their experience working with survivors of trafficking and prostitution. The young men then reengaged in the discussion with comments on men’s role in perpetuating prostitution. They discussed ways in which they could change their and other men’s behavior.

CATW-Philippines intends to follow-up with the participants for a period of five years.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Coalition Against Trafficking in Women – Philippines, “Project on Addressing the Demand Side of Trafficking and Prostitution: Achievements of Year One of the Project,” February 2004.

Prevention Program for Peacekeeping Troops and Military Personnel in the Balkans

The conflicts in the Balkan created an environment for prostitution and trafficking of women and children. There have been numerous media stories about peacekeepers patronizing bars and clubs where there were victims of trafficking. The chair of a Balkans regional task on trafficking said that studies showed that 30 percent of international troops in the region purchase sex acts from trafficked women and children.¹⁵³ The human rights envoy of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said some international peacekeeping troops were involved in trafficking and prostitution.¹⁵⁴ In 2001, the U.N. Mission in Sarajevo dismissed 11 Bosnian police officers, including members of the anti-trafficking squad, after they were apprehended visiting brothels and abusing prostitutes.¹⁵⁵

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) implemented an education and awareness campaign in Macedonia aimed at Kosovo Force (KFOR) soldiers of the rear-command and those spending their rest and recuperation there. A fact sheet on women trafficked to Macedonia was widely distributed, which clearly states that many victims who have been assisted by IOM, have served KFOR customers.

In addition, IOM produced thousands of mini-calendars for the year 2001 for soldiers and other international staff residing in or passing through Macedonia. On the back of the calendar, the following text is printed over a portrait of a young woman.

Are you sure she has not been: Deceived by a false job offer; Kidnapped; Sold like a slave; Raped; Forced into prostitution?

Printed on the calendar was the number of IOM's phone helpline to report trafficked women in need of assistance. A version in Macedonian and Albanian languages was also printed.¹⁵⁶

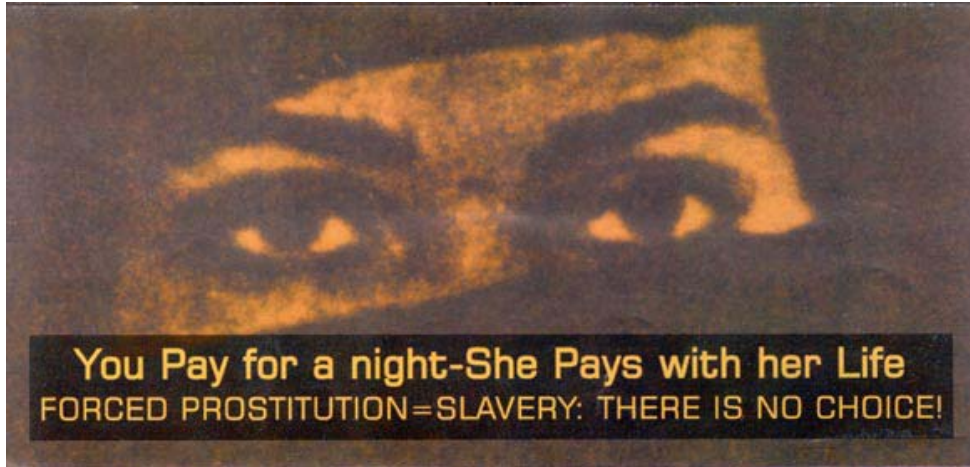
¹⁵³ ----“OSCE Examines Forced Prostitution” Reuters/Central Europe Online, April 27, 2001

¹⁵⁴ “OSCE slams Balkans over prostitution, April 26, 2001.

¹⁵⁵ David Binder, “Officials: Bosnia doing little to combat sex trade,” The New York Times, 20 October 2002

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Weiss, International Organization for Migration, “Raising Awareness Among the Troops,” *Press Briefing Notes*, December 5, 2000.

Educational Message from International Organization for Migration campaign




Educational Message from International Organization for Migration campaign

If you think about paying for her

**-are you sure
she has not been:**

- ▶ *Deceived by a false job offer*
- ▶ *Kidnapped*
- ▶ *Sold like a Slave*
- ▶ *Raped*
- ▶ *Forced to be a prostitute?*

Hundreds of women escape from their "owners", and testify where your money goes....



