Demand Prevention Interventions

**Abstract**

Prostitution is prevalent in almost every culture, and while the United States is one of the only countries to have made prostitution almost entirely illegal, at least 100,000 US children are exploited into prostitution each year in America. The countries of Sweden and the Netherlands both employ distinct prostitution strategies designed to reduce the amount of commercial sexual exploitation. In this paper, I would like to examine how demand reduction strategies could help reduce the amount of commercial sexual exploitation in the United States.

**Key words***: Prostitution, Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Demand, Sweden, The Netherlands, The United States*

**Introduction**

Sexual exploitation “would not exist without the demand for commercial sex flourishing around the world…. Prostitution and related activities encourage the growth of modern-day slavery by providing a façade behind which traffickers for sexual exploitation operate.”[[1]](#footnote-1) Prostitution is a problem in virtually every society, but the United States is one of the few Western nations in which all forms of prostitution are illegal almost everywhere. However, since prostitution is still very widespread, there are claims that these laws are not working. Not only are these laws not protecting the women involved in sex work, but they are making it harder for the workers to get legal protection, making them very vulnerable.

The reason these laws are not working is because they do not address the root of the cause: demand. “Male demand is a primary factor in the expansion of the sex industry worldwide and sustains commercial sexual exploitation, and the buyer has largely escaped examination, analysis, censure, and penalty for his actions.”[[2]](#footnote-2) Much of the information related to prostitution does not address the consumer as the root cause of the problem of prostitution and commercial sexual exploitation. There is even less legislation that penalizes the male buyers.

In order to assess whether or not demand plays a significant role in reducing the rates of sexual exploitation, I would like to examine two very different legal models: that first enacted by Sweden and that of the Netherlands. Since 1999, the Swedish law has been to decriminalize the sale of sex, but penalize the purchase. In Amsterdam, however, both workers and businesses have been decriminalized. In both examples we can see the desired effect has taken place and also how they are flawed. The question I would like to address through my research is how a focus on combating the demand for prostitution can reduce the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation in the United States. I hypothesize that by following the Nordic prostitution model that decriminalizes the sale of sex, but penalizes the purchase, the prevalence of sexual exploitation within the United States would decrease.

**Literature Review**

There are two distinctly different paradigms for legally engaging the issue of prostitution. The first being prohibition, the other legalization/regulation. Prohibitionists believe that prostitution should be eradicated and legally prohibited. Scott Anderson analyzes why prohibition is justified, but also why prohibitionist logic is flawed. He argues that prohibition can be justified “because of the role it plays in defending the sexual autonomy of the poorest, least-powerful members of our society.”[[3]](#footnote-3) In other words, it is important to those people that are most vulnerable to being exploited sexually: impoverished women. He also argues that prohibitionists have failed to explain why commercial sex is problematic in itself and how it would make things worse for the women involved; however, studies have shown that in Sweden, after the implementation of their prostitution law, there was initially a tenfold decrease in the numbers of women working visibly on the streets, and some workers have left the industry.[[4]](#footnote-4)

Many liberals desire to adopt a reform program to legalize and therefore normalize prostitution; however, the popular belief about prostitution is that it is morally wrong. In his article, “What’s Wrong With Prostitution?,” Igor Primoratz attempts to pinpoint the main reasons for these beliefs, contradict them, and show that they are negligible. The legalization of prostitution suggests that prostitution has been normalized and most aspects of the sex industry have been legitimized. Janice Raymond points out that some people believe that by legalizing prostitution, they dignify the women in prostitution, however the opposite is true. Buyers are empowered as sexual consumers, and pimps as businessmen and entrepreneurs.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Lawmakers thought legalizing prostitution in the Netherlands would help eliminate the employment of illegal immigrants and increase revenue for the government; however, legalization has had adverse effects resulting in “the expansion of commercial sex markets into a larger, concealed market in the hands of Albanian and Turkish organized crime groups, Moroccan pimps, and many other criminal entrepreneurs.”[[6]](#footnote-6) The commercial sex market cannot be contained within the borders of a nation. The intentions of the Dutch law were to protect women, which is why workers are given full legal rights, yet the reality is that the law did not produce these effects.

