

**PURCHASING SEX ON THE STREETS:
A STUDY OF MALE BUYERS IN THE HETEROSEXUAL
STREET SEX MARKET**

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Abstract

There is a small but growing body of research into the male buyers in heterosexual on-street sex markets. This thesis contributes new knowledge relating to learned sex buying behaviours and adds to previous research by providing a model of these complex, multi-layered, learned behaviours regarding men's motivations to pay women for sex. The thesis goes on to explore how the model could contribute to debates on prostitution policy as well as to wider discussions around men, sex, power, and misogyny.

A social constructionist, multi-case study approach is developed for this research. Nine case studies are presented, each with a single sex buyer as the primary focus. Utilising semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection method, these are processed through reflexive thematic analysis to identify common themes. The results are discussed in the context of the sex buyers' emergent life circumstances, cultural discourses of prostitution, and narratives of interpersonal relationships and sex buying activities.

The findings of this research are presented as six pillars that underpin the social construction of prostitution and sex buying: mating systems, masculinity, culture, constructed narratives, female marginalisation, and policy agendas. Five of these pillars are derived from previous literature with constructed narratives presented as a new finding illuminating men's sex buying behaviours in terms of a three-step process of identifying a 'need', creating an opportunity, and justifying the behaviour. Male sex buying narratives and learned behaviours are shown to experience different spheres of influence within these pillars, demonstrating a lack of heterogeneity that can be explained through the model.

The first four pillars are identified as being sex buyer driven and representing male learned sex buying behaviours. A model based on three levels is presented from the lowest level of learning sexual behaviours through processes such as objectification, power imbalances, and cultural influences. A behavioural path leads to the second level where these behaviours are acted upon resulting in responses such as situational sexual behaviour, bounded intimacy, or power and control. Finally, behaviour normalisation

leads to the surface level where the constructed narratives provide a rationale for sex buying.

Male learned sex buying behaviours and female marginalisation are identified as key drivers for men buying sex and women providing it. Recommendations are presented that address these in conjunction, within society, to bring about a social change rather than relying solely on legislation, together with societal, policy makers, police, and other relevant stakeholders' contributions to this.

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Glossary of Abbreviated Terms

ABC	Acceptable Behaviour Contracts
ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers (UK)
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMSH	Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (UK)
APPG	All Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade (UK)
APS	Annual Population Survey (UK)
ASBO	Anti-Social Behaviour Orders
BCE	Before the Common Era
BLSS	(NTU College of) Business, Law and Social Sciences
CDAs	Contagious Diseases Acts
CDP	Crime and Drugs Partnership
CE	Common Era
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CPHRC	Conservative Party Human Rights Commission (UK)
CPO	Community Protection Officer (Local Authority Uniformed Patrol Officer)
DBS	Data and Barring Service
ESO	Engagement and Support Order (UK)
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
GSS	General Social Survey (USA)
HASC	Home Affairs Select Committee (UK)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IPR	Interview Protocol Refinement Framework

ISOS	Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale
ISOS-P	Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale - Perpetrators
NATSAL	National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (UK)
NPCC	National Police Chief's Council (UK)
NSWP	Network for Sex Work Projects (UK)
NTU	Nottingham Trent University
OGRS	Offender Group Reconviction Scale (UK)
ONS	Office for National Statistics (UK)
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
POW	(formerly known as Prostitute Outreach Workers) (Nottingham)
PRA	Prostitution Reform Act (New Zealand)
PSN	Prostitution Support Network (Nottingham)
PTF	Prostitution Task Force (Nottingham)
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SRA	Social Research Association
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
WHO	World Health Organisation

Introduction

In my previous role as a police officer, I recall standing in a brothel together with colleagues. We found four people in the premises. A female who effectively lived in a bedroom where she slept, ate, and provided sexual acts to paying men visiting the premises. A male downstairs answered the door and took the money. A second female acted as cook, cleaner and housekeeper. Another male was found in the bedroom with the female, having paid her for sex. There was no evidence of exploitation or trafficking and all persons were in the UK legally. The male downstairs was arrested for keeping a brothel. The female cleaner was spoken to and put in touch with support agencies. The female upstairs providing the sexual act accompanied us from the premises and was taken to a place of safety. All three of these people spent time with us and/or support agencies. All three disclosed some of their life stories and circumstances so that appropriate interventions could be put in place. The male sex buyer refused to speak to us and walked out of the premises without providing so much as his name. We had no authority or power to stop him.

Incidents such as the one described above were typical of my encounters in my role as a police officer with all aspects of prostitution. I gained a good understanding of prostitution and the impact that this had on the lives of many of those providing the sexual acts, both on-street and off-street, as well as the people managing or facilitating this. The gap in my knowledge concerned the men paying for sex. These men largely remained anonymous and operated in the shadows.

Over the following years, I spoke to hundreds of men paying for sex on the streets and gained considerable knowledge of their activities, but always felt that I did not understand their motivations. Other than the police, no agency or person have any contact with the sex buyers, nor have any understanding of them in relation to their sex buying behaviours. I recognised that we were unique in this position. There are multiple agencies, both statutory and third sector, who focus tremendous and necessary efforts supporting those providing sex. No other agencies ever looked at the sex buyers.

The situation with academic research mirrored this gap in knowledge of sex buyer motivations throughout the twentieth century. The focus remained generally on women providing sex (Brooks-Gordon 2006). Despite the historical interest in prostitution and many records of the presence of the phenomena, sources almost exclusively focussed on the supply side of the interaction (Bullough and Bullough 1987). Early attempts to study the sex buyers (for example: Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin 1948) lacked any in-depth analysis or understanding of these men, particularly of a sociological or cultural nature. By the 1990s, more research into sex buyers began to appear, largely driven by feminist research and ideologies (ibid.) but it is only in recent years that this has become prevalent. Even now, the majority of this research focusses on analyses of large data sets examining lifestyle and sex-based questionnaires, and statistical models of the results. Very few studies have provided an in-depth, qualitative study of sex buyers in an attempt to understand the causes and motivations for their sex buying behaviours.

