

CEDAW Secretariat

OHCHR - Palais Wilson 52,

rue des Pâquis

CH-1201 Geneva

10 Switzerland

cedaw@ohchr.org

28 January 2019

Re: General discussion to prepare the elaboration by the Committee of a General Recommendation on trafficking in women and girls in the context of global migration. (22nd February 2019)

Dear Distinguished Committee Members,

We respectfully submit this statement in advance to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (“the Committee”) for consideration during its 72nd session (18 February - 8 March2019), as part of the general discussion to prepare the elaboration by the Committee of a General Recommendation on trafficking in women and girls in the context of global migration: (22nd February 2019) The National Alliance of Women’s Organisations (NAWO), the National Board of Catholic Women (NBCW) and women@thewell. Our joint submission focuses specifically on the exploitation of prostitution of women and girls, working from the principle that the sex trade reflects and perpetuates inequality between the sexes and we are supportive of efforts to redefine prostitution as violence against women and working collectively to end demand.

The National Alliance of Women’s Organisations (NAWO, founded 1989) is an umbrella organisation for organisations and individuals based in the UK. It has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC). All members are concerned to ensure women and girls gain access to their human rights, and to make equality between women and men a reality. Its diverse membership includes: single issue to specialist organisations, faith groups, health centres, arts-based organisations and others offering services and campaigning across a range of women’s concerns. We provide a platform for individuals and oraganisations to have a voice in, and implement national, European and international legal instruments relating to women and girls. NAWO has long been involved in work to stop violence against women and girls including those who have been prostituted.

The National Board of Catholic Women (NBCW) is a forum, founded in 1939, in which Catholic women of England and Wales come together to share their views and concerns at diocesan and national level. We are a consultative body to the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales and consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC). We are organisational members of women@thewell.

women@thewell is a front line service provider of exiting services based in London, UK. We work with women whose lives are effected by prostitution, both on street and off street and including women who have been trafficked into prostitution.

We support upward of 250 women each year with 159 new clients presenting last year in 2018 . All of the women we support are, have been or are at risk of being exploited in the sex trade. Most of the women using our services have multiple and complex needs including problematic drug and alcohol abuse, mental health difficulties, rough sleeping or insecure housing and trafficking. women@thewell is a member of both NAWO and NBCW.

As a front line service provider, it is the experience of women@thewell, supported by research, that the majority of women in prostitution wish to exit[[1]](#footnote-1). About 50% of women in the sex trade entered before they were eighteen and up to 95% of women in street prostitution are problematic drug users[[2]](#footnote-2). UK figures show: vulnerable migrants are disproportionately involved with 81% of women selling sex in flats, parlours and saunas are originally from outside the UK[[3]](#footnote-3); 80,000 women work in ‘on-street’ prostitution; the average age girls become involved is just 12 years old[[4]](#footnote-4); 85% women in prostitution in the UK report physical abuse, and 45% sexual abuse in the family.[[5]](#footnote-5)

As part of the process of the production of this letter we have consulted with women currently involved in prostitution – particularly migrant women, other front line service providers, survivors and networks/alliances that we are affiliated to[[6]](#footnote-6). We have combined this with women@thewell’s own experience of over 10 years of service delivery to inform the response below. When we use the word “our” below it is this experience that we are referring to.

An analysis of profits generated through modern slavery suggests that sex-trafficking is substantially more profitable than other forms of modern slavery. Based on data from 51 countries over a 15-year period, it was found that a victim of modern slavery will generate on average $3,978 (£3,030) a year for their exploiter. However, the average profit generated by a victim of sex-trafficking is $36,000 a year.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Sex-trafficking into and around the UK takes place because of a minority of men who pay for sex. Without ‘demand’ from sex-buyers, there would be no 'supply' of women into sexual exploitation. It is money provided by sex-buyers that motivates and funds organised crime groups engaged in sex-trafficking.