In Sweden, prostitution is considered to be a social problem, and their law reflects that by criminalizing the buyers of sex in order to combat demand, while decriminalizing the sale of sex in order to protect potentially victimized women. Gunilla Ekberg explains that

in combination with public education, awareness-raising campaigns, and victim support, the Law and other legislation establish a zero tolerance policy for prostitution and trafficking in human beings. When the buyers risk punishment, the number of men who buy prostituted persons decreases, and the local prostitution markets become less lucrative. Traffickers will then choose other and more profitable destinations.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Traffickers, pimps, etc. will then choose other and more profitable businesses, thus reducing the prevalence of prostitution. In a different article, Max Waltman analyzes the Swedish prostitution law in comparison to international laws against trafficking and finds that unlike other countries where the laws are actually in violation of international laws, Sweden has been very successful in reducing trafficking.

Prohibition in Sweden and legalization in the Netherlands have both had a positive effect and a negative effect at some level. Visible prostitution in Sweden has decreased significantly, and Dutch sex workers gained full employment rights as well as protection by health and safety regulations.[[8]](#footnote-8) However, in both countries, parts of the industry have been turned invisible. Prostitution in Sweden has been driven underground to protect the buyers from penalization, and many Dutch workers excluded from the system move underground in order to escape authorities altogether.[[9]](#footnote-9) Other factors like the growing influence of the Internet make the commercial sex industry less visible as well.

Whereas in Sweden prostitution is viewed as a social problem, the culture of the United States is very contradictory when it comes to this topic. Shared Hope International points out that “the commercial sex trade in the United States flourishes, in part, because the media bombards all age groups with explicit sexual imagery.”[[10]](#footnote-10) American culture promotes commercial sex and portrays females as sexual commodities, while at the same time taking pride in women’s rights and achievements. We refer to commercial sex acts as normal, yet are disgraced by the prostitutes themselves. The ideal is that women fuel prostitution by seducing men or appealing to their instinctual behaviors, where it should be that without men’s “need” for sex, commercial sex would not be prevalent.

Scholars have addressed that demand is indeed important when talking about reducing the commercial sex industry.[[11]](#footnote-11)[[12]](#footnote-12)[[13]](#footnote-13)[[14]](#footnote-14)[[15]](#footnote-15)[[16]](#footnote-16) The literature collectively has outlined the arguments for both prohibition and legalization and acknowledged their flaws by doing studies to discover and analyze the consequences of each model.[[17]](#footnote-17)[[18]](#footnote-18)[[19]](#footnote-19)[[20]](#footnote-20)[[21]](#footnote-21)[[22]](#footnote-22) I have learned that the Swedish model that addresses demand specifically works well to lower prostitution and sexual exploitation rates (at least in Sweden), whereas the Dutch model does not. Since prostitution is so widely condemned and the Swedish law so clearly works, it is possible that other nations are not implementing the same strategies because the research that shows that prohibition works is relatively new compared to the slow process of legislation. I would like to determine if the Nordic prostitution model would work to reduce commercial sexual exploitation in the United States and why or why not.

**Methodology**

In order to begin researching the effects of demand reduction interventions, particularly in the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States, I must first understand the law in each country and find similarities and differences between the laws. Finding statistics about prostitution and sexual exploitation in each country and comparing them is also important. To do this, I will look at documents and scholarly articles to begin analyzing my data.

I employed a case study method to intensely research the prostitution laws in the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. A case study is used to study and individual or institution in a unique setting or situation in an intense and detailed manner. The emphasis here is on the word *unique*: the researcher is as interested in the existing conditions surrounding the individual/institution as much as the individual/institution itself.[[23]](#footnote-23) The uniqueness in a case study is what sets apart this case from others. Case studies are appropriate only if a complete in-depth study of one type of phenomenon is wanted.[[24]](#footnote-24) It provides an intimate look into the prostitution laws in each of these countries.

There are disadvantages to cases studies: they are time consuming; they only reflect one reality, therefore the researchers must realize (s)he is biased; they are extremely focused and not as comprehensive; and their ability to generalize is limited.[[25]](#footnote-25) They do not necessarily result in hypotheses being tested, but suggest directions for further study. However, there is no way to get a richer account of what is occurring than through a case study which is why I chose this method.