It is in this context that I undertook this research to answer some of my own questions and to add to the knowledge base of both agencies and academia to inform understanding, policy, and processes.

The Road to Research: A Biographical Note

The experiences, knowledge and personal views of a researcher can have a significant impact on the research and the people being researched (Becker 2000; Al Natour 2011). With this in mind, it is important that I reflect upon my personal interactions with prostitution over many years, how these experiences have shaped my views, and why this motivated me to carry out this research.

I joined Nottinghamshire Police in 1988. In the following years I performed roles including neighbourhood, response, and custody suite policing. I was promoted to sergeant in 1996 and in 2000 I undertook the role of neighbourhood sergeant for an area that included part of the location affected by on-street prostitution in Nottingham. This was my first introduction to prostitution together with the emotional, psychological, and physical demands it can place on the people involved and the local

community. In 2004 I established the Prostitution Task Force (PTF), a partnership between Nottinghamshire Police and Nottingham City Council. This team had responsibility for all issues associated with prostitution in the City, including on-street, off-street, escorting and a first responder role to cases of trafficking or exploitation.

I remained in this role for thirteen years, during which time I wrote the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for both the Police and the Council which outlined the standards required when dealing with all aspects of prostitution (Radford 2015). Over this period, the PTF dealt with almost 2000 men caught paying women for sex on the streets and encountered around 700 sex providers in a variety of situations. As the PTF was a small team with only three police officers, I had the opportunity and privilege to speak with the vast majority of these people. Policing is often an intrusive process into people's lives and one that I tried to never take for granted in getting to know some of their life story and situation. In 2008 I established a multi-agency case conferencing forum known as the Prostitution Support Network (PSN) in Nottingham. This brought together partners from statutory and voluntary agencies with expertise in health, social care, housing, and direct provision to persons providing sex.

As part of my role, I was the prostitution tactical adviser for Nottinghamshire Police and was involved in numerous cross-county operations, particularly involving exploitation cases. I have given presentations to conferences organised by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) in 2008 and the National Police Chief's Council (NPCC) in 2015 regarding policing prostitution through a multi-agency approach in Nottingham.

I have had the fortune to be invited to parliament on three occasions to give evidence in person to the All Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade (APPG 2014, 2016, 2018) (now known as the All Party Parliamentary Group on Commercial Sexual Exploitation) as well as providing written evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee on Prostitution (HASC 2016). I was part of a multi-agency group that visited Stockholm to examine the Swedish approach to prostitution. My role was to specifically assess if the policing of this policy approach was suitable for the UK or if elements of it could be adopted or replicated.

I retired from Nottinghamshire Police in 2017 whereupon I joined the board of trustees for a charitable organisation known as POW Nottingham, who offer direct support for sex providers (POW Nottingham 2019). Since April 2019, I have chaired this Board and been involved in many of their projects over this time.

On leaving the police I enrolled at Nottingham Trent University. I have a ten-year history with the University in providing guest lectures on the subject of prostitution. My motivation in joining the University was to take my policing perspectives of working with men who pay for sex to develop a more comprehensive theoretical understanding of their motivations. An important part of this was to question my professional views and practice that I had put in place over many years regarding all elements of prostitution. I was keen to understand how effective Nottinghamshire Police's procedures had been and whether they were appropriate to the needs of the situation. How to determine this and what criteria to use formed a key part of my methodology for this thesis and research as discussed in Chapter Five. In my first year at the university, I carried out a quantitative analysis of the socio-demographic data of more than 1800 men that we had encountered throughout my time on the PTF with the simple question of asking: who are the men who pay for sex on the streets? (Radford 2018). This desk-based research was conducted as part of a MA degree with the intention of using this as background information for the current qualitative study.

My experience over two decades and my close contact with many of the people involved with prostitution in the City, from police officers, council officials, and charitable organisations, to the men and women involved in both the provision and purchase of sex in Nottingham offered me a unique opportunity and access to conduct this research. However, I must also acknowledge, that I was not entering this research from an entirely neutral position. In 2004, as police sergeant in charge of a team focussed on prostitution, I inherited a practice that was largely based on enforcement and involved an imbalance in the level of action taken against sex providers and sex buyers, with women providing sex on the street particularly vulnerable to police activity. Over the following years this was addressed with enforcement actions against women providing sex falling to very low levels of one or two prosecutions a year, and these usually associated with other activities such as anti-social behaviour or acquisitive crimes. Over the same period, the

actions taken against men paying for sex increased to a peak in the late 2000s to be followed by a period where the numbers of men paying for sex on the streets dopped significantly. The drivers for this change included government and national policing strategies, but also my own changing views based on seeing the damage done to women's lives through their involvement in prostitution with the additional burden of criminal sanctions against them.

My position on retiring from the police was that there should be no enforcement activity against persons providing sex, unless associated with criminality such as robberies or violence. However, my professional views on sex buying were that there should be action taken against these men. This was not necessarily enforcement action, and I facilitated a one-day course to address the behaviour of sex buyers, known as the Change Course, throughout my thirteen years in charge of the PTF. Well over half the men we caught attended this course. I always considered that this one-day approach was probably not enough to have any meaningful or long-lasting attitudinal or behavioural change in some of the men, particularly those who had become entrenched in prostitution over many years.

A large part of my motivation to conduct this research was to challenge my professional and personal views on Nottinghamshire Police's policy, to develop a much clearer understanding of the motivations of these men, and to assess if there was a better way to approach dealing with the issues arising from prostitution and sex buying.

