

**Submission  
No 176**

## **INQUIRY INTO THE REGULATION OF BROTHELS**

**Name:** Dr Helen Pringle

**Date Received:** 8/09/2015

*Please Note: The perspective expressed in this submission is not that of the University of NSW.*

**Dr Helen Pringle**

**Submission to Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels**  
**Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels**

---

**September 2015**

## Introduction

---

I thank the Legislative Assembly Select Committee for the opportunity to make this submission to the [Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels](#).

The main recommendation of this submission is that the NSW parliament consider seriously and systematically the adoption of the 'Nordic model' in order to address the prostitution system within a human rights framework, with a view to working towards the abolition of that system as a form of gender inequality, of violence against women in particular, and of sexual exploitation.

I am of course aware that this recommendation risks going beyond the Terms of Reference of the current Committee (noted in V&P no. 15 Thursday 25 June 2015, Entry 29). However, this submission takes that risk in a deliberate and considered manner – on the basis that a narrowly confined examination of the regulation of brothels that fails to consider the context of the prostitution system as a whole will thereby fail to provide a full and proper response to the very problems initially identified for the Committee's consideration.

The 'Nordic model' of addressing prostitution recommended by this submission was endorsed in resolutions by the European Parliament (EP) and by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), in early 2014. These resolutions are attached as Appendices A and B, as models of best legislative practice.

I make this submission on the basis of research and teaching expertise in the area of prostitution from a human rights perspective. In 2014, I coordinated with Dr Madeleine Coy, of London Met University, a submission in support of the EP resolution. This submission is attached to the present document as Appendix C. Our submission was co-signed by a global network of nearly 100 academic researchers into the prostitution and sex industries, with expertise covering empirical and practice-based evidence as well as conceptual and historical perspectives on prostitution. I understand that the approach recommended here might seem unrealistic to those unfamiliar with it, but our wide-ranging research indicates that the Nordic model *works*. To say that it works, means that it works in upholding the human rights of women, whether they are currently in the prostitution system, survivors of the system, or women affected by it. *All* of us are affected by prostitution in various ways, but it is those most affected and most damaged by it who are owed our urgent efforts in working towards its abolition. This is why the current submission urges you to go beyond a narrowly crafted focus on the regulation of brothels.

Please note also that this submission is broadly aligned with the approach of the submissions to the Select Committee by the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia (CATWA), and by the Nordic Model Australia Coalition (NorMAC).

## Current framework of regulation in New South Wales

---

The current regulatory framework of the prostitution industry in NSW is a patchwork of environment and planning acts, the Summary Offences Act 1988 and Crimes Act 1900, and health and safety provisions, as well as by other generally applicable law, most notably perhaps that concerning sexual assault. There has been little attempt to address the prostitution industry in NSW (or in other states and territories) within a framework of human rights and human dignity, other than implicitly via the provisions of the Crimes Act

(Division 10A) dealing with sexual servitude. The provisions of the Commonwealth Criminal Code on sexual slavery, servitude and trafficking (Divisions 270 and 271) also have a bearing on the regulation of the prostitution system throughout Australia.

Previous inquiries in NSW into matters related to prostitution, such as the 2000 Brothels Task Force, operated within a narrow ambit. In the wake of the passage of the *Disorderly Houses Amendment Act 1995*, the chief finding of the 2001 report of the Brothels Task Force was that 'The 1995 reforms have had a positive impact on access for workers to health services and occupational health and safety programs.'

The failure of the NSW government to adopt a human rights framework in addressing prostitution means that while some reforms such as those of 1995 no doubt provide some gains and improvements for those in the prostitution system, the basic causes of systemic problems have gone unaddressed. Hence, in responding to the Terms of the present Committee, this submission takes a broader approach, relying on the following heads in particular, as specified by the Select Committee (V&P no. 15 Thursday 25 June 2015, Entry 29):

- 2 (c) Possible reform options that address the social, health and planning challenges associated with legal and illegal brothels
- 3 (d) Options for reform [...]
- 3 (h) Any legislative changes that may be required; and
- 3 (i) Any other related matters.

Within this wider interpretation of the Committee's Terms, I outline the rationale of the 'Nordic model' and its endorsement by the 2014 EP and PACE resolutions, and conclude with a set of practical reform options requiring legislative changes.

I welcome an opportunity to provide more details on the research that underlies this submission in evidence to the Committee. I also note with concern the absence in the Committee Hearing Schedule of evidence from survivors of the prostitution system, and recommend that the Committee invite such evidence as a matter of signal importance to its deliberations.

## **Rationale for the 'Nordic model' approach to the prostitution system**

---

Defenders and beneficiaries of the prostitution industry commonly portray prostitution as a relationship between individuals, in which one person provides sexual services (or performs 'sex work') to another person in exchange for money. Portraying prostitution as a series of such individual, and un-gendered, transactions is a fundamental misunderstanding of the historical and current organization of prostitution. Prostitution is a *system* that includes not only sellers ('sex workers') but crucially, buyers, as well as pimps and other beneficiaries of the industry (particularly through its close links with the pornography industry). The prostitution system is also deeply and fundamentally gendered, with the majority of buyers being men, and the majority of those from whom sex is bought being women and girls. Any attempt to consider the regulation of brothels outside a full understanding of prostitution as a *system* fails to comprehend the inequality and subordination, violence and exploitation lying at its foundation.

Closely linked to a defence of prostitution as a series of individual transactions is the emphasis placed by its defenders on women's 'choices' in the industry. Women's choices (the 'choices' of 'sex workers') are unquestionably important, but they do not form the driver of the prostitution industry. Prostitution as a social institution is driven by (male) *demand*, that is, the choices men make in choosing to buy sex and the

bodies of women. We now know a great deal about the character of those choices through what are often called ‘punter sites’, where buyers review brothels and the women with whom they have had a paid relation. Even in the course of ‘ordinary’ transactions, those choices are brutal. The Invisible Men Project, at [the-invisible-men.tumblr.com/](http://the-invisible-men.tumblr.com/), for example, collates reports from these sites, providing a chilling picture of the reality for most prostituted women: a reality of violence, desperation, subordination and despair.

The argument of this submission that prostitution is a system of violence and exploitation is supported by a wide variety of women’s organizations around the world, who draw attention to the wrong of prostitution as a human rights violation. The distinctiveness of the approach on which this submission is based is the framework of human rights in which it is centered, as marked by close adherence to the principles and text of particular human rights instruments, and by upholding the central principle or value of the *dignity* of the person that is the chief animator of human rights talk and action.