Info-Help-Line 070 278 042

U.S. Department of Defense Efforts to Reduce Demand

For almost two decades, feminist non-governmental organizations worked to draw attention to the demand for women and girls for prostitution created by U.S. military personnel. The most sustained effort has been in the Philippines, where several U.S. military bases were located.^{157 158}

In March 2002, a media investigation into the trafficking of women into bars and clubs around the U.S. military bases in South Korea revealed that U.S. military personnel were patronizing establishments that offered victims of trafficking for commercial sex acts. At the request of a number of members of Congress, the Department of Defense Office of the Inspector General carried out investigations into whether “U.S. military personnel were engaged in activities that promote and facilitate the trafficking and exploitation of women.”¹⁵⁹

The assessment “examined the adequacy of ongoing programs sponsored by USFK [United States Forces Korea] to curb Service member use of off-base establishments that may traffic in persons (“demand” side).”¹⁶⁰ The USFK made aggressive efforts to place establishments suspected of being involved in prostitution or prostitution-related activities off-limits to troops. By June 2003, 661 establishments throughout Korea were on an off-limits list.

USFK implemented programs to reduce Service member demand for “improper activities offered by off-base establishments” through:

- 1) Education programs for Service members on national policy regarding human trafficking, on the requirement for exemplary conduct by all Service members, and on the illegality of prostitution under Korean law and USFK regulations. Personnel were taught how to recognize indicators of trafficking or prostitution, and given a Korea-wide Crime Stoppers Hotline number where they could report suspicious activity.
- 2) Improving on-base recreational facilities so those facilities become viable alternatives to off-base entertainment attractions.

¹⁵⁷ Tezza O. Paret, Aurora Javate-de Dios, Cecilia Hofmann, Charrie Calalang, Tet Arpa, “Trafficking in Women and Prostitution in the Asia Pacific,” *The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women-Asia Pacific*, 1995.

¹⁵⁸ Sandra Sturdevant and Brenda Stotlfuz. *Let the Good Times Roll: The Sale of Women’s Sexual Labor Around U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines, Okinawa and the Southern Part of Korea*. Berkeley, California: U. of California Press, 1991.

¹⁵⁹ Office of the Inspector General, Department of Defense, “Assessment of DOD Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons: Phase I – United States Forces Korea, July 10, 2003.

¹⁶⁰ Office of the Inspector General, July 10, 2003, p.6.

Phase II of the inspector general's investigation and assessment took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. The goal was to:

“determine the extent to which commanding officers and other DoD officers and employees in authority were being vigilant in inspecting the conduct of all persons who are placed under their command, and otherwise suppressing human trafficking, and whether Service members assigned to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) peacekeeping forces were engaged in any activities that promoted or facilitated the trafficking and exploitation of women.”¹⁶¹

In the Phase II report, the investigators reported that they found “negligible evidence that U.S. Armed Forces in the Balkans patronized prostitutes or engaged in other activities on a wide-spread basis that supported human trafficking.” Service members had restricted contact with local establishments that effectively prohibited them from engaging in illegal prostitution or other activities associated with human trafficking.

The report stated that troops from other countries involved in NATO-led peacekeeping operations were not under the same restrictions as U.S. troops and were some of the worst offenders in acts of violence against trafficked women. The inspector general recommended that the Secretary of Defense support efforts to institute NATO policy that prohibits behavior contributing to sex trafficking.

The behavior of Department of Defense contractors also came under scrutiny. The inspector general reminded officials that as members of SFOR (Stabilization Force, Bosnia-Herzegovina) and KFOR (Kosovo Force), contractor employees are forbidden from patronizing establishments designated by the United Nations or the European Union Police Mission as off-limits because of illegal prostitution and trafficking. The inspector general recommended the inclusion of clauses in all contracts for work that prohibit contractor employees' involvement in activities that may support trafficking. Contractors should be bound to take appropriate measure to address misconduct on the part of their employees.

Conclusions

Men are no longer invisible in their role of perpetuating prostitution and sex trafficking. A more comprehensive view of the global sex trade has brought the “demand” side to the attention of activists, scholars, and officials.