Research consistently shows that the vast majority of people who pay for sex are male.[[8]](#footnote-8) A study of 6000 men by University College London found that 3.6% of men had paid for sex in the past five years. [[9]](#footnote-9) Men who were more likely to have paid for sex were young professionals with high numbers of (unpaid) sexual partners.

An international study of men who pay for sex, led by the Immigrant Council of Ireland, concluded with respect to sex-buyers: *“irrespective of a buyers’ knowledge of human trafficking as a crime and as a phenomenon, it is unlikely that they will consider the possibility that a seller may be a victim of trafficking when purchasing sex.”* [[10]](#footnote-10) Similarly, Detective Constable Julie Currie of the Modern Slavery and Kidnap Unit at the Metropolitan Police Service told the APPG on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, *"In the vast majority of cases males paying for sex will give no thought to where the woman has come from or what circumstances have lead her into prostitution."* [[11]](#footnote-11)

Research by the UK All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade has demonstrated that *“the sexual exploitation of women by organised crime groups is widespread across the UK,”* echoing findings of Police Foundation research in Bristol in which 77% of brothels displayed links to organised crime and the majority of those providing sexual services were foreign nationals. [[12]](#footnote-12) [[13]](#footnote-13)

The APPG report also revealed there are at least 212 active, ongoing police operations in the UK into modern slavery cases involving sexual exploitation and concluded that *"figures for investigations, potential victims and prosecuted offences represent a small fraction of the true scale of organised sexual exploitation."[[14]](#footnote-14)* The inquiry found that it is overwhelmingly foreign national women who are being sexually exploited in British brothels. For instance, Leicestershire police visited 156 brothels, encountering 421 women, between 1st January 2016 and 31st December 2017. 86% of the women in the brothels were Romanian. Northumbria Police visited 81 brothels between March 2016 and April 2018, and of the 259 women they encountered in the brothels, 75% were from Romania. Over half of the brothels were recorded as being connected to other brothels, agencies or non- UK Organised Crime Groups.

A resolution from the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly notes, *“trafficking in human beings and prostitution are closely linked.”*[[15]](#footnote-15)To be successful in preventing trafficking, the Government’s must address the ‘pull-factors’ which bring traffickers to their country, including the ‘market’ for prostitution.

Demand from sex-buyers is not inevitable, fixed and unchanging. On the contrary, it is context-dependent, varying over time and place[[16]](#footnote-16). A critical factor in prevalence rates is the legality of paying for sex. Researchers at London Metropolitan University concluded from research on sex-buyers that *“legality contributes to normalisation, which in turn increases the likelihood of paying for sex”.*[[17]](#footnote-17) A survey published in 2018 asked over 1200 sex-buyers: *‘Would you change your behaviour if a law was introduced that made it a crime to pay for sex?’* Over half of the respondents said they would "definitely", "probably" or "possibly" change their behaviour.[[18]](#footnote-18)

In order to tackle demand for sex-trafficking, it is necessary to tackle demand to pay for sex. As a 2016 European Commission report on trafficking highlights, "*trafficked persons are located within existing sex industries... there is no separate or specific market for trafficked persons"* [[19]](#footnote-19). It is also a requirement under Article 9.5 of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol) to tackle demand: *"State Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures ... to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking."*

An analysis of up to 150 countries found that trafficking flows are larger in to countries where prostitution is legal.[[20]](#footnote-20) Similarly, a study of European countries found that sex-trafficking was most prevalent in nations with legalised prostitution regimes. The researchers suggested: *"slacker prostitution laws make it more profitable to traffic persons to a country."* [[21]](#footnote-21) From our own experience we would suggest that the UK Government is currently failing in its obligation to combat demand from sex-buyers. As a result, the UK is a highly lucrative destination for sex-traffickers. It is currently legal to pay for sex. While 'paying for sexual services of a prostitute subjected to force etc' is a crime under Section 53a of the Sexual Offences Act, just one person was prosecuted for this offence in 2017.[[22]](#footnote-22) This limited offence is not being enforced, and it is wholly inadequate as a measure to reduce demand to pay for sex.