As noted above, this submission recommends the adoption of the ‘Nordic model’ endorsed by resolutions of the peak European parliamentary bodies in 2014. In support of the EP resolution, Dr Madeleine Coy and I presented a submission from a global network of researchers united by deep and systematic expertise in researching the dynamics of prostitution and the sex industry, trafficking and violence against women. That collective research drew on contemporary evidence, on historical and philosophical inquiry, and importantly on the testimony of survivors of the prostitution system. Many signatories had worked directly with prostituted women, as well as having individual and collective links with a wide variety of organizations working for the abolition of prostitution as an institution of gender inequality and exploitation. Not all of the signatories agreed on every detail of course, but it is crucial to note that our common position on prostitution was not grounded in a moralistic approach, or in any kind of hostility to women in the prostitution system. Nor was our position based on considerations about maintaining ‘public order’. The common concern of signatories was, and continues to be, with the human rights of women, in protecting the dignity of all women equally, and bringing an end to all forms of the subordination and degradation of women.

I am pointing to this submission to the EP in order to indicate that the position I present here is not in any way original to me, and that its main lines are supported by a body of unrivalled expertise in research into prostitution.

On that basis, I note that a meaningful project of reform in regard to prostitution needs to recognize and include the following key issues:

- the gender asymmetry of the sex industry: as noted, men are the majority of those who buy sexual acts, and women and girls are the majority of those whose bodies are bought
- countries in which buying sexual acts has been criminalised have seen sex markets shrink, and trafficking reduced: the adoption of the ‘Nordic model’ in NSW offers the potential to replicate this progress
- law is a powerful teacher, and attitudes shift dramatically where the purchase of sexual acts is criminalised, with surveys in Sweden for example consistently showing that a large majority of citizens now think the purchase of sexual acts is unacceptable.

The approach of decriminalization and/or legalization advocated by the prostitution industry itself, including in its submissions to the Select Committee, has failed prostituted persons. The experience of NSW in this regard mirrors the experience of countries like Germany and the Netherlands. Legalization does not tackle the violence inherent to prostitution. Decriminalization does not attenuate trauma – because the infliction of trauma on persons in prostitution is chiefly by buyers and pimps. The main danger to women in prostitution comes from those who prostitute them, or who financially and in other ways benefit from their prostitution. Prostitution can only be made safe through abolishing it.

Abolition is not a utopian model. It is the aim of the ‘Nordic model’, which was implemented first in Sweden with the Sex Purchase Law of 1998, and has since been adopted in Norway and Iceland, and in

2015, in Northern Ireland and Canada. The model has been adopted twice by the French National Assembly (lower house) and is now under consideration again by the Senate. It is also being considered in the deliberative bodies of Israel, Ireland, Scotland and Lithuania. It is the approach recommended by the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe as forming the basis of a pan-European approach to prostitution and trafficking.

## A model for legislative reform

---

Consequent to a comprehensive report from its Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, the European Parliament on 26 February 2014 passed a landmark resolution on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)). The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority of 343 votes to 139, with 105 abstentions. The resolution is advisory, that is, not binding on member states. The resolution was drafted and moved by Mary Honeyball (Member in the Socialists & Democrats Group, UK, ie of the centre left), after presentation of a report of the EP Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality.

The EP press release (20140221IPR36644\_en) summed up succinctly the meaning and significance of the 2014 resolution: 'It stresses that prostitution violates human dignity and human rights, whether it is forced or voluntary, and calls on member states to find exit strategies and alternative sources of income for women who want to leave prostitution.'

Mary Honeyball herself noted that by the passage of the resolution, 'We send a strong signal that the European Parliament is ambitious enough to tackle prostitution head on rather than accepting it as a fact of life.' Most states up to now have adopted an approach assuming that the prostitution of women is in some way 'a fact of life', that it is 'inevitable', that it is (as in the cliché) 'the oldest profession' that will always be with us. The EP resolution however adopts the approach of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women ([www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm](http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm)) that forms of violence like prostitution and sexual exploitation are 'a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women', and in no sense natural or biological phenomena.

At its 12th sitting of 8 April 2014, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed a resolution on Prostitution, Trafficking and Modern Slavery in Europe (Resolution 1983 [2014]), on the basis of a Report prepared by the PACE Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination. The PACE resolution noted, 'Forced prostitution and sexual exploitation should be considered as violations of human dignity and, as women are disproportionately represented among victims, as an obstacle to gender equality.' (¶16)

Both the EP and the PACE resolutions draw attention to the violence of exploitation in prostitution and trafficking. It is for this reason that the PACE resolution in particular notes that sex worker organizations are not the sole stakeholders in considering measures to address prostitution. The resolution notes, 'In designing and enforcing prostitution legislation and policies, public authorities should strengthen co-operation with civil society, particularly non-governmental organisations (NGOs), assisting victims of forced prostitution and trafficking, as these are not represented by sex workers' organisations' (¶10). Consultation with survivors of the prostitution system is, from the perspective of my submission, crucial to any project for reform and to any specific reform options advanced, as well as to the implementation and monitoring of such measures.

## Four specific recommendations for reform

---

This submission recommends the following four options for reform as parts of an action plan. These options are adapted from the 2014 PACE resolution (¶12) as a guide to best practice in addressing the prostitution system, legislatively and beyond.

1. The criminalization of the purchase of sexual services, based on the Nordic model, as the most effective way of preventing and combating prostitution and trafficking. These measures should include making unlawful the related activities of pimping and keeping a brothel or similar premises, and making unlawful the advertising of sexual services, including disguised advertising for prostitution.
2. The establishment of counselling centres to provide women and men in prostitution with legal and health assistance, whatever their legal, refugee or migrant status. Such centres should be in addition to putting in place 'exit programs' for those who wish to leave prostitution. Exit programs must be based on a broad holistic approach comprising mental health and health-care services, housing support, education and training, and employment services. It should be mandatory for information on the human rights of those in prostitution, as well as contact details of exit programs and anti-trafficking services, to be clearly displayed in any establishments concerned with prostitution. The government should put in place specialist police units concerned with prostitution and trafficking, along the Swedish model, with adequate resources and training for law enforcement officials, the judiciary, social workers and public health professionals.
3. Raising public awareness of the need to change attitudes to the purchase of sexual services and to prostitution. Crucially, such efforts should increase awareness through the media and school education, particularly among children and young people, with regard to the importance of mutually respectful, gender-equal and violence-free sexuality and sexual practices.
4. The promotion of systematic quantitative and qualitative research on prostitution and trafficking within a human rights framework, with a mandate for independent and regular assessments of the impact of the regulation of prostitution on those persons who remain in the system.