Research on men who purchase sex acts has found an array of personal and psychological problems and criminal motives behind men's decision to buy sex acts. The findings have drawn attention to the need to focus on men's behavior instead of the steady focus on the victims of prostitution and sex trafficking. Sven Axel Månsson, who for many years has advocated for more critical evaluation of and action against purchasers of sex acts, believes

¹⁶¹ Office of the Inspector General, Department of Defense, “Assessment of DoD Effort to Combat Trafficking in Persons: Phase II – Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, December 8, 2003.

this new focus will bring about greater responsibility and accountability for men's behavior. In commenting on the Swedish law, which criminalizes the buying of sexual services, he says there are: "positive consequences of the anonymity around prostitution being broken, with the client to a great extent being forced to confront the social and human implications of his actions."¹⁶² He has issued an international call for a "radical reconsideration of men's responsibility in prostitution. ...Prostitution must be defined as a male issue. Prostitution is about men's sexuality, not women's."¹⁶³

Much more research on men as the primary actors in creating a demand for victims is needed. In Europe, the Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities has opened an inquiry into the consequences of the sex industry in the European Union. Their report for the European Parliament calls for studies to examine the reasons behind the sexual behavior of men at the national and European Union level.¹⁶⁴

Reorienting society's approaches to prostitution offers hope to victims, communities, and even men themselves, for intervention in a destructive activity that violates the dignity and integrity of individuals, families, and entire nations. New laws, research, and programs as described in this report, particularly in the U.S. and Sweden, are creating new ways to deal with age-old problems.

A balanced approach to combating sex trafficking and prostitution requires focusing on both the supply and the demand side of these problems in both sending and receiving countries. A comprehensive approach offers the best strategies and likely successful outcomes to combating this form of slavery.

¹⁶² Månsson,. (forthcoming 2004)

¹⁶³ Månsson, (forthcoming 2004)

¹⁶⁴ Marianne Eriksson (Rapporteur), Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, European Parliament, "Report on the consequences of the sex industry in the European Union" (20032107OINI). January 9, 2004.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Findings from research conducted on convicted offenders who were court ordered to attend a psychoeducational program (N=37)¹⁶⁵

How old were they the first time they had sex with a prostitute:

22%	20 or under
32%	21 to 30
14%	31 to 40
5%	over 40

How many times have you had sex with prostitutes?

14%	none (meaning they were arrested the first time they solicited a prostitute)
22%	up to 4
19%	between 5 and 10
14%	between 11 and 25
11%	more than 100

Prior criminal activity:

16%	previously convicted for patronizing prostitutes
5%	previously convicted of other illegal sexual behavior
38%	previously committed other illegal sexual acts, but had not been caught or convicted

How much money spent on prostitutes in their lifetime?

16%	nothing
14%	\$100 or less
19%	between \$100 and \$500
11%	\$500 to \$500
38%	more than \$5000

Who knows you go to prostitutes?

35%	no one
46%	wife/girlfriend
19%	family member
14%	friend

Have you previously tried to stop going to prostitutes?

57%	yes
29%	no

¹⁶⁵ Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder, 1998, pp. 111-125.

Has anyone ever expressed concern about your behavior with prostitutes?

23% yes

71% no

Appendix B
40 Attitude and Behavior Items on Eight Rotated Factors¹⁶⁶

Factor	Name	Item Description	Loading
1	Social & Legal Beliefs About Prostitution	Should legalize prostitution	.760
		Prostitution is not wrong	.755
		Cops should crack down on prostitution	-.692
		Okay if son went to prostitute	.664
		Should decriminalize prostitution	.650
		Prostitution creates problems	-.628
		Prostitution doesn't hurt anyone	.549
		Prostitution doesn't harm marriage	.488
2	Violence Against Women	Forced sex after necking is woman's fault	.740
		Provocative dress asks for trouble	.635
		Stuck-up women deserve a lesson	.621
		Women hitchhiking deserve rape	.614
		Rape victims have bad reputation	.588
		Going to home implies willingness to have sex	.577
		Prostitutes like sex rougher	.455
3	Narcissistic Preference of Sexual Relationships	Like women who get nasty	.651
		Like women who really like sex	.603
		Need sex immediately when aroused	.537
		Like to have a variety of partners	.530
		Excited by approaching a prostitute	.515
		Want a different kind of sex	.458
		Like control during sex	.390
4	Beliefs About Prostituted Women	Prostitutes enjoy their work	.723
		Prostitutes like men	.672
		Women chose prostitution	.607
		Prostitutes make lots of money	.539
		Prostitutes enjoy sex more	.481
5	Violent Sexual Practices	Sex is fun when women fight	.620
		Some women like being smacked	.568