It is our strong view that prostitution is always a form of sexual exploitation. This has been acknowledged by the UN as all UN binding conventions related to this issue refer to *“prostitution”* and *“exploitation of the prostitution of others”[[23]](#footnote-23).*

Prostitution and its exploitation cannot be qualified as “work” since binding international human rights law recognizes that prostitution, and its exploitation, violate human rights.

One year only after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949). This Convention is part of formallyrecognized UN *“universal human rights instruments*”[[24]](#footnote-24) and is a binding treaty. It is the only UN binding instrument focusing specifically on prostitution and its exploitation. In its preamble the UN 1949 Convention states that prostitution and traffic in persons are “*incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person”*.

The qualification of prostitution as a violation of human dignity is crucial since the protection of the dignity and worth of the human person is a cornerstone of the whole human rights system and Law.

The very first sentence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that *“recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world”*.

The protection of the dignity and worth of the human person is not only recognized as a fundamental principle by the UDHR but is also quoted as one of the *« ideals and common goals of all People whose Governments have gathered to create the United Nations”* in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations (1945).

All UN agencies and programs have a constituent obligation to promote and respect “human dignity” and thus to abstain from legitimizing or trivialising prostitution, which is recognized by international law as a violation of human dignity.

Furthermore, we would like to highlight that paying for sex is internally explicitly recognized by the UN as a “sexual abuse” and an abusive use of differential power. In his Special Bulletin on *“Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse”[[25]](#footnote-25)*, the Secretary General of the United Nations defines as a sexual abuse any *“actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature under unequal or coercive conditions”*. The UNSG Special Bulletin specifically targets and prohibits the purchase of a sexual intercourse by UN personnel: *“Exchange of money, employment, goods or services for sex is prohibited”.*

Prostitution and its exploitation are not only a violation of human dignity, but also a form of male sexual violence, a fundamental obstacle to gender equality and to women’s empowerment. We along with the other 15 CAP International (Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution) member organisations provide direct assistance to thousands of prostituted persons in 13 countries and can demonstrate that prostitution violates the most fundamental human rights to security, physical and psychological integrity, health, and equality. [[26]](#footnote-26)

It is our belief that Prostitution can never be made safe as in and of itself it is inherently unsafe. (Salfati, 2005).[[27]](#footnote-27) All over the world, and throughout history, the most systemically disadvantaged groups have been overrepresented in sexual exploitation and prostitution. Prostitution is a highly gendered and patriarchal system that disproportionately affects the poorest women and young children. Victims of incest and sexual violence, indigenous women and children, low caste communities, migrant women and children, and women and girls from ethnic minorities are still the primary victims of sexual exploitation by pimps, traffickers and sex buyers.

More generally, prostitution is part of a continuum of sexual violence and of a long patriarchal tradition of making women and their bodies available for men’s profit. A sex act imposed by the physical or financial constraint is a rape. Sex acts imposed by the abuse of authority (an employer on an employee, an adult on a child) constitute sexual harassment or incest. As stated by a former UNSG Kofi Annan, a sex act imposed *“under unequal or coercive conditions”* is a “*sexual abuse*”. Thus, a sex act imposed by the financial constraint is also, in itself, a sexual abuse. Sex buyers are men who exploit the precariousness and vulnerability of prostituted persons to impose a sex act by the financial constraint.