My positionality as a former police officer is an important consideration in going into this research, but it is not alone. I also have to acknowledge that I am a white male entering into this research. A cursory glance at literature looking at contemporary research into prostitution and sex work reveals the dominance of feminist ontological approaches. Despite the consideration that paying for sex in heterosexual sex markets would require a woman and a man to be involved, prostitution is very much regarded as a female space (Hubbard 1999). This research is focussed on the male sex buyers, but this does not change this position and feminist discourse will be a primary focus. In many ways, feminist research arose as a counterpoint to 'research *by* men, but *about* women' (Levinson 1988, p338, italics in original). However, Levinson (1988, p359), a male

researcher, goes on to argue that feminist research without the male voice is incomplete and that critical feminism benefits by 'studying up the gender hierarchy and identifying the sources of sexism among young, disaffected men'. A male researcher's perspective and analysis of the impact of masculinity on feminist research is both desirable and necessary. The key to including male researchers in feminist research is to acknowledge their positionality and the influence that their gender can impose on the research.

Hubbard (1999, p232), a male researcher, notes that, 'my presence was viewed as an unwelcome intrusion into a predominantly female (and feminized) space.' However, he concludes by stating that it is possible for male researchers to study the female space of prostitution, but care must be taken for 'every researcher needs to interrogate their positionality' (ibid, pp235-236) again underlining the important element of acknowledging and responding to the potential impact of the researcher's gender. Hanks (2019) carried out research in heterosexual massage parlours with female sex providers. He identified that his gender was an important influence on the research, but so too were 'complex dynamics of gender and relations in the field' (ibid, p771), suggesting that the gender of both the researcher and the participant are equally important, particularly when considering the nature of the interaction between them.

A significant part of the findings of this research will be to consider the effect that male sex buyers have on the women they buy sex from, firmly situating this within the feminist discourse. My primary source of data will be from interviewing men about their sexual interactions with women. The fact that we are both male is important and, as Hanks (2019) suggests, the interaction between myself and the participant must be acknowledged as potentially representing a masculine discourse of a female space. In understanding this relationship, I will be better able to contextualise the findings within a feminist debate.

Hanks (2019) also examined his own ethnicity in approaching his research, being a white male. He found that his ethnicity was of little concern or impact on the research and the participants when compared to his gender. Race has been shown to be a critical factor in women entering prostitution and the policing of prostitution, particularly in America, (Butler 2015), but there is no comparable literature to suggest that the race of a

researcher has the same level of impact on prostitution, however this does not mean that it should not be considered. As Milner (2007, p397) notes, 'Dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen can surface in policies, practices, and in varying contexts - in mostly white contexts, largely homogeneous contexts, and in highly diverse settings.' He argues that the potential impact of ethnic differences between the researcher and the participants may not be obvious at the outset, but by considering this and being aware of its potential throughout the research process, its impact can be understood and managed by researchers through 'a process of racial and cultural awareness, consciousness, and positionality as they conduct education research,' (ibid, p388). In approaching this research, particularly when interviewing participants, I will be conscious of any potential impact that my ethnicity might have on the interviewee and on the research as a whole.

Research Aim and Objectives

My primary aim in this research was to develop an in-depth understanding of the reasons and motivations that lead men to paying women for sex on the streets by using a qualitative approach consisting of a multi-case study design. The rationale for this approach is described in detail in Chapters One and Five.

I developed the following objectives to achieve this aim:

1. To formulate a series of themes based on a review of available literature regarding the historical context of prostitution and sex buying, theoretical understanding of sex buying, and current policy models around prostitution.
2. To use these themes developed from the literature to frame analyses of the case studies to identify each participant's reasons and motivations for engaging with street prostitution.
3. To compare case studies and themes emerging from them to identify generalities and patterns in their reasons and motivations.

4. To critically compare previous prostitution studies and paradigms to the findings of this study.
5. To examine the practical implications of these findings in relation to prostitution policy models and future research.

Having established the aim and objectives for this study, my research question was:

Why do men pay for sex in the adult female heterosexual street sex market?

In answering my research question, I undertook to explore the following:

1. What impact does the social, familial, and cultural context of the sex buyer and their prior engagement or knowledge of sex buying have on their current involvement with street prostitution?
2. What reasons do sex buyers give or identify for purchasing sex and for accessing the street sex market rather than other forms of prostitution?
3. How has the sex buyers' engagement with prostitution changed over time, personal life circumstances, and interventions by the police or other groups, agencies, or authorities?
4. What form do sex buyers' sexual relationships outside of prostitution take and what are their attitudes towards women in general?
5. What are the sex buyers' views on the risks involved for themselves and the women providing sex, the consequences of their actions in purchasing sex, and the policing of prostitution?
6. What understanding do the sex buyers have of the situation of women providing sex on the streets and does this influence their decisions and actions?
7. Are the sex buyers aware of the legal position of prostitution in this country and how does this knowledge impact their decisions and actions?

8. What can be learnt from these case studies and what recommendations can be made regarding prostitution policy and further research?

Conducting Research During a Global Pandemic

Chapter Five discusses the method designed for this research project. This involved a series of face-to-face semi-structured interviews with several groups of people involved in street level prostitution together with a series of observations conducted as part of police patrols, on the Change Course, and at Magistrates Court. Unfortunately, the data gathering phase of this research was not completed by the time of the first national lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020. This necessitated a redesign of the data gathering method to include telephone interviews where possible. The added complication that this presented was mainly around obtaining informed consent. The methodological challenges are discussed further in Chapter Five. This was overcome by emailing copies of relevant forms and obtaining verbal consent that was recorded as part of the interview. This process was not suitable for a number of interviewees, but I was able to complete these in person during the brief window between the first and second national lockdowns in the summer of 2020.

An assessment of the full impact of the pandemic and lockdowns on street prostitution was beyond the scope of this research. This will be a rich source of material and insights that will take many years to fully understand.

Interpretation of Culture

Culture is a significant factor in the discussions throughout this thesis and the conclusions presented at the end. This is a complicated concept and may be interpreted in differing ways by various authors. It is, therefore, important that I set out at this early stage of the thesis how I interpret the concept of culture and how it will be used in my discussions.

