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Tackling the demand for prostitution: a rapid evidence assessment of the published research literature

Dr Aidan Wilcox, Kris Christmann, Michelle Rogerson and Philip Birch, University of Huddersfield

This rapid evidence assessment of the published research literature is part of the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Review (Home Office, 2008a), which aimed to assess what further action the Government and other agencies could do to reduce the demand for prostitution.

Research studies from selected countries were included in this review (220 studies were reviewed and 181 met the inclusion criteria). The findings presented highlight the characteristics and motivations of those who procure sex, the contexts in which they procure sex, and 'what works' in tackling the demand for prostitution.

The report found that methodological difficulties plague research into clients of prostitutes. There are many gaps in the research and much of the evidence is weak or inconclusive, particularly with regard to 'what works' in reducing demand. It was also noted that prostitution is a policy domain for which the 'right' answer may not be determined solely by reference to the evidence. There are moral, political and other influences that need to be considered when tackling the demand for prostitution.

Key findings

- Because of the often hidden and stigmatised nature of the prostitution, it is very difficult to produce reliable and accurate estimates of the number of people who procure sex – estimates vary depending on the method of calculation.
- Suggested motivations for paying for sex include:
 - desiring sexual variety;
 - dissatisfaction with existing relationships;
 - sexual gratification;
 - loneliness, shyness or incapacities (mental and physical);
 - having no other sexual outlet;
 - being separated from a partner by travel; and
 - curiosity, risk or excitement; to exercise control.
- Efforts to reduce demand seem to have mixed results, although the evidence is weak. It appears that the consequences of policy change are often hidden or practically unmeasurable. Also, the risk

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Keywords

Prostitution
Kerb crawling
Sex crime
Sex offences

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of displacement threatens to negate any gains of enforcement activity by making prostitution an even more hidden and secretive enterprise.

- Although the evidence base is weak and largely inconclusive, the review highlights a number of interventions.

- road management schemes in the UK, as part of a co-ordinated strategy, appear to reduce street prostitution at least in the short-term, but the impact on overall demand is unknown;
- naming and shaming’ tactics appear to offer potential in reducing demand, but there is a lack of robust evaluation of their impact, and of the consequences on family members;
- the research suggests that arrest of the client may be the single biggest specific deterrent, likely because of clients’ fear of the informal ramifications of exposing their behaviour, but that the risk of arrest is so low that there is little, if any, general deterrence;

- educative approaches, such as ‘John schools’, have demonstrated attitude change but have not changed behaviour;

- in Sweden, criminalisation of demand appeared to coincide with a reduction in street prostitution although some findings suggest a decline in the working conditions of street prostitutes and an increase in size of the indoor market.

This review highlights the major gaps in the evidence base and that the evidence provided is largely weak and inconclusive. Given finite resources, policy makers need to decide whether they wish to tackle all demand (including buying sex abroad), all domestic demand, or the demand for street prostitution. That decision will have significant implications for the strategies adopted and resources needed in terms of policing and delivering.

Tackling the demand for prostitution: a rapid evidence assessment of the published research literature

Dr Aidan Wilcox, Kris Christmann, Michelle Rogerson and Philip Birch, University of Huddersfield

Introduction and aims

This rapid assessment of the literature is part of the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Review (Home Office, 2008a), which aimed to assess what further action the Government and other agencies could do to reduce the demand for prostitution.

This review of the published research aimed to answer the following research questions, which were framed by the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Board:

- What are the characteristics of those who procure sex?
- What are the contexts and settings for procuring sex?
- What are the drivers and motivations for procuring sex?
- How do the reasons for procuring sex relate to situation and context?
- What has been tried elsewhere to deter and/or hinder those who procure sex – what works to tackle the demand for prostitution?

Methodology

The review included all relevant post-1990 English language studies conducted in a small number of selected countries: Australia, Finland, the Republic of Ireland, the Netherlands, North America, Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK).¹ A total of 220 studies were reviewed, and 181 studies² form the basis of this review.³

- 1 As there are cultural, legal, and social differences between the UK and other countries, and consequently differences in the nature of prostitution, it is unclear to what extent this evidence can or should be applied to prostitution policy in the UK. This should be taken into account when considering findings from non-UK countries.
- 2 Details of the 181 studies that formed the basis of the review are presented in Appendix 7.
- 3 The remaining 39 studies were excluded from the review because they either failed the inclusion criteria or did not report any new empirical data (see Appendix 1 and Appendix 8 for further details).

The review included academic studies that were relevant to one or more of the key research questions. A quality assessment of each study's design and related findings was undertaken.

Key findings

It is important to note that methodological difficulties plague this area of research. There are many gaps in the evidence base and much of the evidence, especially when assessing 'what works in reducing demand', is low quality and mostly inconclusive.

The majority of studies reviewed were concerned with male clients of female street prostitutes. Much less is known about the clients of prostitutes who work from home, hotels, saunas or brothels.

Characteristics and number of people who procure sex

Because of the often hidden and stigmatised nature of the prostitution, it is difficult to produce reliable and accurate estimates of the number of people who procure sex. Estimates of the proportion of men in the UK paying for sex vary depending on method of calculation.

Survey-based methods⁴ have produced varying estimates for the proportion of men who procure sex in the UK, with around five to seven per cent reporting they had ever paid for sex and between one and six per cent reporting to have done so in the last five years. These figures suggest a client population of around 870,000 and more than 2.4 million males using prostitutes,⁵ although the true figure could be higher or lower.

- 4 Surveys on this topic suffer from methodological weakness as they assume respondents are being honest in their responses, and by implication are admitting to what many people would regard as a highly stigmatised activity.
- 5 Based upon 2001 Census data (males aged between 15 and 79).

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Calculative-based methods tend to produce higher estimates, for example, one study suggests around 64 million transactions.⁶

Estimates of the clients' average age vary between 33 and 41, with the first visit to a prostitute typically taking place during late teens to mid-20s. A large proportion of men visiting prostitutes appear to be in stable relationships, and are employed or self-employed, with all occupational groups represented. Some key differences exist between men who pay for sex and those who do not, with some findings suggesting those who are less happy in their marital relationship have an increased likelihood of participating in the sex industry. However, overall differences tend to be modest.

Contexts and settings for procuring sex

The sex market can be classified into submarkets consisting of the on-street sex market and various indoor environments. The on-street market appears to form a relatively small sector compared with indoor markets.

Drivers and motivations for procuring sex

Suggested motivations for paying for sex include:

- desiring sexual variety;
- dissatisfaction with existing relationships;
- sexual gratification;
- loneliness, shyness or incapacities (mental and physical);
- having no other sexual outlet;
- being separated from a partner by travel; and
- curiosity, risk or excitement; to exercise control.

A study using economic predictive modelling identified the main opportunity-related variables to purchasing sex as:

- working away from home; and
- recent arrival (within the past five years) in the geographical area.

What works in tackling the demand for prostitution?

Efforts to reduce demand seem to have mixed results, although the evidence is weak. Indeed, it appears that the consequences of policy change are often hidden or practically unmeasurable. Also, the risk of displacement

threatens to negate any gains of enforcement activity by making prostitution an even more hidden and secretive enterprise. Also, few strategies to reduce demand are without potential negative consequences for prostitutes (for example, increased exploitation and risk).

Efforts to reduce demand thus far seem to have mixed results, although the evidence is often weak. The following key interventions were highlighted in the research:

- Road management schemes in the UK, as part of a co-ordinated strategy, appear to reduce street prostitution at least in the short-term, but the impact on overall demand is unknown.
- 'Naming and shaming' tactics appear to offer potential in reducing demand but there is a lack of robust evaluation of their impact, and of the consequences on family members.
- In Sweden, criminalisation of demand appeared to coincide with a reduction in street prostitution although there is some evidence of a decline in the working conditions of street prostitutes and an increase in size of the indoor market.
- Educative approaches, such as 'John schools' in the US and elsewhere, have demonstrated attitude change but have not changed behaviour.
- The research seems to suggest that arrest of the client may be the single biggest specific deterrent, likely because of the clients' fear of the informal ramifications of exposing their behaviour, but the risk of arrest is so low that there is little, if any, general deterrence.

Conclusions and points for consideration

This review highlighted the major gaps in the evidence base and that the evidence provided is largely weak and inconclusive. Given finite resources, policy makers need to decide whether they wish to tackle all demand (including buying sex abroad), all domestic demand, or the demand for street prostitution. That decision will have significant implications for the strategies adopted and resources needed in terms of policing and delivering.

Furthermore, prostitution is a policy domain for which the 'right' answer may not be determined solely by reference to the evidence. There are clearly moral, political and other influences that need to be considered when tackling the demand for prostitution.

⁶ 'Calculative methods', are based on a series of calculations, typically starting with estimates of the number of prostitutes (not an easy task in itself) multiplied by the average number of clients they are assumed to see in a year, summed to equate to the total estimated number of commercial sex transactions that take place annually.

This review suggests a number of points for consideration by those seeking to develop policy and practice to tackle the demand for prostitution. When considering these points, careful consideration should be made as to whether it is feasible to tackle demand for prostitution, given the resources required to tackle it effectively and also the research limitations in policy formulation.

If demand for prostitution is to be tackled, then the following actions are likely to be needed:

- tailored interventions to target specific motivations for procuring sex;
- strategies to increase the real and perceived risk of arrest;
- co-ordinated action across different market sectors to address the risk of displacement;
- supply-side interventions enforcing existing prostitution laws and restricting advertising;
- publicity to clarify the legal status of prostitution and related activities;
- support for prostitutes wishing to exit and consideration of the impact of policy change on prostitutes and their dependents; and
- innovative research, including systematic approaches to measuring the extent of demand and supply, and the impact of policy change.

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I Introduction and methodology

Introduction

Tackling the demand for prostitution is part of the Government's Co-ordinated Prostitution Strategy (Home Office, 2006a) and the United Kingdom (UK) Action Plans on Human Trafficking (Home Office, 2007 and 2008b). In January 2008, the Home Office implemented a review to explore what further action could be taken by the Government and other agencies to tackle the demand for prostitution.⁷ This rapid evidence assessment (REA), along with another study that examined the various legislative and policy approaches to tackle demand implemented in nine countries (Kelly, *et al.*, 2009), form part of the work undertaken within the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Review (Home Office, 2008a).

This REA presents findings from the available published research literature relating to the demand for prostitution and those who procure commercial sex based on a number of specific questions set by the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Board. The questions are:

- What are the characteristics of those who procure sex?
- What are the contexts and settings for procuring sex?
- What are the drivers and motivations for procuring sex?
- How do the reasons for procuring sex relate to situation and context?
- What has been tried elsewhere to deter and/or hinder those who procure sex; and what works in tackling the demand for prostitution?

7 There is recognition that focusing solely on the criminalisation of women who prostitute may not be effective, given that many prostitutes feel compelled to work through poverty, violence or drug addiction (Home Office, 2004a).

Most of the studies reviewed in this report were concerned with the reduction of demand for *street prostitution*, which tends to be more visible and more commonly associated with criminal activity than indoor prostitution, for example, in saunas, which generally attracts less attention and concern. This review acknowledges that there are different forms and contexts of prostitution (for example, trafficking and buying sex abroad) and some of these issues are discussed in the Appendices. This report also focuses on female prostitutes and male clients, reflecting the content of the vast majority of the academic research literature.⁸

The definition of prostitution used throughout this report is the same as the one used in the report *Paying the Price* (Home Office, 2004a).⁹ Here, prostitution is defined as: "the exchange of sexual services for some form of payment".

Report outline

The rest of this chapter provides an introduction to the methodology used in preparing this report. Following this is an overview of the characteristics of those who procure sex (Chapter 2); the contexts and settings for procuring sex (Chapter 3); the drivers and motivations for procuring sex and how the reasons for procuring sex relate to situation and context (Chapter 4); and what has been tried elsewhere to deter and/or hinder those who procure sex; and what works in tackling the demand for prostitution (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 summarises conclusions from the review and provides a list of points for consideration when developing policy and practice to tackle the demand for prostitution. The appendices provide further details of the methodology and the findings.

8 See section in Appendix 4 for discussion on male clients of male prostitutes.

9 Many terms associated with prostitution are value laden, and their use can imply an underlying acceptance or rejection of the activity. In line with the descriptive used in *Paying the Price* the terms 'prostitution', 'prostitute' and 'client', and 'men' and 'women' are used but this should not be taken to imply the research team has any particular view about the legitimacy or otherwise of prostitution.

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Methodology

This review of the literature focused on research published in English from 1990 onwards in a small number of purposively selected countries: Australia, Finland, the Republic of Ireland, the Netherlands, North America, Sweden, and the UK. These represented some of the Review's key countries of interest (Home Office, 2008a and Kelly, *et al.*, 2009).¹⁰

The review looked at 220 studies and decided which ones to include or exclude on the basis of how relevant they were to the research questions. This process resulted in 39 studies being excluded from the review (see Appendix 1 and Appendix 8 for further details) because they either failed the inclusion criteria or did not report any new empirical data. Details of the 181 studies that form the basis of the review are presented in Appendix 7.

The literature review was not limited to quantitative empirical studies, as the initial search found that most of the studies were qualitative or descriptive in nature. Many of the studies tended to be based on weak or limited methodology, not surprising given the challenges of researching an often secretive and stigmatised behaviour, and the lack of reliable lists of people involved in prostitution.

Furthermore, regarding the question of what works to tackle the demand for prostitution, the few impact or outcome studies usually also had significant methodological flaws, including:

- lack of an adequate comparison group;
- small sample size;
- lack of representativeness;
- inadequate outcome measure.

Despite these flaws and irrespective of the methodological approach employed, academic research relevant to the five research questions posed by the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Review Board can provide an insight into the issues and context regarding the demand for and procurement of prostitution. An assessment of the quality of the individual studies is presented in Appendix 7, and the relative merits of the studies are also discussed in the main text. Further details about the methodology employed to select and review the studies can be found in Appendix 1.

¹⁰ As there are cultural, legal and social differences between the UK and other countries, and consequently differences in the nature of prostitution, it is unclear to what extent this evidence can or should be applied to prostitution policy in the UK. Mindful of this, a degree of caution should be taken into account when considering findings from non-UK countries.

2 Prevalence and characteristics of those who procure sex

The research described in this section reflects the bias of the research literature towards male clients of female prostitutes.¹¹ Most studies are based on characteristics of men arrested for kerb crawling. Much less is known about the clients of prostitutes who work from home, hotels or sauna/brothels. This section looks at the research into the prevalence of people involved in the sex industry and goes on to look at the characteristics of clients.¹²

Prevalence

It is very difficult to produce reliable and robust estimates of the number of people working as prostitutes and also of those who procure sex. There are no reliable official lists of people involved in prostitution and no comprehensive administrative sources on the subject. Therefore, to assess prevalence researchers have used survey techniques and calculative methods to estimate how many men procure sex. Not surprisingly, these methods produce different estimates, as do the different individual studies.¹³

Calculative¹⁴ methods: UK

In the UK, Kinnell (1990) estimated the total number of prostitutes to be just slightly less than 80,000 (based on information from 17 sex work projects, six of which were in London). This figure is widely cited¹⁵ (including Home Office, 2004a) and no other competing estimates of prostitute

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- ¹¹ Only one of the studies in the review looked at the characteristics of female clients of male prostitutes (sample size of just three), and none of them covered male clients of under-age prostitutes. A small amount of literature covered the characteristics of male clients of male prostitutes, and the size of this market appears to be small compared with the male clients of female prostitutes. This material is presented in Appendix 4.
- ¹² A more detailed discussion of prevalence and of its international dimension is provided in Appendix 2.
- ¹³ All the methods used to calculate prevalence and the related estimates presented in this report have methodological and reporting problems. The figures presented must be regarded very much as estimates and careful consideration should be given as to how they were derived and calculated. Furthermore, caution must be applied when interpreting and using findings
- ¹⁴ 'Calculative methods', are based on a series of calculations typically starting with estimates of the number of prostitutes (no easy task in itself) multiplied by the average estimated number of clients they are assumed to see each year and summed to equate to the total estimated number of commercial sex transactions that take place annually.
- ¹⁵ It should be noted that Kinnell provides no methodological explanation for how the figure of 80,000 prostitutes working in the UK was derived from 17 prostitution projects. This is of concern as this figure is used in succeeding calculations.

numbers in the UK were found. Using a calculative method, which assumed that the typical prostitute had 800 clients visits in a year (not the same as 800 different men), or 16 per week, Kinnell estimated that around 64 million commercial transactions take place a year (Kinnell, 2006)

Social survey¹⁶ methods: UK studies

Groom and Nandwandi's (2006) Glasgow study of 2,665 men estimated that 10 per cent reported they had paid for sex. The majority (66 per cent) of these men had paid for sex in the last year and 27 per cent were repeat users of prostitutes. However, answers given were by male clinic attendees in response to screening questions, and therefore the sample is unlikely to be representative of the wider population. Johnson *et al.*'s study found that about seven per cent of men in their sample had reported paying for sex at some point in their lives, and two per cent reported that they had paid for sex during the last five years.

The National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL) was the best quality survey reviewed. It was a national stratified probability sample of sexual attitudes and lifestyles of men and women aged between 16 and 44 resident in private households in Great Britain. It asked respondents if they have ever paid for sex. This represents one of the largest surveys that can be used to calculate the client population in the Great Britain with an (adjusted) response rate of 65 per cent. Data from the 2001 NATSAL suggested that around 4 per cent of men reported paying for sex in the past five years and about 1 per cent reported paying for it in the previous 12 months (Johnson *et al.*, 2001 and Ward *et al.*, 2005). These figures imply a client population of between 876,904 and 2.4 million¹⁷ males, although the true figure could be higher or lower. These figures are considerably less than those proposed by Kinnell using a calculative technique.

Cameron and Collins' (2003) analysis of the short version of the 1990 NATSAL survey (containing a larger sample) found that about five per cent of male respondents admitted to having paid for heterosexual sex at some time. Of these, more than one quarter (27%) admitted to having paid for heterosexual sex in the last five years. The authors also found that most men had been to a relatively small number

of prostitutes. Kinnell's (1990) survey of Merseyside clients found that the average length of time since they had first paid for sex was just over ten years, similar to Sanders' (2008a) finding of nine years. In other words, for men who were not 'first timers', involvement in the prostitution market seems to last for a prolonged period.

Estimates derived from surveys are lower than those derived from the numbers of prostitutes and sex transactions. This may be a consequence of the weaknesses of survey methodology when applied to this topic. As Kinnell (2006) in Cambell and O'Neill (2006) notes, the NATSAL findings suggest a client population of 175,380, each of whom would need to pay for sex every single day of the year to account for the total estimated number of sexual transactions estimated through calculative methods; clearly, both estimates cannot be accurate.

Frequency of client visits: UK studies

Research reporting the frequency of client visits was relatively scarce in the reviewed literature; figures differ markedly and are rarely presented in a form allowing for comparison. It is clear, however, that the lower the mean annual frequency of client visits, the larger the whole client group has to be to account for the total estimated number of commercial sex episodes.

The picture that emerges consistently from the research is that a significant minority of clients visit prostitutes more than once. However, estimates of frequency vary considerably, from four visits per year (Day *et al.*, 1993) to 28 (Thomas *et al.*, 1990 in Kinnell, 2006; and Groom and Nandwandi, 2006).

Interviews with prostitutes confirm the existence of repeat users. Sharpe (1998) interviewed 40 female prostitutes in a northern city and found that more than one-half (23) had regular clients, with clients buying services over many months or years. Valencia *et al.* (2007) studied clients of 49 indoor commercial prostitutes. Of 205 recent clients, 72 per cent were known to patronise more than one prostitute (16 per cent did not), 35 per cent were known to patronise more than one sex establishment (18 per cent did not), while 21 per cent were known as 'house regulars'.