BG ES CS DA DE ET EL EN FR HR IT LV LT HU MT NL PL PT RO SK SL FI SV

[Index](#)

[< Previous](#)

[Next >](#)

[Full text](#)

Procedure : **2013/2103(INI)**

[Document stages in plenary](#)

Document selected : **A7-0071/2014**

Texts tabled :  
**A7-0071/2014**

Debates :  
**PV 24/02/2014 - 25**  
**CRE 24/02/2014 - 25**

Votes :  
**PV 26/02/2014 - 9.15**

Texts adopted :  
**P7\_TA(2014)0162**

## Texts adopted

Wednesday, 26 February 2014 - Strasbourg

Provisional edition

**Sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality**

P7\_TA-PROV(2014)0162

**A7-0071/2014**

### ► European Parliament resolution of 26 February 2014 on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI))

*The European Parliament,*

- having regard to Articles 4 and 5 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
- having regard to the UN Convention of 1949 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others,
- having regard to Article 6 of the CEDAW Convention of 1979 which seeks to combat all forms of traffic in women and the exploitation of the prostitution of women,
- having regard to the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child,
- having regard to the UN Declaration of 1993 on the Elimination of Violence against Women, Article 2 of which states that violence against women includes: ‘physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution’,
- having regard to the 2000 Palermo Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, annexed to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime,
- having regard to the D.3 strategic objective of the 1995 Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration,
- having regard to ILO Convention No 29 on forced or compulsory labour, Article 2 of which defines forced labour,
- having regard to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) Brussels Declaration (11) on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings, which calls for a comprehensive, multidisciplinary and effectively coordinated policy that involves actors from all the fields concerned,
- having regard to the Council of Europe recommendations in this field, such as Recommendation No R 11 of 2000 on trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation, Recommendation No R 5 of 2002 on the protection of women against violence, and Recommendation 1545 of 2002 on the campaign against trafficking in women,
- having regard to the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings,
- having regard to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe motion for a recommendation ‘Criminalising the purchase of sex to combat the trafficking of people for sexual exploitation’, Doc. 12920 of 26 April 2012,



- having regard to the 2000 OSCE Vienna Ministerial Decision No 1(12) in support of the OSCE measures and to the OSCE Action Plan to combat trafficking in human beings (Decision No 557, taken in 2003),
- having regard to Articles 2 and 13 of the Treaty on European Union,
- having regard to Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA of 19 July 2002 on combating trafficking in human beings,
- having regard to Council Framework Decision 2011/36/EU of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA of 19 July 2002,
- having regard to the Council Resolution on initiatives to combat trafficking in human beings, in particular women<sup>(1)</sup>,
- having regard to the EU Strategy Towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings,
- having regard to its resolution of 15 June 1995 on the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, 'Action for Equality, Development and Peace'<sup>(2)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 24 April 1997 on the Commission communication on illegal and harmful content on the Internet<sup>(3)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 16 September 1997 on the need to establish a European Union wide campaign for zero tolerance of violence against women<sup>(4)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 24 October 1997 on the Commission Green Paper on the protection of minors and human dignity in audiovisual and information services<sup>(5)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 6 November 1997 on the Commission communication on combating child sex tourism and the aide-memoire on the European Union's contribution to reinforcing the prevention of the sexual abuse and exploitation of children<sup>(6)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 16 December 1997 on the Commission communication on trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation<sup>(7)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 13 May 1998 on the proposal for a Council recommendation concerning the protection of minors and human dignity in audio-visual and information services<sup>(8)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 17 December 1998 on respect for human rights in the European Union<sup>(9)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 10 February 1999 on the harmonisation of forms of protection complementing refugee status in the European Union<sup>(10)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 30 March 2000 on the communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of measures to combat child sex tourism<sup>(11)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 11 April 2000 on the initiative of the Republic of Austria with a view to adopting a Council decision to combat child pornography on the Internet<sup>(12)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 18 May 2000 on the follow-up to the Beijing Action Platform<sup>(13)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 19 May 2000 on the communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament entitled 'For further actions in the fight against trafficking in women'<sup>(14)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 15 June 2000 on the Commission communication on crime victims in the European Union: Reflexions on standards and action<sup>(15)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 12 June 2001 on the proposal for a Council framework decision on combating trafficking in human beings<sup>(16)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 17 January 2006 on strategies to prevent the trafficking of women and children vulnerable to sexual exploitation<sup>(17)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 2 February 2006 on the current situation in combating violence against women and any future action<sup>(18)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 15 March 2006 on forced prostitution in the context of world sports events<sup>(19)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 26 November 2009 on the elimination of violence against women<sup>(20)</sup>,

- having regard to its resolution of 5 April 2011 on priorities and outline of a new EU policy framework to fight violence against women<sup>(21)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 6 February 2013 on the 57th session on UN CSW: Elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls<sup>(22)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 23 October 2013 on organised crime, corruption and money laundering – recommendations on action and initiatives to be taken<sup>(23)</sup>,
- having regard to the European Women's Lobby awareness raising campaign 'Not for sale',
- having regard to Rule 48 of its Rules of Procedure,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality and the opinion of the Committee on Development (A7-0071/2014),

A. whereas prostitution and forced prostitution are gendered phenomena with a global dimension, involving around 40-42 million people worldwide, with the vast majority of prostituted persons being women and under-age females, and almost all buyers being men, and whereas it is therefore both a cause and a consequence of gender inequality which it aggravates further;

B. whereas prostitution and forced prostitution are forms of slavery incompatible with human dignity and fundamental human rights;

C. whereas trafficking of persons, particularly women and children, for sexual as well as other forms of exploitation is one of the most egregious violations of human rights; whereas trafficking in human beings is growing globally, led by the increase in organised crime and its profitability;

D. whereas work is one of the main sources of human self-realisation, through which individuals make a supportive contribution to collective wellbeing;

E. whereas prostitution and forced prostitution are intrinsically linked to gender inequality in society and have an impact on the status of women and men in society and the perception of their mutual relations and sexuality;

F. whereas sexual and reproductive health is promoted through healthy approaches to sexuality conducted with mutual respect;

G. whereas Directive 2011/36/EU of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims establishes robust provisions on victims;

H. whereas any policy on prostitution has an impact on achieving gender equality, affects the understanding of gender issues and delivers messages and norms to a society, including its youth;

I. whereas prostitution functions as a business and creates a market, with different actors being interlinked and where pimps and procurers are calculating and acting to secure or increase their markets and maximising profits, and whereas the buyers of sex play a key role as they maintain the demand in this market;

J. whereas according to WHO, sexual health 'requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence';

K. whereas prostitution reduces all intimate acts to their monetary value and diminishes the human being to the level of merchandise or an object to be used by the client;

L. whereas the vast majority of prostituted persons come from vulnerable groups;

M. whereas procuring is closely linked with organised crime;

N. whereas organised crime, human trafficking, extremely violent crime and corruption flourish in the shadow of prostitution, and any framework of legalisation primarily benefits the pimps, who are able to transform themselves into 'businessmen';

O. whereas the prostitution markets fuel trafficking in women and children<sup>(24)</sup>;

P. whereas trafficking acts as a means to bring a supply of women and under-age females to the prostitution markets;

Q. whereas EU data show that the current policy to combat trafficking is not effective and that there is a problem to identify and prosecute traffickers so that the investigation of sex-trafficking cases and the prosecution and conviction of human traffickers need to be strengthened;

R. whereas more and more young people, among whom alarmingly many are children, are forced into prostitution;

S. whereas the pressures under which prostitution takes place can be direct and physical, or indirect, for example by means of pressure on the family in the country of origin, and whereas such pressures can be psychological and insidious;

