



Z E R O T O L E R A N C E C H A R I T A B L E T R U S T

Criminalisation of the Purchase of Sex (Scotland) Bill (2)

Response from Zero Tolerance to the consultation on Rhoda Grant's proposed member's Bill, December 2012

Zero Tolerance is a small national charity working to end men's violence against women (VAW) in all its forms. We promote a primary prevention approach, believing that changing societal attitudes, values and structures is the key to ending gender-based violence. We also believe that pervasive and continuing gender inequality in our society creates a culture in which violence against women is permissible and tolerated – and that this must change.

Summary of our position

We are strongly supportive of the intentions behind this proposed Bill and urge the Scottish Parliament to support it to proceed to stage one, where it can be subject to the debate it merits. We have specific comments to make on the questions posed in the consultation paper, which are set out below (p.7), but firstly, our general views on prostitution, which have informed our response to this Bill are as follows:

1. Prostitution is a form of violence against women, representing violation and inequality of women, not a free exchange between adults. It is intimately connected with other forms of VAW such as rape, domestic abuse and sexual assault and needs to be taken as seriously in the policy making sphere as they are.
2. Prostitution is a clear and obvious manifestation of continuing gender inequality. We recognise that men can also be exploited in prostitution and welcome that this Bill will address that; however our main focus is on the experiences of women selling sex and men purchasing it, since this is what happens in the vast majority of transactions.
3. Prostitution is old but it is not natural or inevitable. We aspire to a world without this kind of exploitation and believe it is possible, with political will.
4. It is time for the 'invisible man' who purchases sex to be challenged. Those who create the demand for this 'industry' have for too long been absent from policy discussions and the criminal justice system. They need to be prevented from perpetuating this form of violence, exploitation and abuse, not left out of the debate.

To expand on this, we would add the following points.

1. Prostitution is a form of VAW

We see prostitution as a form of violence against women and children. The Scottish Government has also described it as such in the '*Safer Lives: Changed Lives*'ⁱ document – noting therein that the harm that commercial sexual exploitation causes to *all* women, by sanctioning objectification of women's bodies, happens regardless of whether some individuals claim liberation or empowerment from the activity.

Prostitution is part of a broad continuum of VAW and all forms are intimately connected. This continuum is acknowledged and explained in the Scottish Government paper, '*The case for a gendered analysis of violence against women*'ⁱⁱ. A woman who is involved in prostitution often considers the sex as 'paid rape'; she might be forced into selling sex by a partner who engages in other forms of domestic abuse; she might be forced through prostitution to make pornography or to enact scenes from pornography; she might be subject to ancillary assaults including sexual assaults in addition to the assault of enduring unwanted sex.

Scotland has taken a robust approach to many forms of VAW. It could be considered a world leader in many respects. It is certainly the envy of the rest of the UK in terms of its VAW services and responsesⁱⁱⁱ. Scotland has excellent responses to domestic abuse, including specialist courts and policing task forces. It has a sexual violence specialist unit in the COPFS and trafficking is to be a core concern of the serious crime unit of the new single police force. It has ACPOS-led campaigns on consent to sex which tackle rape myths^{iv}. Prostitution is the missing part of the puzzle – the one form of VAW which is still widely tolerated, perhaps because people think it is inevitable and unsolvable; or because it is largely hidden and affects mainly an underclass of women who are seldom heard. This is not acceptable.

We ask the Parliament to treat prostitution as equivalent to all other forms of VAW and to seek to end the demand by criminalising those who freely choose to participate in this exploitation by acting as purchasers. This would mirror work to tackle domestic abuse perpetrators, rape perpetrators etc. This would end the inconsistency of saying 'zero tolerance' to some forms of abuse but tolerating others.

We also recognise that prostitution causes harms to the men who participate as sellers of sex and would support the work of organisations such as 'Open Road', who support those men and who support this proposal. And we note that, although our concern about prostitution is that it is a form of tolerated VAW, prostitution causes harm, to some extent, to some of the men who buy sex – in one study 25% of men who had bought sex in prostitution expressed "significant or shame" about having done so.^v

2. Prostitution is a clear and obvious manifestation of continuing gender inequality.

It is not a coincidence that the vast majority of people selling sex in Scotland are women and the vast majority of those buying sex are men. Prostitution is an expression of gender inequality.