As Spencer-Oatey (2012) notes, culture is a very difficult term to define. This was illustrated by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) who reviewed attempts to define culture

to that point in time and compiled a list of 164 different definitions. One can only assume that this list has grown in the last seventy years.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have adopted a definition provided by Spencer-Oatey (2008, p3):

‘Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member’s behaviour and his/her interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour.’

This is a broad definition that illustrates the complex interaction of many factors. A key part of this definition for the purpose of this thesis is the critical link between culture and behaviour.

Most countries or regions are comprised of multiple cultures alongside or within each other. Generally, this can present in one of two forms, either one culture dominates, and all others are assimilated into it (Alba and Nee 2003), or subcultures can exist within a larger culture, known as cultural pluralism (Newman 1973). Assimilation can be either organic, often over several generations (Hirschman 1983), or may be forced, such as with colonialism (Horvath 1972), but either way, most of the smaller cultural identities become lost within the dominant culture. Cultural pluralism preserves the subcultural identities within the dominant culture, although this can lead to internal conflict and resistance (Schmid 2001). Having considered this discussion, any reference to culture within this thesis is taken in the plural, recognising the contribution of multiple cultures or subcultures within an identity.

Thesis Structure and Overview

This thesis is divided into three sections. Part One consists of Chapters One to Five and outlines the epistemological approach taken. I then provide a context to the research through an account of the historical development of the phenomenon of prostitution

and sex buying followed by a discussion of prior studies and theoretical understanding of sex buying. An outline of prostitution policy approaches around the world with a discussion of their application and effectiveness are presented in Chapter Four. Chapter Five concludes Part One with the methodological approach adopted to achieve the research aim and objectives.

In Chapter One, I discuss a social constructionist interpretation of prostitution and sex buying to present the research paradigm adopted throughout this study. In developing this discussion, I present definitions of key concepts including sex, sexual services, and prostitution to set the research within clearly defined boundaries. The language used around prostitution and providing sex is hotly debated and often used as a tool to support a particular policy position. Munro and Della Giusta (2016, p6) describe this as: 'it is clear that one's choice of terminology has assumed a perceived relevance, often acting as a shorthand identifier of a substantive position'. Accepting that it is not possible to ascribe value-neutral language and terminology to prostitution, I lay out the vocabulary to be used in this thesis and the reasoning behind these decisions.

A key part of Chapter One is a derivation of a model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, describing five pillars that underpin this. This is an original contribution to the debate around prostitution and sex buying, providing a lens through which to understand and study these phenomena. These are derived from the evidence, debate and analysis presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. I provide the model in advance of these discussions to illustrate the lens through which the context of prostitution is assessed in this thesis. These five pillars are: Mating Systems, Masculinity, Culture, Female Marginalisation, and Policy Agendas. The derivation of these pillars is briefly summarised in Chapter One prior to a more in-depth analysis in the subsequent chapters.

To fully understand prostitution and to set it in context of my social constructionist model, it is important to study the historical evolution of the sale and purchase of sex. In Chapter Two, I begin with a discussion of the likely origins of prostitution linked to a transition from nomadic hunting tribes to agricultural settled communities with an associated shift from promiscuous societies to monogamous relationships. Where tribes

become more monogamous, there is generally a matching rise in the sale of sex. Some of this discussion is speculative as few historical records exist from this period, but also draws on evidence from so-called 'primitive' modern cultures. This discussion illustrates the role of the mating systems pillar in constructing early sex providing and sex buying. I develop this discussion through an examination of a disputed phenomenon known as temple prostitution, which links the sale of sex to religious practices. This is one example of female marginalisation providing an environment where prostitution can exist. This discussion leads into forms of prostitution within Greek and Roman cultures, before developing the debate around Christian morality and through the Middle Ages and Reformation. These examples describe the impact of masculinity, culture, and female marginalisation on the social construction of prostitution and sex buying. In bringing the discussion of the historical context of prostitution into the modern era, I use evidence from public health agendas and social reform from the seventeenth through to the twenty-first centuries to describe how patriarchy and masculinity, combined with female marginalisation, shaped contemporary prostitution and sex buying.

Having considered some of the implications of past approaches and understanding of prostitution, the next stage is to look at how a theoretical explanation of why men pay for sex evolved through research and debate. In Chapter Three, I discuss the existing knowledge around sex buying behaviours. This discussion begins by considering psychopathological explanations with examples of perversion, voyeurism, and sexual addiction. I describe how these theories are now largely discredited as explanations for sex buying. This is followed by feminist discussions of prostitution and men's motivations for accessing this. The debate is largely polarised by opposing radical and liberal feminist arguments, with the former regarding prostitution as male oppression of women, and the latter as exotic labour with women largely having agency in their own choices.

Several aspects of masculinity through familial relationships in developmental years and biological imperatives are discussed. I develop this debate in examining men's search for risk and excitement, with a lack of intimacy and emotion in their sexual activities. I introduce an important concept termed the 'continuum of dehumanisation' derived from the work of Stoltenberg (2000). This describes male attitudes and treatment of

women beginning with sexual objectification and progressing through exerting power and control. In extreme circumstances, this can result in violence and, potentially, homicide.

I continue this discussion by looking at cultural influences on sex buying through social script theory, religion, and religiosity. This discussion culminates in an examination of the socio-demographic data of sex buyers gathered in numerous research studies. I then discuss the commodification of prostitution linked to cultural practices and the associated masculinity. This includes a desire for a different type of sexual partner or a different sexual act, as well as the commercial sale of sex. This part of the discussion ends by examining situational sexual behaviour, again linked to masculinity and peer pressure. Chapter Three concludes with a discussion of the neutralisation and rationalisation of men's behaviour with reference to Sykes and Matza's (1957) five techniques of neutralisation.