T. whereas the main responsibility for addressing trafficking in human beings lies with the Member States, and whereas in April 2013 only six Member States have notified full transposition of the EU Directive against trafficking in human beings, the implementation deadline for which expired on 6 April 2013;

U. whereas the Commission, in its Strategy for Equality between Women and Men (2010-2015), declares that 'inequalities between women and men violate fundamental rights';

V. whereas there is a huge divergence in the way that the Member States deal with prostitution, with two main approaches existing: one approach views prostitution as a violation of women's rights – a form of sexual slavery –, which results in and maintains gender inequality for women; the other approach maintains that prostitution itself promotes gender equality by promoting a woman's right to control what she wants to do with her body; in both instances individual Member States have the competence to decide how they approach the issue of prostitution;

W. whereas there is a difference between 'forced' and 'voluntary' prostitution;

X. whereas the issue of prostitution needs to be addressed with a long-term vision and the perspective of gender equality;

1. Recognises that prostitution, forced prostitution and sexual exploitation are highly gendered issues and violations of human dignity, contrary to human rights principles, among which gender equality, and therefore contrary to the principles of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, including the goal and the principle of gender equality;

2. Underlines that the health rights of all women must be respected, including their right to their bodies and sexuality and to be free of coercion, discrimination and violence;

3. Stresses that there are several links between prostitution and trafficking, and recognises that prostitution – both globally and across Europe – feeds the trafficking of vulnerable women and under-age females, a large percentage of whom are between 13-25 years old; stresses that, as shown by data from the Commission, a majority of victims (62 %) are trafficked for sexual exploitation, with women and under-age females accounting for 96 % of identified and presumed victims, with the percentage of victims from non-EU countries showing an increase in the past few years;

4. Acknowledges, however, that the lack of reliable, accurate and comparable data among countries, owing mainly to the illegal and often invisible nature of prostitution and trafficking, keeps the prostitution market opaque and hinders political decision-making, which means that all figures are based solely on estimates;

5. Stresses that prostitution is also a health issue, as it has detrimental health impacts on persons in prostitution, who are more likely to suffer from sexual, physical and mental health traumas, drug and alcohol addiction, and loss of self-respect, as well as a higher mortality rate, than the general population; adds and stresses that many of the sex buyers ask for unprotected commercial sex, which increases the risk of detrimental health impacts, both for persons in prostitution and for the buyers;

6. Stresses that forced prostitution, prostitution and exploitation in the sex industry can have devastating and long-lasting psychological and physical consequences for the individual involved (even after they have left prostitution), especially children and adolescents, in addition to being both a cause and a consequence of gender inequality, while perpetuating gendered stereotypes and stereotypical thinking about women selling sex, such as the idea that women's and under-age females' bodies are for sale to satisfy male demand for sex;

7. Calls, further, on the Member States to introduce, in accordance with national law, regular, confidential counselling and health checks for prostitutes, on premises other than those where prostitution takes place;

8. Recognises that prostitutes are a high-risk group for HIV infections and other sexually transmitted diseases;

9. Calls on the Member States to exchange best practices on ways to reduce the dangers associated with street prostitution;

10. Recognises that prostitution and forced prostitution can have an impact on violence against women in general, as research on sex buyers shows that men who buy sex have a degrading image of women<sup>(25)</sup>; suggests to the competent national authorities, therefore, that the ban on the purchase of sexual services should be accompanied by a campaign to raise awareness among men;

11. Stresses that prostituted persons are particularly vulnerable socially, economically, physically, psychologically, emotionally and in family terms, and are more at risk of violence and harm than persons engaged in any other activity; national police forces should therefore be encouraged to address, inter alia, the low conviction rates for rape against prostitutes; stresses that prostituted persons are also subject to public opprobrium and are socially stigmatised, even if they stop practising prostitution;

12. Draws attention to the fact that women prostitutes have the right to maternity, and to raise and take care of their children;

13. Stresses that the normalisation of prostitution has an impact on violence against women; points in particular to data that show that men buying sex were more likely to commit sexually coercive acts against women and other acts of violence against women, and often presented misogynist attitudes;
14. Notes that 80-95 % of prostituted persons have suffered some form of violence before entering prostitution (rape, incest, paedophilia), that 62 % of them report having been raped and that 68 % suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder – a percentage similar to that of torture victims<sup>(26)</sup> ;
15. Underlines that child prostitution can never be voluntary, as children do not have the capacity to 'consent' to prostitution; urges the Member States to combat child prostitution (involving persons under the age of 18) as energetically as possible, as it is the most serious form of forced prostitution; urgently demands a zero-tolerance approach based on prevention, protection of victims and prosecution of clients;
16. Points out that child prostitution and the sexual exploitation of children are on the increase, also through social network media, where deception and intimidation are frequently used;
17. Calls attention to the phenomenon of the prostitution of minors, which is not the same as sexual molestation, and which is rooted in difficult economic situations and an absence of parental care;
18. Stresses the need for effective measures that allow special attention to be given to removing under-age prostituted persons from the so-called prostitution market and to preventing their entry into that market, as well as to focusing on activities contrary to the aims of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and its relevant Optional Protocol;
19. Takes the view that the purchase of sexual services from prostitutes under the age of 21 should be a criminal offence, while the provision of such services by prostitutes should not be punishable;
20. Calls attention to the phenomenon of 'grooming', involving the prostitution of under-age females or females who have only just reached majority in exchange for luxury goods or small sums of money which provide funds to cover day-to-day expenditure or expenses related to education;
21. Points out to the Member States that education plays an important role in the prevention of prostitution and the organised crime associated with it, and therefore recommends that special, age-specific educational awareness-raising and preventive campaigns be conducted in schools and colleges, and recommends that education about equality be a fundamental goal in the education process for young people;
22. Draws attention to the fact that advertisements for sexual services in newspapers and social media can be means of supporting trafficking and prostitution;
23. Draws attention to the growing role of the internet and social network media in recruiting new and young prostitutes through human trafficking networks; calls for prevention campaigns also to be conducted on the internet, taking into account the vulnerable groups targeted by these human trafficking networks;
24. Draws attention to some of the effects, mostly negative, of mass-media production and pornography, especially online, in creating an unfavourable image of women, which may have the effect of encouraging the human personality of women to be disregarded and of presenting them as a commodity; warns as well that sexual liberty must not be interpreted as a license to disregard women;
25. Stresses that the normalisation of prostitution has an impact on young people's perception of sexuality and of the relationship between women and men;
26. Stresses that prostituted persons should not be criminalised and calls on all Member States to repeal repressive legislation against prostituted persons;
27. Calls on the Member States to refrain from criminalising and penalising prostituted persons, and to develop programmes to assist prostituted persons/sex workers to leave the profession should they wish to do so;
28. Believes that demand reduction should form part of an integrated strategy against trafficking in the Member States;
- 29. Considers that one way of combating the trafficking of women and under-age females for sexual exploitation and improving gender equality is the model implemented in Sweden, Iceland and Norway (the so-called Nordic model), and currently under consideration in several European countries, where the purchase of sexual services constitutes the criminal act, not the services of the prostituted persons;**
30. Stresses that as prostitution is a cross-border problem, the Member States should assume responsibility for combating the buying of sex outside their own territory;
31. Emphasises that some data confirm the Nordic model's deterrent effect on trafficking into Sweden, where prostitution and sex trafficking have not increased, and that this model is increasingly supported by the population, especially by young people, demonstrating that the legislation has brought about a change in attitudes;
32. Recognises the outcomes of a recent governmental report in Finland, calling for a full criminalisation of the purchase of sex, as the Finnish approach, which criminalises the purchase of sex from victims of trafficking, has proven to be

ineffective in tackling trafficking;