There is considerable evidence that selling sex for the vast majority of women involved in prostitution is not a freely made, positive choice but in fact a socially structured decision, which represents a submission to a *lack* of choice and options and a reflection of women's wider economic inequality. The decision to sell sex is driven by necessity or desperation, by factors such as poverty, drug dependency, domestic abuse or child sexual abuse. Prostitution represents survival behaviour. But these individual factors are not root causes – the root cause of a system wherein men buy women's bodies without sanction is the pervasive and continuing unequal distribution by gender of power, wealth and opportunity.

A Home Office report from 2007 said:

'The majority [of individuals involved in street prostitution]... live chaotic lives and have complex needs, and most are Class A drug users. They often face a multiplicity of risks to their physical, emotional and psychological health as well as problems relating to homelessness, lack of food, clothes, warmth, shelter, money and lack of family networks. Many are disengaged from mainstream services such as healthcare, housing and benefits and have a history of frequent contact with the Criminal Justice System.'^{vi}

The Tyneside Cyrenians 'Hidden for survival' study (Feb 2008) found that sex was sold for as little as £5 (the average charge was £37), dispelling the myth of the lucrative career that media portrayals of prostitution such as 'Belle de Jour' perpetuate. This cannot be understood in isolation from a wider analysis of women's poverty – women experience significantly more poverty, in significantly different ways from men. Women have a lower income than men during work and retirement; smaller, if any, savings; and are more likely than men to experience unmanageable debt.^{vii} This is the context in which prostitution flourishes.

Prostitution can also be a consequence of other forms of neglect or abuse - 70% of those involved in street prostitution have a history of local authority care and 45% report experiencing sexual abuse during their childhoods (Home Office 2006). The Tyneside study found links with other forms of violence such as domestic violence – 41% of respondents reported being in a violent relationship and there was evidence of domestic abuse deterring women's involvement in drug treatment as partners did not allow it.

Prostitution also represents the exploitation of children and young people. A Glasgow study showed that 24.5% of the women surveyed had entered prostitution before age 18, with 8.2% starting at age 16 or under.^{viii}

On the issue of choice, we believe that individuals who claim that this is activity freely chosen constitute a tiny minority of women participating in this industry, and further note that women involved in prostitution often describe the activity as freely chosen at the time, as a coping and survival mechanism - for example in the European Women's Lobby film '*Not for Sale*^{ix}', Fiona Broadfoot, a survivor of prostitution, says:

"Women have to tell themselves they have made a choice to survive. I told myself for many, many years I was OK. I had to do that to survive the industry".

Once in prostitution, 9 out of 10 surveyed women would like to exit but feel unable to do so.^x

In our short film about CSE in Scotland, '*Money and Power*', a woman involved in prostitution said:

"It's not easy and it's not glamorous. It's hard. It's horrible. It's degrading. I wouldn't recommend it to anybody. I hate it. I made the biggest mistake of my life getting into it. I think about it constantly. It's in my head all the time, what I've had to do for money. You get in the car and you have sex for money and then when you've finished and you've just done that for thirty or forty pounds... It's just degrading, it's horrible thinking what you've just had to do with an old man. Some of them are fifty sixty seventy years old. It's just horrible."

And:

"There's a couple of guys that do treat you well but most of them just want one thing. They think they're paying for it, they're going to get what they want when they want it. You're just a piece of meat to them. Rubbish - that's the way they treat you. As they're paying for it they'll treat you what way they want to treat you, so that's that."

('Katy')^{xi}

It is clear to us from this evidence that women selling sex are participating in an inherently exploitative and violent system and that this system maintains, exacerbates, and feeds on gender inequality. It is impossible to imagine a world where women experience their full entitlement to human rights, equality and dignity yet where men can choose to sexually exploit a permanent underclass of women and are encouraged to believe that some women are always sexually available for the right price. The two cannot be reconciled.

3. Prostitution is not inevitable

Although prostitution is not inevitable, our societal tolerance of it creates the impression that it is.