¹⁶⁶ Reproduced from Busch, Noel Bridget, Holly Bell, Norma Hotaling and Martin A. Monto. "Male Customers of Prostituted Women: Exploring Perceptions of Entitlement to Power and Control and Implications for Violent Behavior Toward Women," *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 8. No. 9, September 2002, pp: 1093-1112.

		Want sex more when angry	.551
		Okay if daughter were prostitute	.532
		Like rough sex	.510
6	Aversion to Traditional Relationships with Women	Don't want relationship responsibilities	.764
		No time for relationship	.763
		Prefer prostitution to relationship	.633
7	Feelings of Inadequacies with Women	Difficulty meeting women	.706
		Most women find me unattractive	.688
		Shy and awkward with women	.688
8	Violent Physical Behavior to Gain Sex	Threatened physical force for sex	.890
		Used physical force for sex	.889

Appendix C

PORTLAND PROSTITUTION OFFENDER PROGRAM

Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation, Portland, Oregon

AGENDA

- 1) Participants complete questionnaire.
- 2) Explanation of program goals and rules:
 - a) **Goals:** To discuss in detail the negative impact of a person's involvement in the sex industry can have on their lives, their family's lives, the prostituted people's lives, and on their community. To convince a significant portion of the program's participants to reduce or end their involvement with the sex industry.
 - b) **Rules:** Program will begin on time and end on time.

Bathroom breaks must be kept to a minimum.

Respect towards the presenters and fellow participants must be shown at all times.

Questions cannot be asked until the presenters are ready to answer them.

Lunch is from noon to one o'clock. There will be a fifteen-minute break at three o'clock.
- 3) The laws related to commercial sex, and the various charges and penalties that accompany a prostitution arrest, and/or sex with minors.
 - a) Loitering to solicit for prostitution. City ordinance. Violation results in exclusion from prostitution-free zone. Violation of exclusion results in Trespass II arrest.
 - b) Prostitution. State law. Violation results in various penalties as set by the court. Can include up to a year in jail.
 - c) Promoting prostitution. State law. Violation results in a Class C Felony. Conviction commonly results in prison time.
 - d) Compelling prostitution. State law. Violation results in a Class B Felony. Conviction routinely results in prison time.
 - e) Rape/Sodomy/Sexual Abuse of a child below the age of consent. State law. Claim not to know person was a minor is not accepted as a defense. Depending on child's age, violation results in a Class C, B, or A Felony. Conviction will result in prison time.
- 4) Sexually transmitted diseases pertaining to prostitution. Emphasis on drug resistant bacteria, and incurable viral diseases, such as herpes, hepatitis C, and HIV. Additional ways involvement with prostitution puts a person at risk for physical, as well as other,

damages: being attacked by predators, robbed, getting involved in criminal activity – either knowingly or unknowingly and being murdered.

- 5) Detailed discussion of how prostitution works (see handout entitled *How Prostitution Works*): of other johns, pimps, of the life of an average prostituted person: their childhoods, how they were taken into the sex industry, how they are treated in prostitution, and the long-term damages to their lives from being prostituted.
- 6) Legal forms of prostitution that serve as funnels into more direct prostitution: strip clubs and pornography.
 - a) Continuous exposure to offers of prostitution.
 - b) Exposure to destructive behaviors: gambling addiction, alcoholism, and dependence on illegal drugs.
 - c) Interruption, destruction, and loss of family, job, and other healthy relationships due to spending excessive time and money. Potential, incarceration due to stealing in order to support the addictions.
- 7) Guest speaker addressing the realities of surviving prostitution and/or living in a community saturated by the sex industry.
- 8) Sexual disorders and treatment.

Evaluations, recommendations, and referrals.