Applying these frequency estimates to the earlier reported figure of 64 million transactions per year, estimates of the total number of clients range from about 2.2 million (Thomson in Kinnell, 2006) to around 10.6 million (Barnard *et al.* in Kinnell, 2006) a range from 11 to 50 per cent of UK males aged 15 to 79.¹⁸

¹⁶ Social surveys on this topic suffer from methodological weakness, in that they assume respondents are being honest in their responses, and by implication are admitting to what many people would regard as a highly stigmatised activity. A body of methodological research has suggested that men under-report their commercial sex activities in surveys (Des Jarlais *et al.*, Lau, 2000; Lau *et al.*, 2003; Rogers *et al.*, 2005; Turner *et al.*, 1998; van Griensven *et al.*, 2006; Brewer *et al.*, 2007; cited in Brewer *et al.*, 2007 p 22).

¹⁷ Based on 2001 Census data (males aged between 15 and 79).

¹⁸ Estimates based upon 2001 Census figures.

These estimates are markedly divergent and some seem extraordinarily high. Furthermore, the estimates used in each stage of establishing the size of the client population are open to doubt and reflect the weakness of this approach.

Summary and reflections: prevalence in the UK

To summarise, estimates of the proportion of UK males who buy sex and the estimated average frequency of visits to prostitutes vary widely. The great disparity between estimates of previous prostitute use is likely to stem from the stigmatised nature of the behaviour, and the different methodologies employed in measuring it. Survey approaches generally produce markedly lower estimates of client numbers than calculations derived from the supply side. While surveys are prone to under-reporting, and perhaps also over-reporting, calculative estimates from the supply side rely on successive and compounding calculations, and hence more assumptions.

While the exact prevalence of clients remains unknown, even the more conservative NATSAL survey estimate of 876,904 users indicates that any policy designed to reduce demand would require considerable resources for the police and other agencies to make even a superficial impact upon this number.

Client characteristics

This section provides a brief overview of the literature on client characteristics.¹⁹

Much of the available research literature on client characteristics is qualitative and tends towards two divergent perspectives (Monto and McRee, 2005):

- normalising the client by emphasising his (usually male in the reviewed literature) similarities with other men and assuming that prostitution is a normal part of masculine activity;
- viewing clients as characterised by various deficiencies, pathologies or unique features.

The age at which males first buy sex varies enormously, from early teens to old age, although the average tends to be more consistent, at late teens or more usually mid- 20s (De Graaf, *et al.*, 1997; Monto, 1999a; Atchinson and Lowman and, 2005; and Macleod *et al.*, 2008). There appear to be a

19 Appendix 3 provides further details on marital status, sexuality, sexual activity, occupation and education, ethnicity, mobility, drug and alcohol use, and sexual attitudes.

wide range of age groups who use prostitutes, with most UK studies finding average ages of male clients to be in the 30s or early 40s (Kinnell, 1990; Matthews, 1993a; Faugier and Cranfield, 1995; Campbell, 1995–96; Brooks-Gordon, 2006; Groom and Nandwandi, 2006; and Coy *et al.*, 2007). This is supported by evidence from North American research (Leonard, 1990; Monto, 2000; Monto and Hotaling, 2001; Lau *et al.*, 2004; Kennedy, *et al.*, 2004a; Ewasiw *et al.*, 2006; and Moses, 2006). Much of the survey and interview data show that clients of prostitutes have a similar age distribution to the adult male population in general, and are older than the ‘typical’ offender population (Kinnell, 2006 in Cambell and O’Neill, 2006).

While there is a great deal of variability among clients in part reflecting the context and frequency with which they seek prostitutes – surveys indicate that the typical client of prostitutes does not conform to the stereotype of the lonely, sexually inactive male (Benson and Matthews, 1995 and Hughes, 2004). Research indicates that clients tend to be married, employed, and more educated than the prostitutes they are visiting, and to come from all ages and classes (Kinnell, 1990; Faugier and Cranfield 1995; Sanders, 2005a; and Coy *et al.*, 2007).

Monto and McRee (2005) surveyed 1,672 clients in the US, drawn from a nationally representative sample (drawn from the US General Social Survey 1993/94/96 and the National Health and Social Life Survey 1992).²⁰ On average, clients reported a lower rate of marriage and diminished marital happiness than non-clients. They reported thinking about sex, masturbating, and feeling guilty about sex more frequently than men in general and they were more likely to participate in other aspects of the sex industry (strip clubs, etc.) than men in general. These differences emerged more prominently between repeat users (visiting a prostitute more than once) and those who reported never visiting.

Overall, despite some contradictory evidence, the available research seems to show that clients may differ from non-clients on some important issues, but that the sizes of the differences appear to be modest.²¹

20 Samples were made more comparable (survey and arrestee) by restricting survey data to men aged between 18 and 55.

21 See section in Appendix 3 for a fuller discussion of differences between clients and non-clients.

3 Contexts and settings for procuring sex

There are five main sectors of the prostitution industry covering both street and indoor work (Sanders, 2005a):

- street market;
- working from home;
- escorts;
- brothels; and
- licensed saunas.

The literature suggests that the women who work in each sector and the men who procure them tend not to cross between sectors. Women in the on-street market tend to be younger and more likely to be drug addicted than those working in the indoor market (Sanders, 2005a).²² The indoor market is characterised by a hierarchy, from the 'walk ups' and massage parlours through to expensive escorts working for agencies and independent workers providing specialist services.

As for the clients, those who frequent street prostitutes tend to be younger (attracted perhaps by the lower prices) and more risk-seeking than those who frequent the indoor market, and there is some suggestion in the literature that the illegality of the act is an attraction for at least some men (Faugier, 1996, cited in Sergeant, 1997, and Monto, 2000). The indoor market, on the other hand, tends to attract older, more educated and wealthier men, who may appreciate the more luxurious and relaxing surroundings, as well as the quasi-legitimacy such establishments provide (Sanders, 2005a). However, this division is not straightforward, since high-status clients have also been identified among kerb crawlers.

The Internet has changed the way in which prostitutes and their clients interact. It hosts three types of services (Sharp and Earle, 2003):

- national or regionally organised escort sites, which advertise a range of prostitutes and are the most expensive of the three;
- individual escorts who work alone and tend to charge less; and
- massage parlours/saunas that advertise their facilities and prices online.

²² See sections in Appendix 4 for discussion of sex markets, buying sex abroad, discussion on male clients with male prostitutes, and links between context and the procurement of sex.

Demand-focused sites, such as 'Punternet', facilitates the exchange of reviews of prostitutes between clients. Also, Holt (2007) found that Internet forums are used to identify individual prostitutes and locations, with users in two US cities publishing 'hot spot' maps. The forums also highlighted areas to avoid because prostitutes were not available or where police actions were in force, indicating that clients were mobile and prepared to move to different locations.

Internet sites such as these may create a virtual community for clients, which may normalise the purchase of sex, perhaps leading to an increase in the demand for commercial sex (Sharp and Earle, 2003 and Langanke, 2005).

Cameron and Collins (2003) used economic predictive modelling to identify the main opportunity-related variables to purchasing sex. These included working away from home and recent arrival (in the past five years) to the geographical area.

4 Drivers and motivations for procuring sex

There have been many studies that aim to uncover the reasons why men buy sex, and a variety of motivations and typologies of users of prostitutes have been proposed.²³

A Canadian study by Kennedy *et al.* (2004a) of 597 men attending a Vancouver Police John School²⁴ stated that their main motivations were as follows:

- curiosity (27 per cent);
- loneliness (19 per cent);
- sexual frustration (16 per cent);
- sexual gratification (5 per cent);
- stress (5 per cent);
- bachelor party (3 per cent); and
- being drunk (2 per cent).

The clients were asked what was the best thing about paying for sex and one-quarter stated the lack of commitment, one-fifth the brevity of the encounter, one-sixth the variety, while one in ten named a specific sexual act. A minority, one per cent, said that being in control was

²³ See Appendix 5 for typologies of male clients, and for more details on motivations for procuring sex.

²⁴ Educative programme for kerb crawlers.

the best aspect of the encounter. Interestingly, when asked whether they enjoyed sex with prostitutes, 60 per cent stated that they did not.

The research indicates there is no one central reason why some men seek out prostitutes; rather there are complex and multifaceted motivations underlying this behaviour. These include:

- desiring 'no strings' sex;
- wanting a 'girlfriend experience';
- difficulties with conventional sexual relationships;
- separation from a regular partner;
- sexual gratification;
- capacity to request specific sex acts;
- status and peer pressure;
- curiosity, risk or excitement; to exercise control;
- compulsive or opportunistic reasons (see Appendix 5 for a fuller discussion of typologies and motivations of clients).

However, many of these same motivations are also present among the large majority of men who apparently never seek prostitutes. Thus, prostitution is not necessarily a direct outcome of such desires (as Carpenter, 1998 argues in Monto, 2004); this raises the equally important question: why do most men *not* buy sex?

For some men, the purchase of sex is a compulsive act. Wolfe (2000) estimates that between seven and ten per cent of the US population has some form of sexually compulsive behaviour. Earl and Crow's (1989) study characterised such behaviour by:

- an overwhelming urge to partake in the behaviour;
- disregard for the negative consequences; and
- inability to stop the behaviour even if they wish to.

It is not known what proportion of men who use prostitutes have this type of compulsive behaviour, but it is likely that the behaviour of this group would be resistant to change.

Cameron and Collins (2003) found that the prior experience of homosexual sex was a key predictor of using female prostitutes. They also found support for the hypothesis that male decisions to procure sex are conditioned by their attitude to risk, their religion, the range of opportunities to conceal consumption, and the desire to satisfy demand for sexual variety.

Researchers in Scotland reported that the majority of men who bought sex indicated some feelings of guilt or

shame about their behaviour (Hughes, 2004). Significant proportions of men who buy sex say they are unhappy with their behaviour, do not enjoy the sex, and want to stop (Sawyer *et al.*, 1998).

The implications of these motivations for demand reduction are twofold:

- the group of men acting through compulsion, or who are accepting of prostitution and therefore unashamed of their behaviour, are unlikely to respond to efforts to change their behaviour;
- the group that is more likely to be amenable to change has a wide variety of motivations, and would not therefore respond to a 'one size fits all' approach.

The multiplicity of reasons for purchasing sex suggests that policy and practice need to address more than just environmental measures (for example, traffic calming) to reduce the demand for prostitution. Wider factors, such as issues of masculinity and perceptions of women, risk taking and sexual compulsion, all need to be addressed. While the majority of men do not appear to visit prostitutes, the research suggests it does occur with sufficient frequency to be a normal sexual experience for a relatively large group of men.

5 What prevents and deters those who procure sex?

The development of particular policies to reduce the demand for prostitution is based on the assumption that a proportion of the men who use prostitutes are amenable to 'treatment' or deterrence. There will also be a group resistant to change (for example, those with compulsive, or more controversially 'addictive' behaviours), but as long as the first group is larger than zero, well designed and executed initiatives have the possibility of reducing demand to some extent (Shively, 2008).

This chapter describes the main approaches taken to reducing the demand for prostitution in jurisdictions in Australasia, Europe and North America, and discusses the available evidence of how effective these measures have been. Other approaches, such as the use of tolerance zones and legalisation that are not strictly aimed at reducing demand, are discussed in Appendix 6.

As noted in Chapter 2, it is difficult to produce reliable estimates of the size or nature of the prostitution market. The often secretive and stigmatised nature of procuring prostitution, the weak methodology usually employed to assess the impact of interventions, and the frequent use of proxy measures of outcome combine to make it difficult to determine the success or failure of prostitution policies and interventions. In addition, there are cultural, legal, and social differences between the UK and the other countries covered by the review. Consequently there are differences in the nature of prostitution itself, so a degree of caution should be applied when considering the adoption of non-UK based interventions for this country.

Arrest and other enforcement strategies

An American study (Brewer *et al.*, 2007), claimed that arrest of the client reduces the likelihood of a future prostitution arrest by 70 per cent. This was one of the more robust studies reviewed, as it attempted to separate the specific effect of arrest versus non-arrest on use of prostitutes.

While the comparability of the two groups was similar (in terms of some demographics and locality), the comparison group, recruited from a health clinic, were on average, older than the arrestee group²⁵ and may have differed in other important aspects, for example, being more concerned about their health, or having greater compulsive behaviour. It is not certain, therefore, that arrest has the deterrent effect claimed, although it is possible that it had some deterrent effect.

Even if arrest did result in specific deterrence to the extent claimed by the authors, the impact of this on overall demand is likely to be limited, given that the proportion of men who use prostitutes who are arrested is very low. Brewer *et al.* (2007) found that a large majority of US clients were not arrested during observation periods over as long as ten years. In addition, an increased fear of arrest risks increasing demand among those men who crave the risk involved in procuring sex. Several studies have identified likelihood of arrest as heightening excitement and encouraging men motivated by risk (O'Connell-Davidson, 1999; Monto, 2000; Sanders, 2005a; and O'Neill, 2005).

Cameron and Collins (2003) support an arrest strategy. They use predictive modelling to conclude that shifting the burden of risk and punishment to men may prove an effective

²⁵ It should be noted that arrest is only a proxy indicator for assessing client typology or behaviour; thus, studies based on arrestees may present a skewed picture that may not reflect reality.

strategy in reducing prostitution, but that the impact may be limited to low-price street prostitution and massage parlours.

However, enforcement activity tends to be conducted by temporary sweeps on limited areas of street prostitution. This results in short-term enforcement and temporal or geographic displacement, and in prostitutes seeking alternative means to fund drug misuse, usually street crime (Home Office, 2004a). Following the crack-down, clients and prostitutes return to these areas.

The criminalisation of public communication for the purposes of prostitution in Canada (Bill C-49 1985) led to an almost five-fold increase in arrests for prostitution over the following decade (1986–96), around one-half of which were clients (Fischer *et al.*, 2002). Larsen (1996) highlighted the variability of enforcing this prostitution law in case studies across four cities. This variability ranged from strict enforcement against prostitutes, through combined enforcement of prostitutes and clients, to various forms of selective toleration and negotiation. Larsen argued that enforcement against clients was more effective than concentrating solely on prostitutes, but neither approach was sustained. Initial decreases in street prostitution were soon reversed and both prostitutes and their clients quickly adapted to police enforcement activities. However, since Larsen's analysis was somewhat anecdotal, it is difficult to judge its validity.

Pitcher *et al.* (2006) reported that a strategy of letters to clients and penalty points made against them in five English cities led to decreases in the number of prostitutes working on the street in residential areas. However, the dispersal of women to other areas, movement to indoor markets and changes to working practices (including the use of mobile phones to arrange rendezvous with clients) was noted. Aiming to work less visibly, prostitutes increasingly worked on their own or in twos, and screened clients more rapidly before getting into cars. Concern about enforcement action also led clients to request that transactions were completed in more remote locations placing prostitutes at greater risk from violent clients. This study suffers from having no direct data on clients and no outcome data, only subjective information from prostitutes, clients and residents.

Criminalising the purchase of sex (Sweden)

In 1999 Sweden introduced legislation that made the purchase (but not the sale) of sex illegal. This criminalises demand and decriminalises supply, thereby turning the traditional approach to policing prostitution on its head. It is also illegal to profit

from prostitution in any way, so the media are forbidden from carrying adverts for prostitution (Bindel and Kelly, 2004). The legislation is also designed to have an impact on the social acceptability of prostitution (Ekberg, 2004). Public opinion surveys in Sweden showed that 80 per cent of the public is in favour of criminalisation (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication, 2004, cited in Hughes, 2004).

Joe-Cannon (2006) asserts that street prostitution has declined in Sweden since the law came into effect, and that the number of female prostitutes has decreased by 50 per cent. Furthermore, the author cites Swedish police who maintain that there is no indication that prostitutes or sex clubs have gone underground or that escort agencies or brothels have increased since the criminalisation of demand. Other beneficial effects claimed include an increase in the number of prostitutes contacting non-governmental organisations (NGOs) for assistance. Nevertheless, there is no evidence offered for these assertions, and specific sources are not provided. The study is further undermined as it is sponsored by a coalition against trafficking in women, which has a political interest in the law's success.

Ekberg (2004) reports that in the five years following the introduction of the law in Sweden, 734 men were reported and 140 convicted under the legislation. In the same period, Ekberg cites the Prostitution Centre in Stockholm, which claims that of the 130 women contacted, 60 per cent had left prostitution permanently, with some claiming the law had been an incentive.

Clausen (2007) claims that street prostitution in Sweden has declined by two-thirds since the law was introduced, although the validity of many of the statistics in this area has been questioned. Anecdotal evidence suggests that criminalisation has deterred clients who are not attracted by the risk, leaving prostitutes with less time to assess more dangerous punters (WGLR, 2004).

Moffatt (2005) argued that the legislation had caused displacement, with an increase in the size of the indoor market facilitated by the Internet. However, the size of the indoor market is particularly difficult to estimate as the police rarely conduct operations there (WGLR, 2004). None of the three government reports into the effect of the law have proved that it has led to a substantial drop in prostitution (Kulick, 2003 and Hubbard *et al.*, 2008c).

A journalist, Roger Boyes writing for *The Times Newspaper* in 2008,²⁶ suggested that following the opening of the bridge

²⁶ See article in *The Times Newspaper*, online (June 21 2008): <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article4183265.ece> Accessed November 2009.

linking Sweden and Denmark, prostitution was displaced geographically to nearby Copenhagen. Ulrik Dahlin, another journalist, argued that prostitution has gone underground in Sweden, with clients driving up and agreeing another rendezvous location with the prostitute, thereby avoiding the risk of police filming the prostitute getting into their vehicles, one evidentiary requirement of prosecution.²⁷

Any deterrent effect depends on both the law itself and the priority that is given to its enforcement. As noted elsewhere, prostitution-related offences are often a low priority for police forces, and the number of clients involved in prostitution means that enforcement is only ever likely to directly impact on a small minority of men.

The applicability of the Swedish law to the UK may be limited, not least because the estimated scale of the prostitution problem is thought to be vastly different in the two countries. There is an estimated 1 prostitute per 3,400 population in Sweden compared with an estimated 1 per 700 in the UK (Hubbard *et al.*, 2008a). Sweden also offers a comprehensive welfare system, which provides support and viable alternatives for women wishing to exit the industry (Jordan, 2005). There are also many gaps in the evidence of the effectiveness of the Swedish legislation (WGLR, 2004), including:

- what happened to the prostitutes who disappeared from the street;
- whether levels of violence against prostitutes changed; and
- what happened to the indoor market.

This is a recurring theme in research into prostitution – the consequences of policy change are all too often hidden or practically unmeasurable.

John schools and other educative approaches

The first 'John school' in the US was established in 1995 in San Francisco under the First Offenders Prostitution Programme (FOPP). Here clients were offered a 'choice' of paying a fee to attend a one-day course or face prosecution. Fees covered the cost of the course and also contributed to police operations and victim care. While subsequent programmes vary they tend to share certain characteristics:

²⁷ It is not clear how robust and reliable the evidence base is for the findings, which were featured in an article in *The Times* online newspaper on the June 21 2008.

- sessions on sexual health;
- legal consequences; and
- stories from 'survivors' about abuse and violence.

There is often an underlying assumption that prostitution is associated with violence against women, with a focus on blaming and shaming male clients.

The evaluation of FOPP noted a sharp and sustained drop in reoffending rates. However, the study is marred as it uses reoffending rates for all males potentially eligible for the programme, rather than for those who actually attended, thereby retaining possible threats to validity. Furthermore, the 'what works' literature indicates that programmes should be intensive, sustained and include aftercare (Farrington *et al.*, 2001) and FOPP met none of these criteria despite arrest rates declining. This suggests other factors may be responsible for the observed decreases.

Evaluations of Toronto's John schools suggest programmes helped men take responsibility for their actions and informed them about the risks of buying sex. However, researchers stated that "attitudinal changes did not seem to translate into significant changes in anticipated future behaviour" (Wortley *et al.*, 2002 and Fischer *et al.*, 2002). There was a small (but non-statistically significant) decrease in the proportion of men saying they might return to prostitutes. Crucially, these studies also found no differences in reoffending rates. This is also supported by Monto and Garcia's (2001) examination comparing men referred to a Sexual Exploitation and Education Project (SEEP) in Portland with those not attending. They found no statistically significant differences between groups; in fact all groups had very low recidivism rates (around 1 per cent). Apart from the limitations of arrest as an outcome noted above, it may also be the case that arrest is the key deterrent for some men, with the programme having little additional impact.