In February 2010, the Home Office published a review of Sexualisation of Young People. This review examined culture and society in the UK and found that jobs in brothels and lap-dancing clubs (where prostitution routinely happens) were being advertised by Job Centre Plus and that “we are seeing the normalisation of [sex work] as viable career choices” which “sends out a powerful message to young people about what is of value” (para 29). The review also concluded that popular culture lends “credence to the idea that women are there to be used and that men are there to use them” (para 30).

In this climate, it is easy for young people to be groomed for involvement in prostitution: young women groomed as sellers and young men as users and controllers of women. It is increasingly seen as normal for men to use prostitutes as part of a night out with friends or colleagues^{xii}, or a ‘stag’ night^{xiii} – and many regret doing so. A significant number of men who buy sex later regret it: 25% of men interviewed in Scotland said that they felt “significant shame and regret” at having bought sex.^{xiv} One study of men who use prostitutes found that for 29% of the men, prostitution was their first sexual experience.^{xv}

Other jurisdictions have successfully legislated to criminalise demand (Sweden, Norway) and have seen a resultant reduction in prostitution and trafficking but also a change in social attitudes. In Sweden, which has legislated to criminalise the purchase of sex, there has been a marked change in public perception with 80% of the public now viewing prostitution as unacceptable, compared to 49% in 1999^{xvi}. We believe that the proposed Bill, if supported, could deliver a similar cultural shift in Scotland.

To call a halt to this culture of prostitution as mainstream it is vital to curb demand and send out a message that prostitution is not a normal, legitimate form of work or entertainment. Tackling those who create and sustain the demand for prostitution - the purchasers - would send a message that Scotland rejects this exploitative industry and those who create and support it.

There is already some acceptance at government level that prostitution is not a normal, acceptable activity, e.g. Kenny MacAskill, Cabinet Secretary for Justice described prostitution as “an “exploitative trade” when launching the Prostitution (Public Places) Scotland Act 2007, and spoke about the need to target “those who leave their comfortable homes to exploit the vulnerable women on our streets”.^{xvii}

On 6 December 2012, the Solicitor General Lesley Thomson QC said on launching new guidelines: “Prostitution represents an insidious form of abuse of women and men.”^{xviii}

Describing prostitution as such suggests that it, like domestic abuse or sexual abuse, is not normal, natural or inevitable and that measures to target those who create the demand, regardless of the location of the women (indoors or in public places) would thus be entirely appropriate.

4. It is time for the ‘invisible man’ to be recognised and challenged

Zero Tolerance has always believed that public discourse about men's violence against women focuses too much on women, and what they should do or not do to prevent or avoid violence, and too little on challenging the men who perpetrate the abuse.

This is slowly changing and many statutory authorities are very clear now that the perpetrators of abuse need to be central to our decision making. For example, many local authorities have run 'Zero Tolerance' campaigns to tell perpetrators that there is no excuse for domestic abuse; in 2009 Lothian and Borders Police ran an anti-rape campaign developed to communicate that "responsibility for rape will always lie with the rapist"^{xix}; ACPOS's We Can Stop It campaign targets young men; and many authorities now run perpetrator programmes for abusive men convicted of or known to have committed domestic abuse, which challenge their attitudes, values and behaviours, e.g. the Caledonian system.

Yet in terms of prostitution, the focus for years has been on the women who sell sex rather than the men who buy it. Women have been arrested and imprisoned for soliciting, earning convictions that can never be spent. Men have largely been ignored. The Prostitution (Public Places) Scotland Act to target 'kerb-crawling' has had some impact but by and large it has been women who have been prosecuted under this law. Most of the time, men have been free to purchase sex with impunity. This has to change.

It is anomalous in Scotland that we have a society which tells men there is 'zero tolerance' of domestic abuse, to seek active consent to sex so that they avoid carrying out a rape, to have healthy respectful sexual relationships etc. but also tells them consent to sex can be bought, and that you only need to respect *some* women. Our toleration of prostitution and sexual exploitation risks undermining all the progress that has been made in challenging men's behaviour in regard to other forms of VAW.