33. Believes that legislation provides an opportunity to clarify what the acceptable norms in society are and to create a society reflective of these values;

34. Believes that looking upon prostitution as legal 'sex work', decriminalising the sex industry in general and making procuring legal is not a solution to keeping vulnerable women and under-age females safe from violence and exploitation, but has the opposite effect and puts them in danger of a higher level of violence, while at the same time encouraging prostitution markets – and thus the number of women and under-age females suffering abuse – to grow;

35. Condemns any policy attempt or discourse based on the notion that prostitution can be a solution for migrant women in Europe;

36. Calls, therefore, on the Member States to give the police and the authorities responsible for premises where prostitution takes place the right, in accordance with national law, to enter such premises and to carry out checks at random;

37. Urges the Commission and the Member States to mobilise the necessary means and tools to fight trafficking and sexual exploitation and to reduce prostitution as breaches of women's fundamental rights – in particular with regard to minors – and gender equality;

38. Calls on the Member States to transpose Directive 2011/36/EU of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA, into national law as rapidly as possible, particularly with a view to protecting victims;

39. Urges the Commission to evaluate the impact that the European legal framework designed to eliminate trafficking for sexual exploitation has had to date, to undertake further research on patterns of prostitution, on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and on the increased level of sex tourism in the EU, with particular reference to minors, and to promote the exchange of best practices among the Member States;

40. Stresses that the Commission should continue funding projects and programmes to fight trafficking in human beings and sexual exploitation;

41. Calls on the Member States to design and implement policies to deal with trafficking, sexual exploitation and prostitution, and to ensure that all relevant parties, such as NGOs, the police and other law enforcement agencies, and social and medical services, are supported, involved in decision-making processes and work in cooperation;

42. Recognises that a vast majority of persons in prostitution would like to stop but feel unable to do so; stresses that these persons need appropriate support, particularly psychological and social assistance, to escape the sexual exploitation networks and the dependencies frequently associated with these; suggests, therefore, that the competent authorities put in place programmes to help persons escape prostitution, in close cooperation with the stakeholders;

43. Stresses the importance of appropriate training for police services and judicial system personnel, in a more general manner, in the various aspects of sexual exploitation, including gender and immigration aspects, and urges the Member States to encourage police authorities to cooperate with the victims and encourage them to testify, to encourage the existence of specialised services within the police and to employ police women; stresses the need for judicial cooperation between Member States in order to combat human trafficking networks in Europe more effectively;

44. Draws the attention of the national authorities to the impact of the economic downturn on the growing number of women and under-age females, including migrant women, forced to enter prostitution;

45. Points out that economic problems and poverty are major causes of prostitution among young women and under-age females, and that gender-specific prevention strategies, national and Europe-wide campaigns specially targeted at socially excluded communities and those in situations of increased vulnerability (such as persons with disabilities and youth in the child protection system), measures to reduce poverty and to raise awareness among both the purchasers and suppliers of sex, and the sharing of best practices are all key to combating the sexual exploitation of women and under-age females, especially among migrants; recommends that the Commission designate a 'European Week for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings';

46. Stresses that social exclusion is a key factor contributing to the increased vulnerability of disadvantaged women and under-age females to trafficking in human beings; stresses as well that the economic and social crisis has led to unemployment, often causing the most vulnerable women, including those further up the social scale, to enter the prostitution/sex business, in order to overcome poverty and social exclusion; calls on the Member States to tackle the underlying social problems that force men, women and children into prostitution;

47. Urges the Member States to fund organisations working on the ground with support and exit strategies, to provide innovative social services for victims of trafficking or sexual exploitation, including migrant and undocumented persons, assessing their individual needs and risks in order to provide appropriate assistance and protection, and to implement policies – with a holistic approach and through the various police, immigration, health and education services – aimed at helping vulnerable women and minors leave prostitution, while ensuring that such programmes have a legal basis and the requisite funding to achieve this aim; stresses the importance of psychological counselling and the need for victims of sexual exploitation to be reintegrated into society; points out that this process takes time and requires the development



of a life plan that represents a credible and viable alternative for former prostituted persons;

48. Stresses that more analysis and statistical evidence is needed to judge which model is the most effective way of combating the trafficking of women and under-age females for purposes of sexual exploitation;

49. Urges the Member States to evaluate both the positive and negative effects of criminalising the purchase of sexual services on reducing prostitution and trafficking;

50. Calls on the EU and its Member States to develop gender-specific prevention policies in the countries of origin of persons who are prostituted as a result of being trafficked, aimed both at purchasers of sex and at women and minors, through sanctions, awareness-raising campaigns and education;

51. Requests that the EU and the Member States take measures to discourage the practice of sexual tourism inside as well as outside the EU;

52. Requests that the European External Action Service takes measures to stop the practice of prostitution in areas of conflict where EU military forces are present;

53. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and the Commission.

(1) OJ C 260, 29.10.2003, p. 4.

(2) OJ C 166, 3.7.1995, p. 92.

(3) OJ C 150, 19.5.1997, p. 38.

(4) OJ C 304, 6.10.1997, p. 55.

(5) OJ C 339, 10.11.1997, p. 420.

(6) OJ C 358, 24.11.1997, p. 37.

(7) OJ C 14, 19.1.1998, p. 39.

(8) OJ C 167, 1.6.1998, p. 128.

(9) OJ C 98, 9.4.1999, p. 279.

(10) OJ C 150, 28.5.1999, p. 203.

(11) OJ C 378, 29.12.2000, p. 80.

(12) OJ C 40, 7.2.2001, p. 41.

(13) OJ C 59, 23.2.2001, p. 258.

(14) OJ C 59, 23.2.2001, p. 307.

(15) OJ C 67, 1.3.2001, p. 304.

(16) OJ C 53 E, 28.2.2002, p. 114.

(17) OJ C 287 E, 24.11.2006, p. 75.

(18) OJ C 288 E, 25.11.2006, p. 66.

(19) OJ C 291 E, 30.11.2006, p. 292.

(20) OJ C 285 E, 21.10.2010, p. 53.

(21) OJ C 296 E, 2.10.2012, p. 26.