Following on from the previous chapters, in Chapter Four I discuss the influence of history and theory on prostitution policy models and provide the arguments for and against each type with examples drawn from international approaches. I explore what shapes the policies in each case, recognising that these do not occur in a cultural, sociological, or political vacuum. These models are divided into four broad groups of policies. The first of these is Regulation, which encompasses approaches sometimes referred to as legalisation. This involves having a set of laws to control and regulate prostitution. The second approach is Decriminalisation, which advocates for the repeal of all prostitution specific legislation, replacing it with labour laws. The third group of approaches I discuss are Prohibition models, which include laws that ban all forms of providing or buying sex. The final approach is Abolition, including Neo-Abolition. This model is typified by a desire to abolish prostitution through a combination of legislative control and support for exiting prostitution. This section concludes with a discussion on policy implementation and how delivery of the model can sometimes have a bigger impact than the model itself.

Having discussed prostitution policy models across the globe, I follow this with a look at how reviews and inquiries have shaped the approach to prostitution in England and

Wales. This is followed by an examination of some specific tactics employed in this country such as kerb crawler rehabilitation schemes, hate crime designation, and tolerance zones. I illustrate how all have some potential benefits, but equally, all three tactics present issues in terms of delivery and achieving stated outcomes. Chapter Four concludes with an examination of prostitution in Nottingham in both historical and contemporary settings. Prior research into prostitution within the city is discussed as a baseline for this research.

The final chapter in Part One of this thesis is the Methodology. In Chapter Five I discuss how and why a multi-case study approach was adopted as the preferred method to achieve the stated aim and objectives for this research. Each case study is centred on a single sex buyer with evidence gathered from semi-structured interviews with the sex buyer, as well as any sex provider or police officer involved in each scenario. Further evidence is gathered from observations of attendance at a rehabilitation course or at court as applicable. Finally, the sex buyers' prior history with prostitution and general background is analysed. Each case study is assessed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, 2012, 2014, 2019) and presented individually prior to cross-correlation between the studies.

I discuss participant recruitment and analyse the options considered for achieving this to maximise the numbers whilst minimising any selection bias. None of the described methods would achieve these dual aims entirely, but recruitment through a combination of police introduction and Change Course attendance offered the best opportunities to access potential participants. A process of triangulation with interviews conducted outside of the case studies with representatives from groups of sex providers, sex provider support workers, and police officers are described. This data is gathered from a second phase of interviews designed to address Hammersley's (2008) third meaning of triangulation as 'seeking complementary information'.

Part Two of this thesis consists of Chapters Six to Ten where I present the findings from the field work conducted.

Nine case studies, each with a single sex buyer as a central point of analysis, are discussed in detail to examine their sex buying through the lens of the model of the five pillars of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One. These case studies are presented in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight with three studies in each chapter. Case studies are grouped based on the sex buying learning processes identified in each study. The first three cases are grouped around their British cultural learning. Chapter Seven presents three case studies notable for their circumstantial learning processes typified through alienation from family and friends resulting in isolation. Chapter Eight brings together three cases involving migrants to the UK and is based on their non-British cultural learning. These are the dominant processes identified, although they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Each case study is analysed with a particular focus on sex buying behaviour, constructed narratives around sex buying, cultural influences, and potential deterrents or abstinence from sex buying.

In Chapter Nine I discuss the findings of interviews with sex providers, support workers for the sex providers, and police officers as part of a triangulation process 'seeking complementary information' (Hammersley 2008) as described above. The findings of these interviews are discussed thematically, again using the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

In Chapter Ten, the final chapter of Part Two, I bring the findings from the nine case studies and the triangulation interviews together. Common themes are identified and situated within the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying.

Part Three of this thesis consists of two chapters focussing on a discussion and reflection on the research, followed by conclusions drawn from the findings and discussions.

In the first of these, Chapter Eleven, I discuss the validity of the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying developed in Chapter One and illustrate the benefits of this approach. In developing this further, I describe how the analysis of constructed sex buying narratives and male learned sex buying behaviours have added to this model. I offer the first of these as a sixth pillar to be incorporated into the model, this being Constructed Narratives. This is identified as a three-step process through

identifying a perceived 'need', creating an opportunity, and justifying the behaviour. Learned sex buying behaviours are discussed as reflecting a complex and varied interaction between four of the pillars, these being: Mating Systems, Masculinity, Culture, and Constructed Narratives. I present an original model of learned sex buying behaviour that collectively describes the learning process that leads men to paying for sex based on an 'iceberg visualisation' with three levels. The lowest of these is where sexual behaviours are learned. This is linked to the middle level by a behavioural path that leads to responding to these learned behaviours. The uppermost, surface level, represents behavioural normalisation and is where the constructed narratives are most prominent. This surface level is often the only one that is visible and was evident in the early part of most of the interviews I conducted. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the policy implications and generalisability of this new model.

In the final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Twelve, I discuss the conclusions and recommendations arising from this research. This chapter begins by restating the aim and objectives of this research before providing an answer to the research question based on the model derived in earlier chapters. The implications for theory and research are discussed, together with recommendations for policy and practice that focus on addressing male sex buying learned behaviours within family units, peer groups, cultures, and society to provide a holistic approach to addressing the negative aspects of this behaviour without an over-reliance on police enforcement to solve the issues. This chapter concludes with a personal reflection on my time spent policing prostitution and revisiting this in light of the findings of this research and the insights I have gained.

PART ONE: CONTEXT AND METHOD

‘Context can be the difference between research and insights. Research too often produces results in a vacuum, rather than providing the context that will allow for meaningful analysis of the findings,’ (Sellers 2014, para 1).

Chapter One – The Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying

Research Paradigm

In this chapter I set out the research paradigm that I adopted in conducting this study.

I will demonstrate that prostitution and sex buying as social phenomena are the product of social interactions that are constantly being negotiated through multiple influences. As such, an ontological approach of *constructionism* has been taken.

The aim of this research is to develop an in-depth understanding of the reasons and motivations that lead men to paying women for sex on the streets using a qualitative approach consisting of a multi-case study methodology. This requires a subjective interpretation of the data gathered by both myself and the participants, bringing together multiple sources. Therefore, an epistemological approach of *interpretivism* has been utilised.