A caution

Whilst we strongly support this proposed Bill, we do not believe that criminalising the purchase of sex alone would represent a panacea. We would also urge the Scottish Parliament to develop and fund other measures to tackle the harms of prostitution, including better funding and support for prostitution exit programmes, changing the way and timeframe in which prostitution becomes a spent conviction, decriminalising the selling of sex, and developing and supporting educational programmes to prevent prostitution and promote gender equality.

However, we would urge the Parliament to keep in mind that supporting developments to criminalise the purchase of sex and developing policy or legislation to protect women involved in selling sex are *not* mutually exclusive. Supporters of the move to criminalise the purchase of sex are often characterised by our opponents as uninterested in the experiences of prostituted women or men and unconcerned with harm reduction, which is not

the case. We have absolutely no wish to place women at further risk. In fact what we seek to do is to protect them from a systematic industry of exploitation and abuse, while also protecting *all* women, children, families and communities from the wider and longer term impacts of this industry.

We would also note that consideration should to be given to the need to prevent vulnerable young people and young women in particular from entering prostitution and that measures to criminalise purchase will play a part in this.

Responses to the specific questions posed in the paper:

1. Do you support the general aim of the proposed Bill?

Yes, we support the aim of the Bill. We support criminalisation of the purchaser of sex, in recognition of the free choice that purchasers make to exploit women in prostitution; and the detrimental effects of prostitution on participating women; and on *all* women, who are excluded from full gender equality by a society which commodifies women and girls through prostitution.

This approach is consistent with the current strategic approach in Scotland, which recognises prostitution as a form of violence against women (cf. the *Safer Lives: Changed Lives* document cited above); and all forms of VAW including prostitution as causes and consequences of wider gender inequality.

Criminalising the purchaser in all incidents of prostitution regardless of where the sexual activity takes place would address the current anomaly in Scots law whereby kerb-crawling is criminalised but purchasing sex in indoor settings such as saunas, brothels and private flats is not a crime.

2. What do you believe would be the effects of legislating to criminalise the purchase of sex?

There is inherent harm in prostitution. The core harm for the participating individuals is submitting to repeat unwanted sex. This means that prostitution is in and of itself a form of abuse and exploitation. The effects of criminalising the purchase of sex would be to recognise and start to address this. There are existing Scottish Government policy positions on this matter which create a degree of urgency around addressing this issue, to address the contradictions created by societal tolerance of prostitution.

We believe that this measure would have the effect of creating a reduction in prostitution (as was seen in Sweden and Norway after they took this approach), and a reduction in trafficking. In January 2009 Norway criminalised the purchase of sex. After the law was put into effect there was a dramatic reduction in both indoor and outdoor prostitution.^{xx} In Sweden, which criminalised the purchase of sex in 1999, street prostitution has halved, and 10 years after the ban less than 7.8% of its active adult male population was buying sex, compared to 13.6% before the law was enacted, which is a 51% overall reduction in demand.^{xxi}

We believe this would also create an attitudinal shift – especially in boys' attitudes – and drive societal recognition that prostitution is not victimless, fun, 'work', entertainment, normal or inevitable. In Sweden there has been a marked change in public attitudes to prostitution since the law changed there: 80% of the public now view prostitution as unacceptable, compared to 49% in 1999^{xxii}.

This proposal could support the creation of an enhanced child protection regime in Scotland. If prostitution is recognised as inherently harmful, exploitative and preventable, and not as a 'lifestyle choice'^{xxiii} – cf. the grooming case in Rochdale where children were denied help due to assumptions that they had chosen prostitution – this will enhance the protection of children, who are growing up in a very sexually exploitative culture and at real risk of being drawn into prostitution and other forms of commercial sexual exploitation.^{xxivxxv}

This measure could disrupt organised crime, and help the new single police force to meet its targets in this area. Prostitution has strong links to organised crime.^{xxvi} In September 2011, Detective Superintendent Jonas Trolle, who was then head of a trafficking investigation team in Stockholm, said "Prostitution is always connected with organised crime," and reported that criminal gangs who force women into prostitution are also dealing with drugs, weapons and money laundering.^{xxvii}

This measure would have a significant effect of promoting gender equality – prostitution is a barrier to full gender equality, as described above.