(22) Texts adopted, **P7\_TA(2013)0045**.

(23) Texts adopted, **P7\_TA(2013)0444**.

(24) The 2006 report by Sigma Huda, UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially in women and children, highlighted the direct impact of the policies on prostitution on the scale of trafficking in human beings.

(25) Several studies on sex buyers can be found here: <http://www.womenlobby.org/spip.php?article1948&lang=en>.

(26) Farley, M., 'Violence against women and post-traumatic stress syndrome', *Women and Health*, 1998; Damant, D. et al., 'Trajectoires d'entrée en prostitution : violence, toxicomanie et criminalité', *Le Journal International de Victimologie*, No 3, April 2005.

Last updated: 7 March 2014

Legal notice

**Resolution 1983 (2014)<sup>1</sup>**

Final version

**Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe**

Parliamentary Assembly

1. Trafficking in human beings is one of the most hideous violations of human rights, affecting between 70 000 and 140 000 people every year in Europe. Girls and women are disproportionately affected, and so are transgender persons, but men and boys are also concerned. A considerable proportion of victims are citizens of the European Union, in particular Bulgarian and Romanian women who are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation.

2. The Parliamentary Assembly is deeply concerned that, despite several national and international mechanisms and legal instruments put in place to counter it, trafficking in human beings in Europe is not only widespread, but is even on the rise, while relevant convictions are falling. It is necessary to step up efforts to curb this scourge, allocating the necessary resources and efforts towards prevention, investigation and prosecution, while ensuring that freeing victims from this modern form of slavery and restoring their rights and dignity remain at the centre of actions undertaken.

3. Although they are distinct phenomena, trafficking in human beings and prostitution are closely linked. It is estimated that 84% of trafficking victims in Europe are forced into prostitution; similarly, victims of trafficking represent a large share of sex workers. The lack of precise and comparable data on prostitution and trafficking makes it difficult to assess with accuracy the impact that different regulations on prostitution may have on trafficking. However, considering the significant overlap between the two phenomena, the Assembly believes that legislation and policies on prostitution are indispensable anti-trafficking tools.

4. Research and data collection on prostitution and trafficking should be carried out in all Council of Europe member States. It should aim to collect nationwide information and be conducted on the basis of Europe-wide harmonised standards to guarantee comparability.

5. Legislation and policies with regard to prostitution vary across Europe, ranging from legalisation to criminalisation of prostitution-related activities. In 1999, Sweden was the first country to criminalise the purchase of sexual services, with proven positive results in terms of reducing the demand for trafficking. Since then, other countries have followed the same path or have taken steps in this direction. At the same time, other member States have chosen to legalise both the sale and the purchase of sexual services, with the aim of reducing the attractiveness of this business for criminal organisations and improving the working conditions of sex workers, with limited results.

6. Forced prostitution and sexual exploitation should be considered as violations of human dignity and, as women are disproportionately represented among victims, as an obstacle to gender equality.

7. Prostitution is a complex issue presenting various facets that should be taken into account. It affects the health of sex workers with consequences ranging from increased exposure to sexually transmitted diseases to higher risks of drug and alcohol addiction, physical and mental traumas, depression and other mental illnesses. Prostitution is often linked to criminal activities such as petty crime and drug dealing. In addition, criminal organisations controlling trafficking in human beings are often involved in drug trafficking.

1. *Assembly debate* on 8 April 2014 (12th Sitting) (see [Doc. 13446](#), report of the Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination, rapporteur: Mr José Mendes Bota). *Text adopted by the Assembly* on 8 April 2014 (12th Sitting).

8. The Assembly acknowledges that different legal approaches and cultural sensitivities make it difficult to propose a single model of prostitution regulations that would fit all member States. It believes, however, that human rights should be the main criteria in designing and implementing policies on prostitution and trafficking.
9. Irrespective of the model chosen, legislators and law-enforcement officials should be aware of their responsibility to ensure that sex workers, where prostitution is legalised or tolerated, may carry out their activity in dignified conditions, free from coercion and exploitation, and that the protection needs of those who are victims of trafficking can be adequately identified and addressed.
10. In designing and enforcing prostitution legislation and policies, public authorities should strengthen co-operation with civil society, particularly non-governmental organisations (NGOs), assisting victims of forced prostitution and trafficking, as these are not represented by sex workers' organisations.
11. Furthermore, in all cases, the authorities should refrain from considering prostitution regulations as a substitute for comprehensive action aimed specifically at human trafficking, based on a sound legal and policy framework and implemented effectively. International co-operation at bilateral and multilateral level has a major role to play in action on trafficking, given its transnational nature and the economic interests involved.
12. In the light of these considerations, the Assembly calls on Council of Europe member and observer States, Parliamentary Assembly observer States and partners for democracy, to:
  - 12.1. as regards policies on prostitution:
    - 12.1.1. consider criminalising the purchase of sexual services, based on the Swedish model, as the most effective tool for preventing and combating trafficking in human beings;
    - 12.1.2. ban the advertising of sexual services, including forms of disguised advertising;
    - 12.1.3. criminalise pimping, if they have not already done so;
    - 12.1.4. establish counselling centres providing prostitutes with legal and health assistance, irrespective of their legal or migrant status;
    - 12.1.5. set up "exit programmes" for those who wish to give up prostitution, aimed at rehabilitation and based on a holistic approach including mental health and health-care services, housing support, education and training and employment services;
    - 12.1.6. if they have legalised prostitution:
      - 12.1.6.1. consider fixing the minimum legal age for prostitution at 21;
      - 12.1.6.2. ensure that all the relevant laws and regulations – including those concerning health and safety, social security and tax – are reviewed and effectively implemented, at all levels of administration;
      - 12.1.6.3. ensure that prostitution regulations apply to all forms of sex work, including Internet prostitution;
      - 12.1.6.4. apply strict administrative and technical requirements for the practice of sex work, aimed at ensuring monitoring of the administration and regular contacts with sex work establishments ("barrier system");
      - 12.1.6.5. require that information on the rights of sex workers as well as contact details of anti-trafficking services be clearly displayed in prostitution establishments;
      - 12.1.6.6. exchange best practices with a view to reducing the harm caused by prostitution;
      - 12.1.6.7. raise general public awareness of the need to change attitudes towards the purchase of sexual services and to reduce the demand, including by countering social encouragement, particularly in the workplace;
    - 12.1.7. strengthen co-operation with civil society, including sex workers' associations and non-governmental organisations assisting victims of trafficking and forced prostitution, and consult them in the context of the drawing up or revision of policies on prostitution;
    - 12.1.8. establish specialised police forces for the enforcement of prostitution and human trafficking regulations;