Every time a (usually male) person pays for sex with a trafficked woman or girl, two crimes are being committed: first, on the part of the trafficker who has put the victim into this situation, but also second by the sex buyer who is committing an act of sexual violence. There are exponentially more sex buyers assaulting victims of sex trafficking than there are traffickers profiting from and controlling them, yet almost nothing is being done in the UK, or in most countries to address the buyers. Women and girls who are trafficked for sex are being subjected to multiple, on-going counts of rape

Evidence gathered by the Poppy Project[[28]](#footnote-28) (former national support provider to trafficked women, which closed due to loss of funding in 2015) revealed that victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation[[29]](#footnote-29) are exploited for an average of 8.28 to 20.2 months. With most women trafficked in the UK reporting being subjected to sexual exploitation 6-7 days a week, seeing an estimated average of 13 sex buyers per day, we can expect that the average individual victim of trafficking for sexual exploitation is raped anywhere from 2,798 to 6,828 times. In 2017, 1,115 adult women were referred to the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) as trafficked for sexual exploitation. Based on the previous calculation, this suggests a minimum of 3.1million rapes of trafficked women are committed in one year alone. Those rapes were committed overwhelmingly by men who pay for sex. The scale of sexual abuse and exploitation of women by sex buyers in the UK is a human rights scandal.

Prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation are thus inherently violent and harmful. The only way to protect women *“from harm, violence, stigma and discrimination”* is to end the sex trade. While doing so, States should immediately:

* Stop any form of criminalisation of prostituted persons themselves
* Offer them protection, access to fundamental rights and exit options.
* Put an end to the impunity of those who economically and sexually exploit women, men and children (traffickers, pimps, sex buyers)

The specificity of the exploitation of prostitution of others and of trafficking for sexual exploitation, compared to other forms of crimes, is that these human rights violations are driven by profit. Traffickers, pimps and procurers exploit women, men and children only to meet sex buyers’ demand. No women would be harmed, abused, violence, stigmatized and discriminated in the sex trade if men did not pay for sex acts.

Harm, violence, stigma and discrimination are inherent to the system of prostitution, and cannot be reduced without ending the system itself. While harm reduction strategies are needed, they have to be part of a broader policy approach which targets prostitution as a demand-oriented market. Some countries have already implemented policies aiming to protect women and girls in and from prostitution: in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Canada, Northern Ireland, and France, women in prostitution are provided with social support and access to exit programmes. Such policies address all actors of the system: they also provide with equality education in formal and non-formal education, they strongly condemn pimping and procuring (as requested by the 1949 Convention) as well as all forms of trafficking; and they criminalise the purchase of sex as a matter of social justice and a strategic way to disrupt the market.

NAWO, NBCW and women@thewell all take an abolitionist stance and propose that implementation of what is referred to as the Nordic Model - Abolitionist Approachfocusing on demand, criminalising pimping, brothel keeping, procuring and trafficking but decriminalising prostituted persons is the strategy that comes closest to protecting prostituted girls and women from harm, violence, stigma and discrimination. In this we echo the words of Rachel Moran, a survivor and founder of SPACE International[[30]](#footnote-30): *“what is bought and sold in prostitution is not sex. It is sexual abuse. Prostitution is the commercialisation of sexual abuse”.[[31]](#footnote-31)*

Tackling demand for prostitution is critical to ending the trafficking of women and girls in to the sex trade. It is our experience from within the legal framework within the UK that the Modern Slavery Act fails to address the demand from sex buyers which drives the trafficking of women and girls in to prostitution. The failure of the Modern Slavery Act to address demand for sex trafficking was *"a very serious oversight given that, according to the NRM figures, sexual exploitation is consistently the most prevalent form of human trafficking in England and Wales."[[32]](#footnote-32)* If a legal framework based on the Nordic model were to be adopted we believe that it would to discourage demand and so work towards to ending trafficking for purposes of prostitution.

Those that are exploited through prostitution by being paid for sex should be decriminalised. Having a criminal record for soliciting can be a significant barrier to exiting.