**Does Legalized Prostitution Increase Human Trafficking?**

Before we can determine whether or not demand reduction interventions affect the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation in the United States, we must first determine if legalization even increases sex trafficking. Legalization is one important domestic policy choice that greatly affects human trafficking inflows to a country and can produce two contradictory effects.[[26]](#footnote-26)

This first is a substitution effect away from trafficking. Prostitution is viewed as a free choice, therefore trafficked women are less desirable to use. This reduces demand for trafficking prostitutes by using prostitutes who are legally registered in the country. Yet, this also produces harmful effects on those women who do not get legal rights because they are foreign and creates a great divide.[[27]](#footnote-27) The second is a scale effect increasing trafficking. Legalized sex industries result in increased trafficking to meet the demand for women to be used in the legal sex industries. The expansion of the prostitution market leads to an increase in human trafficking.

The results of a 150-country study show that on average, human trafficking is greater in countries where prostitution is legal.[[28]](#footnote-28) An important thing to keep in mind is that human trafficking is illegal whether or not prostitution is. “The legalization of prostitution is not equal to laxer enforcement of anti-trafficking laws and, conversely, the fact that prostitution is illegal does not imply stricter anti-trafficking enforcement.”[[29]](#footnote-29) The legal status of prostitution is often erroneously equated with different levels of law enforcement with respect to human trafficking.

**Abolition v. Regulation**

Some of the biggest problems that come as a result of prostitution are exploitation, stigma, abuse, and criminalization. These problems are not unique to the industry and can be solved by unions and rights groups organized by the sex workers themselves, and decriminalization. There are two ways to legally engage these problems and find solutions: regulation or abolition.

Those who favor regulation want to enact a reform program that will alter not only laws and social practices, but attitudes as well. They want prostitution to be viewed as a “recreation-oriented service industry.”[[30]](#footnote-30) Regulation does not mean the elimination of the sex industry as a way of making a living, but rather standardizing health and safety procedures for all those involved so that even at the lowest rungs, the prostituted women still gain some benefits. Those who support regulation argue that the aforementioned problems derive specifically from the decision to engage in the sale of sex, as either providers or buyers. They argue that selling sex to men no more contributes to maintaining the oppression of women than other forms of heterosexual relations.[[31]](#footnote-31)

However, this position fails to take into account that prostitution has many difference faces (escorts, masseuses, call girls, street walkers, etc.) and could be considered to be not a single institution, but divided into several which may not have a lot in common with the others.[[32]](#footnote-32) It also does not recognize how “deeply problematic sexual relations are in our society and how normalization or prostitution would tend to obscure and entrench these problems, not solve them.”[[33]](#footnote-33)

Abolitionists, on the other hand, wish to eradicate the commercial sex market. They have three main claims: first, that the good purchased from a prostitute is frequently her own degradation; second, that the existence of prostitution depends on the existence of an inequality in social or economic power between prostitutes and their customers; and third, that prostitution contributes to the perpetuation of the inequalities that underline the practice.[[34]](#footnote-34) By using the term “abolition,” they are associating the prostitute with the slave; the female is seen as a victim, not a voluntary worker. Under this projection, prostitution is a form of violence against women and is “incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person.”[[35]](#footnote-35)

However, even successful abolition may be only a very incomplete solution to the problems inherent in prostitution. Abolition “fails to explain clearly why selling sexual recreation might itself be particularly problematic…and why open commerce in sex would make things worse for women than they are anyway in a patriarchal, capitalist society.”[[36]](#footnote-36) Legalized commercial sex might not end up being worse for women than many of the injustices already occurring.

In the late twentieth century, most countries policies toward prostitution were generally abolitionist and the industry was considered unacceptable. Most differences in policy were in the levels of repression and social toleration. In recent decades, two developments have shaped policy. [[37]](#footnote-37) A rise of social movements has brought about a greater concern for gender equality and affected the implementation of abolitionist approaches to prostitution. The greater emphasis is on rescuing victims, not punishing criminals. Abolitionism implies prostitution is a social problem.

The second is a concern with AIDS. To combat this, there is a focus on harm minimization where the priority to reduce disease transmission through advice on safer practices and help in their implementation. Harm minimization in prostitution has enabled projects that provide advice, health care, and condoms to sex workers. These projects depend on positive contact between sex workers and the authorities and works best in programs that support the overall health and well being of sex workers.