This chapter summarises the social constructionist interpretation of prostitution and sex buying that I will be developing through the historical context identified in Chapter Two, the theoretical understanding of why men purchase sex in Chapter Three and how prostitution policy models are developed and implemented by societies in Chapter Four. The data gathered in this study was analysed through the lens of this paradigm and used to answer the research question.

In the following section I consider what is meant and understood by sex and prostitution, offering some definitions through the interpretation of existing knowledge and setting out the parameters within which this research will be conducted. I will then outline five pillars that underpin the social construction of prostitution and sex buying that will be developed through Chapters Two, Three, and Four.

What is Prostitution?

Defining Sex and Sexual Services

Most definitions of prostitution refer to sex and most include comments such as ‘the exchange of sexual services’, but few academics consider what is meant by ‘sexual services’. It would seem reasonable to consider this to be the provision of a sexual act or a participation in sex, but this too requires some examination. Most dictionaries define sex as participating in sexual intercourse and the latter specifically on male/female interactions for procreation (for example, Oxford English Dictionary 2019), which is not adequate for this study and fails to understand the role and meaning of sex in modern societies.

Foucault (1990) argued that sex is just a term developed to help us understand and discuss the various deployments of sexuality that link the human body and physical sensations to a variety of epistemological and political considerations including education, public health, and scientific knowledge, amongst others. Foucault states that both sex and sexuality are social constructs that enable humans to understand the meaning that these considerations hold for them in particular contexts, highlighting that there is a culture of control underpinning this. It is through this deployment of sexuality that sex exists as a causal principle. Building on this, Sanders and Reinisch (1999) were amongst the first social scientists to consider what is meant by sex when they proposed a series of scenarios to participants and asked them to consider whether they would identify the scenario as having ‘had sex’. Only 37% of women and 43% of men considered oral/genital stimulation as actually constituting having ‘had sex’. The results for hand/genital stimulation are even lower at 12% of women and 19% of men considering this to be sex. As many of the studies referenced in this thesis will demonstrate, a significant proportion of sexual contact in prostitution is oral sex or masturbation. For example, Freund *et al.* (1991) found 35% of the contacts in prostitution in their study were for oral sex, 10% for masturbation and only 27% for vaginal intercourse, which is typical of other studies. This is particularly so for on-street prostitution.

Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) developed Sanders and Reinisch's work. They found that their participants' understanding of sex varied dependent on context and situation. Significant factors in influencing this included cultural and religious beliefs. Both these studies found that men and women viewed what constituted sex differently. Additionally, Peterson and Muehlenhard reported that, in some cases, oral sex was defined differently dependent on whether the participant was giving or receiving the act. It is also clear from these studies that the participants viewed sex differently dependent on whether they derived any sexual pleasure from the experience. For example, deriving sexual pleasure from pain in certain practices can be dependent on circumstances and differ for the participants to the act. Kernberg (1991, p333) claims that, 'somasochism ... is an essential part of normal sexual functioning,' and not considered as a 'perversion', but the same acts in a different situation, particularly with an unwilling participant, would constitute a criminal offence. Considering the situation of prostitution, these factors must be considered when examining what constitutes sex and sexual services and that these are socially constructed. Legal or dictionary definitions are unlikely to capture these nuances. Several studies (for example Freund *et al.* 1991 as above), find that some men will pay for a woman's time for companionship and some of these encounters will not include any physical contact, whereas discussions of sexual stimulation in an online environment, or cybersex, tend to regard the need for physical contact as unnecessary to constitute being sex (Daneback, Cooper and Månsson 2005).

Evidently, defining what is meant by 'sex' or 'sexual services' is a complicated proposition, dependent on culture, setting and the acts involved. It is largely a question of perspective of the participants and of society as an 'objective' third party. Sex is far more than a simple biological act of procreation and will differ for individual people. As with most aspects of prostitution, sex and 'sexual services' are socially created phenomena that will vary across different cultures and over the course of time. For the purposes of this thesis, it is simpler to look at defining sex through the acts that are carried out, rather than trying to provide an all-encompassing definition for all circumstances. In this study, 'sex' and 'sexual services' will be considered to be any act that provides genital stimulation for the sex buyer including vaginal sex, oral sex, anal

sex and masturbation (both self-masturbation stimulated by another, who may be physically present or virtually present such as on a webcam for example, or masturbation performed by the sex provider). It will also include acts that the sex buyer may perform on the sex provider, such as oral sex. However, this working definition is not dependent upon whether the sex provider derives any 'pleasure' from the interaction. Some degree of interpretation will be necessary in this study by myself.

Defining Prostitution

Having considered what is meant by sex and sexual services for the purposes of this study, this needs to be developed to understand what is meant by prostitution. Providing a definition of prostitution is far from straightforward and has changed over time. Consider the following historical definitions of prostitution:

'... all voluntary sexual abandonment for a consideration is held to be prostitution,' (Acton 1857, p8)

'... a public and promiscuous traffic of their own persons carried on by women for the sake of gain,' (Chapman 1869, p183),

'Prostitution will therefore ... be construed to mean more or less promiscuity, even transient promiscuity, of sex relationship for pay, or its equivalent.' (Flexner 1914, p16).

The question of promiscuity arises in these definitions, and this is a common theme in historical attempts to define prostitution. A medieval canon lawyer even went as far as saying that a woman had to have had sex with a minimum of 23,000 men before she could be considered a 'prostitute', although he later revised this to as few as forty (Bullough and Bullough 1987, pxi). Prostitution and promiscuity were often linked by the Christian church, for example viewing a woman's 'choice' to enter into prostitution as being motivated by sin and lustfulness (Karras 1989) and appear to be an attempt to define prostitution as involving a group of women who were somehow different to wives. This theme of promiscuity as an opposition to marriage will be developed below

when considering the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, particularly concerning mating systems.

Many early attempts to define prostitution are more of a condemnation than a definition, as typified by Mayhew's (1862, p36) description of prostitution as 'perversion to vile or filthy uses; and consist of the surrendering of a woman's virtue in a manner that excites our moral disgust.' This is not particularly useful when it comes to trying to understand prostitution.