Adopting abolitionist legislation based on the Nordic Model would send a clear message to local authorities and agencies that prostitution is a form of violence against women and they have a duty to support women to exit commercial sexual exploitation. This also requires an adequately funded national strategy for the delivery of comprehensive exiting services for people exploited through prostitution. We are of the opinion that the best legal settlement is currently framed within the French law.[[33]](#footnote-33) [[34]](#footnote-34)

In a recent research study criminalisation was found to be a serious barrier to exiting prostitution, with nearly half (49%) of all women in the study reporting a criminal record for prostitution-related offence. The inability to escape the past as a woman involved in prostitution has detrimental effects on all aspects of their lives. Criminal records are a bar to education, training, internships, volunteering and employment.

The Nordic Model sends a clear message to police and enforcement agencies that prostitution is commercial sexual exploitation. As the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution has noted, at present "the law (in the UK) is incoherent at best and detrimental at worst. The legal settlement around prostitution sends no clear signals to women who sell sex, men who purchase it, courts and the criminal justice system, the police or local authorities." Adopting legislation based on an abolitionist framework would give police the powers to hold sex buyers to account for exploiting women in prostitution. At present, police are unable to do this because paying for sex is legal.

Legislation based on the abolitionist approach should be adopted across the world because it is a legal framework designed to discourage the demand that drives commercial sexual exploitation. There is significant evidence showing that criminal sanctions are a key method of deterring demand.

In terms of how this would affect the daily reality of those in prostitution, it would certainly make the journey towards seeking and sustaining support more possible. The difficulties involved in leaving prostitution should not be underestimated. Women involved in prostitution often have a history of experiencing violence or abuse. Working through these traumas involves confronting memories of childhood sexual abuse, sexual violence experienced through prostitution, substance misuse, the loss of children, premature deaths of partners, family members and friends through drug abuse or violence.

Many of the women we see, as with many victims of sexual violence, women and girls being exploited in prostitution are also likely to experience PTSD, stigma and associated self-blame[[35]](#footnote-35) - i.e. they are not always going to recognise themselves as a victim or know that they are entitled to support. Women who have left or are trying to exit prostitution also experience on-going mental trauma. Other issues women face can include poor family relationships, social isolation and severe mental health problems including depression, anxiety and self-harm.

Women with a prolonged history of involvement in street prostitution will have a range of needs requiring responses from a number of specialised services. These needs vary and the complexity is such that there can be no 'one size fits all' approach. Effective counselling within a “trauma informed” framework is required to deal with past experiences whether from recent involvement in street prostitution or earlier and to help women recognise and develop personal skills, confidence and self-esteem which builds the resilience required to move forward.

Exit can only be facilitated, not forced. The first step is to open up discussion about exit as a realistic and achievable option. Women can only begin to conceive of a different lifestyle if they can see that it is a realistic choice and begin to hope and believe that that it is a choice that is possible for them.

A 2014 study by University College London found that 11% of British men report having paid for sex - that is at least 3 million men[[36]](#footnote-36). Among these will be the men who have raped 3 trafficked women, likely including repeat offenders. Sex buyers are directly funding organised crime and committing acts of sexual violence against victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. As has already been noted, In the UK, paying trafficking victims for sex is a crime under Section 53a of the Sexual Offences Act, yet only one person was prosecuted for this crime in 2017.[[37]](#footnote-37) This provision has not been fully integrated into the Government’s Modern Slavery Strategy or approach. Within the UK as within most countries across the globe, existing legislation is neither being enforced, nor is it adequate to respond to the severity and breadth of the issue. Laws should be put in place to prohibit men from buying sex in all instances within all jurisdictions in order to successfully tackle sexual exploitation. Countries need to fully criminalise the exploitation of prostitution to be in compliance with Article 6 of CEDAW. As with any goods market, reducing the size of the market - i.e. market demand - will reduce the supply of‘ goods’,i.e. women and girls, especially those who are most vulnerable. The opportunity to profit from sex buyers is the reason human traffickers and pimps sell women and girls in prostitution – the role of the sex-buyer in the profit chain should not be underestimated and these men must be held accountable for the sexual assaults they are paying money to commit.