Similar attitude change was found by Jungles (2007) in the US and Kennedy *et al.* (2004a) in Canada. Jungles claimed that in the short term the programme was effective. However, more analysis was needed to investigate the long-term impact of such a programme.

In Canada Kennedy *et al.* found the programme had the same positive impact on attitudes held by both those with no prior experience of buying sex and those who were 'veterans'. The programme deliberately excluded those men who had any violent or sexual convictions, while a further 15 per cent declined to take part. The research covered the 296 men who voluntarily completed the

Prostitution Offender Programme and reported that the most common reasons for stopping visiting prostitutes were:

- self discipline;
- getting caught; and
- being arrested.

Following the programme, 93 per cent of participants said their opinion of prostitutes had changed and 95 per cent said their behaviour would change. Overall, 74 per cent indicated they would not purchase sex again (although the authors did not rule out the possibility that respondents gave socially desirable answers).

The West Yorkshire Police introduced one of the first John schools in the UK in 1998. As in other schools, the ethos was one of prostitution as abuse and violence. Men arrested for kerb crawling were offered the choice of participation in the programme (at a cost of £85) or prosecution (Cambell and Storr, 2001). It was not a diversion scheme, but a caution plus scheme (West Yorkshire Police, 2000). The scheme did not achieve sufficient throughput of clients to be cost effective, and this contributed to the decision to end the initiative. As the West Yorkshire Police noted, increased detections required a significant increase in national, local and divisional resources. As offences associated with prostitution do not constitute key performance indicators this situation is unlikely to change.

Another programme called 'Change' was introduced by Hampshire Constabulary as a diversionary scheme in Southampton. Arrested men were offered the chance to take part in a one-day course costing £150 as an alternative to court. The programme involved a mix of formal presentations, group discussions, group exercises and role playing (Shell *et al.*, 2001). The 45 participants were given attitude questionnaires at the beginning and the end of the course, and an estimated risk of reconviction for sexual or violent offence (OGRS2 score) was calculated.

Given that men with previous convictions for sex or violence were excluded from the programme, it was not surprising that the men were all in the low risk category, and none were reconvicted. Participants' views about prostitution and intentions of prostitute use all changed in the expected direction, although this may simply have been because participants provided 'socially desirable' responses. The small number of participants and lack of an adequate outcome measure or comparison group means the results of this study are inconclusive.

Sanders (2008a) notes that many John schools close after a few years because of a lack of effectiveness and resource constraints as, for example, in the West Yorkshire scheme described above.

There are a number of concerns about using the John school model. These include:

- over-representation of working class and immigrant males among participants as these populations are more likely, according to research, to use the on-street market; and
- the potential impact of requiring men to admit guilt before they can participate.

Most US programmes require men to pay a fee (up to \$500), which arguably represents an additional punishment and raises the question of proportionality. The supposed voluntary nature of such schemes in practice can exploit offenders' lack of information about the law's content and process, and represent a coercive 'option' (Fischer *et al.*, 2002). Critics also point to the fact that men buy sex for a variety of reasons, including deep-seated psychological issues, which are not addressed in programmes such as these. The programmes are further limited by their focus on street prostitution, but not indoor markets. In addition, the participants have been arrested for soliciting, but the focus of programmes is the still legal activity of paying for sex, leaving a conflict between the programme aims and the legality of the act.

Awareness raising/health risks

To justify the use of arrests for solicitation, given the legal act of paying for sex, some argue for campaigns to increase knowledge of the legal status of soliciting. Coy *et al.* (2007) suggest that first-time sex buyers are likely to be more sensitive to awareness raising. Furthermore, Sharpe's analysis of police records (1998, cited in Brooks-Gordon, 2006) found that there was a great deal of ignorance and confusion in the minds of the men arrested regarding the actual laws concerning the offence of kerb crawling.

Further evidence for awareness campaigns comes from campaigns against kerb crawling operating in Middlesbrough. According to Elliot *et al.* (2002), 52 per cent of men stopped had heard or seen the publicity. The authors suggest that the low proportion (23 per cent) of men stopped who were from campaign's catchment area is an indication that the awareness campaign was working. However, the proportions of men stopped prior to the campaign are not known, and

those stopped who were aware of the campaign had not been deterred from kerb crawling.

Kennedy *et al.* (2004a) assert that prior experience with prostitutes did not reduce the value of educational diversion programmes as a viable option for men arrested for soliciting. Furthermore, the authors claimed that attitude change was not exaggerated by socially desirable response patterns. This last claim needs to be taken with caution as the sample used reflected only those arrested and participating in the course.

Langanke (2005) describes an awareness campaign entitled 'Men are setting examples', which aimed to sensitise and educate clients in Germany to the trafficking of women. This campaign used posters, advertisements in newspapers (which appeared alongside advertisements for prostitutes), Internet sites and a telephone hotline. This intervention was reported as a success, but no details were provided as to how this conclusion was reached. There were 100 calls to the hotline in Baden-Württemberg and 50 to the Hamburg line. Langanke expressed concerns about the sustainability of this campaign, which only ran for one week in Hamburg and three weeks in Baden-Württemberg. Langanke also explored the potential of using the Internet as a vehicle for awareness-raising campaigns. The research indicated that commercial sites were resistant to postings addressing trafficking in women and that attempts to post this topic on 'by client for client' pages did not result in sustained discussion.

Research has also investigated the awareness of clients to the health risks of prostitution. McKeganey (1994) attempted to explore the relationship between perceived health risks and behaviour. In this study, 90 male clients (recruited through a newspaper advertisement) were asked to estimate the proportion of prostitutes with HIV. The men thought on average one in three had HIV, whereas actual levels in Europe were estimated at five per cent or lower (Alay *et al.*, 1992).

Given these high estimates of HIV infection, it was surprising that 17 per cent said that they had not used a condom the last time they had paid for vaginal sex, and 14 per cent said they had experienced condom failure on the last occasion of paid sex.

Despite believing HIV infection to be widespread, few of the men interviewed believed they were personally at risk. They argued that there were easily identifiable infected subgroups, such as women who looked 'scruffy' or like drug users (McKeganey, 1994). These simplistic, erroneous and

dangerous assumptions suggest that educative programmes should concentrate on dispelling the myths about HIV infection and bursting clients' bubble of invincibility.

Community action

Hubbard (1998) describes the situation in Birmingham in the early 1990s, when the local council used planning law to close down premises involved in prostitution under the 'change of use' criterion. This had the undesired effect of increasing on-street prostitution, which impacted on certain local communities. As a result, one local mosque organised 150 pickets in 19 streets in the neighbourhood, which resulted in an 80 per cent reduction in kerb crawling traffic, although there was some geographic and temporal displacement (Kinnell, 1990). The police later became involved in the initiative, and Hubbard (1998) suggests that multi-agency approaches involving the police, local authorities and the community may represent an effective long-term solution.

Where neighbourhood organisations already exist, the chances of residents mobilising successfully to lobby the police and council may be increased. However, Hubbard cautions that pickets or vigilantism can be viewed as aggressive claims to public space, and without adequate exit strategies for prostitutes, displacement or deflection will typically result.

Sagar (2005) found displacement following a Street Watch initiative in Cardiff. Prostitutes were displaced into areas that were not patrolled, further marginalising the women and undermining the work of support agencies. This was exacerbated by the lack of support from local agencies and the community.

Naming and shaming

There has been increasing contemporary interest in shame as a criminal punishment. In relation to clients arrested for visiting prostitutes it has particular resonance because of the central role of anonymity in prostitution's appeal (Persons, 1996).

Shaming interventions aim to reduce demand by playing on the fear that secret activities might be discovered and publicised. For example, in cities as diverse as Minneapolis and Cardiff (Sagar, 2005) community volunteers noted the registration numbers of suspect vehicles and passed these on to the police, who wrote warning letters to the owner.

However, there is a lack of evidence as to whether shame achieves the promised potential deterrent effects (Persons, 1996). Opponents of shaming argue that it does no more than punish, fails to rehabilitate, and risks violating a person's right to be treated as innocent until proven guilty. According to theories of restorative justice (Braithwaite, 1989), stigmatising men without addressing the causes of their behaviour or making attempts to reintegrate them may simply make things worse (Sanders, 2008a).

In Buffalo, US, 'Johns' TV' debuted in 1998, a programme that featured the photos, dates of birth, criminal histories and names of men convicted of using prostitutes three or more times. In Indianapolis a diversion programme called 'Red Zone' requires men who are prosecuted for buying sex to attend a community centre, and to complete community service wearing high visibility vests. Clients also had to take syphilis tests. Between November 1999 and March 2004, 157 men participated in the programme. Of these, 5 per cent were re-arrested (although re-arrests were not compared with a control group).

Critics of these tactics, such as the US-based Prostitution Task Force, have highlighted the lack of evidence of effectiveness, the potential suffering it can inflict on clients' families and the risk of humiliating innocent persons. These concerns are echoed by Sanders (2006), who argues that while naming and shaming gives men a 'short, sharp, shock' it offers no long-term solution to the issue of men purchasing sex. Furthermore, Coy *et al.* (2007) argue that shaming will not deter all clients, as there is a sizeable category of men who view buying sex as a form of mainstream consumerism and do not feel shame. Even those who do feel shame may continue to pay for sex.

Road management and other traffic measures

Road management schemes are a situational method of reducing demand; they do not seek to change or treat the client or the prostitute, but rather seek to make it more difficult for the two to meet. Strategies that make it physically more difficult to kerb crawl include:

- blocking roads;
- making roads one way;
- putting up barriers that require key or card access; or
- installing road bumps.

For road management to be successful, it should be part of a co-ordinated strategy. This should involve intensive policing as a first step to reduce the problem, followed by community level interventions (for example, exit programmes to tackle drug use) and finally the road management initiative (Matthews, 1992, 1993a).

Successful schemes include Toxteth, where street prostitution was reported to be almost eliminated, and less successful ones such as Bristol, where road management led to reduced levels of natural surveillance ('eyes on the street') and increases in other types of crime). However, there are no details on geographic or temporal displacement or sustainability.

Matthews (1993a) describes a multi-agency approach to reducing prostitution in the Finsbury Park area of London. Before implementation there was a period of intensive policing activity, involving the arrest of prostitutes, pimps and kerb crawlers, and closing down a number of brothels. Road management designed to prevent kerb crawling was part of the final stage. This scheme reportedly transformed the area from a red light district to a relatively peaceful residential area, which created the following benefits:

- increased feelings of security among residents;
- reduction in congestion;
- reduction in crime; and
- improved relationship between the public and the police.

There was, however, evidence of displacement to areas on the periphery, and some argued that the traffic management element of the scheme still enabled clients to cruise the area on a wider circuit. Matthews argued that this represented an example of 'benign' displacement (in Barr and Pease, 1990) as the trade moved to an area where it caused fewer problems to residents, minimising social impact. According to Matthews the success of the strategy depended on the existence of an organised residents' association to initiate and see through the various stages.

The seizure of vehicles involved in kerb crawling has been attempted in several US cities. In Portland (Prostitution Task Force, 1999) on a first offence:

- the car is seized and released only if the driver has no previous convictions for prostitution offences, pays all the towing fees; and
- all users of the vehicle, including a spouse, have to sign an agreement that the car will not be used for soliciting purposes.

A second offence results in forfeiture. However, in addition to facing legal challenges there is no available evidence on the effectiveness of vehicle seizure (Hughes, 2004).

What do men think?

What do men think would be most effective in deterring them from buying sex? Macleod *et al.* (2008) put this question to 110 men interviewed in Scotland. The respondents were given a list and could give more than one answer. The most selected options were the following:

- being added to a sex offender register (89 per cent);
- having their picture on a billboard (86 per cent);
- having their picture in the paper (84 per cent);
- custodial penalty (79 per cent);
- having a letter sent to their family (77 per cent);
- greater criminal penalties (72 per cent); and
- high fines (69 per cent).

Interestingly, attendance at an educational programme (which is one of the most common actual sanctions) was seen as least effective (56 per cent). In other words, it appears that interventions that seek to make public the very private act of purchasing sex may make most impact on demand.

Coy *et al.* (2007) asked 175 men in their sample if anything would stop them purchasing sex; 75 per cent said that something might stop them and most commonly mentioned fear of disease, followed by having a regular partner. Only a minority mentioned criminal sanctions as a deterrent.

Summary and reflections: what works to reduce demand?

There are difficulties in assessing the effectiveness of measures to reduce demand for prostitution, and challenges in making any accurate measurements in such a highly secretive and stigmatised market. Researchers have tended to use arrest (or re-arrest) as a proxy for prostitute use. However, arrests provide little information about clients' prostitute use and outcome studies based on arrest data may provide a misleadingly optimistic impression of effectiveness.

One of the most prevalent strategies for reducing demand is enforcement campaigns targeting clients. However, the localised and temporary nature of these operations does little to increase the real or perceived risks of detection.

The general deterrent impact of arrest can only be marginal when the risk of arrest is remote or makes the market less visible.

There are reports that criminalising the purchase of sex in Sweden (see section earlier in this chapter) resulted in a decline of street prostitution and in women leaving prostitution. However, there are counter arguments that the indoor market has (or has not) grown as a result, claims that are impossible to verify from existing research sources because of the hidden nature of the indoor market. There is also evidence of displacement to nearby Denmark. As with other enforcement actions there are concerns that criminalisation of demand has increased the risks for prostitutes.

Evaluations of 'John schools' consistently report evidence of positive attitude changes, although this may reflect participants giving socially desirable responses. There is little evidence of that participants change their activities with regard to future prostitute use. Attempts to run John schools in the UK have not proved cost effective. Critics of this approach raised concerns regarding the impact on due process of the 'choice' between prosecution in the courts or admission of guilt and programme participation. Other concerns relate to the over-representation of marginalised groups among programme participants and that much of the programme content relates to legal activities.

Several authors highlighted the need for awareness campaigns to clarify the legal status of prostitution and to raise awareness of the consequences of prostitution. There is little evidence on the impact of awareness campaigns although some authors report that men who have seen or heard publicity campaigns continue to purchase sex, as they perceive the risk they face to be negligible.

Community action can be effective where it is co-ordinated as part of multi-agency structures, and where volunteers are fully supported by wider agencies. Without this support there is a danger that community action turns into vigilantism, displacing and disrupting the work of support agencies.

There has been increased interest in naming and shaming interventions. However, interventions in this category are diverse and few have been evaluated. Critics of this approach raise concerns about falsely implicating innocent men and of the wider impact that shaming can have on a client's family. In addition, the experience of shame is not likely to deter the subsection of clients who view purchasing sex as a form of mainstream consumerism.

Tolerance zones (see also section in Appendix 6) aim to manage demand while facilitating prostitutes' access to support services. However, they can become unmanageable if not controlled, and can also contribute to increases in trafficking immigrants and associated criminal activities. The problems caused by excessive competition between prostitutes in poorly managed zones, including the increased exploitation by clients and pimps, highlight potential negative consequences of attempts to manage demand for prostitution.

There are examples of successful and unsuccessful 'road management' schemes to deter kerb crawling. However, little is known about the resulting geographic or temporal displacement, and whether these schemes are sustainable.

The Home Office (2004a) recognised that confusion over whether prostitution should be controlled or managed has resulted in inactivity in some areas but warns against any local approach entirely focused on support for women as this would be seen to fail local residents' concerns over kerb crawling and associated nuisance. Coy *et al.* (2007) argue that strategies focusing on kerb crawling will have limited effectiveness as this is only a small part of the market and gives the message that it is the location, not the practice, that constitutes the problem.

The review identified a number of gaps in the evidence base including:

- What happens to women leaving prostitution?
- What happens to premises denied a licence?
- How do policy changes affect levels of violence against prostitutes?
- How does policy affect the demand for different forms of prostitution (for example, buying sex abroad)?

There is a need for research into the long-term impacts of measures that aim to reduce demand for prostitution and for methodological innovation to overcome the challenges of researching this area. Particular attention needs to be paid to the measurement of demand and efficacy. All the approaches used so far (for example, contacting men in the street, advertising for volunteers, using receptionists in brothels as recruiters, using re-arrest as an outcome, and so on) have considerable limitations.

6 Conclusions and points for consideration

Despite the different approaches to prostitution evident in the legislation of countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, some research studies suggest that the geographies of sex work are converging, with a decline in on-street work and an increase in sex parlours and sex sold from flats. Efforts to reduce demand seem to have mixed effects, although these are difficult to measure and the evidence as noted throughout this report is generally weak.

The case of Sweden (see section in Chapter 5 *Criminalising the purchase of sex*) exemplifies the many gaps in the evidence. Following the criminalisation of the purchase of sex, there is no information about the following:

- What happened to the prostitutes who disappeared from the street?
- Did levels of violence against prostitutes change?
- What happened to the size of the indoor market?

This is a persistent theme in research into this area. The consequences of policy change are all too often either hidden or, to all practical purposes, unmeasurable. Areas that require further scrutiny are:

- public perceptions of prostitution;
- the impact of tackling demand on the prostitutes themselves, for example, increased risk, impact on children;
- the overall size of the market, particularly the indoor market;
- the value of prostitution;
- links with organised crime and trafficking; and
- the impact that different policies would have on the overall demand for prostitution.

The available research provides information about the characteristics and motivations of men who use prostitutes. The review identified considerable research into male sex buyers, and despite some findings that paying for sex with prostitutes is a normal and natural part of masculine sexual experience, most men do not procure prostitutes, and very few of those who do appear to be regular users. There also appears to be a series of attitudinal orientations that may help to explain why some men meet their desires through prostitution and others do not.

The evidence about interventions to tackle demand for prostitution indicates that initiatives can alter the nature and distribution of sex markets, but there is little evidence to suggest they have changed the overall size of markets. Markets are easily displaced to other areas or to less visible indoor locations.

There are indications that the Internet has changed the way in which clients and prostitutes interact. Much of the policing of prostitution focuses on street prostitution in certain geographic areas. There is some evidence that increased policing of street prostitution leads to a shift to the indoor market. Studies show that displacement tends to occur geographically, temporally and structurally, although the extent of this is hard to measure. Displacement threatens to negate the gains of enforcement activity by making prostitution even more hidden and secretive. Furthermore, the market for prostitution is international and there is a sizeable proportion of clients purchasing sex abroad. It is possible that domestic demand reduction policies could displace demand internationally through sex tourism.

There are some tentative findings and promising approaches in tackling the demand for prostitution, although efforts to reduce demand seem to have mixed effects. However, many strategies may lead to potentially negative consequences for prostitutes.

More research and methodological innovation is required to gain the answers to these questions. Many of the approaches to tackling the demand side of prostitution lack a sufficient evidence base to demonstrate their effectiveness. Furthermore, there are methodological problems associated with the evaluation of programmes aimed at reducing demand, not least how a reduction in demand might be measured.

Prostitution policy, however, is about more than just the evidence; it is a social policy area inseparable from political, ethical and moral concerns. The 'right' answer cannot, therefore, be determined solely by reference to the evidence.