This measure would prevent not only the inherent violence of prostitution itself but also the many additional incidents of violence, abuse, assault, murder etc. which women in prostitution experience. More than half of women in prostitution in the UK have been raped and/or seriously assaulted and at least 75% have been physically assaulted at the hands of pimps and punters.^{xxviii} In one study of women in *indoor* prostitution, 48% had experienced client violence, including being slapped, punched, or kicked; attempted rape; vaginal rape and anal rape; and strangulation.^{xxix} An American study found that the mortality rate of women in prostitution is 200 times higher than for the general population.^{xxx}

3. Are you aware of any unintended consequences or loopholes caused by the offence?

There is a risk that criminalising the purchaser, without parallel measures to fully decriminalise the seller of sex, and provide support/exit services, could compromise the safety of women involved in prostitution. However, we would never allow any other vulnerable population to be identified but decide their plight was unsolvable – so we would strongly caution against deciding against no change if the motivation is to keep women 'safe' – especially as prostitution is inherently unsafe and unacceptable. A solution must be found to ensure women's safety is not compromised.

There could be an *initial* negative impact on women who rely on income from prostitution – however, the welfare state should be designed to ensure no-one has to rely on income from hazardous and exploitative behaviours. We would not allow someone to continue living on the proceeds of selling drugs, for example. It would be wrong to make the decision not to pursue this approach because of initial impacts which could be anticipated and mitigated.

There might be some confusion/duplication with existing legislation – e.g. if a man was arrested on the street for seeking to purchase sex would he be prosecuted under the Prostitution (Public Places) Act or this one? Would prosecutors have discretion to choose? In general the interaction with the existing legislation could cause confusion.

There is also a contradiction created by the ongoing criminalisation of sellers of sex – if prostitution is recognised as exploitation and abuse, and the purchase of it deemed as unacceptable, then continuing to criminalise the most vulnerable people seems completely anomalous.

We know that some people will say this move would drive prostitution underground and lead to more women in prostitution operating from isolated premises indoors, putting them at greater risk. We believe that this untrue – if there are properly funded support/exit services they are able to find the women involved in prostitution by the same means as punters would – through small ads, websites, etc. Police should be able to use all their investigative skills and resources to find the women selling, and the men seeking to buy.

We also find some of the arguments about women supposedly being able to risk-assess ‘clients’ more easily if those men are allowed to go about their business unimpeded rather ridiculous. It is not possible to tell which men are the most dangerous, (indeed some men who are trusted and known punters are later found to be among the most dangerous, e.g. Steve Wright who murdered 5 women involved in prostitution in Ipswich). The admission that many men who use women in prostitution are dangerous and need to be risk-assessed seems to undermine the argument of some pro-prostitution groups that this is a line of ‘work’ which can be regulated.

There is a need for a clear definition of paid sex, what constitutes payment etc. to avoid criminalising genuinely consenting, non-exploitative activities, but we are confident that clear definitions can be achieved.

4. Advantages and disadvantages of suggested definitions

We have no particular view on the definitions but would be keen to see evidence of how they have worked in practice in relation to other pieces of legislation.

5. What do you think the appropriate penalty should be for the offence?

We have no set views on penalties or deterrents for purchasers of sex – however research has found that certain penalties would have a stronger deterrent effect on potential purchasers of sex than others^{xxxix}. We would suggest for example that the penalty of inclusion on the sex offenders' register should be strongly considered. Other deterrents might include seizure of driving license or motor vehicle, and notification being sent to the offenders' employer or family, since this would remove the offender's sense of entitlement to exploit women who are at the margins of society without social sanction. We would suggest that there should be escalation of penalties for repeat offences. We would for example, support custodial sentences for repeat offenders.

In general, we would seek equivalence with sentencing for other VAW offences – e.g. domestic abuse assaults, sexual assaults – in recognition of the equivalent seriousness of abusing a woman in prostitution and their connectedness on the continuum of VAW.

We would also suggest that rehabilitation courses which challenge men's attitudes and values and education would be a useful penalty (learning from the experience of courses for men convicted of domestic abuse).

Education and awareness raising campaigns targeted at the whole population would also have a deterrent effect.