**Recommendations**

**1. To tackle the demand that drives sex-trafficking, Governments should make it a criminal offence to pay for sex in all locations. Governments should also remove the offence of soliciting in a public place in order to support women who are sexually exploited through street prostitution to seek help and exit. [[38]](#footnote-38) Countries that have adopted this abolitionist legislative framework, often referred to as the Nordic Model are Ireland, Northern Ireland, France, Sweden, Iceland and Norway.**

**There is extensive evidence that abolitionist legal frameworks, which make paying for sex a criminal offence but decriminalise the person who is exploited, reduce the demand that drives sex-trafficking. Sweden was the first country to adopt this approach in 1999, and surveys conducted in 1996 and 2008 found that the proportion of men who reported paying for sex reduced from 13% to 8%[[39]](#footnote-39). The most recent research on prevalence rates found that 0.8% of men in Sweden had paid for sex in the previous 12 months - the smallest proportion recorded in two decades and the lowest level in Europe[[40]](#footnote-40). An official review of Sweden's prostitution legislation noted, *"According to the National Criminal Police, it is clear that the ban on the purchase of sexual services acts as a barrier to human traffickers and procurers considering establishing themselves in Sweden."* [[41]](#footnote-41)**

**A review of Norway’s legislation (adopted in 2009) concluded, *“A reduced market and increased law enforcement posit larger risks for human traffickers…The law has thus affected important pull-factors and reduced the extent of human trafficking in Norway in comparison to a situation without a law.”* [[42]](#footnote-42) In recognition of its effectiveness, the Council of Europe has recommended that states adopt legislation *“based on the Swedish model, as the most effective tool for preventing and combating trafficking in human beings”.[[43]](#footnote-43)***

**2. In order to help and protect victims, support services for individuals involved in commercial sexual exploitation must not be contingent upon identification as a victim of trafficking. Dedicated funding for these support services should be provided by Governments in recognition of the prevalence and severity of commercial sexual exploitation.[[44]](#footnote-44)**

Thank you for your kind attention, and please do not hesitate to contact us if we can provide further information. Additionally we will all be present in Geneva for the half day general discussion on 22nd February.

Sincerely



Lynda Dearlove, CEO, women@thewell



Zarin Hainsworth Fadaei, Chair, NAWO



Maureen Meatcher, President, NBCW

1. <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/pdf/Prostitutionin9Countries.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. 'Paying the Price,' A Consultation Paper on Prostitution, Home Office 2004 [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The Poppy Project, Sex in the City: Mapping Commercial Sex Across London, 2004 [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Paying the Price’. HO 2004 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. SPACE International, CAP International, European Women’s Lobby, National Alliance Women’s Organisations, National Board of Catholic Women, Institute of Our Lady of Mercy, CAST UK [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Analysis published in Modern Slavery by Siddharth Kara - a slavery economist and fellow of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/jul/31/human-life-is-more-expendable-why-slavery-has-never-made-more-money [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. 'Behind closed doors: organised sexual exploitation in England and Wales', All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. 'One in 10 British men have paid for sex', Telegraph, 17/11/14 [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. 'Stop Traffick! Tackling Demand for Sexual Services of Trafficked Women and Girls', Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2014, p.68. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. 'Behind closed doors: organised sexual exploitation in England and Wales', All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2018: p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. All Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, Behind Closed Doors, 2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Skidmore, M. Garner, S. Crocker, R. Webb, S. Graham, J. &Gill, M. The role and impact of organised crime in the local

off street sex market, Police Foundation, 2016 [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. 'Behind closed doors: organised sexual exploitation in England and Wales', All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2018: p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe, Resolution