So instead of specific recommendations on which interventions might work, there are a number of points for policy makers to consider when developing policy and practice:

- Whether it is feasible to tackle demand for prostitution given the size of demand and the resources required to tackle it. Given finite resources, policy makers need to decide whether

- to tackle all demand (including buying sex abroad); all domestic demand; or the demand for street prostitution only – this decision will have implications for the strategies adopted and resources in terms of policing and delivery of interventions.
- Consideration should be given to whether Internet sites that advertise, encourage and possibly normalise prostitution use should be restricted.
 - In addition to any intervention on the demand side, there is a need to reduce the accessibility, number and visibility of street prostitutes (for example, by enforcing existing prostitution laws and restricting advertising).
 - Interventions or campaigns aimed at men who use prostitutes should address, as far as is practical, their specific motivations. No single approach will be effective, and not all men will be amenable to change.
 - Less committed, infrequent buyers are more likely to respond to demand reduction strategies, although it is likely that the proportion of overall demand they account for is small compared with habitual buyers.
 - Increasing the risk of arrest through intensive policing operations and/or the perceived risk of arrest through advertising campaigns could reduce demand for prostitution among men who fear discovery.
 - To minimise displacement, all sectors of the prostitution market need to be tackled at the same time. Further research is also needed to quantify the scale and nature of displacement to devise new tactics to minimise it.
 - Policy makers need to decide whether some forms of displacement (for example, street to indoor markets) are more benign or socially acceptable than others (for example, coerced to voluntary prostitution).
 - Consider targeted awareness campaigns (for example, in red light districts) to clarify the legal status of prostitution and related activities and remove ignorance as a justification for soliciting. Any proposed change to the legislation (for example, criminalisation) would need to be widely publicised.
 - There is not sufficiently robust evidence to recommend that criminalisation or 'John schools' be pursued as policies.
 - Policy makers should consider the impact of policy change on prostitutes and their dependants, and if necessary, commission further research into this area.
 - Consideration should be given, for street-based prostitution, to a joint-agency approach that combines facilitating exit routes and enforcement at supply in conjunction with sustained police enforcement tactics toward demand.
 - Consideration should be given to commissioning research that attempts to develop innovative methodologies.

Appendix I: Detailed methodology

Use of terminology

Many terms associated with prostitution are value laden, and their use implies an underlying acceptance or rejection of the activity. Terms such as 'sex workers', 'clients', 'customers', 'sex tourism' and 'sex trade' all imply a legitimate activity, while 'commercial sex exploitation', 'offenders' and 'survivors' imply the opposite (Shively, 2008). This review uses the descriptives 'prostitution', 'prostitute' and 'client', and 'men' and 'women', which should not be taken to imply that the research team has a view about the legitimacy or otherwise of prostitution.

Criteria for inclusion and exclusion of studies

This review focused on research published in English in 1990 and later in a number of selected countries that were of key interest to the Tackling Demand for Prostitution Review (2008a): Australia, Finland, the Republic of Ireland, the Netherlands, North America, Sweden and the UK. Some of these countries are also the focus of the Home Office's *Shifting Sands: A Comparison of Prostitution Regimes Across Nine Countries* (Kelly et al., 2009), which was commissioned around the same time. North America was included in this review soon after the work had been commissioned because of the large amount of research into prostitution conducted in the various legislatures in the US and Canada.

The review was not limited to quantitative empirical studies, as the research team recognised that much of the research in this area would be qualitative in nature. The review, therefore, included any academic research pertaining to the research questions, irrespective of the methodological approach employed, highlighting where possible its strengths and weaknesses.

The review took a broad definition of intervention for the purposes of the review. It included evaluations and reports of any studies that involve the prevention, detection, management or response to individuals who procure prostitution. The term prostitution follows the definition outlined in the Government's *Paying the Price* (2004):

'the exchange of sexual services for some form of payment'.

The review was not limited to any specified criminal justice institution as this would risk excluding strategies implemented by businesses and local communities. Relevant studies include male and female clients of prostitutes, of any age and background, though most of the studies reviewed referred to male clients and female prostitutes.

Search strategy

The review undertook a dual approach to the search strategy, combining traditional searches of bibliographic databases with calls for information from relevant individuals and organisations, and networking with key authors working in this area.

The call for information was conducted electronically by email, asking recipients for details of published and unpublished material relating to the review questions. The initial email incorporated a snowball approach to recruitment, with each recipient asked to forward the email to other potentially relevant individuals and organisations to maximise coverage and distribution. The call for information was also distributed to key researchers and practitioners in the field of prostitution, asking for any academic work in progress or work just completed. In addition, it was sent to all UK Police Forces, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs), and to the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), again primarily as a means of obtaining any relevant published or unpublished studies. The review team also contacted some 40 assorted non-governmental organisations (NGOs), interest groups and campaigning organisations, including international organisations in the six research countries and North America.

To maximise the number of national and international academics reached, calls for information were sent to all members (with the assistance and consent of the relevant associations) of the following academic societies:

- American Criminological Association;
- American Sociological Association;
- Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology;
- Australian Sociological Association;
- British Psychological Society;
- British Society of Criminology;
- British Sociology Association;
- Canadian Criminal Justice Association;
- The Canadian Sociological Association;
- European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, Finland;
- European Society of Criminology;
- Social Policy Association;
- Swedish Sociological Association.

For bibliographic searching, search terms were devised, refined, and tested, and the following databases were searched:

- Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA);
- British Humanities Index (BHI);
- Caredata;
- Criminal Justice Abstracts;
- Dissertation Abstracts International;
- Educational Resources Information Clearinghouse (ERIC);
- Government Publications Office Monthly Catalog (GPO Monthly);
- Index of conference proceedings;
- Index to social sciences and humanities proceedings;
- National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) Abstracts;
- Planex;
- Psychology Information (PsychInfo);
- Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS) International;
- SIGLE (Open) database;
- Social Science Abstracts (SocialSciAbs);
- Social Services Abstracts;
- Sociological Abstracts;
- Theses and dissertation searches: Index to Thesis (UK and Ireland).

The review team also conducted hand searches of existing literature (for example, bibliographies of books). This process was ongoing as new documents were received in the collection phase of the review.

Search results

The combined search strategy returned 339 documents that appeared to be relevant to the review. These were catalogued in an endnote library. Since rapid evidence assessments are typically undertaken in situations where data are needed quickly, the review prioritised articles that were readily available, such as those in electronic format. More difficult to obtain items were either sought through the Document Supply Service of the British Library or from the individual authors (or commissioning bodies). At time of writing the review had managed physically to obtain 220 articles, reports, books, poster and conference presentations, and other materials for the draft review.

The call for papers generated 50 items for the review (some dispatched by individual authors, particularly unpublished material, others provided references of work). The remaining 170 studies were generated from the bibliographic searching and from hand searches of the existing published material and grey literature.

Quality review and data synthesis

The decision to include or exclude the 220 studies reviewed was made on the basis of relevance to research questions. This process resulted in 39 studies being excluded from the review (see Appendix 8), because they either failed the inclusion criteria or did not report any new empirical data.

For the remaining 181 articles, the review undertook a data extraction exercise and research synthesis to highlight evidence relevant to policy development. These studies form the basis of the review (see Appendix 7).

The review originally intended to use a quality assessment tool, such as the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods (Sherman *et al.*, 1997), to assess the methodological quality of studies in the review. It soon became apparent, however, that the use of such a tool was not feasible for three reasons:

- Many of the studies in the review were qualitative and descriptive in nature; the application of a tool designed for quantitative outcome studies was not, therefore, appropriate to such studies.
- Numerous studies in the sample report draw on the findings of other researchers' work, particularly with regard to statistics on prevalence or characteristics of clients, and it was not always possible either to locate the primary studies cited, or to determine the quality of those studies.

- Most of the quantitative studies that attempted to either measure outcomes of programmes or investigate characteristics of clients had such significant methodological flaws (for example, a lack of adequate comparison group, small sample size, lack of representativeness, inadequate outcome measure) that few, if any studies, would have been retained had a strict application of the Maryland Scale been applied.

The review team, therefore, had to choose between basing the review on a handful of studies of reasonable quality (see Appendix 7) that would say little about most of the research questions, or to try to derive some useful information from a multitude of studies of variable quality. It decided that it would be more useful for policy makers to derive as much information relevant to the research questions, albeit tentatively, than to say little about them with more confidence.

In discussing the findings of various studies the review highlights any flaws in the approach taken, and the reader should bear these in mind when deciding what weight to place on particular findings. Overall, however, the review found that the strength of the evidence in relation to most of the research questions was not sufficient to enable decisions to be made on the basis of evidence alone. Either further research that tries to overcome the considerable methodological difficulties is needed, or policy makers will need to take other considerations into account.

A note on the literature

In many contemporary western societies the act of procuring prostitution is an illicit and stigmatised activity. This sensitivity relates largely to the risk of discovery in using prostitutes, both on the survivability of an existing relationship and the moral censure and social stigma associated with arrest and conviction for soliciting prostitutes. This makes researching the field especially difficult, as clients will often want to conceal or minimise their activities McKeganey, 1994; Faugier and Cranfield, 1995; and McKeganey and Barnard, 1996).

Researchers have particular difficulties in terms of establishing a relevant population frame and sampling from this population in a representative manner. As a result, many studies have self-selecting or otherwise biased samples, which calls into question the wider applicability of the findings. In addition, the studies reviewed do not present a balanced picture; many focus on the more visible (and thus more easily accessible) street prostitution, and on male clients, at the expense of the higher end indoor

market, female clients and niche markets (for example, clients of under-age prostitutes). For this reason, the report concentrates on the male use of female prostitutes, and street prostitutes in particular.

One question raised in this research is whether the demand for street prostitutes should be considered separately to the demand for prostitution in the 'indoor' market. Most of the studies reviewed in this report are concerned with the reduction of demand for street prostitution, rather than prostitution generally. This is arguably because street prostitution is a more visible form of prostitution and is commonly associated with criminal activities such as drug dealing, as well as with negative consequences for local residents.²⁸ Indoor prostitution (for example, in saunas) tends to attract less attention and concern. The demand for the two markets appears to be discrete – indoor and street prostitutes tend to attract different types of clients. Policy makers need to decide, therefore, whether they wish to reduce the demand for all prostitution (a highly ambitious endeavour) or concentrate on reducing demand for street prostitution only.

Various methods have been used to try to contact men who use prostitutes, each of which has its advantages and drawbacks. Direct approaches to men who are (or appear to be) kerb crawling is the most direct, but this 'out of the blue' approach often results in high refusal rates, downright hostility, and more crucially, lacks representativeness as it excludes the indoor market (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996).

A commonly used method is to approach men who have been arrested for kerb crawling or other prostitution-related offences. This has the advantage of providing easy access to a potentially large sample of men, although it is questionable whether those arrested for soliciting street prostitutes are representative of all users of prostitutes. Some researchers have approached men at HIV testing or gynaecological clinics, but again such men are unlikely to be representative of all men who visit prostitutes, and refusal rates are generally high (Campbell, 1998).

In an attempt to sample the indoor market, researchers have approached men in saunas and brothels (Plumridge and Chetwynd, 1997), and high response rates can be achieved if the receptionist or sex worker acts as a recruiter or interviewer (Kinnell, 1990). Pitts *et al.*, (2004) approached men at a large sex exhibition in Australia, and this approach had the advantage of generating a potentially large sample of men, although again they may not be representative.

²⁸ Also see Appendix 4, which cross-references studies in this review by market sector.

Other approaches include advertising for volunteers in newspapers or on the Internet. While this has the advantage of including men who use different sectors of the sex market, the self-selecting nature of the sample needs to be borne in mind (Cambell, 1998). Finally, some researchers have used websites such as *Punternet* to capture the characteristics of men who post details of their sexual encounters. This has the advantage of not requiring the active participation of the men, as their posts are publicly available, but also means researchers cannot extract any data about the men that has not been posted (Earle and Sharp, 2007).

Each approach to researching clients of prostitutes has methodological limitations, principally because they result either in self-selecting samples (and hence may display differences in attitude or behaviour between those who took part in the research and those who did not) or in the clients reflecting the geographical, temporal and socio-demographic dimensions of enforcement activities (rather than the 'true' wider population of interest). For these reasons assessing the size and nature of this 'hidden' client population' is especially difficult, and researchers have struggled to establish a meaningful sampling frame that would confidently identify a representative sample. As a result it is likely that the studies contained in the review reflect a limited understanding of clients' motivations, experience of everyday life and activities that partly sustain prostitution.

The literature on prostitution and related issues, such as trafficking, is vast. The review has therefore concentrated on publications that deal most directly with the specific research questions posed. There are other important areas, such as the reasons why prostitutes enter prostitution, how prostitutes are policed, the violence and other negative consequences of prostitution on women and the wider community, and these have not been explored in any detail in this report. However, this review identified a sizeable body of literature on male clients of prostitutes, which ranges across a variety of disciplinary mandates (epidemiological, social science and criminological, and population research). This said, there were a limited number of significant and methodologically robust pieces of research on male clients, and a real shortage of research on female clients and male users of under-age prostitutes.

Appendix 2: Estimating prevalence

Methods of estimation

Researchers have employed two main methods to estimate the number of clients who pay for sex:

- 'Calculative methods' are based on a series of calculations, typically starting with estimates of the number of prostitutes (no easy task in itself), multiplied by the average number of clients they are assumed to see each year, and summed to estimate the total number of commercial sex transactions that take place annually.
- 'Survey methodologies' are more clear-cut, and use survey techniques (of variable size and quality) with respondents being asked to indicate if they have ever paid for sex, and then extrapolating this figure across the country.

Not surprisingly the different approaches discussed below produce different estimates, and each has methodological problems that threaten the accuracy of the estimates made.

Chapter 2 noted that estimating client numbers from either prostitute numbers or commercial transactions are both fraught with difficulties. Estimates from the supply side rely on successive compounding calculations and hence more assumptions. Attempting to estimate prostitute numbers across the country and then their client base are further undermined by what appear to be wide geographical disparities in prevalence, for instance, the National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL) 2000 sweep found 9 per cent of male respondents reporting paying for sex in Greater London, a far higher proportion than in the rest of Great Britain, at about 4 per cent of men reporting paying for sex. A study by Brewer *et al.* (2007) in the US also emphasises the disparities between urban areas, and provides a cautionary note for those who would extrapolate across an entire country.

Surveys also suffer a fundamental weakness as they assume respondents are honest in their responses, and by implication, are admitting to a highly stigmatised activity. A body of methodological research found that men under-report their commercial sex activities in surveys; Turner *et al.*, 1998; Des Jarlais *et al.*, Lau, 2000; Lau *et al.*, 2003; Rogers *et al.*, 2005; van Griensven *et al.*, 2006; Brewer *et al.*, 2007; all cited in Brewer *et al.*, 2007, p 22). Nevertheless, this is vitiated by the NATSAL 2000 sweep employing computer-assisted (CASI)

interviews (unlike the 1990 sweep). CASI results in lower levels of question non-response, greater internal consistency and is thought to promote accurate reporting. This includes increased willingness to report sensitive behaviours among male adolescents although it is not clear whether generalisations can be made from this sample.

The relative accuracy in estimating the numbers of clients using the two approaches in part, rests on the methodological improvements delivered through CASI and the anticipated truthful reporting it is supposed to deliver. While it is beyond the bounds of this review to arbitrate conclusively on this matter, the research team had some confidence in the NATSAL 2000 figure, while continuing to expect reasonably a degree of under-reporting.

International literature: prevalence

There are considerable differences in the proportion of males who admit to paying for sex, both between countries, and between studies in the same country. In some Asian countries there appear to be very high levels of paying for sex, up to 74 per cent of males in Thailand. In Europe, Spain (39 per cent) has a much higher rate than Norway (11 per cent). Of the various studies conducted in the UK, rates vary from a low of about 4 per cent to around 12 per cent (although some studies put this figure as high as 31 per cent). The more robust NATSAL results seem to suggest that the proportion of men admitting to using prostitutes is increasing, from two per cent in 1991 to four in 2001. Whether this reflects a real increase in men's use of prostitutes, perhaps as a result of changing social attitudes to the purchase of sex (Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe, 2003a) or an increasing willingness of survey respondents to admit to such behaviour is unclear.

Table 1 below provides estimates of the number of prostitutes (and where available, street prostitutes) in a number of different countries. The UK estimate is considerably higher than the other countries. This could reflect an over-estimation in the UK, under-estimations in other countries, or a cross-cultural or structural difference in the sex market in the UK compared with most other countries covered in the table.

In the Netherlands, Leridon *et al.* (1998) report 14 per cent (n=392) of men paid for sex, although de Graaf (cited in Atchinson *et al.*, 1998) estimates that 22 per cent of all men said that they had visited a prostitute at least once during their lifetime, and four per cent of heterosexual men surveyed in Amsterdam had visited a prostitute at least once in the previous year.

Table 1: Estimates of the number of prostitutes in different countries

Country	Estimated number of prostitutes	Number of street prostitutes	Source
UK	80,000		Home Office (2004a); Kinnell (2006);
Sweden	2,500 (1999)	650 (1999)	Sweden Anti-trafficking group, cited in Ekberg (2004)
Finland	10,000–15,000 women trafficked from eastern Europe each year	-	Leskinen (2003) cited in Ekberg (2004)
New Zealand	4,475 (2005)	112 (2005)	New Zealand Police, cited in Jordan (2005)
France	15,000 in Paris 30,000 in France	-	Monteyrand (1993)
Germany	150,000		Moffatt (2005)
Netherlands	25,000	350	Cited in WGLR (2004)
Europe	500,000		Moffatt (2005)

Prieur and Taksdal (1989; cited in Atchinson *et al.*, 1998, p 183) estimated that 13 per cent of Norwegian men had paid for sex. Melbye and Biggar (1992; cited in Atchinson, *et al.*, 1998, p 184) estimated that 13 per cent of men in Denmark had visited prostitutes. A similar proportion, 13 per cent (n=624) is reported by Haavio-Mannila and Rottkirch in Finland.

In Sweden, Lewin *et al.* (1995) found that 13 per cent (n=1,475) of men had paid for sex, although 70 per cent of Swedish sex buyers said this took place abroad (either on holiday or on a business trip). One explanation for this high proportion is a result of Swedish criminalisation of purchasing sex.

In Australia the New South Wales Legislative Assembly report on prostitution (1986) estimated that clients visiting the state's prostitutes ranged between 7,000 and 9,600 in one day. Whereas Paul *et al.* (1995) estimated the proportion of the population who had paid for sex in New Zealand was around seven per cent.

International literature: frequency of client visit

There are several international studies that provide interesting comparisons on frequency of clients' visits to prostitutes. A Canadian study by Kennedy *et al.* (2004a) found that while many men claimed on arrest for solicitation that it was their first time hiring a prostitute, this changed when programme participants were asked anonymously. The majority, 58 per cent (n=308) stated that they had indeed had sex with a prostitute on another occasion, while 42 per cent said "no." Furthermore, clients reported a mean average of 42 times when asked how many times they had purchased sex in the past (range 1-4,000, and median seven, one-half reporting above, one-half below). Coughlan,

Mindel and Estcourt's (2001) study of 890 clients (and 2,670 controls) in Australia suggested that clients outnumber prostitutes by at least 50:1. In their survey of Norwegian sailors, Hoigard and Finstad (1986) found that ten per cent of respondents had purchased sex three or fewer times, while 33 per cent had bought sex more than 50 times.

These studies suggest that the majority of clients are not one-off users, but visit prostitutes more regularly. A pivotal question in determining the number of clients is whether there are meaningful subsets of clients based on frequency of visits.

North American research on John schools (for example, Sawyer *et al.*, 1998) show that a minority of men are 'habitual buyers' and account for a majority of the demand for prostitution. Leonard's (1990) study of 50 male clients in the US found that their involvement in commercial sex ranged in duration from three months to 20 years, and 34 clients reported more than two years of contacts with prostitutes. The authors also found that frequency of contact ranged widely between twice per year to 16 times per month. Most clients showed a preference for a known prostitute; six clients stated attempting to visit the same prostitute and 24 visited the same group of prostitutes (between two and five women). However, a further 20 reported visiting different prostitutes each time (seemingly reflecting the desire for sexual variety, this is discussed further in Chapter 4). Clients' own reports of their last encounter showed that 21 out of 47 said that they had previously 'dated' the same prostitute. A study of 91 male clients by Vanwesenbeeck *et al.* (1994) found an average period of experience of 17.3 years, indicating lengthy client careers.