We would anticipate that the mere existence of a crime of buying sex would be a deterrent to many casual users of prostituted women, and that the actual number of prosecutions would not have to be particularly high to have a significant effect on the supply side of the system.

We have reservations about the use of fines. These could potentially impact on women who are victims of prostitution - if for example a man who is charged with buying sex and fined also acts as a pimp for his own wife/partner. They can affect household finances and affect women/children who had nothing to do with the offence, especially as many punters are married or in relationships. One study found that 48% of men who have used women in prostitution were in a relationship with a wife or girlfriend or other partner^{xxxix}; another found that 66% of men who use women in prostitution were married or living with a partner.^{xxxix}

On the converse side, it could be argued that if punters have spare disposable income to spend on prostitution, they have disposable income to pay their fines so fining them would have no real impact. The deterrent needs to involve something people will fear – e.g. reputational damage.

Despite our reservations about the use of fiscal penalties such as fines, if fines were to be adopted, we would suggest hypothecation of this money to pay for support/exit programmes for women involved in prostitution – similar to the way in which the seizure of criminal assets has been used to provide victim compensation and community payback.

We suggest taking evidence from experts on penal matters to further explore possibilities and would urge a creative approach to designing penalties, which is informed by research into what men who have bought sex have said.

6. How should a new offence provision be enforced?

Enforcement of new legislation criminalising the purchase of sex would be a matter for the criminal justice authorities. We expect them to enforce any new law, as the settled will of the Parliament, however challenging. We urge caution in over-stating the difficulties of enforcement, given how commonly arguments about the unenforceability of different laws seeking to drive social progress (such as the smoking ban) have been proven wrong.

We would also note that laws and criminal justice processes which are intended to protect the rights of vulnerable women are often the least effective and well implemented (cf. the low (albeit improving) rape conviction rate in Scotland and the very limited use of exclusion orders in domestic abuse cases).

There is an added imperative for the criminal justice authorities to seek ways in which to make any new prostitution laws work, to avoid creating the impression that there is a culture of inertia or indifference to women's inequality. We would remind the relevant authorities of their obligations under the Public Sector Equality Duty.

7. Financial implications of the proposed Bill?

There will be financial implications for individual women who are currently surviving on income from prostitution and there will need to be a period of planning measures to mitigate this e.g. faster access to drug rehabilitation programmes. However, no woman's reliance on income from this exploitative trade should be used as a reason not to try and prevent the trade from existing.

There may also be financial implications for women's sector agencies which provide support to women in prostitution and particularly if they are seeking to support greater numbers of women to exit prostitution.

There will clearly be other costs arising from this proposal, as would arise from any new legislation - for example for training, guidance, and public education. These ought to be affordable.

We would suggest that the costs of allowing a damaging system of exploitation to flourish must be significantly higher than the costs of dismantling it. We would expect criminalisation of purchasing sex to bring significant long-term savings to the public purse – e.g. to the NHS, criminal justice, addiction services etc. – as rates of prostitution lessen and more women are supported to exit this exploitative and harmful trade.

8. Substantial positive or negative implication for equality?

There will be substantial gains for gender equality by tackling prostitution. To put it bluntly, you cannot have gender equality if you have an underclass of women who are there to provide sex for anyone who can afford to buy it. And you cannot have equality in a society which objectifies women in this way and which tells men, however tacitly, that women are essentially objects for sale, for the price of a meal in a restaurant or a few DVDs.

This measure will also be beneficial for race equality. The prostitution industry emphasises the 'exotic' nature of women in saunas, and indulges in racial stereotyping, encouraging punters to see women as a range of varieties instead of full human beings.

There will also be gains for LGBT equality – tackling purchasers of sex will contribute to work to end stereotypes about gay men who sell sex – that these are not 'rent boys' who are there because of gay male promiscuity but they are victims of exploitation.

There are many other intersections in prostitution practices between different forms of inequality, for example:

- gender and class (poverty being a key indicator for entry into prostitution)
- gender and disability (prejudicial arguments about the sexual needs of certain disabled men only being met by women in prostitution being commonly made by pro-prostitution activists).