**The United States**

There is a bureaucratic haziness surrounding prostitution policy in the United States. Prostitution is stigmatized and unaccepted; yet the policy is not implemented well. Nevada is the only state that sanctions legalized prostitution. This stems from a long history of brothels in the early West. “Prostitution was inevitable on this isolating frontier where the lust for a woman may have been as great as that for a gold nugget.”[[38]](#footnote-38)

Prostitution was outlawed in most states and moved underground in the twentieth century, after churches were firmly established. In Nevada, prostitution was made illegal and the law was strictly enforced where opposing groups were strong, but it was tolerated elsewhere, usually in rural areas where it was regulated. Statues or ordinances at the state, county, or city levels defined the legal context. This system, which was implemented by local sheriffs, was one of intense restrictions on women’s privacy, freedom of movement, and civil rights. In response to the growing concern about AIDS, registered prostitutes received a monthly blood test and a weekly exam for venereal disease.

Because of these testing policies, not one licensed prostitute had contracted HIV in a Nevada brothel since this study was done in 2001.[[39]](#footnote-39) The system in Nevada restricts basic constitutional rights of both owners and legal prostitutes; workers are still stigmatized and isolated and are not integrated well into the community. “Nevada policy represents the worst of the European system in isolating and restricting the rights of women workers. Brothels render women an ‘untouchable caste kept apart from the institutions and daily life of the permanent residents and confine them to certain sections of town.’”[[40]](#footnote-40)

Despite these forthcomings, most of the voters that live in Nevada favor legalization; only less than ten percent don’t.[[41]](#footnote-41) The main three reasons for this are control, history, and image. It is better to control prostitution in one part of town than to have it everywhere. Brothels were better than the alternative institutions like bars that resulted in more disorderly conduct. Nevada has a long history with prostitution; brothels have been there as long as most people can remember. Madams are respected citizens in many rural communities because they help their girls avoid problems and give to community activities. This legislation works in Nevada because of the strong influence of indigenous tradition and historical norms. Like in The Netherlands, prostitution policy in Nevada is not easily transferred.

**The Netherlands**

In mediaeval Amsterdam prostitution was a social necessity and a part of city life. Abolitionist legislation was introduced in 1911, but because of the deep-rooted culture of prostitution in the area, its implementation has been relaxed and prostitution has become a social norm. In the summer of 2000, the bill to abolish the general ban on brothels became law. There was a hope that by regulating the commercial aspect of prostitution the stigma of sex work could be addressed and removed.

The law in the Netherlands attempts to regulate prostitution by normalizing aspects of the commercial sex industry through the decriminalization of both workers and businesses. On October 1, 2000, the General Ban on Brothels (*Bordeelverbod*) was lifted in the Netherlands, making prostitution and pimping legal occupations. Since then, the Red Light District (*de Wallen*) has become a multi-million dollar business. Licensed brothels have been in Amsterdam for over 600 years, and though its image has not been chaste, regulation has remained largely unchanged. Prostitution has been decriminalized and is highly unregulated and there are very few limits between this tolerance and legalization.[[42]](#footnote-42)

This law was founded on two basic ideas. First, that prostitution is a fact of life and must be treated as a normal profession, operating according to supply and demand in a market economy. And second, that problems “can only be addressed by bringing acceptable forms of prostitution into the open, protecting them through a system of licensing and putting into effect a comprehensive policy that will both ensure that legal prostitution does not lapse into illegality and that criminal activities can be dealt with effectively.”[[43]](#footnote-43) This law, then, has two main aims as well: the legalization of the organization of voluntary prostitution, and the increase of penalties against those involved in the organization of involuntary prostitution.[[44]](#footnote-44)

The pragmatic tolerance of the Dutch is rooted in a culture of compromise, which leads to contradictions in policy. This regulated tolerance, or *gedogen*, is a subtle means of social control. There is a strong emphasis on practicality and self-regulation. However, these regulations in the Netherlands do not protect the prostituted persons, but rather they protect the public from any adverse effects of prostitution. Because of these reasons, the Dutch solution is not easily transferred to other cultures.