1983 (2014), 8 April 2014 para 3 [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. 'Behind closed doors: organised sexual exploitation in England and Wales', All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. M. Coy, M. Horvath, L. Kelly, ‘“It’s just like going to the supermarket”: men buying sex in East London’, Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University, 2007, p.25. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Sanders, T. et al (2018) 'Beyond the Gaze: Briefing on Customers who Buy Sex Online', University of Leicester. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. 'Study on the gender dimension of trafficking in human beings, European Commission', European Union, 2016. p.126. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. S-Y. Cho, A. Dreher & E. Neumayer, 'Does Legalized Prostitution Increase Human Trafficking?', World Development, 41 (1) (2013): 67-82 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. N. Jakobsson & A. Kotsadam, 'The law and economics of international sex slavery: prostitution laws and trafﬁcking for sexual exploitation', European Journal of Law and Economics, 35 (1) (2013): 87-107, p.102. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. 'Violence Against Women and Girls Report: Tenth Edition', Crown Prosecution Service, 2016-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949) - Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) - Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. See OHCHR compilation of international instruments – Volume 1, Second part “Universal instruments” : <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Compilation2en.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. UNSG Special Bulletin on *“Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*

*:* [*http://www.pseataskforce.org/uploads/tools/1365153401.pdf*](http://www.pseataskforce.org/uploads/tools/1365153401.pdf) [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. <http://www.cap-international.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ProstitutionUnderIntlHumanRightsLawEN.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Salfati, C.G., James, A.R., Ferguson, L. (2008) Prostitute Homicides: A Descriptive Study Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2008, Vol 23, pp505-543 [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. 'Routes In, Routes Out: Quantifying the Gendered Experience of Trafficking to the UK' (2008) The Poppy Project, pp 17-18. More recent data is not available as the relevant statistics are not collected by the current national contract holder nor NRM. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. The range presented here was calculated by averaging the minimum time spent in sexual exploitation (1 day to 3 years) as well as the maximum (6 months to 7 years), as allowed by the data set. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. <http://spaceinternational.ie/> [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Rachel Moran in her book “PAID FOR MY JOURNEY THROUGH PROSTITUION” <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Paid-My-Journey-Through-Prostitution/dp/0393351971> [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Second Reading: Advertising of Prostitution (Prohibition) Bill [HL] – in the House of Lords, Lord McColl of Dulwich, 2:55pm, 23rd October 2015. Accessed at: <http://www.theyworkforyou.com/lords/?id=2015-10-23a.946.2&s=speaker%3A13564#g946.4> [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. <http://www.cap-international.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/CAP-brochure-MARS2017-EN-WEB3-1.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. <http://www.cap-international.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CAP-French-law-infographi-longEN.png> [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. See: ‘Assault-related self-blame and its association with PTSD in sexually assaulted women’ in Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience, 2018, 1-10; ‘Risks of Prostitution: When the Person Is the Product’ in Journal for the Association of Consumer Research, Vol 3 No 11, January 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. ​https://www.ucl.ac.uk/news/2014/nov/one-ten-british-men-say-they-have-paid-sex [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Violence Against Women and Girls Crime Report 2016-2017, The Crown Prosecution Service. Prostitution key findings data accessed at:​ ​https://www.cps.gov.uk/violence-against-women-and-girls-data [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. 'Behind closed doors: organised sexual exploitation in England and Wales', All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. M. Waltman, 'Sweden’s prohibition of purchase of sex: The law’s reasons, impact, and potential', Women’s Studies International Forum 34 (2011): 449-474. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. 'Study on the gender dimension of trafficking in human beings', European Commission, European Union, 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. 'Summary: Evaluation of the ban on purchase of sexual services', SOU 2010:49, 2010, p.37. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. ‘Evaluering av forbudet mot kjøp av seksuelle tjenester’, Rapport 2014/30, Vista Analyse, 2014, p.14. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. ‘Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe', Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 1983 (2014): 12.1.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. ‘How to implement the Sex Buyer Law in the UK’, Commission on the Sex Buyer Law, 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)