Jungles' (2007) evaluation of a John school in the US found that 65 per cent of attendees claimed that they had never had sex with a prostitute. By contrast, 59 per cent of Monto's (2001) sample of arrestees from three cities said

that they had had sex with a prostitute at least once in the previous 12 months. The respondents in a survey of male clients attending a US John school (Lau *et al.*, 2004) were divided fairly evenly between those who reported that they were caught on their first time (38 per cent) and those who had used prostitutes previously (39 per cent). However, these studies are particularly open to social desirability biases because of the circumstances of participants, so researchers would expect higher levels of minimisation or outright denial.

Lowman *et al.*'s (2005) preliminary findings from their Internet survey found from a relatively small client sample (n=90: 86 – 95 per cent – male, two female and two transgender respondents) that eight per cent of clients had paid for sex only once in their lifetime, whereas 33 per cent had paid between two and ten times, 32 per cent between 11 and 50 times and more than one-quarter, 27 per cent, had paid more than 50 times. Louie *et al.*'s (1998) study of 328 male clients in Victoria, Australia found that 4 per cent visited a prostitute once a week and four per cent more than once a week. The majority, 32 per cent, visited prostitutes roughly once every three months, whereas 27 per cent visited between once a fortnight and once every six months, and a further seven per cent once a year. In their survey of Norwegian sailors, Hoigard and Finstad (1986) found that ten per cent of respondents had purchased sex three or fewer times, while 33 per cent had bought sex more than 50 times. These studies confirm the existence of different types or subsets of clients, based on frequency of visits, notably 'occasionals', regular users and 'veterans' (Kennedy *et al.*, 2004a).

High regularity of contact is further supported by Camden prostitutes in the US, who reported that nearly one-half all 'dates' were regulars (Freund *et al.*, 1989/90). Plumridge *et al.* (1997) in New Zealand found that most (n=23) clients visited prostitutes once per month (at a parlour) with only one client exceeding this, visiting a parlour several times a week. There was also a wide variation in the duration of purchasing, ranging from one year to 20 years. A larger study of 559 clients in the Netherlands by de Graaf *et al.* (1997) found that clients had an average 22 contacts in the previous year.

Brewer *et al.* (2007) used one of the most sophisticated methodologies of all the studies to estimate the number of clients who paid for sex in the US. They employed a statistical procedure called a capture/recapture technique, supplemented by estimates derived algebraically from local data on prevalence of prostitutes; their client numbers; and number of prostitute sex partners visited by clients. These estimates were also compared with those from the US

General Social Survey (GSS), a national probability household survey. The authors found that around two to three per cent of local male residents in several large metropolitan areas in the US frequented local street prostitutes during their observation periods spanning two to five years.

An independent estimate from Colorado, based on prevalence of local prostitutes, mean number of their client partners, and clients' mean number of prostitute sex partners, showed similar client prevalence of about four per cent for a one-year period. The author's state that these prevalence estimates were almost twice as large as those based on self-reports in the GSS surveys (adjusted for size and type municipalities in corresponding areas) which, like the NATSAL, employed a combination of face to face and computer-assisted methods. The capture/recapture estimate for the smallest Metropolitan area pointed to a client prevalence of around one-half that of larger communities (GSS also estimate substantially lower prevalence in this area). The authors found no increasing or decreasing trend in client prevalence over time, in either capture/recapture or survey estimates.

Brewer *et al.* claim that capture/recapture gives a more accurate estimate of client prevalence, but suffers commensurability problems in technique regarding survey estimates with lengthening observation periods. Capture/recapture estimates refer to FT equivalent 'slots of clients' who patronise in a particular local area, not to all individuals who resided in a local area at any point during an observation period and have patronised somewhere. Furthermore, capture/recapture estimates are likely to be conservative in relation GSS estimates, because of the probable heterogeneity in the frequency of clients visiting prostitutes and the exclusion of clients who patronised only in outside area. In addition, Monto, and McRee's (2005) large-scale comparison survey (male clients of female street prostitutes with national samples of men in the US) also found that only a minority of men have ever visited prostitutes.

This review of the international literature provides a number of conflicting messages. There are considerable differences in the proportion of males who admit to paying for sex, both between countries, and between studies in the same country.

Value of market

To estimate how much this market is worth requires an estimate to be made regarding the typical price of an encounter. Moffatt (2005) analysed reports on the

Punternet website, which revealed that the modal price reported was £60. Assuming this is typical of the price of commercial sex, the 64 million encounters would be worth a total of £3.84 billion.

Peters (2004), again using data from the Punternet site. They estimated the value of the private and parlour subareas at £534 million, which implies the total value of the prostitution industry could be up to twice as large (up to £1 billion). A study of the sex industry in Greater London put the size of the indoor sex market at around £194 million in 1997 (Matthews, 1997), which suggests that there has been a considerable increase in the size.

Appendix 3: Client characteristics

Age at arrest/interview

As noted in Chapter 2, most UK studies report the average age of male clients to be in the 30s or early 40s; Matthews, 1993a; Faugier and Cranfield, 1995; Cambell, 1995-96; Kinnell, 1990; Brooks-Gordon, 2006; Groom and Nandwandi, 2006; and Coy *et al.*, 2007). A similar picture emerges for clients attending 'John schools' in Canada and the US (Monto, 2000; Monto and Hotaling, 2001; Lau *et al.*, 2004; and Ewasiw *et al.*, 2006) with other North American research reinforcing this finding, (Leonard, 1990; Kennedy, 2004; and Moses, 2006) although there is a degree of variation. However, age in itself may not be a significant factor in prostitution usage; rather, increasing age may simply expand the probability of increased exposure to sex market transactions (Cameron and Collins, 2003).

Marital status

Research has identified that high proportions of male clients are married, cohabiting or in stable relationships, with these proportions ranging from 50 per cent to more than 90 per cent across different studies (Lowman *et al.*, 1986/87 and 2005; Leonard, 1990; Matthews, 1993a; Day and Perrotta, 1993; Faugier and Cranfield, 1995; de Graaf *et al.*, 1997; Vanwesenbeeck, 1997; Plumridge *et al.*, 1997; Louie *et al.*, 1998; Sawyer and Schroeder, 1998; Sawyer *et al.*, 2001; Kennedy *et al.*, 2004 a; and Valencia *et al.*, (1997). However, Monto, (2000) found that men attending John schools were

less likely to report being married than a national US sample, 41 per cent compared with 56 per cent, and that married respondents were less likely to report their marriage as 'very happy', 38 per cent compared with 60 per cent in the US General Social Survey). Monto suggests that for some men prostitution may function as a temporary measure during marital difficulties or when out of a relationship.

Sexuality

Generally the large majority of males buying sex from females are reported to be heterosexual, although there are mixed findings in the research. One study in Scotland found that 89 per cent were heterosexual, with the remainder describing themselves as bisexual (Macleod *et al.*, 2008) a finding that supported earlier US research (Prostitution Task Force, 1999). However, in Day *et al.*'s (1993) London survey of 94 men who answered the question, 36 per cent reported having sex with another man. Similarly, in Faugier and Cranfield's (1995) study in Manchester, 32 per cent of respondents reported other sexual partners in addition to prostitutes and their regular sexual partners over the past 12 months and of these, 28 per cent reported that this contact was predominantly with other men.

Sexual activity

Comparing attendees at a US John school with a national survey, Monto (2000) reported that male clients of prostitutes were more likely to have multiple sexual partners over the past year, with 20 per cent reporting five partners or more, compared with three per cent of a national survey sample. Furthermore, clients were more likely to have had sexual partners of both sexes, estimated to be about five per cent of clients compared with 0.5 per cent of survey respondents. The authors found that men with more sexual partners were more likely to purchase sex (Månsson, 1998 and Monto, 2000).

Clients' occupation, income and education

Men arrested for soliciting tend to have a higher education than and to be in full-time employment (Sawyer *et al.*, 2002). Research has consistently identified majority of male clients of female prostitutes as employed or self-employed. This finding is also applicable to UK studies (Faugier and Cranfield, 1995; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; and Coy *et al.*, 2007), European studies (Gelder and Kaplan, 1992), and US studies (Monto, 2000).

Sharpe's (1998) study using prostitutes to assess clients' occupational status illustrated a broad socio-occupational range. While all sectors of work are represented, several studies report a skew towards the higher socio-economic classes (in the UK Faugier and Cranfield, 1995 and Elliot and McGaw, 2002; and in Canada Ewasiw *et al.*, 2006;). A high proportion of Brooks-Gordon's (2006) London sample were skilled manual workers, a lower socio-economic group than identified in other studies. This difference was attributed to the volume of building work under way in the area at the time of the study.

Variations across studies in how occupational categories are reported mean that direct comparisons are especially difficult. The 1990 National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL) survey found that men most likely to report paying for sex came from social class 1 and 2, and Faugier's (1996, cited in Sergeant, 1997) study of 120 male clients in Manchester found that many were employed in professional or managerial positions or were self-employed. These last findings are at odds with Table 2 (below), which demonstrates the preponderance of manual classes for three UK studies. One possibility raised by Kinnell (1990) is that the NATSAL survey data more accurately reflect those willing to admit to paying for sex.

Strang *et al.*'s (1995) study found that prisoners in England and Wales were more likely to use prostitutes than the general population, with some 20 per cent reporting having had sex with prostitutes. The authors also found a correlation between lifetime number of sexual partners and the number of partners who have been prostitutes, particularly among men who have a high number of sexual partners.

Studies of men attending John schools in the US and Canada report that male clients are likely to be educated, with between 58 per cent (Ewasiw *et al.*, 2006) and 63 per cent (Lau *et al.*, 2004) completing post-secondary education. Monto (2000) found that men attending John schools were more likely than the US General Social Survey (GSS) sample to have attended college, 72 per cent of clients compared with 36 per cent nationally). Louie *et al.*'s (1998) study of 328 Australian clients found that 44 per cent had a postgraduate qualification, 80 per cent were employed and almost one-half. Monto and Hotaling's (2001) study of 1,286 men arrested for trying to hire street prostitutes found that more than one-third, 36 per cent, completed a bachelor degree/higher degree and 37 per cent had some college education.

Table 2 Client occupation

Area	Occupation	%
Birmingham (1988/90)	Managerial/professional	14
	Small business	13
	White collar	14
	Blue collar	45
	Armed forces	0
	Retired	7
	Student	0
Middlesbrough (2002)	Unemployed	6
	Managerial/professional	41
	Non-manual	10
	Manual	49
Manchester (1995)	Unemployed	9
	Managerial/professional	28
	Self-employed	12
	White collar/Service/retail	15
	Manual/transport	31
	Unemployed	13

International studies

Kennedy *et al.* (2004a) found that 76 per cent of clients attending a Vancouver John school were in full-time employment, and 37 per cent had some form of university education. Lowman *et al.*'s (2005) Internet survey of 80 clients (both indoor and on-street purchasers) found that 79 per cent graduated from high school; 26 per cent had a school diploma; and 21 per cent had a degree. Again, the majority, 55 per cent, were employed full time, 23 per cent part time, and 15 per cent were on welfare or cited other sources of income.

Simon and Sullivan's (1998) US survey found a higher proportion of those serving in the military, 36 per cent (n=409) had paid for sex compared with those without military experience, 13 per cent (n=1,101) although this finding is not consistent with other studies.

Lowman *et al.*'s (2005) Canadian survey found that most men charged with soliciting were either blue collar workers or worked in the low/middle professions, 37 per cent, compared with 16 per cent of upper income professionals, while 13 per cent were unemployed or welfare recipients. However, this may be more a reflection of police law enforcement patterns of difficulties that female police decoys experience than a true reflection of clients.

Ethnicity

There is mixed evidence regarding the ethnicity of men who buy sex. Faugier and Cranfield's (1995) research in Manchester, and Groom and Nandwandi's (2006) Glasgow study both found that the ethnic profile of clients reflected the local population, a similar finding to US and Canadian studies of John school attendees (Monto, 2000 and Ewasiw *et al.*, 2006).

In contrast, Brooks-Gordon (2006) and Coy *et al.* (2007) both found their London samples of male clients contrasted with the wider population. The authors identified high proportions of European and South Asian clients. Coy *et al.* found that White men were under-represented in their sample of clients, making up about 71 per cent of London's male population and 59 per cent of the sample. Brookes-Gordon argues that the under-representation of White males could reflect the prejudices of police officers manning kerb crawling operations. However this explanation does not account for Coy *et al.*'s findings as their sample was self-selecting.

Lowman *et al.* (2005) found that the ethnic origin of soliciting arrestees was predominantly White. Sullivan *et al.*'s (1992) large US study found that White males had a lower probability of visiting a female prostitute than African American males 17 per cent compared with 25 per cent, or Asia, 24 per cent, and Hispanic males, 23 per cent.

Mobility

Brooks-Gordon (2006) found that the average distance travelled from the client's home address was either very short or very long. It was also suggested that men working in the area were taking up opportunities for paying for sex; two-thirds of those stopped for soliciting in this study were tourists or business visitors.

Analysis of police records by Matthews (1993a) found that kerb crawlers travelled slightly farther than prostitutes, an average of two to six miles compared with two to five miles, with around 15 per cent of kerb crawlers in London travelling from outside London (more than 20 miles). Elliot and McGaw (2002) found a much high proportion, 84 per cent, of kerb crawlers stopped in Middlesbrough were from outside the town, but this might be explained by lack of available venues in the surrounding region.

Kennedy *et al.*'s (2004a) Canadian study found that a large proportion of arrested men were living in the same region

as where they were arrested, a finding that contrasts with Leonard's (1990) US study of 50 male clients where only one client resided in the study area, all others came from the surrounding New Jersey suburbs, and about a further ten were from other states. However, 21 reported working in the area and used this as an opportunity to visit a prostitute.

Drug and alcohol use

Thomas *et al.* (1990) found that drinking and drug use were a commonplace accompaniment to contact between client and prostitute in Scotland, with 12 per cent of clients reporting 'always/usually' using illicit drugs during commercial sex. A further 26 per cent reported using illicit intravenous drugs.

Kennedy *et al.*'s (2004a) Canadian study found 'moderate' levels of drug use during or prior to visiting a prostitute among 597 arrestees, 14 per cent reported moderate drug use. Coughlan *et al.* (1991) found that clients were more likely than a control group to report injecting drugs but were less likely to report alcohol consumption, although there was no difference between the two groups in proportion of those deemed to be heavy drinkers.

De Graaf's (1995) suggest amend otherwise need to explain smaller than what small-scale study among 91 Dutch clients found that 29 per cent of heterosexual and 46 per cent of homosexual clients reported at least sometimes being drunk, while 14 per cent of heterosexual and 12 per cent of homosexual clients judged that they were at least sometimes under influence of alcohol.

Clients' sexual attitudes

Kennedy *et al.*'s (2004a) study in Vancouver found that the offender group was 'not extraordinary' in their sexual attitudes, desires or beliefs. Almost 60 per cent of clients disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement 'there is nothing wrong with prostitution' (the same proportion of the control group of non-offenders). A further 64 per cent of clients agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'prostitutes are victims of a sexist society' and the non-offender population generally provided stronger condemnation of people who visited prostitutes. Furthermore, the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant, although the study suffers from an unrepresentative control group.

Differences

One of the first steps towards understanding the demand side of prostitution is to determine any factors that differentiate men who consume prostitution services from those who do not. The academic literature can be broadly characterised as vacillating between two contradictory conceptions of the prototypical client, which Monto (2005) termed:

- the “*everyman perspective*” (clients of prostitutes being no different from men in general); and
- the “*peculiar man perspective*” (clients of prostitutes having some distinctive qualities, such as being psychologically deficient, socially inadequate or sexually deviant).

This section explores the different characteristics of clients and whether there are any distinctive qualities.

Monto and McRee’s (2005) study set out to assess these two perspectives by comparing 1,672 male clients (arrestees of female prostitutes) with a national representative sample (drawn from the US General Social Survey (GSS) 1993/94/96 and the National Health and Social Life Survey 1992).²⁹ The results of their study did not support either perspective. Indeed, as Weitzer (2000), cited in Monto (2005), notes, this either/or approach tends to lead to oversimplification and overgeneralisation.

However, Monto and McRee found statistically significant differences between the survey sample and the clients. The clearest factors were a lower rate of marriage or a diminished marital happiness for clients compared with non-clients. They also found that clients reported thinking about sex, masturbating, and feeling guilty about sex more frequently than men in general. Furthermore, clients were more likely to participate in other aspects of the sex industry (strip clubs, etc.) than men in general. These differences emerged most prominently between repeat users (those visiting a prostitute more than once) and those in the national sample who reported never visiting a prostitute.

For some men, prostitution may be a temporary outlet while they are not involved in sexual relationship or during difficulties in their intimate relationships; for these individuals, prostitution is an ‘isolated habit’. However, for others, difficulty in finding a marriage partner could lead to more regular use of prostitutes. Nevertheless, there is a subset where this is

²⁹ Both survey and arrestee samples were made more comparable by restricting survey data to men aged between 18 and 55.

not applicable. Of the 40 per cent of the client sample who were married 38 per cent were very happily married, and 40 per cent were pretty happily married.

Monto and McRee’s findings regarding frequency of sex and number of sexual partners adds weight to there being different categories of prostitution users, ranging from ‘first-timers’, to the regular client whose behaviour reflects a greater focus on sex (being consistent with their more frequent thoughts about sex and participation in the sex industry). Indeed, the author’s findings discerned a ‘substantial proportion’ of clients who were sexually conservative but still fully participated in the sex industry.

While Monto and McRee offer a methodologically sophisticated study, it suffers from the difficulties inherent in any study population made up of clients undertaking rehabilitative programmes:

- responses are subject to social desirability factors;
- the sample is skewed to the on-street market, and is likely to under-represent regulars who have longer term relationships with prostitutes.

Xantidis and McCabe’s (2001) Australian study also explored differences between those who used prostitutes and those who did not. Notwithstanding the possible unrepresentative nature of the convenience sample used, the researchers found no significant differences between the two groups in terms of marital status, age, education and occupation. However, clients were more likely to feel discomfort in social situations involving women, and were also more likely to seek risk and unpredictable situations.

Other researchers have, however, found differences in terms of occupation between users and non-users. Those in the police, the military and transport industries, as well as those who travel abroad for work, are more likely to buy sex (Anderson and O’Connell-Davidson, 2002). In terms of demographics, however, there is little to mark out prostitute users from non-users. Clients tend to be heterosexual, married or cohabiting, in full-time employment, White, and in their 30s, in other words, average males.

Coughlan *et al.*’s (2001) study of male clients of female prostitutes attending a health clinic found that clients were more likely to be married or cohabiting, and to be non-English speaking than a non-match control group. This is in contrast to Sullivan and Simon’s (1998) large scale study examining self-administered questionnaires for National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSL) data, which reported no differences between men who had paid for sex and those

men who had not in terms of marital status, household income, political preferences, religion (when raised), coming from a 'broken home' or rural/urban setting.

Appendix 4: Context of Procuring Commercial Sex

Sex markets

The contexts in which sex is procured can be classified into five key environments (Sanders, 2005b).

- the on-street market;
- working from home;
- escorts;
- brothels; and
- licensed saunas.

Few studies have attempted to put figures to the number of women involved in the different sectors of the sex market. One study that did so was carried out by police in New Zealand, and estimated that 43 per cent of the estimated 4,478 prostitutes in that country work in parlours, with a further 31 per cent in escort agencies. Independent workers accounted for an estimated 16 per cent of the total, while four per cent were employed in strip clubs. Just over two per cent were believed to be working primarily on the street, and four per cent working in a variety of locations including hostess bars, ships and peep shows (Jordan, 2005). Women in the sex industry reported that young men are attracted to street prostitution because it is cheaper than other markets and easy to access (Raymond, 2004).

Paying for sex while abroad is an important context for prostitution, particularly in countries such as Sweden where domestic purchase of sex is illegal (see section in Chapter 5 *Criminalising the purchase of sex*). It is also a sector of prostitution in which female clients exist in any significant numbers. This market is discussed in Appendix 4.