Modern attempts to define prostitution have focussed more on the exchange of sex for some form of reward, usually monetary, as typified by Murphy (2010, p775): 'prostitution is a behaviour that involves the exchange of sexual services for economic compensation.' The logical extension of this is to define prostitution as employment, as the following definition from Bindman illustrates:

'We propose the following definition of sex work: Negotiation and performance of sexual services for remuneration -

- i. with or without intervention by a third party,
- ii. where those services are advertised or generally recognised as available from a specific location,
- iii. where the price of services reflects the pressures of supply and demand.'

(Bindman 1997, p12).

The use of 'negotiation' implies that both parties are on an equal footing in the exchange and the reference to advertising or specific locations suggests a degree of organisation and control. This is a commercial model and, whilst there may be areas within prostitution where this may well apply, this is a difficult definition to use when considering on-street prostitution where the power balance is often not equitable, and advertising is rarely used.

O'Connell Davidson (1998) takes a more Marxist approach to defining prostitution, arguing that one cannot buy a service or labour from another, but instead purchases the

power to labour. The argument is that it is not possible to separate the labourer from the labour. O'Connell Davidson illustrates this with the following description - you cannot purchase ten kilowatts of a plumber's labour at a store and take it home to fix a sink, what you pay for is the power of labour from the plumber to carry out the repair for you. Based on this approach, she offers the following definition of prostitution:

'...it is better conceptualized as an institution which allows certain powers of command over one person's body to be exercised by another. The client parts with money and / or other material benefits in order to secure powers over the prostitute's person which he (or more rarely she) could not otherwise exercise,' (ibid., p9).

In simple terms, this definition reduces the sexual act to an exchange of reward for control of the power to labour and removes all reference to the sex provider's character, although the power dynamic is probably more sophisticated than suggested here. Xantidis and McCabe (2000, p166) found that, amongst men who paid for sex on the streets, a category they termed misogynist-type 'typically enjoyed power over women, was sometimes violent, and was the least likely to use condoms,' suggesting that the power element is about more than just paying for sex.

It has often fallen to legislators and law courts to interpret what is meant by prostitution. For example, the Sexual Offences Act 2003 provides the following definition:

'prostitute means a person (A) who, on at least one occasion and whether or not compelled to do so, offers or provides sexual services to another person in return for payment or a promise of payment to A or a third person; and "prostitution" is to be interpreted accordingly.' (Sexual Offences Act 2003, section 51(2)).

Previous legislation often referred to the term 'common prostitute', which indicated a person providing sex on multiple occasions. The removal of this term illustrates how contemporary definitions have moved away from any requirement for promiscuity. The discussion below will show how this arose from cultural and religious attempts to create 'othering' of people providing sex rather than any effort to understand prostitution. This

definition also includes reference to the situation where any reward or benefit need not be conferred on the sex provider but could be for a third party.

No simple definition will properly explain prostitution at all times and in all places. Bullough and Bullough (1987, pxii) sum this up as: 'It is the social evaluation and legal determination of a society that give prostitution a special status.'

In recognising these limitations, the following are deemed to be necessary for a definition of prostitution as utilised in this thesis:

- At least one person must be providing some form of sexual act (a sex provider),
- At least one person must be receiving some form of sexual act (a sex buyer),
- Some form of reward or benefit must be offered for this sexual act, be this money, goods, or services, etc., although it is not necessary that this reward is made to the person providing the sexual act, it may be to a third party,
- It is not necessary to show that the sex provider provided true consent to the act, which may result in sexual offences such as rape or assault through prostitution,
- The interaction need not be viewed as a business or commercial interaction,
- It is not necessary for the sex provider to demonstrate any degree of promiscuity or regularity in providing sexual acts or to achieve an arbitrary number of sex buyers.

The Language of Prostitution

Trying to define prostitution raises an important issue regarding the use of language in this field. Historical, radical feminist, and legal definitions tend to refer to 'prostitution', whereas more contemporary liberal feminist commentators prefer the term 'sex work' (for example, Bindman 1997 as above). This is far more than merely semantics as the language of prostitution can be highly emotive and stigmatising. The terminology used by academics, policy makers and anyone involved in this area is influenced by their moral and political views introducing a linguistic bias, whether consciously or otherwise. As

Munro and Della Giusta (2016, p6) point out, 'it is clear that one's choice of terminology has assumed a perceived relevance, often acting as a shorthand identifier of a substantive position.'

In its 2010 to 2012 strategic plan, the Network for Sex Work Projects (NSWP 2010, p3) stated:

'Significantly NSWP participation in the global response to HIV/AIDS was largely responsible for the term 'sex worker' replacing 'prostitute' in many languages. More than mere political correctness, this shift in language had the important effect of moving global understandings of sex work toward a labour framework which signposts solutions to many of the problems faced by sex workers. It also questions the stigma of sex work and represents greater recognition of sex workers as rights bearers, with the capacity to make a difference. It has been the sharpest of the tools available to sex workers to assert their human rights including the right to health.'

Taking an opposing view, Bindel (2017, p63) argues:

'In recent years, the sex trade has been rebranded to give the impression that it is not harmful, nor even prostitution. ... The pro-sex trade lobby dresses it up in euphemisms, using a narrative more appropriate for a description of labour than a sexual act performed upon a person.'

The NSWP (2010) campaigns for the complete decriminalisation of prostitution whilst Bindel (2017) advocates an abolitionist approach. These two quotes illustrate how the choice of language has been turned into a political signpost for a particular policy position.