- 12.2. as regards policies on human trafficking:
  - 12.2.1. sign, ratify and implement the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (CETS No. 197) (if they have not yet done so) and fully co-operate with its monitoring mechanism;
  - 12.2.2. introduce action plans on human trafficking and closely involve parliaments in their preparation and implementation, and monitoring of their implementation;
  - 12.2.3. allocate adequate resources to all agencies and services active in the prevention, investigation and prosecution of human trafficking;
  - 12.2.4. reinforce co-operation with Europol and increase substantially the financial and human resources allocated to it;
  - 12.2.5. establish shelters for victims of human trafficking;
  - 12.2.6. work bilaterally with countries of origin, including developing countries, to prevent trafficking, and ensure that those victims who are returned to their country of origin are given the means to reintegrate into society;
  - 12.2.7. strengthen co-operation between the anti-trafficking and law-enforcement authorities on one side and with non-governmental organisations on the other, in the context of anti-trafficking and victim assistance activities;
- 12.3. as regards research and data collection:
  - 12.3.1. promote quantitative and qualitative research on prostitution: prevalence, types/markets of prostitution, breakdown of people involved by gender, age and national origin;
  - 12.3.2. promote quantitative and qualitative research on human trafficking: prevalence, countries of origin, purpose of the trafficking, and prevalence of victims among prostitutes;
  - 12.3.3. mandate independent bodies to carry out regular assessments of the impact of their prostitution regulations on trafficking in human beings;
- 12.4. as regards awareness raising, information and training:
  - 12.4.1. increase awareness through the media and school education, particularly among children and young people, with regard to respectful, gender-equal and violence-free sexuality;
  - 12.4.2. raise awareness of the link between prostitution and human trafficking by means of information campaigns targeting the general public, civil society and education institutions;
  - 12.4.3. step up training programmes on prostitution and trafficking for law-enforcement officials, the judiciary, social workers and public health professionals.

## Submission in support of Mary Honeyball's Report on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality

---

We write as a global network of researchers in support of Mary Honeyball's motion for a resolution on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)).

We do this on the basis of deep and systematic expertise in researching the dynamics of prostitution and the sex industry, trafficking and violence against women. Our research draws on contemporary evidence, on historical and philosophical inquiry, and importantly on the testimony of survivors of the prostitution system. Many of us have worked directly with prostituted women. We have individual and collective links with a wide variety of organisations working for the abolition of prostitution as an institution of gender inequality and exploitation. We draw on both our practice-based evidence and our academic studies to strongly endorse the Honeyball report and its recommendation to adopt 'the Nordic model' as a pan-European approach to prostitution.

We believe it is important to signal that our position on prostitution is not grounded in a moralistic approach, or in any kind of hostility to women in the prostitution system. Nor is our position linked to considerations about maintaining 'public order'. Our concern is centrally with the human rights of women in protecting the dignity of all women equally, and with an end to all forms of the subordination and degradation of women.

The Honeyball Report calls attention to a number of key issues:

- the gender asymmetry of the sex industry, that is, men are overwhelmingly the majority of those who buy sexual acts, and women and girls those whose bodies are bought;
- countries where buying sexual acts has been criminalised have seen sex markets shrink, and trafficking reduced. This is a success for these countries as nation states, and the European Parliament adoption of the Nordic model offers the potential to replicate this progress across Europe;
- attitudes shift where the purchase of sexual acts is criminalised, with surveys in Sweden for example consistently showing that a large majority now think the purchase of sexual acts is unacceptable.<sup>1</sup> Law is a powerful tool in defining and changing what is, and is not, socially acceptable behaviour.

While we recognise that some women say they find selling sexual acts to be personally and economically empowering, these individual stories are not testament to the legitimacy of prostitution as a social institution. The prostitution system is a reminder of continuing inequalities between women and men: the gender pay gap; the sexualisation of female bodies in popular culture; histories of violence and abuse in both childhood and adulthood that underpin many women's entry into the sex industry. The persistence of these economic and social inequalities in every European country (and globally) is well documented in a wealth of academic research. Together these layers of disadvantage experienced by women mean that so-

---

<sup>1</sup> See data and analysis in Max Waltman (2011) Sweden's Prohibition of Purchase of Sex: The Law's Reasons, Impact, and Potential *Women's Studies International Forum* 34: 459-460.

called 'free' choices are actually decisions made in conditions of already existing inequality and discrimination. Women's choices should not be measured simply by where they end up (in prostitution), but by the circumstances in which these choices must be made. Choices made in conditions of being unequal cannot be considered 'free'.

The Honeyball Report is a landmark because it shifts focus to the choices that men make to purchase sexual acts. Systematic research from Finland<sup>2</sup> and the UK<sup>3</sup> in particular reveals that men who pay for sexual acts do so because they believe that biological urges lead them to 'need' sex from a variety of different women. Some men explicitly report that they buy sexual acts because it is a context where they do not have to think about women as equal human beings with their own feelings, wishes and desires. Men's own experiences of prostitution, as collated on sites such as The Invisible Men,<sup>4</sup> provide a chilling picture of the reality of prostitution for women: of violence, desperation, subordination and despair.

This is why the Honeyball Report is clear that the idea and the reality that women's bodies can be bought – and sold – by men, to men, both creates and perpetuates relations between women and men as a hierarchy.

Prostitution is, as the Honeyball Report states, a form and a cause and a consequence of gender inequality. Achieving gender equality means taking steps towards a world where progress goes beyond improving the status of individual women in conditions of discrimination, but addresses those conditions. Criminalising the purchase of sexual acts, decriminalising those who sell, and providing specialist support to women to be able to leave prostitution, are measures that directly address gender inequalities.

The decision for your vote this week is whether or not to challenge the fiction that it is natural and inevitable for men to buy access to women's bodies for sexual release, and whether or not to challenge this as a deeply-rooted form of gender inequality.

The European Parliament has an historic opportunity to act as a global beacon on gender equality, following the pioneering example set by the Nordic countries. We urge you and your party members not to waste it, and to vote for the Honeyball motion.

**24<sup>th</sup> February 2014**

[Please note: The institutional affiliations of the signatories are provided for identification purposes only.]

1. Dr Maddy Coy, Reader in Sexual Exploitation and Gender Equality, London Metropolitan University
2. Dr Helen Pringle, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, University of New South Wales, Australia

---

<sup>2</sup> Marttila, A.-M. (2008) Desiring the 'Other': Prostitution Clients on a Transnational Red-Light District in the Border Area of Finland, Estonia and Russia *Gender, Technology and Development* 12: 31-51.

<sup>3</sup> See for example: Coy, M, Horvath, M.A.H., Kelly, L. (2007) 'It's just like going to the supermarket': Men buying sex in East London, London: Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, available at [www.cwasu.org](http://www.cwasu.org); Farley, M., Macleod, J., Anderson, L., & Golding, J.M. (2011) Attitudes and Social Characteristics of Men Who Buy Sex in Scotland, *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 3(4): 369-383.

<sup>4</sup> <http://the-invisible-men.tumblr.com/>.