On-street market

The on-street market is estimated to be generally smaller than the indoor market (Sanders, 2005b). Matthews (1993a) estimated that 12 per cent of prostitutes in London worked on the street. The street sex market generally involves prostitutes soliciting by the side of the road for clients who

are usually in cars. The sexual encounter normally takes place either in the vehicle or in a secluded outside space (for example, an alleyway), although this can lead on to using indoor premises, including crack houses (Nash *et al.*, 2004).

Day *et al.* (1993) found that the most popular method of contacting prostitutes, used by 41 per cent of clients, was through an advertisement followed by either approaching a prostitute on the street or using saunas/clubs, both 17 per cent. A minority, six per cent, used escort agencies or private referrals. This research was conducted in London and at the time of the study, cards in phone boxes were identified as the principal means of advertising to clients (Matthews 1997). However, but (Hubbard, 2002a and b) claimed this was only the case in London and not elsewhere in the country. Vanwesenbeeck *et al.*'s (1997) Netherlands study found that of 91 clients, 47 per cent visited prostitutes by window, 33 per cent by brothel, 28 per cent in the prostitute's own house, 26 per cent in a club, 20 per cent through an escort agency, and six per cent on the street. Respondents could specify more than one place where they visited prostitutes and most clients, 51 per cent, used a combination of these venues.

Brooks-Gordon (2006) observed that the peak days in the on-street sex market were Wednesdays and Fridays. A possible reason was that over the weekend men might have family commitments and would therefore be expected somewhere else. Observing a tolerated on-street sex market in a Netherlands Toppelzone, Gelder and van Kaplan (1992) noted that the average in-car encounter with a prostitute lasted for ten minutes, and encounters were shorter during busier periods. Most of the clients interviewed by Gelder and van Kaplan were on their way to a different destination.

Elliot and McGaw (2002) found that 84 per cent of men stopped for kerb crawling in Middlesbrough lived outside the city. It was suggested that this was because within this region only Middlesbrough and Stockton on Tees provide a 'supply' of prostitutes. More than one-quarter, 27 per cent, of the sample (n=44) stated that they had travelled to Middlesbrough specifically for 'sexual purposes'.

Plumridge *et al.*'s (1997) study of clients' discourse found that commercial sex encounters emerged as highly structured event falling into three phases:

- the decision to have sex;
- the negotiation of services; and
- the performance of the act.

The initial decision to secure sex in response to the client's sexual arousal could be planned weeks in advance and some clients spoke of this allowing time to savour/anticipate fully the expectation of sexual pleasure. Others preferred to act on impulse, for example, visiting a parlour for no other reason than it was on their way home.

Off-street market

Most policing of prostitution is aimed at the street market, which has led to a decline in street prostitution and an increase in indoor working (Matthews, 1997). This last point echoes the declining use of brothel-keeping laws; in 1990 there were 141 convictions under these laws, compared with eight convictions in 2002 (Sanders, 2006a and b).

It is estimated that in London alone, there are 730 flats and parlours and 164 escort agencies (Dickson, 2004). The number of establishments (Hubbard, forthcoming) and the level of spending on prostitution (Bernstein, 2007) are both reported to have increased, fuelled by the rapid growth in Internet and mobile communications, as discussed below.

Research suggests that the client group accessing a particular off-street market can be influenced by employment opportunities nearby. For example, Brooks-Gordon (2006) found that a large number of construction sites in the vicinity lead to a higher proportion of skilled manual workers among clients than found in other studies. This suggests that opportunity creates its own demand. Coy *et al.* (2007) found that the majority of men purchasing sex in London did so at localities with a well known reputation as a red light district, such as Soho and King's Cross.

Buying sex abroad

This section provides a discussion of purchasing sex abroad (commonly referred to as 'sex tourism') both as a phenomenon in its own right and as a displacement effect in reaction to enforcement initiatives and price considerations.

Prevalence and characteristics of clients buying sex abroad

One of the findings from the available research is that men are more likely to purchase sex when abroad than they are when at home. For instance Hoigard and Finstad (1986) found 80 per cent of the men in their sample of Norwegian sailors who purchased sex did so while abroad. Wellings *et al.*, (1994) also found that men who work away

from home were more likely to report paying for sex, and the literature on sex tourism suggests this 'away from home factor' is an important contextual factor.

The majority of men who purchased sex abroad had done so in countries with reputations for available sex markets, such as the Netherlands. They suggest that men's views on sex abroad suggest that the socio-legal context can influence men's attitudes and behaviours and that men seek out paid sex where it is easily accessible to do so.

A survey of Swedish men revealed that one in eight had bought sex, but the majority, 79 per cent, of these purchases were said to have been made overseas (Månsson, 2004), indicating that buying sex abroad is a main satisfier of demand in that country.

Based on content analysis of 'sex tourism' websites, Bender and Furman (2004) identified a number of characteristics of the men purchasing sex. They were primarily from developed countries and were usually married, educated and earning high wages. They found the age range of men purchasing sex through sex tourism was between 35 and 55, and similar to the age range of men who purchase sex in the British markets (for example, Brooks-Gordon, 2006).

Monto (2000) argues that the views expressed by those buying sex abroad frequently reflect a naive fantasy about the lives and experiences of prostitutes. Similarly, O'Connell-Davidson (1999) highlights that the disparities of wealth between developed Western countries and less developed destinations with markets for purchasing sex are so wide that those from the affluent world do not realise the significance of their economic power. Sex tourists are unable to comprehend how the small benefits they offer could be sufficient to induce someone to have sex with someone they do not desire. O'Connell-Davidson's primary point is the need to redress these imbalances. However, there is also the potential of debunking myths about purchasing sex abroad through education and awareness campaigns.

Female clients

Purchasing sex abroad is also an interesting segment of the market, because it is the only one with a significant number of female clients. O'Connell-Davidson (1999) reports an increasing trade in females buying sex abroad in places such as the Caribbean coast, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Goa, Jamaica and Venezuela. Female sex tourism is often referred to as 'romance tourism', but O'Connell-Davidson argues that it is in many ways similar to male purchasing of sex abroad. Western women

use economic power over partners of their choice. A difference is that more effort is required in concealing the commercial nature of the encounter, with women purchasing 'gifts' that can readily be turned into cash.

Male clients of male prostitutes

There is comparatively little research on male clients of male prostitutes, and where this does exist studies are typically qualitative in nature and often restricted to small sample sizes. While little reliable information is known about this group, they are believed to be mainly heterosexual men, or bisexual men, or those not confident enough to be openly homosexual (Bloor *et al.*, 1990).

The negotiation and exchange of money can take place after the sexual service has occurred, an arrangement that can empower the client to demand unreasonable or unsafe sexual services (Bloor *et al.*, 1990). The authors identified a number of clients as covert bisexuals, although there were also a number of married men who were also clients. Findings from two (Bloor *et al.*, 1990) showed a high degree of violence and intimidation by male prostitute and client alike.

Morse *et al.*'s (1992) two-year study of clients of male street prostitutes in the US found that all clients were residents of the New Orleans greater metropolitan area (with the exception of one regular tourist; sample size was 15). The clients were aged between 19 and 49, with a median age of 30; eight were White and seven Black. In contrast to clients of female prostitutes, less than half (47%), reported never being married, while 27 per cent were married, and a similar proportion were separated or divorced. Their education levels ranged from completion of tenth grade to college graduate, with a modal category high school graduate. When asked about their occupation, three clients, 20 per cent of the sample, identified themselves as businessmen or professionals, while the majority, 80 per cent, indicated that they worked in skilled/semi-skilled jobs. The sexual orientation of these male prostitutes' clients was estimated from both the male prostitutes' judgements, 33 per cent were deemed heterosexual or bisexual, and from self-definitions, which showed, 53 per cent, to be bisexual and 40 per cent heterosexual; one client (9% of the sample) self-identified as homosexual.

Another sharp contrast with clients of the female prostitute market was the use of drugs and alcohol. Morse *et al.* found that the use of drugs and alcohol was 'ubiquitous' among both clients and male prostitutes; some

57 per cent of male prostitutes reported using alcohol and wide variety drugs with clients, and 45 per cent of male prostitutes reported that they accepted drugs or alcohol in trade for sex acts. The reports from clients generally paralleled male prostitutes, with five clients, 33 per cent, reporting intravenous drug use while seeking/experiencing sex acts with male prostitutes.

In addition, almost all the sample reported using often heavy amounts alcohol at all phases of the process of seeking and selecting the desired prostitute. Morse *et al.*, identify four client niches:

- gay/bisexual bars;
- car cruising;
- gay men's social organisations; and
- male prostitute referrals.

Enforcement and displacement

McNamara's (1994) New York study of the effects of displacement on male prostitution found that locations possessed certain characteristics that facilitate prostitution, for instance, peep shows, pornographic shops and cheap hotels. McNamara indicated that the nature of 'hustling' depended on the existence of these types of businesses in an area, as well as the manner in which they were allowed to operate.

Other areas, such as the Port Authority Bus Terminal, provided a market because 'hustling' was found to coincide with the work schedule of commuters, especially around rush hours, as commuters made their way to and from work.

McNamara found that there was a sense of territoriality and community in a relatively small geographic area, one that reflected the potential for income-producing activity among repeat clients who commuted or lived locally. This was to be challenged during the study period by a succession of city redevelopment initiatives in the Times Square area. Police crackdown operations also aimed at reducing nuisances associated with soliciting and low-level crime. Clients were targeted through undercover operations around Times Square. The effectiveness of these operations was predicated on periodic re-enforcement, and the effects of consistent crackdowns caused the male prostitutes, and hence the market, to shift gradually to neighbouring 8th Avenue. Most of the male prostitutes either had shifted or were in the process of shifting to other locations. McNamara states that the intervention may have led to some male prostitutes curtailing their activity, but for the vast majority there was too much at stake for them to stop.

One key obstacle for the authorities in eliminating the market was that the characteristics and organisations in Times Square were an integral part of the 'hustling' scene. These were seen as having a generative effect on both demand and supply.

Links between context and procuring sex

Male clients range from first time or infrequent buyers through to habitual 'veteran' buyers. Månsson (2004) looked at all groups and concluded that legal measures, for example, arrest, were more likely to be effective with occasional buyers, as they might be more concerned about loss of reputation and other consequences of prosecution. This suggests that habitual buyers, who sustain most of the demand for prostitution, are also the group that is the most difficult to deter successfully.

Soothill's (2004a and b) analysis of postings on an Internet information exchange site for 'punters' suggested that those who used street prostitutes did so because they relished the risk of being caught. Faugier and Cranfield (1995) also found that men who used street prostitutes did so because of the excitement and risk that this involved, suggesting that greater policing may not have the expected effect.

Research into clients suggests that just as women who work on-street and indoors tend to be discrete groups, so are their clients. Benson and Matthew's (1995) interviews with clients of saunas found that few of the men tended to kerb crawl. Instead, this group saw the advantages of visiting saunas in terms of the relaxed atmosphere, the availability of a massage, the cleanliness and friendliness of the staff and the semi-legitimacy and security from the police that such establishments offered. This implies a distinction between clients procuring sex indoors and those accessing street prostitutes. Street prostitutes cater for men who want 'cheap quickies' and the danger/risk associated with it, while the indoor prostitute caters for men who are better off, more fearful of risk, and have more diverse or demanding requirements (O'Connell-Davidson, 1995).

Ethnicity and context

There is some survey evidence from the US that different racial groups hold different views about sex, women and prostitutes, with the implication that programmes to reduce demand need to be tailored to the ethnic communities they serve (Preston and Brown-Hart, 2005). However, this finding has limited applicability to the UK because of the very different racial mixes in the two countries.

Influence of peers and soliciting

For a statistically significant minority of males, the first purchase of commercial sex is conducted in the company of others. Macleod *et al.*'s (2008) survey in Edinburgh and Glasgow found that 55 per cent were alone when they first bought sex, while 41 per cent were with friends, and three per cent were with a family member. Lowman *et al.*'s (2005) US study found 16 per cent of arrested clients (sample, 440) had company when procuring sex.

Kennedy *et al.*'s (2004a) large Vancouver study of arrestees found that the majority, 61 per cent, of men said that they had tried to stop visiting prostitutes. Clients were fairly evenly split between those who thought that their behaviour with a prostitute caused problems for them, 53 per cent, and those who said it did not, 47 per cent. The biggest concerns about being arrested for hiring a prostitute were the embarrassment, 30 per cent, and fact of getting a criminal record, 28 per cent. The effect on the men's families was seen as the biggest concern by 16 per cent of the men surveyed even though the majority, 67 per cent, stated that nobody else knew about their soliciting.

Appendix 5: Motivations for procuring sex

Typologies of male clients

A number of authors offer typologies of male clients. Sawyer *et al.* (1998) proposed a fourfold typology of men and motivations orientating upon compulsion and inadequacy:

- Negative compulsive – males who say they do not enjoy sex with prostitutes but go anyway.
- Positive compulsive – enjoy the sex but have attempted to stop going.
- Positive accepting – enjoy the sex, do not try to stop and support legalisation.
- Socially inadequate – shy, introverted and socially uncomfortable males.

Although these findings are based on self-reported data from arrestees and may not be representative of all clients, the typology implies that different strategies are required to tackle demand, depending on which group is

targeted (for example, social skills training, information about the negative consequences of prostitution, cognitive behavioural training to tackle antisocial attitudes) (Sawyer *et al.*, 2001).

A similar point holds for Vanwesenbeeck *et al.*'s (1994) five-point typology of clients:

- consistent users;
- defaulting users;
- selective users;
- indifferent users;
- recalcitrant users.

Coy *et al.*'s (2007) typology of men's narratives of paying for sex, found three primary explanations for involvement:

- Consuming – these men invoked rhetoric of mutual exchange, and often presented a crude cost benefit analysis (cost and gains of paying for sex versus dating rituals) and viewed the provision of commercial sex as a straightforward service industry.
- Boasting – these men tended to provide explicit sexual detail and professed a love of sex, they believed that all women want sex and gain pleasure from selling sex. They expressed a desire for sexual variety, a notion of biological imperative and the advantages of no strings and no hassle.
- Confessing – these men expressed guilt and shame, awareness of coercion and trafficking; one-half of this group had paid for sex on one, two or three occasions and stated they were unlikely to do it again.

Daalder (2007) proposes three categories of client, based on responses to a web-based survey among prostitutes' clients:

- the businesslike client who just wants sex and is not worried about issues like payment or condoms;
- the adventurer, who has a more troublesome attitude towards prostitutes, has many sexual contacts and uses condoms;
- the romantic, who is looking for intimacy would like to forget that he is paying for sex and is rather demanding while he is told he is a 'nice' client.

However, other authors have been critical of this division as too simplistic (Asante and Schaapman, 2005). They claim that the 'adventurer' provides a cover for men suffering from 'sex addiction', an as yet unrecognised and controversial diagnostic label.

Motivations for procuring sex

This section briefly discusses some of the main motivations that are identified in the literature.

Girlfriend experience

Some males visit prostitutes because they are seeking a 'girlfriend experience' and emphasise an emotional attachment and 'mutuality' (Holt *et al.* 2007). Gelder and van Kaplan (1992) found that clients without a steady partner often wanted longer lasting encounters demonstrating a sociability need, and Kennedy *et al.* (2004a) found that loneliness was the main motivation for 19 per cent of males arrested for soliciting.

No strings attached

By contrast, some males prefer the convenience and gratification of commercial sex than sex with a partner, which requires greater effort, negotiation and time (Monto 2000; Plumridge *et al.*, 1997; and Jordan, 2005). For them, there was an appeal in the brevity and uninvolved emotional nature of the act (McKeganey, 1994).

O'Connell-Davidson (1999) argues that males explicitly eroticise the image of the 'dirty whore' and that for some this image is a form of liberation from guilt about their impulses, while not objectifying 'nice women'. This motivation, and the desire to 'not have to work for it', was also identified by McKeganey and Barnard (1996).

Difficulties with conventional relationships

Male clients who suffer shyness, report being socially awkward, are of advancing age or have physical or mental difficulties and perceive themselves unable to establish conventional relationships and view prostitution as their only means of having sex (Jordan, 2005; Monto, 2000; Månsson, 2005; Prostitution Task Force, 1999). The client pays to 'step outside' the complex rules and conventions that govern non-commercial sexuality, this can include escaping from the constraints of masculinity such as where a male partner requests to be dominated by female partner (O'Connell-Davidson, 1995). Some clients seek prostitutes for primarily non-sexual reasons, such as companionship, company or sympathy (Raymond, 2004).

Separation from regular partner

Some men who are accustomed to sexual access visit prostitutes when they are away from their regular partner because of travel or work commitments, or when they are not in a conventional sexual relationship (Jordan 2005; Monto, 2000; Xantidis and McCabe, 2001).

Sexual gratification and entitlement

Some clients feel a need or entitlement to sexual gratification, and view women's bodies as simply a means of providing this (O'Connell-Davidson, 1999). Within this category are men with a desire for sexual variety and/or large numbers of sexual partners (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996).

In Lau *et al.*'s (2004) study, nine per cent of the sample stated that sexual gratification would be their motivation for continuing to visit prostitutes. This response was more frequent from experienced users compared with 'novice' users and first timers. Sullivan and Simon's (1998) US study found links between paying for sex and 'erotic interest', frequency of masturbation, or what the authors described as 'hyper sexuality'. However, they did not find links between sexual morality the act of paying for sex.

This view invites a self-focused, consumer-orientated conception of sexuality as highlighted by Monto (2000); O'Connell-Davidson (1999); and Coy *et al.* (2007) who found clients view prostitutes as just 'doing a job' or providing a service, again within the context of a mutual exchange.

De Graaf *et al.* (1995) that heterosexual men with compulsive sexual feelings will not easily find avenues for fulfilling their sexual desires in non-commercial spheres, leading many to engage in commercial contacts. As a result, sexually compulsive men are likely to be over-represented in the population of clients of prostitutes. Bender and Furman (2004) explored the motivations of men who bought sex abroad (sex tourism) and reported that their behaviour was like an addiction, similar to that of those who experience substance misuse issues. They also argued that some men considered commercial sex to be a reward after a hard, stressful day at work.

Honour and status

The procurement of sex does not always represent a personal sexual interest. Groups of men may aim to maintain their masculine identity with other men, for example through corporate visits to prostitutes. Peer pressure to demonstrate manhood (through separating sexuality from emotional attachment) may be expected by a male peer group (O'Connell-Davidson, 1999).

Some men may seek to obtain 'honour' through accessing prostitutes (O'Connell-Davidson, 1999) based on the notion that successful men attract more desirable women, thus paying for a prostitute provides a route to a higher value woman. It is argued that this explanation is particularly applicable to buying sex abroad. However, honour gained is lessened in the eyes of others if those

others know that sex has been paid for. This group of men consequently try to ignore the commercial nature of the transaction. For example, Westerners purchasing sex abroad may avoid using the term 'prostitute'. Nevertheless, this insight needs to be balanced against the cultural practice of prostitutes in foreign destinations often performing types of activities associated with affection not practiced by western prostitutes, such as feigning mutual attraction. This is one reason why men who would not use prostitutes in the West become clients in foreign destinations (O'Connell-Davidson, 1999).

Capacity to request specific sex acts

Some men desire sexual experiences that they feel they cannot request from a regular partner or that their regular partners refuse to provide, such as oral or anal sex, or domination and submissive role playing, or various sexual fetishes (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996, and Monto, 2000).

Related to business

A related theme is shopping for sex, where sex with a prostitute is seen as a consumer product to be evaluated and purchased like any other (Månsson, 2004). This is also linked to the 'thrill of the hunt' involving in cruising around and selecting a woman (Grubman Black, 2003). That sex can be viewed a consumer product is arguably related to wider societal influences, for example, media depictions of women, which glamorise and normalise the sex industry and prostitution. This is seen in the increasing numbers of strip and lap dancing clubs and the ever younger sexualisation women and girls (Sanders, 2008 a and b).