After the implementation of the law in 2000, many changed have been seen both positive and negative. Within regulated brothels, working conditions have improved and there is more control on the part of the workers. Increased penalties were approved for traffickers for foreign and underage workers, and abuses can be prosecuted. Since the implementation of the system, licenses have been withdrawn due to the illegal employment of sex workers and the law has supported those denied work.[[45]](#footnote-45)

However, many people are excluded from the system because of age, nationality, health status, or problems with illegal drugs.[[46]](#footnote-46) Some sex workers do not want to register their employment because they are not eligible. A significant portion of sex workers are so excluded by the system and adversely affected by legislation that they have moved underground to avoid authorities. These groups that are excluded from the system experience bad working conditions and there is concern over their occupational health and safety. The law in the Netherlands cannot be effective because non-EU citizens have no right to legally work there and there are no economic alternatives to prostitution for them.

**Sweden**

Prostitution regulation in Sweden was abolished in 1918. New legislation decriminalizing the sale of sex but penalizing the purchase was introduced in 1999. Its main aim was to reduce the numbers of people involved in the industry and to encourage sex workers to rehabilitate. The penalization targets men as clients rather than sex workers and has assigned a gender to the demand for sex: male. Penalties pertain to all forms of commercial sex (street soliciting, brothels, massage parlours, escorts, etc.) and include fines or up to six months’ imprisonment. This policy focuses on the root cause: without demand, the global prostitution industry would not be able to flourish and expand.[[47]](#footnote-47)

The 1999 law originally came from Sweden’s feminist movement in the Eighties when violence against women was first considered to be a serious social problem. The new law was part of a series of legislative changes targeting a reported increase in violence against women.[[48]](#footnote-48) The stance of the Swedish government is influenced by a concern for women’s rights.

In Sweden, prostitution is widely viewed as a social problem and their law is based on the desire to eradicate it. Measures have been introduced to provide a support system that includes government funding, counseling, and rehabilitation. The Swedish Ministries of Labour, Justice and Health and Social Affairs outline the stance of the Swedish government:

Prostitution is not a desirable social phenomenon. The government considers, however, that it is not reasonable to punish the person who sells a sexual service. In the majority of cases at least, this person is a weaker partner who is exploited by those who want only to satisfy their sexual drives. It is also important to motivate prostitutes to seek help to leave their way of life. They should not risk the run of punishment because they have been active as prostitutes. By prohibiting the purchase of sexual services, prostitution and its damaging effects can be counteracted more effectively than hitherto.[[49]](#footnote-49)

The Swedish prostitution law is based on the understanding that sex trafficking is a problem of social inequality and that ending the demand for commercial sex by outlawing prostitution is what sex equality under law looks like.[[50]](#footnote-50) “In Sweden, prostitution and trafficking in human being for sexual purposes are seen as issues that cannot, and should not, be separated; both are harmful practices and intrinsically linked.”[[51]](#footnote-51)

This law has been very successful in helping to reduce sex trafficking and the recruitment of young prostitutes, though according to a 2004 government report, the number of children being sexually exploited in Sweden is still significant.[[52]](#footnote-52)

The first visible effect was an immediate decrease in the numbers of streetwalkers from twenty to thirty per night to one to three.[[53]](#footnote-53) Numbers are slowly increasing but are nowhere near what they were in the past. Not only are the numbers of prostituted women decreasing, but in Stockholm, the number of purchasers was reported by police to have decreased by almost 80% in 2001, just two years after the law was put into effect.[[54]](#footnote-54) The new focus on prostituted women as victims rather than criminals has encouraged collaboration and communication between the police and social services. As a result, the treatment of sex workers is more sensitive and they appear to be more willing to report crimes.[[55]](#footnote-55)

These numbers are unlikely to reflect the eradication of sex work altogether. Kilvington, Ward, and Day believe that the sex industry is being reorganized into visible street work and invisible, underground off-street work. “The new legislation and related policing may have contributed to the trend for sex workers to work less visibly. While project workers in Sweden have emphasized the fact that they are still available for support, advice, information and counseling, they have found it increasingly difficult to contact workers.”[[56]](#footnote-56) However, given the nature of the industry, there is no empirical evidence that invisible prostitution increased. This legislation may have diverted pimps and sex workers to neighboring states to escape penalization and could increase sex tourism abroad.