3. Dr Esohe Aghatise, Visiting Lecturer, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), Turin and Faculty of Law, University of Turin (Master of Laws in International Crime and Justice Programme), Italy
4. Professor Ivana Bacik, Law School, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland
5. Professor Kathleen Barry, PhD, Professor Emerita, Penn State University, US
6. Dr Karen Bell, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, University of Bristol, UK
7. Janine Benedet, Associate Professor, Faculty of Law, University of British Columbia, Canada
8. Ciaran Benson, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University College Dublin, Ireland
9. Dr Oona Brooks, Lecturer in Criminology, The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, University of Glasgow, UK
10. Thema Bryant-Davis, Associate Professor of Psychology, Pepperdine University, US
11. Lisa Carson, doctoral researcher, University of Melbourne, Australia
12. Heather Cole, doctoral researcher, London Metropolitan University, UK
13. Dr Emma Dalton, Lecturer, Japanese Studies Research Institute, Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba, Japan
14. Professor Michelle M. Dempsey, Professor of Law, Villanova University School of Law, US
15. Dr Gail Dines, Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies, Wheelock College, Boston, US
16. David Duriesmith, doctoral researcher, University of Melbourne, Australia
17. Helen Easton, Senior Lecturer and PhD candidate in Criminology, London South Bank University, UK
18. Gunilla S. Ekberg, international human rights lawyer, PhD in Law candidate, University of Glasgow, UK
19. Dr Jane Ellis, Senior Research Fellow, University of Central Lancashire, UK
20. Fiona Elvines, doctoral researcher, London Metropolitan University, UK
21. Dr Josefina Erikson, Assistant Professor in Political Science, Department of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden
22. Professor Maria Eriksson, Professor of Social Work, School for Health, Care, and Social Welfare, Mälardalen University, Sweden
23. Dr Elizabeth Evans, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, University of Bristol, UK
24. Dr Karen Evans, Senior Lecturer, School of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology, University of Liverpool, UK
25. Dr Matthew Ezzell, Assistant Professor in Sociology, James Madison University, US
26. Kate Farhall, doctoral researcher, University of Melbourne, Australia
27. Dr Melissa Farley, Prostitution Research and Education, US
28. Maria Garner, doctoral researcher, London Metropolitan University, UK
29. Professor Gene Feder, Professor of primary health care, School of Social and Community Medicine, University of Bristol, UK
30. Dr Aisha K. Gill, Reader in Criminology, University of Roehampton, UK
31. Professor Victor Goode, Professor in Law, CUNY Law School, US
32. Dr Kieran McGrath, Visiting Research Associate, Dept of Social Studies, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland
33. Dr Des McGuinness, School of Communications, Dublin City University, Ireland
34. Professor Marianne Hester, Chair in Gender, Violence and International Policy, School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol, UK

35. Dr Miranda Horvath, Reader in Forensic Psychology, Middlesex University, UK
36. Donna M. Hughes, Professor & Eleanor M. and Oscar M. Carlson Endowed Chair, Gender and Women's Studies Program, University of Rhode Island, US
37. Professor Sheila Jeffreys, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne, Australia
38. Dr Robert Jensen, Professor, School of Journalism, University of Texas at Austin, US
39. Helen Johnson, Doctoral Candidate in Criminology, University of Kent, UK
40. Patricia Kelleher, PhD, Adjunct Senior Lecturer in Social Exclusion, University of Limerick, Ireland
41. Professor Liz Kelly, Director, Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University, UK
42. Dr Christopher Kendall, Barrister, John Toohey Chambers, Honorary Research Fellow, Law School, The University of Western Australia
43. Dr Mark P. Lagon, Professor in the Practice of International Affairs, Georgetown University, and Former U.S. Ambassador at Large to Combat Trafficking in Persons, US
44. Dr Ronit Lentin, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland
45. Dr Nancy Lombard, Lecturer of Sociology and Social Policy, Glasgow Caledonian University, UK
46. Dr Julia Long, Lecturer in Sociology, Anglia Ruskin University, UK
47. Jo Lovett, Senior Research Fellow, London Metropolitan University, UK
48. Professor Kathleen Lynch, UCD Professor of Equality Studies, Head of the UCD School of Social Justice, University College Dublin, Ireland
49. Dr Finn Mackay, Centre for Gender & Violence Research, University of Bristol, UK
50. Catharine A. MacKinnon, Elizabeth A. Long Professor of Law, University of Michigan, James Barr Ames Visiting Professor of Law (long term), Harvard Law School, Special Gender Adviser to the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court, 2008-2012 (affiliations for identification only)
51. Professor Jeffrey Masson, New Zealand
52. Kristina Massey, Lecturer in Criminal Psychology, Canterbury Christchurch University, UK
53. Professor Roger Matthews, Professor of Criminology, University of Kent, UK
54. Dr Melanie McCarry, Guild Research Fellow, School of Social Work, University of Central Lancashire, UK
55. Professor Hiroshi Nakasatomi, University of Tokushima, Japan
56. Dr Izabela Naydenova, Lecturer, School of Physics, College of Sciences and Health, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland
57. Dr Caroline Norma, Lecturer in Global, Urban and Social Studies, RMIT University, Australia
58. Dr Monica O'Connor, Independent Researcher, Ireland
59. Ruth Phillips, doctoral researcher, London Metropolitan University, UK
60. Dr Jane Pillinger, Independent Researcher and Policy Advisor, Ireland
61. Professor Keith Pringle, Professor in Sociology with a specialism in social work, Uppsala University, Sweden; Adjunct Professor, Aalborg University, Denmark; and Honorary Professor, University of Warwick, UK
62. Dr Kaye Quek, Lecturer in Political Science, University of Melbourne and RMIT University, Australia

63. Jody Raphael, Visiting Professor of Law, De Paul University College of Law, US
64. Professor Janice G. Raymond, Professor Emerita, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, US
65. Dr Emma Rush, Lecturer in Ethics and Philosophy, Charles Sturt University, Australia
66. Nicola Sharp, Research Fellow, London Metropolitan University, UK
67. Professor Helena Sheehan, Professor Emerita, Dublin City University, Ireland
68. Dr Tina Skinner, Senior Lecturer, Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath, UK
69. Dr Olivia Smith, Lecturer in Criminology, Anglia Ruskin University, UK
70. Dr Mary Sullivan, Independent Researcher, Australia
71. Dr Jackie Turner, Research Fellow, London Metropolitan University, UK
72. Dr Meagan Tyler, Lecturer in Sociology, Victoria University, Australia
73. Dr Bridget Vincent, McKenzie Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Melbourne, Australia
74. Max Waltman, PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, Sweden
75. Professor Nicole Westmarland, Co-Director, Centre for Research on Violence and Abuse, Durham University, UK
76. Dr Rebecca Whisnant, Associate Professor in Philosophy and Director of Women's and Gender Studies, University of Dayton, US
77. Dr Emma Williamson, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Gender and Violence Research, School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol, UK
78. Nusha Yonkova, doctoral researcher, School of Social Justice, University College Dublin, Ireland
79. Dr Eileen Zurbriggen, Professor of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, US