Curiosity, excitement and risk

The illicit or risky nature of the prostitution encounter is attractive to some clients (Monto, 2000 and Faugier, 1996, cited in Sergeant, 1997). Faugier emphasises a general lack of ability in clients to address issues of risk, this despite the fact many had a lot to lose (regular sexual partners, homes, security and reasonable disposable incomes). This would appear to have important implications for any perceived deterrent effects from enforcement action.

Curiosity was the most frequently reported motivation in Lau *et al.*'s (2004) survey of attendees at a John school, at 27 per cent, and especially among 'first timers'.

Violence and control

Monto (2002) found no evidence that clients of prostitutes exhibit high levels of acceptance of 'rape myths' compared with other samples that have completed the scale. Clients did not exhibit attitudes that support violence against women. This finding is similarly supported by Lowman and Fraser (1996).

Busch *et al.*'s (2002) US study suggests a sexual stereotyping process that justifies violent behaviour (patriarchal attitudes). They found a correlation between a history of physical child abuse, 'traumatic life experiences', and maintenance of aggressive attitudes (based on some contested and controversial research on child abuse). Nevertheless, in line with other studies, they also found that most men did not support violence or find sexual violence attractive, and did not report using violence to gain sex or believe that prostitutes enjoy having sex for money. There was also no indication that more than a small proportion of clients are violent, although socially desirable response factors in the study cannot be discounted.

There is a minority of men for whom the motivation for paid for sex is the ultimate control that it offers over another human being (Prostitution Task Force, 1999; Grubman Black, 2003; and Parker, 2004). Other men's motivation may be misogynistic, and their anger at women leads them to violence, changing the rules, or forcing women to perform sex acts they had not agreed to (Grubman Black, 2003).

Opportunity demand and price

Although not a motivation, a decision to buy sex is affected by its price. Interviews with those prone to using prostitutes have revealed, unsurprisingly, that they are more likely to buy sex where it is cheaper (Bellis *et al.*, 1996). This is one explanation of the appeal to many of buying sex abroad, in places where sex can be purchased more cheaply than at home.

In the UK market, the link between trafficking and pricing of sexual services is under-researched, but one way to reduce demand may be to restrict supply through more effective disruption of the trafficking network, leading to an increase in price (Anderson and O'Connell-Davidson, 2002).

Lowman and Atchinson's (2005) client Internet survey asked what prompted clients first visit to a prostitute. They found that 55 per cent reported pornography, 41 per cent reported that it was the availability/visibility of prostitutes, 27 per cent stated it was a spontaneous decision and 12 per cent said friends. The authors conclude that like most other goods and services bought and sold, demand and supply interact, at least for certain segments of the client population. Furthermore, the authors claim that clients' initial demand was at least partly driven by supply.

Appendix 6: Policy approaches that can impact on demand

Legalisation

Arguments in favour of legalisation are that it reduces the links with organised crime, and that it improves women's health, exposure to violence, and quality of life for local residents (Bindel and Kelly, 2004). However, it also removes a restriction on individual freedom (Moffatt, 2005).

Legalisation does not necessarily reduce the stigma attached to prostitution. In the Netherlands, where prostitutes are required to register with the police, many refuse to do so as they do not wish the Government to know that they are prostitutes. Nor has legalisation halted trafficking (Bindel and Kelly, 2003). Opponents of legalisation argue that legalisation condones behaviour that is potentially unhealthy, dangerous, and associated with violence and other negative social phenomena. It may also encourage people to enter the profession (Moffatt, 2005). In both the Netherlands and Victoria, Australia, the original aims of legalisation have not been met, and jurisdictions have witnessed increases in organised crime and trafficking (*ibid.*). Sullivan and Jeffrey (2001) report that since legalisation in Victoria, brothels have become larger, and more men have used them, with 60,000 spending on average \$7 million per week on prostitution.

Raymond (2004) argues that legalisation "abandons women", and that the sex industry and global trafficking are predominantly caused by demand and therefore those creating demand should be criminalised. Raymond points to international examples where legalisation serves to make more female prostitutes available to more men, citing statistics that legalisation in Victoria and New South Wales, Australia and in New Zealand has led to more and bigger brothels that are "impossible to control" (p 1163). Raymond adds that the conversion of prostitution into a normal form of work through, for example, affiliation to trade unions, normalises prostitution as a suitable option for the poor. Increased in demand legitimates bringing more women into prostitution and converts trafficking into "voluntary migration for sex work" (p 1164). Furthermore, any such "legal approval of prostitution promotes a model of male sexuality that is based on the sexual exploitation of women" (*ibid.*).

In the Netherlands, prostitution has never been illegal, but there has been a distinction between voluntary and involuntary prostitution. In 2000, the Netherlands introduced a system of licensing brothels. Most local

authorities used the licensing scheme to limit the number of premises to the absolute minimum and to prevent new premises opening (Dutting, 2000). This led to a decline in the number of 'official' brothels as they could not or did not wish to comply with the conditions of the licence. What is not clear is what happened to those that did not get a licence (WGRL, 2004). The legislation coincided with two major police operations in which prostitutes with no residence permits were deported, leading to a reduction in the number of street prostitutes (Hubbard *et al.*, 2008a).

Moffatt (2005) concludes that there is no evidence that legalisation affects the level of demand in the market – while it may alter the shape and distribution, it does not appear to change the size.

Tolerance zones

The policy whereby sex work within a (usually urban) area is tolerated is also known as 'zoning' and originated in Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1986 (van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006). While this policy is more about managing demand than reducing it, it is worth discussing as local authorities in the UK, such as Liverpool, have considered it. Tolerance zones are generally selected on the basis of being non-residential, relatively safe and easy to access.

Advocates of zoning argue that tolerance zones:

- help improve prostitutes' safety;
- facilitate the provision of health and drugs services; and
- relocate the disturbance away from residential areas.

Those opposed argue (for example, van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006) that zoning:

- can ghettoise prostitutes,
- increase marginalisation;
- attract prostitutes from other areas; and
- condones and normalises sex work.

In recent years zones in Rotterdam and Amsterdam were closed in response to overcrowding, and the presence of illegal prostitutes, trafficking and associated criminal activities (van Doorninck and Campbell).

The Amsterdam 'Tippelzone' was purpose-built to provide a safe working environment for prostitutes (Van Sommerian, 2004). It included a 'living room', a safe place for prostitutes to spend time when not working, with access to health and social services. The Tippelzone also included an observation

area for police, care workers and researchers, alarm buttons in the service area enabling all lights to be switched on across the zone, and service booths designed to increase safety for prostitutes. The toleration of prostitution within the zone was combined with repressive police action against prostitution outside the tolerated area.

A key objective of the Tippelzone was to attract drug-addicted prostitutes to enable the provision of drugs services. However, drug-addicted prostitutes did not come to the zone. This zone attracted a number of transgender individuals who had previously been part of the 'hidden' street market. It also attracted high numbers of illegal immigrants.

The zone was also associated with the illegal trafficking of women. Police crackdowns on illegal immigrants working the zone led to reductions in all prostitutes, not just to the target illegal immigrant group. With the targeting of street prostitution outside the tolerance zones, the remaining prostitutes tended to work more on their own and to take clients to a hotel room or to their private home.

The zone was so popular with clients and prostitutes that it became overcrowded. Commentators, notably the police, argued that tolerance zones were opening up the possibility of prostitution to a wider range of people, therefore increasing the problem rather than managing it. Overcrowding led to high levels of competition between prostitutes, which in turn increased the risk of exploitation of prostitutes by clients and pimps.

As a result of overcrowding and political/community concerns the Amsterdam Tiplezone closed in December 2003. This closure increased the numbers of prostitutes and clients at the neighbouring Utrecht zone, placing this zone under pressure of closure.

The Amsterdam Tiplezone story may provide an example of implementation failure rather than theory failure. Tolerance zones can clearly become unmanageable if not controlled, and the use of zones by those trafficking immigrants must be addressed. The problems caused by excessive competition between prostitutes, including the increased potential for exploitation, highlight potential negative side effects of attempts to manage demand for prostitution.

In Scotland, a Bill to introduce prostitution tolerance zones in which loitering, soliciting or importuning by prostitutes would not be an offence was defeated in 2002 (Holmes, 2005).

Matthews (1992) argues that zoning policies lead to continuous relocation of the market to locations that provide more lucrative trade than those that have been designated.

Appendix 7: Studies included in the Review

Study No.	Author(s) and publication date	Research design	Sample size/response rate*	Research quality measure (high, med., low) ^{***}	Country ^{****}	Market ^{*****}
1	Agnich, L. E. (2007)	Secondary data analysis	N=423 male clients	Medium	International	Whole market
2	Anderson, B. & O'Connell-Davison, J. (2002)	Review	n/a	Low	International	Whole market
3	Andros, P. S. & S. M. (1996)	Biographical analysis and theoretical (male prostitutes)	n/a	Low	US	On-street
4	Atchinson, C., Fraser, L., & Lowman, J. (1998)	Mixed; Literature review and documentary analysis (court files), Internet questionnaire and client interviews	N=440 case files (accused persons); 100 prostitute cases. Client survey (391 respondents: 301 male; 87 women, 3 transgender)	Medium	International	Whole market
5	Barnard, M.A. (1993)	Interviews	N=206 women, plus a further subsample of 68 women	Medium	UK	On-street
6	Bender, K. & Furman, R. (2004)	Content analysis of sex tourism websites	n/a	Low	International	Whole market
7	Benson, C. & Matthews, R. (1995)	Discussion of legislative and extralegal reforms from secondary data (survey of vice squads, prostitutes, clients, and resident group)	n/a	Medium	UK	Whole market
8	Bindel, J. & Kelly, L. (2004)	Comparative policy and programme analysis	n/a	Medium	International	Whole market
9	Bloor, M., McKeganey, N. & Barnard, M. (1990)	Ethnographic study	N=12 male prostitutes	Low	UK	On-street
10	Bloor, M. J., Barnard, M. A., Finlay, A. & McKeganey, N. P. (1993)	Ethnographic study	N=32 male prostitutes (and clients)	Medium	UK	On-street
11	Boyes, R. (2008)	Newspaper article providing some analysis of secondary data	n/a	Medium	Sweden/ Denmark	Whole market

* Sample sizes and response rates stated where known.

** Based on the authors' of the review assessment taking into account the available information on study design, methodology and sample size. The Research Quality measure is an indicative assessment.

*** 'Country' depicts country where study was primarily conducted, 'International' refers to a study that spans three or more countries.

**** 'Market' provides a rough guide as to whether the study was focused on the indoor market, the street sex market, or both ('whole market').

12	Brewer, D. P., Potterat, J. J., Muth, S. Q., Roberts, J. M., Jr, Dudeck, J. A. & Woodhouse, D E. (2006a)	Statistical analysis of arrest rates	N=437 (police data) and 1,269 (public health data)	High	US	US	Whole market
13	Brewer, D. P., Potterat J. J., Muth, S. Q., Roberts, J. M., Dudeck, J. A. & Woodhouse, D.E. (2006b).	Analysis of police arrest data	30 local jurisdictions and 50 states	High	US	US	On-street
14	Brewer, D. P., Potterat, J.J., Muth, S., Roberts, J. M., Dudeck, J. & Woodhouse, D. (2007)	Statistical analysis of prostitution market: capture/recapture techniques, supplemented by prevalence estimate derived algebraically from local data and prevalence of prostitutes, their client numbers, and clients' number of prostitute sex partners	n/a	High	US	US	Whole market
15	Brooks-Gordon, B. (2005)	Review of existing literature, policy and legislation	n/a	Medium	UK	UK	Whole market
16	Brooks-Gordon, B. & Gelsthorpe, L. (2003a)	Policy review and analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	UK	Whole market
17	Brooks-Gordon, B. & Gelsthorpe, L. (2003b)	Mixed: ethnographic observations), interviews, focus groups, documentary analysis of police records	40 interviews, 21 focus groups, documentary analysis of 518 police records	Medium	UK	UK	On-street
18	Brooks-Gordon, D. B. (2006)	Mixed: literature review, observation, analysis of police records, case study of vice response unit	N=518 men stopped for kerb crawling related offences over two years	Medium	UK	UK	Whole market
19	Cambell, R. (1997)	Survey analysis	N=28	Low	UK	UK	On-street
20	Cambell, R. (1998)	Telephone interviews (convenience sample)	N=28 male clients	Low	UK	UK	Whole market
21	Cambell, R. & O'Neill, M. (2006)	Mixed: participatory action research, interviewing, focus groups, community networking, workshops	Not specified	Medium	UK	UK	Whole market
22	Cambell, R. & Storr, M. (2001)	Theoretical	n/a	Low	UK	UK	On-street
23	Cameron, S. & Collins, A. (2003)	Theoretical and economic modelling (providing a typology of the maturity of sex markets)	N=11,150 men	Analysis: high; overall: medium	UK	UK	Whole market
24	Carpenter, B. (1998)	Theoretical	n/a	Low	Australia	Australia	Whole market

25	Chase, E. & Statham, J. (2005)	Literature review	n/a	Medium	UK	Whole market
26	Clausen, V. (2007)	Methodological critique	n/a	Medium	Sweden	Whole market
27	Coy, M., Horvath, M. & Kelly, L. (2007)	Telephone survey of male clients (convenience sample)	N=137	Medium	UK	On-street
28	Daalder, A. L. (2007)	Evaluation report; in context of lifting of brothel ban, the 'amendment'	n/a	Low	The Netherlands	Whole market
29	Davies, P.A. & Feldman, R. (1997)	Review piece	Unspecified number male prostitutes	Low	UK	Whole market
30	Davies, P. & Feldman, R. (1999)	Ethnographic; observation and unstructured interviews	N=130 male prostitutes (including eliciting client details)	Medium	UK	Whole market
31	Day, S., Ward, H. & Perrotta, L. (1993)	Structured interviews (mixture of face-to-face and telephone)	Interviews (45 face-to-face, 65 telephone) combined convenience and opportunity sampling N=112 male partners of prostitutes (5 were boyfriends rather than paying clients)	Medium	UK	Whole market
32	de Graaf, R., Vanwesenbeeck, I., van Zessen, G., Straver, C. J. et al. (1995)	Interviews (epidemiological study), opportunity sample	N=91 clients (plus 127 female prostitutes and 27 male prostitutes)	Low	The Netherlands	Whole market
33	de Graaf, R., van Zessen, G., Vanwesenbeeck, I., Straver, C. J. & Visser J. H. (1997)	Survey: telephone interviews (semi-structured schedule) most items measured by Likert scale	N=559 male clients	Medium	The Netherlands	Whole market
34	de Graaf, R., Vanwesenbeeck, I., van Zessen, G., Straver, C. J., et al. (1995)	Interviews and semi-structured questionnaire (sample recruited through adverts)	N=91 male clients or female prostitutes and 24 male clients of male prostitutes (all Dutch nationals)	Low	The Netherlands	Whole market
35	Durchslag, R. & Goswami, S. (2008)	Interviews and administered questionnaires	N=113 male clients (recruited by advertisement)	Low	US	Whole market
36	Earle, S. & Sharp, K. (2007)	Analysis of male clients Internet postings (PunterNet)	N=600 male clients posting	Low	UK	Whole market
37	Earle, S. & Sharp, K. (2008)	Review article and analysis of Internet postings (PunterNet)	10% selected sample – 255	Low	UK	Whole market

38	Ekberg, G. (2004)	Policy analysis	n/a	Low	Sweden	Whole market
39	Ekberg, G. (2005)	Policy analysis	n/a	Low	Sweden	Whole market
40	Elliott, K. E. H. & McGaw, J. (2002)	Questionnaire (self-completion by arrested kerb crawlers in police stations, distributed by police)	N=44 (response rate 73%)	Low	UK	On-street
41	Ewasiw, J. F., Klein, C., Kennedy, M. A., Gorzalka, B. B., & Yuille, J. C. (2006)	Survey (males on a prostitution offender programme)	N=1,250 arrestees	Medium	Canada	On-street
42	Faugier, J. & Sargeant, M. (1997)	Interviews with male clients	N=120 clients	Low	UK	Whole market
43	Faugier, J. & Cranfield, S. (1995)	Self-completion questionnaires distributed by police and prostitutes, and telephone interviews (convenience sample through newspaper advertisements)	N=120 clients	Medium	UK	Whole market
44	Fischer, B., Wortley, S., Webster, C. & Maritt, K. (2002)	Legal commentary and analysis of the John school diversion programme	N=336 male arrestees; plus 34 key stakeholder interviews	Medium	Canada	On-street
45	Prostitution Task Force, Buffalo (1999)	Review of policy interventions	n/a	Low	US	On-street
46	Gelder, P. & Van Kaplan, C. D. (1992)	Ethnographic observation; interviews with prostitutes; clients interviews	N=21 prostitutes plus 45 clients	Medium	The Netherlands	On-street
47	Golding, R. K. (1995)	Impact evaluation of outcomes of a joint agency initiative (primarily normative)	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street
48	Gordon-Lamoureux, R. J. (2007)	Descriptive quantitative study	N=42 male arrestees	Low	Canada	On-street
49	Gorzalka, C., Klein, M. A. & Kennedy, B. B. (2008)	Attitudinal/psychological study (attendees at prostitution diversion programme)	N=530 male arrestees	Medium	Canada	On-street
50	Goswami, S. (2004)	Interviews (opportunity sample)	N=159 men	Medium	US	Whole market
51	Groom, T. N. & Nandwani, R. (2006)	Survey analysis and case notes analysis	N=267 men from larger survey	Medium	UK	Whole market
52	Hester, M. & Westmarland, N. (2004)	Report presenting key findings and recommendations from an outcome evaluation of 11 multi-agency pilot projects	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street

53	Holt, T., Blevins, J. & Kristie, R. (2007)	Internet content analysis of posts to John forum	All messages posted in 2005 included in study.	Medium	US	Whole market
54	Hubbard, P. (1997)	Secondary data analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street
55	Hubbard, P. (1998)	Theoretical, policy analysis	n/a	Low	UK	On-street
56	Hubbard, P. (2002a)	Policy analysis and legal analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	Whole market
57	Hubbard, P. (2002b)	Theoretical	n/a	Medium	UK	Whole market
58	Hubbard, P., Matthews, R. & Scouler, J. (2008a)	Policy and regulatory analysis	n/a	High	UK	Whole market
59	Hubbard, P., Matthews, R. & Scouler, J. (2008b)	Policy and regulatory analysis	n/a	High	Sweden	Whole market
60	Hubbard, P., Matthews, R. & Scouler, J. (2008c)	Policy and regulatory analysis	n/a	Medium	The Netherlands	Whole market
61	Hubbard, P. W. M. (forthcoming).	Policy and regulatory analysis	n/a	Medium	International	Whole market
62	Hughes, D. M. (2000).	Policy analysis	n/a	Low	International	Whole market
63	Hughes, D. M. (2004).	Literature review	n/a	Medium	International	Whole market
64	Hunter, G. & May, T. (2004)	Practitioner guidance	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street
65	International, S. H. (2002)	Comparative review	n/a	Low	International	Whole market
66	Macleod, J. M. F., Anderson, L. & J. Golding (2008)	Interviews (convenience and snowball sample)	110 male clients	Low	UK	Whole market
67	Joe-Cannon, I. (2006)	Review, and policy analysis	n/a	Low	International	Whole market
68	Johnson, A. M., Mercer, C. H., Erens, B., Copas, A. J., McManus, S., Wellings, K., Fenton, K. A., Korovessis, C., Macdowall, W., Nanchahal, K., Purdon, S. and Field, J. (2001)	Survey analysis: National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL) 2000 & 1990	N=11,161 (4,762 men, 6,399 women)	High	UK	Whole market
69	Johnson, A. M., Wadsworth, J., Wellings, K. & Field, J. (1994)	Survey analysis: National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL) 1990	N=6,000	High	UK	Whole market
70	Jordan, J. (2005)	Literature review	No study details	Low	New Zealand	Whole market
71	Jungles, A. M. (2007)	Process and outcome evaluation (John schools)	N=3,008 male respondents	Medium	US	On-street
72	Kennedy, M., Alexis, G., Klein, C., Gorzalka, C., Boris, B. & Yuille, J. C. (2004)	Impact evaluation (effectiveness of educational diversion programme – John schools)	N=341 men arrestees	Medium	Canada	On-street