It is clear to us that prostitution is a significant barrier to equality and that this must be tackled if we are to achieve a Fairer, Smarter, Healthier, Safer and Stronger Scotland^{xxxiv} (to which the Scottish Government aspires) in which all people are treated equally and enabled to reach their potential and live lives free of violence and abuse. Prostitution *is* preventable – and criminalising the purchase of sex will play a key role in preventing the violation and abuse of women now and in the future. We urge support for this Bill.

Further information

For more information on this response, please contact:

Jenny Kemp, Coordinator
Zero Tolerance, 152 Morrison Street, Edinburgh, EH3 5EB

E: Jenny.Kemp@zerotolerance.org.uk

T: 0131 248 2408

NB: This submission is made on behalf of the organisation and may be published.

ⁱ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/06/02153519/0>

ⁱⁱ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/925/0063070.pdf>

-
- iii http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/research/map_of_gaps2.pdf
- iv <http://www.wecanstopit.co.uk/>
- v Challenging Demand 2008 -
http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk/userfiles/file/uploads/Challenging_Men%C2%92s_Demand.pdf
- vi 'Drug Interventions Programme: Good Practice Guide to Increasing the Engagement of Adults involved in Prostitution within the Drug Interventions Programme', Home Office, 2007
- vii <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/ukpoverty/gender.html>
- viii "Where is she tonight? Women, street prostitution and homelessness in Glasgow", Audrey Stewart, 2000.
- ix http://www.womenlobby.org/site/video_en.asp
- x Farley et al, 2003
- xi <http://www.vawpreventionscotland.org.uk/resources/audio-visual-resources/money-and-power-commercial-sexual-exploitation-scotland>
- xii <http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/documents/Corporate%20Sexism.pdf.pdf>
- xiii <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8457172.stm>
- xiv 'Challenging Men's Demand for Prostitution in Scotland', Women's Support Project, 2008
- xv 'Men who buy sex: Who they buy and what they know' – Farley, Bindle and Golding – Dec 2009.
- xvi See Ekberg, Gunilla (2005) 'The Swedish law that prohibits the purchase of a sexual service: Best practice for prevention of prostitution and trafficking in human beings'(update of article in journal of Violence Against Women 2004)
- xvii <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/7044063.stm>
- xviii <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-20626715>
- xix http://www.lbp.police.uk/press_release/articles/2009%5CDecember%5C10%5C1.htm
- xx 2009 Report "New Conditions, New Opportunities?" Pro Sentret Oslo Kommune
- xxi SOU 2010:49: "The Ban Against The Purchase of Sexual Services. An evaluation, 1999-2008 Swedish Institute & Ministry of Justice.
- xxii See Ekberg, Gunilla (2005) 'The Swedish law that prohibits the purchase of a sexual service: Best practice for prevention of prostitution and trafficking in human beings'(update of article in journal of Violence Against Women 2004)
- xxiii <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-19907076>
- xxiv http://www.zerotolerance.org.uk/sites/all/files/UnderPressure_Doc_Web_sm.pdf
- xxv <http://www.channel4.com/news/generation-sex-explicit-pics-the-norm-for-teens>
- xxvi
<http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/blog/Article%20on%20role%20of%20organized%20crime%20in%20sexual%20exploitation.pdf>
- xxvii <http://www.independent.ie/national-news/legalising-prostitution-would-line-the-pockets-of-organised-crime-gangs-warning-2887652.html>
- xxviii UK Home office (2004) Solutions and Strategies: Drug Problems and Street Sex Markets

^{xxix} Violence by clients towards female prostitutes in different work settings: questionnaire survey, Stephanie Church et al in BMJ 2001;322:524-525

^{xxx} J. Potterat et al, "Mortality in a Long-term Open Cohort of Prostitute Women," American Journal of Epidemiology 159:778–785, (2004).

^{xxxi}

http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk/userfiles/file/uploads/Challenging_Men%C2%92s_Demand.pdf

^{xxxii}

http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk/userfiles/file/uploads/Challenging_Men%C2%92s_Demand.pdf

^{xxxiii} McKeganey (1994) cited in Challenging Men's Demand, above.

^{xxxiv} <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Performance/scotPerforms/objectives>