**Conclusions**

There are many different approaches to a common understanding that prostitution is a problem. Legalization in the Netherlands has improved the situation for some workers who gained employment rights. They benefit from the law in terms of access to health and other mainstream services. There is a “constricted legal sector with better working conditions for a small minority who are also subject to increased regulation and a wider displacement to a larger unregulated illegal sector.”[[57]](#footnote-57) As we can see, in the Netherlands where prostitution has been normalized for centuries, it is not working to decrease the rate of sexual exploitation. On the other hand, the attitude of prostitution as a social problem that shapes the legislation in Sweden has been very successful in reducing sex trafficking and helping women to exit the industry as well as lowering the number of johns in the country.

Combating demand is they key to reducing sexual exploitation, but that policy is not implemented in the United States. Since the regulation of prostitution is mostly determined by individual states, there are many varied policies in the United States and it’s hard to tell what is working. Unification and a strong federal law are important when dealing with something as critical as prostitution. Legislation is slow to change, so demand is not always addressed. Even though for the majority of the Unites States prostitution is illegal, it’s easier for law enforcement to let the buyers go when caught. Pimps, traffickers, and buyers know which states have more relaxed laws and fewer penalties against them so they do business in those states because they know if caught, the consequences will not be as harsh.

Despite the position of the U.S. Department of State that “prostitution is inherently harmful and dehumanizing and fuels trafficking in persons,”[[58]](#footnote-58) prostituted women are not seen as victims and prostitution is not considered a social problem. Sex work is highly stigmatized and there are many contradicting cultural norms about prostitution and sex in general. There needs to be an attitude change before there can be a policy change. However, laws are beginning to change in disfavor of buyers. Deference tactics such as “John schools” are beginning to increase throughout the country, but there needs to be a stronger national policy.[[59]](#footnote-59)

Regulation in Nevada does not work to lower the prevalence of sex trafficking. “Legal approval promotes a model of male sexuality that is based on the sexual exploitation of women. This model endorses a double standard for women and men.”[[60]](#footnote-60) In the capitalistic society of the United States, I believe a great divide would be seen in the treatment of prostituted women between those protected and those not protected by the law.

According to Scoular, major prostitution reform is related to social transformations, and shifts in economy and culture.[[61]](#footnote-61) In order for there to be a substantial national policy change, there will need to be a social movement regarding prostitution and/or sex trafficking. Awareness of commercial sexual exploitation is growing, so hopefully the turning point will be soon and the laws will change. “Legalization of the sex industry and normalizing prostitution as sex work sanctions prostitution on demand. Instead of abandoning women in the sex industry to state-sponsored prostitution, we need research, programs, and public policies that target the demand.”[[62]](#footnote-62)

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35. The World Conference on Human Rights, “Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.” [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Anderson, "Prostitution and Sexual Autonomy." [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Symanski, “Prostitution in Nevada,” 358. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Brents and Hausbeck, “State-Sanctioned Sex,” 314. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Brents and Hausbeck, “State-Sanctioned Sex,” 311. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Symanski, “Prostitution in Nevada,” 361. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Brants, "Regulated Tolerance.” [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Brants, “Regulated Tolerance,” 630. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe.” [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Scoular, “What’s Law Got To Do With it?,” 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Ekberg, “The Swedish Law.” [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Waltman, "Prohibiting Sex Purchasing," 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Ekberg, “The Swedish Law,” 1189. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Waltman, “Prohibiting Sex Purchasing,” 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Waltman, “Prohibiting Sex Purchasing,” 147. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Kilvington, Day, and Ward, “Prostitution Policy in Europe,” 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Scoular, “What’s Law got to do with it?,” 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. U.S. Department of State, “TIP Report June 2007.” [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. John schools are education programs for men arrested for buying sex. The schools can be part of a sentencing option and combined with other sanctions, or can be used as a diversion program that results in dismissed charges. They can be one-day classes or multiple-session counseling programs and are financed by the fines that arrests buyers must pay for soliciting sex. John schools are currently located in fifty-give cities in the US and serve over one hundred cities and counties. (DEMANDforum.net) [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Raymond, “Prostitution on Demand,” 1183. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Scoular, “What’s Law got to do with it?,” 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Raymond, “Prostitution on Demand,” 1184. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)