73	Kennedy, M. A., Levant, R., Farley, M., Cotton, A. & Jensen, R. (2003)	Questionnaire and psychometric analysis (educational diversion programme – John schools)	N=600 male clients	Medium	Canada	Whole market
74	Kennedy, M. A. K., Gorzalka, C., Boris B. & Yuille, J. C. (2004)	Survey analysis: interim report for Vancouver Police Department, provides profile of men 'choosing' to participate in prostitution offender programme	N=597 men (84% response rate)	Medium	Canada	On-street
75	Kinnell, H. (1990)	Mixed overview and analysis utilising a variety of sources, press reports, working documents from agencies, plus Birmingham Survey data	N=126 clients	Medium		
76	Kinnell, H. (2006)	Review and secondary data analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	Whole market
77	Klein, C., Kennedy, A. & Gorzalka, C. (2008)	Survey analysis	N=530 (response rate 86%)	Medium	Canada	On-street
78	Known, N. (2002)	Policy analysis		Low	US	On-street
79	Kron, J. (1998)	Biographical account of client experience	1 male client	Low	US	Whole market
80	Kryszko, B. & Raymond, J. (2008)	International review of good practice for targeting demand	n/a	Low	International	Whole market
81	Kulick, D. (2003)	Policy analysis and theoretical	n/a	Medium	Sweden	Whole market
82	Kulick, D. (2005)	Secondary survey analysis and policy and theoretical analysis	N=2,810	Low	Sweden	Whole market
83	Langanke, H. (2005)	Evaluation summaries and some observation of Internet discussion forums	No details	Low	International	Whole market
84	Larsen, N. E. (1996)	Evaluation, qualitative comparative	Four urban districts	Low	Canada	On-street
85	Lau, K., Dang, T., Kennedy, M. A., Gorzalka, B. B. & Yuille, J. C. (2004)	Survey: self-completion of male arrestees on a prostitution offender programme (John schools)	N=597 males	Medium	Canada	On-street
86	Leonard, T. L. (1990)	Interviewed male clients on the street in inner-city sex district	N=50	Medium	US	On-street
87	Loebner, H. G. (1998)	Biographical	One male client	Low	US	Whole market
88	Louie, R., Crofts, N., Pyett, P. & Snow, J. (1998)	Telephone survey: male clients who paid for sex (convenience sample advertising and publicity distributed in venues)	N=328 male clients	Medium	Australia	Whole market
89	Lowman, J. (1991)	Analysis: police arrestee data	Ten cities	Medium	Canada	On-street

90	Lowman, J.A. C. (2006)	Mixed: survey of clients over Internet; self-administered survey – mail in; semi-structured telephone interviews; descriptive analysis of 'bad data sheets' distributed in Vancouver; study of court files of men charged under communicating law	80 clients	Medium	Canada	Whole market
91	Lyons, V. and Associates, L. (2005)	Policy review	n/a	Low	Canada	On-street
92	Månsson, S.A. (2001)	Mixed review and policy analysis; comparative analysis of survey results from nine countries	Different studies and hence sample sizes (1991–2000)	Low	International	Whole market
93	Månsson, S.A. (2006)	Theoretical	n/a	Low	Sweden	Whole market
94	Matthews, R. (1992)	Extended commentary (reference to Finsbury Park initiative)	N/A	Medium	UK	On-street
95	Matthews, R. (1993a)	Review of interventions	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street
97	Matthews, R. (1993b)	Evaluation: before and after, residents panel survey – random sample (no control); in-depth interviews with residents, practitioners and prostitutes; analysis of police crime and arrest data; observation of community meetings; content analysis of newspaper and television reports	Resident survey n=110 before and 89 after interventions; interviews 32 prostitutes and the police, plus 22 further interviews with residents	Low	UK	On-street
96	McDonald, I. (2004)	Policy analysis	n/a	Medium	Sweden	Whole market
99	McKeganey, N. (1994)	Telephone interviews (purposive sample)	N=70	low	UK	Whole market
100	McKeganey, N. (2006)	Ethnographic analysis of intervention	N=33 female prostitutes	Low	UK	On-street
101	McKeganey, N. & Barnard, M. (1996)	Ethnographic research (in red light district); face-to-face and telephone interviews with clients	N=168 clients (recruited 68 by advertisement in local tabloid, 66 by GUM clinic, 9 from street)	Medium	UK	On-street
102	McNamara, R. P. (1994)	Ethnographic study (observation plus open-ended unstructured interviews and life history approach)	N=35 male prostitutes	Medium	US	On-street

103	Minichiello, V., Marino, R. Browne, J., Jamieson, M., Peterson, K., Reuter, B. & Robinson, K. (1999)	Survey: prostitutes survey of clients	N=186 prostitutes (reporting details of 1776 clients)	Low	Australia	Whole market
104	Moffatt, P. G. (2005)	Economic analysis	n/a	Medium	International	Whole market
105	Monto, M.A. (1998)	Research note; policy analysis	n/a	Low	US	On-street
106	Monto, M.A. (1999a)	Mixed; analysis of survey data; questionnaire to arrested clients in four US cities	N=1,342 respondents (80% response rate)	Medium	US	On-street
107	Monto, M.A. (1999b)	Discussion and review of earlier publication	n/a	n/a	US	On-street
108	Monto, M.A. (2000)	Survey (self-completion survey with men attending 'sexual exploitation education programmes').	N=1,342 across three cities (San Francisco, Las Vegas and Portland, Oregon) 80% of participants completed questionnaires	Medium	US	On-street
109	Monto, M.A. (2001)	Survey analysis	N=1,281 male arrestees	Medium	US	Whole market
110	Monto, M.A. (2004)	Critical literature review		Medium	US	Whole market
111	Monto, M.A. & Garcia, S. (2001)	Outcome study	N=215 arrestees	Medium	US	On-street
112	Monto, M.A. & Hotaling, N. (2001)	Questionnaire administered to arrested clients prior to participation in offender programs designed to discourage offence	N=1,286 men arrested for trying hire street prostitutes	Medium	US	On-street
113	Monto, M.A. & McRee, N. (2005)	Survey analysis; of arrestee male clients of female prostitutes (comparison group: two nationally representative samples of men)	N=1,672 clients (arrestees) with national representative sample	Medium	US	On-street
114	Morse, E.V., Simon, P. M., Balson, P. M. & Osofsky, H. J. (1992)	Semi-structured interview (convenience sample)	N=15 male clients	Low	US	On-street
115	Moses, M. C. (2006)	Secondary survey analysis	N=1,291	Medium	US	Whole market
116	Nash, R., Fulton, M., Keetley, K. & Cusick, L (2004)	Rapid assessment and response report	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street

131	Plumridge, E. W., S. J., Chetwynd, J. et al. (1997)	Qualitative face-to-face interviews with trained prostitute. Clients recruited through conversations with patronised prostitutes	N=24 male clients of prostitutes (largely parlour clients, one street client)	Low	New Zealand	Whole market
132	West Yorkshire Police (2000)	Outcome and process evaluation and costs analysis (kerb crawler rehabilitation programme)	N=81 men	Low	UK	On-street
133	Preston, P. & Brown-Hart, A. D. (2005)	Survey analysis (John schools)	N=1,343 (response rate above 80%)	Medium	US	On-street
134	Renewal.net. (2002)	Review of interventions				
	n/a	Low	UK	On-street		
135	Raymond, J. G. (2004)	Qualitative interviews (from two case studies conducted by interest group). Interviews with women in prostitution/victims of trafficking and agencies working with women.	No details	Low	International	Whole market
136	Remple, V. P., Patrick, D. M., Valencia, P., Johnston, C., Tyndall, M. V. & Jolly, A. M. (2007)	Social network analysis; proxy data on clients collected from a cross-sectional survey of indoor female ex-prostitutes	N=205 clients (derived from 49 prostitutes)	Low	Canada	Indoor
137	Safer Slough Partnership (2008)	Qualitative research interviews	39 prostitutes, 8 clients, 4 brothel receptionists, 76 local businesses	Low	UK	Whole market
138	Sagar, T. (2005)	Interviews with practitioners, Street Watch volunteers and prostitutes	N=22	Low	UK	On-street
139	Sagar, T. (2008)	Policy analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street
140	Sagarin, E. J. & William, R. Jr (1997)	Review	n/a	Medium	US	Whole market
141	Sanders, T. (2005a)	Policy analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	Indoor
142	Sanders, T. (2005b)	Ethnography	N=55 female prostitutes	High	UK	Indoor
143	Sanders, T. (2008a)	Qualitative empirical study and theoretical	N=50 male clients	Medium	UK	Indoor
144	Sanders, T. (2008b)	Qualitative empirical study and theoretical	N=50 male clients	Medium	UK	In door
145	Sanders, T. (2006)	Policy analysis	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street

146	Sawyer, S., Rosser, B. R. S. & Schroeder, A. (1998)	Impact study (brief psycho-educational programme) for court-referred clients	N=37	Medium	US	On-street
147	Sawyer, S., Metz, M. E., Hinds, J. D. & Brucker, R.A. (2001)	Attitudinal study	N=140 male arrestees	Medium	US	On-street
148	Scambler, G. (1997)	Analysis biographies of prostitutes	Not detailed	Low	UK	Whole market
149	Scotland, Expert Group (2004)	Policy report	n/a	Medium	UK	On-street
150	Working Group on the Legal Regulation of the Purchase of Sexual Services(2004)	Legal and policy analysis	n/a	Medium	Sweden/The Netherlands	Whole market
151	Shared Hope International (2007).	Mixed; legal and policy analysis, website analysis and secondary sources analysis	n/a	Medium	International	Whole market
152	Sharp, K. & Earle, S. (2003).	Research interviews and theoretical analysis	N=40 female prostitutes (proxy data on clients)	Medium	International	Whole market
153	Sharpe, K. (1998)	Analysis: police records, supplemented by observations and discussion/interviews with female prostitutes	N=122 men caught kerb crawling in a northern city, profiles constructed from police records	Low	UK	Whole market
154	Shell, Y., Campbell, P. & Caren, I. (2001)	Impact evaluation of anti-kerb crawling initiative (preliminary findings)	N=61 (no comparison group)	Low	UK	On-street
155	Shively, M. (2008)	Process, impact, and cost-effectiveness evaluation (First Offender Prostitution Programme)	n/a	Process: high; impact: medium	US	On-street
156	Smith, C. (2007)	Legal report	n/a	Low	UK	On-street
157	Soothill, K. (2004a)	Content analysis of chat room discussions	N=623 replies	Low	UK	Whole market
158	Soothill, K. (2004b)	Description of an intervention	n/a	Low	UK	Whole market
159	Spurrell, C. (2006)	Newspaper article and brief interview	Two male clients	Low	UK	Whole market
160	Stanley, L. (1995)	Theoretical and secondary analysis of survey data	n/a	Low	UK	Whole market
161	Strang, J. H., Gossop, M., Green, G. & Maden, T. (1998)	Survey analysis (random sample of male inmate population)	N=1,009 male prisoners	Medium	UK	Whole market

162	Sullivan, M. (2005)	Survey analysis (probability sampling design)	N=3,432 respondents	Medium	Australia	Whole market
163	Sullivan, E. & Simon, W. (1998)	Survey analysis; National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs) data	N=3,432 respondents	Medium	US	Whole market
164	Sycamore, M. B. (2000).	Descriptive review	n/a	Low	US	Whole market
165	Thomas, R. M., Plant, M.A. and Plant, M. L. (1990)	Single phase cross-sectional exercise using snowball sample and standardised interview schedule (300 variables)	N=209 clients of prostitutes (206 males; 3 females)	Medium	UK	Whole market
166	Van Wijk, A. P. B (unpublished)	Observational study	n/a	Low	The Netherlands	On-street
167	Van Sommerian, P. (2004).	Evaluation of tolerance zone observations and analysis of administrative data	n/a	Low	The Netherlands	On-street
168	Vanwesenbeeck, I., de Graaf, R., van Zessen, G., Straver, Cees, J. Visser, J. and Hester, M. (1993).	Interviews (convenience sample)	N=91 male clients	Low	The Netherlands	Whole market
169	Vanwesenbeeck, I., van Zessen, G., de Graaf, R. Straver, and Cees, J. (1994)	In-depth interviews with prostitutes and male clients, (convenience sample)	N=91	Low	The Netherlands	Whole market
170	Wahab, S. (2006)	Qualitative evaluation of prostitution diversion project John school programme (usefulness not effectiveness)	N=31 (12 prostitutes; 19 service providers)	Low	US	On-street
171	Ward, H., Mercer, C. H., Wellings, K., Fenton, K., Erens, B., Copas, A. & Johnson, A. H. (2005)	Survey analysis: national probability sample survey National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL) to estimate male client population. Used face-to-face interviews and pen and paper completion	1990: n=6,000; 2000: n=4,762; men and women (response rate 65%)	High	UK	Whole market
172	Weisel, D. L. (2004)	Programme evaluation (prostitution reduction)	n/a	Low	US	On-street
172	Weisel, D. L. (2004)	Programme evaluation (prostitution reduction)	n/a	Low	US	On-street
173	Wellings, K. (2001).	Survey analysis: 1990 National Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle Survey (NATSAL)	6,000 respondents	High	UK	Whole market
174	Westmarland, M. & Hester, M. (2004)	Research study; mixed quantitative and qualitative methods, 'realistic' and action research	Multisite study	Medium	UK	On-street
175	Working group on the legal regulation of the purchase of sexual services, (2004)	Policy review and legislative review	n/a	Medium	Sweden/The Netherlands	Whole market

176	Wortley, S., Benedikt, F., Webster, C. & Kirst, M. (2002)	Mixed: A pre/post survey of offenders diverted to 'John school', by anonymous face-to-face interview (prior to registration), plus questionnaire after completion of programme. Analysis of re-offending rates (subsample N= 867, or around 30% per cent of total offenders diverted to programme). Key informant interviews (N=34). A general population survey, random telephone sample N=2,149 Field observations	N=366 male arrestees (response rate 89%)	Medium	Canada	On-street
178	Wortley, S., Benedikt, F., Webster, C. & Maritt, K. (2002)	Pre/post programme interviews by face-to-face interview (T1), anonymous questionnaire (T2), to explore attitude change	N=366 male programme participants	Medium	Canada	On-street
179	Xantidis, L. & McCabe, M. P. (2001)	Survey analysis	N=60 male clients (response rate 84%)	Low	Australia	Indoor
180	Zaitch, D. & Starling, R.	Interviews	N=26 clients, and 16 prostitutes	Medium	The Netherlands	Whole market
181	Zelizer, V. (2005)	Economic analysis, theoretical	n/a	Medium	US	Whole market

Appendix 8: Studies excluded from the review

No..	Study	Title
1	ACPO (2004)	<i>Policing Prostitution: ACPO's Policing Strategy and Operational Guidelines for Dealing with Experience and Abuse Through Prostitution.</i> London: Home Office.
2	Aggleton, P. E. (1999)	<i>Men Who Sell Sex: International perspectives on male prostitution and HIV/AIDS.</i> London: UCL Press
3	Barnard, M. H., G & Church, S. (2002)	<i>Client violence against prostitute women working from street and off-street locations: A three city comparison.</i>
4	Bernstein, E. (2001)	<i>The meaning of the purchase: Desire, demand and the commerce of sex.</i>
5	Brooks-Gordon, B., Gelsthorpe, L. & Johnson, M. H. (eds.) (2004)	<i>Sexually repositioned: diversity and the law.</i> Oxford: Hart Publications.
6	Cameron, S. (2004)	<i>Space, Risk and Opportunity: The Evolution of Paid Sex Markets.</i>
7	Charron, T.J., Whitcomb, D. & Ross, G. (2004)	<i>'Unwelcome Guests: A Community Prosecution Approach to Street Level Drug Dealing and Prostitution'.</i>
8	Church, S. (2001)	<i>'Violence by clients towards female prostitutes in different work settings.'</i> Questionnaire survey.
9	Convener, G. T. (2003)	5th Report, stage 1, <i>Report on the Prostitution Tolerance Zones (Scotland) Bill.</i> Great Britain Scottish Parliament Local Government Committee 231. Scotland: Stationery Office.
10	Cusick, L. (1997)	<i>'Sex Work on the Streets: Prostitutes and Their Clients'.</i>
11	Davidson, J. O. (2002)	<i>The Sex Exploiter.</i> Theme Paper for the Second World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.
12	Davidson, J. O. (2003)	<i>Sleeping with the enemy? Some problems with feminist abolitionist calls to penalise those who buy commercial sex.</i>
13	Day, S.W. (2001)	<i>Violence Towards Female Prostitutes.</i>
14	Devi, S. (2008)	<i>What is the Best Solution to Addressing Client-based Violence Experienced by Street Working Prostitutes?</i>
15	Golud, A. (2001)	<i>The criminalisation of buying sex: the politics of prostitution in Sweden</i>
16	Grenz, S. (2005)	<i>'Intersections of Sex and Power in Research on Prostitution'. A female researcher Interviewing male heterosexual clients.</i>
17	Holmes, L. (2005)	<i>A Tale of Three Cities: Regulating Street Prostitution in Scotland.</i>
18	Holzman, H. R. P. (1990)	<i>'Deviant behaviour'. In Buying Sex : the phenomenology of being a john.</i> Bryant, C. D. (ed.).
19	Hubbard, P. (2004)	<i>Cleansing the Metropolis: Sex Work and the Politics of Zero Tolerance.</i>
20	Hubbard, P. (2008)	<i>'Living with the other: Street sex work, contingent communities and degrees of tolerance'.</i>
21	Hughes, D. M. (2005).	<i>The Demand for Victims of Sex Trafficking.</i>
22	Jacobsson, M. (2002)	<i>'Why Do Men Buy Sex?' Interview of Professor Sven-Axel Månsson.</i>
23	Jones, P., Hillier, D., Shears, P. & Comfort, D. (2005)	<i>'Managing and regulating red light districts in British cities'.</i>
25	Legros, F. (2005)	<i>A Literature Review of the Sexual Health Needs of Commercial Sex Workers and Their Clients.</i> Diverse.

26	Lowman J. F. L. (1996)	'Violence Against Persons Who Prostitute: The Experience in British Columbia.'
27	Matthews, R. (2005)	<i>Policing Prostitution: Ten Years On.</i>
28	May, T. H. A. & Turnbull, P. J. (2001)	'Selling sex in the city: An assessment of an arrest-referral scheme for sex workers in Kings Cross'.
29	Östergren, P. (2004)	<i>Sex Workers Critique of Swedish Prostitution Policy</i> http://www.petraostergren.com/content/view/44/38/ >. Accessed 2009.
30	McIntyre, S. (2002).	<i>Strolling Away.</i>
31	Munasinghe, T. H., Richard, D., Hocking, J., Verry, J. & Fairley, C. K. (2007)	'Prevalence of sexual difficulties among female sex workers and clients attending a sexual health service.'
32	Nash, R., Osagie, L. & Cusick, L. (2004)	<i>Building Safety and Harmony around Sex Markets in Hackney.</i> Centre for Research on Drugs and Health Behaviour.
33	Nixon, K., L. Tutty, et al. (2002)	'Everyday Occurrence: Violence in the Lives of Girls Exploited Through Prostitution.'
34	Nolan, T. W. (2001)	Commentary: 'Galateas in blue: Women police as decoy sex workers.'
35	NSWP, U. (2004)	'United Kingdom network of sex work projects: response to <i>Paying the Price</i> '.
36	Ryder, A. (2004)	'The Changing Nature of Adult Entertainment Districts: Between a Rock and a Hard Place or Going from Strength to Strength.'
37	Van Brunschot, E. G. (2003)	'Community policing and Johns' schools'.
38	Weitzer, R. (2000)	<i>Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns.</i>
39	Wichman, V. (1995)	<i>The economics of sex: What the economists forgot to remember.</i>

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