Unfortunately, this cannot be avoided when discussing prostitution and it would be naïve to assume that this thesis could offer any form of value-free terminology. In considering the debate over 'prostitution' versus 'sex work' it is apparent that both terms have some relevance. However, I have taken a position in this study that they are not synonymous. Both terms are very broad in what they encompass. For example, it

could be argued that 'sex work' includes the pornography industry, lap dancing, strip clubs and even the sale of sex toys. These are currently legal and regulated in the UK and most of the western world. To label any of these as 'prostitution' would be inappropriate as, in the strictest sense of each term, no sexual act is paid for, nor provided. Conversely, the chaotic, drug-dependent life of many women providing sex on the streets (Jeal *et al.* 2015; Sagar, Jones and Symons 2015) falls far short of what most people would consider to be labour. There are many examples of providing sex that fall between these two extremes and, as such, I would argue that both of the terms 'sex work' and 'prostitution' are relevant in different circumstances and that there is a degree of overlap between the two. This study focusses on men engaging in purchasing sex on the streets and very much lies towards the 'prostitution' end of this spectrum. As such, that is the terminology used here.

Having established a term for the general field being examined, the next step is to consider the people involved. There is a rich, and often crude, vocabulary in the English language to describe sex and sexual organs. The same is equally true for those providing, buying, or managing the sale of sex. Many of these terms are either designed, or have evolved, to be insulting or stigmatising. As the discussion above illustrates, more recent terminology such as 'sex worker' and 'client' are less judgemental but have become used as tools to advocate a particular policy position regarding prostitution, that being viewing it as labour. Once again, these latter terms may be appropriate in different circumstances, but they are not necessarily descriptive of the street sex market. Having elected to use the term prostitution, it would appear natural to also use prostitute. Whilst this may seem axiomatic, there are issues with this term as it has evolved over centuries to indicate far more than a person providing sex (Morash 2006) and is often indicative of a lifestyle or used as a way of insulting and demeaning people. To avoid unnecessary stigmatisation, I made a decision to use the terms 'sex provider' and 'sex buyer' in line with other authors such as Monto and Milrod (2019). These terms are intended to be far broader than representing a commercial transaction or retail labour in the same way as both legal and illegal substances can be bought and sold.

As indicated above, the language of prostitution has evolved over many centuries and is as often based on morals or politics as it is on the practice of providing sex. Having

arrived at the terminology to be used in this thesis, this must be qualified when looking at the historical context of prostitution and sex buying, particularly in Chapter Two. Different terms meant different things at various points in history and to properly reflect on prostitution over time, it may be necessary to adapt this terminology on occasions to properly contextualise it.

Additionally, it was anticipated that some participants to this study may be from different cultures or not speak English and interpreters would be required. In these circumstances, it was considered necessary to agree terminology that the participant understood to avoid confusion or misinterpretation, but the principal of avoiding insulting or stigmatising language was maintained.

Typologies of Prostitution

One of the intended outcomes of this study is to examine whether current policy and legislation around paying for sex is fit for purpose, both in the UK and elsewhere, but, as has been discussed, prostitution is a broad term that includes many different representations. It is important that any conclusions or policy initiatives are not artificially forced into a 'one-size fits all' scenario. To place this research into its proper context, it is necessary to correctly identify what that context is and, most importantly, what it is not.

Even with the exclusion of areas such as pornography and lap dancing, prostitution is still a very broad term and covers a multitude of practices. Harcourt and Donovan (2005) attempted to develop a global typology of prostitution by reviewing 681 related articles over a twenty-year period from fifteen diverse countries. They broadly divided all prostitution activities into two groups, categorised as 'direct' or 'indirect' prostitution. They define direct prostitution as 'the primary purpose of the interaction is to exchange sex for a fee,' (ibid., p201) and indirect prostitution as 'additional income for lowly or irregularly paid workers in other industries,' (ibid., p203). This latter will include occupations such as waitresses, but they also include lap dancing in this group where sex is sold.

The authors offer eleven sub-groups of direct prostitution and fourteen of indirect, thus twenty-five in total. Many of these are culturally or regionally specific, for example window prostitution is almost unique to Amsterdam and Hamburg. The following is adapted from this work and lists the direct prostitution groups and geographical distribution:

- *Street Prostitution* – widespread,
- *Brothels* (established premises) - generally where prostitution is legal or tolerated,
- *Private* (use of own home or rented accommodation, sometimes referred to as pop-up brothels) - UK, Europe, USA, and Australia,
- *Escorting* – widespread,
- *Window or Doorway* – largely restricted to Amsterdam and Hamburg,
- *Clubs or bars* - widespread, especially where prostitution is legal or tolerated,
- *Other all-male venues* (such as barbershops and saunas) – widespread, but particularly USA,
- *Door knocking* (especially in hotels) – widespread,
- *Transport* (on board ships or trains etc.) – widespread, but particularly USA,
- *CB Radio* (usually with truck drivers) – restricted to the USA,
- *Other* (including newspaper advertising and the Internet etc.) – widespread.

(adapted from Harcourt and Donovan 2005, Table 1, p202).

It is immediately evident that street prostitution is only one of twenty-five suggested subtypes of prostitution. To attempt to study or understand these myriad representations in one study would be impossible and the focus here will be solely on men engaging in on-street sex buying. On interview, some men may wish to discuss other aspects of prostitution that they have, or intend to, engage with. In these circumstances, Harcourt and Donovan's typology will be used to categorise this.

Williamson and Baker (2009) further proposed a typology within on-street prostitution. They described three separate types of street prostitution as follow:

- *Controlled Prostitution* – where the sex provider is directly controlled or exploited by another person through physical, emotional, or economical coercion,
- *Renegade Prostitution* – where the sex provider either operates independently or, where a controller is present, has a significant degree of autonomy, and
- *Outlaw Prostitution* – where the sex provider’s primary motive is to swindle or ‘hustle’ the sex buyer out of money, potentially committing acquisitive offences.

The language in Williamson and Baker’s typology has a distinctive American flavour to it in both terminology and presentation, but it does serve to illustrate that prostitution can present differently, even within the relatively confined street sex market and this can be applied to the UK.

Sex buyers may be unaware of the difference between controlled or renegade prostitution, or may be indifferent to this distinction, and this typology is not necessarily useful in understanding this group of men. Constructions of typologies within sex buying and sex buyers will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Three.

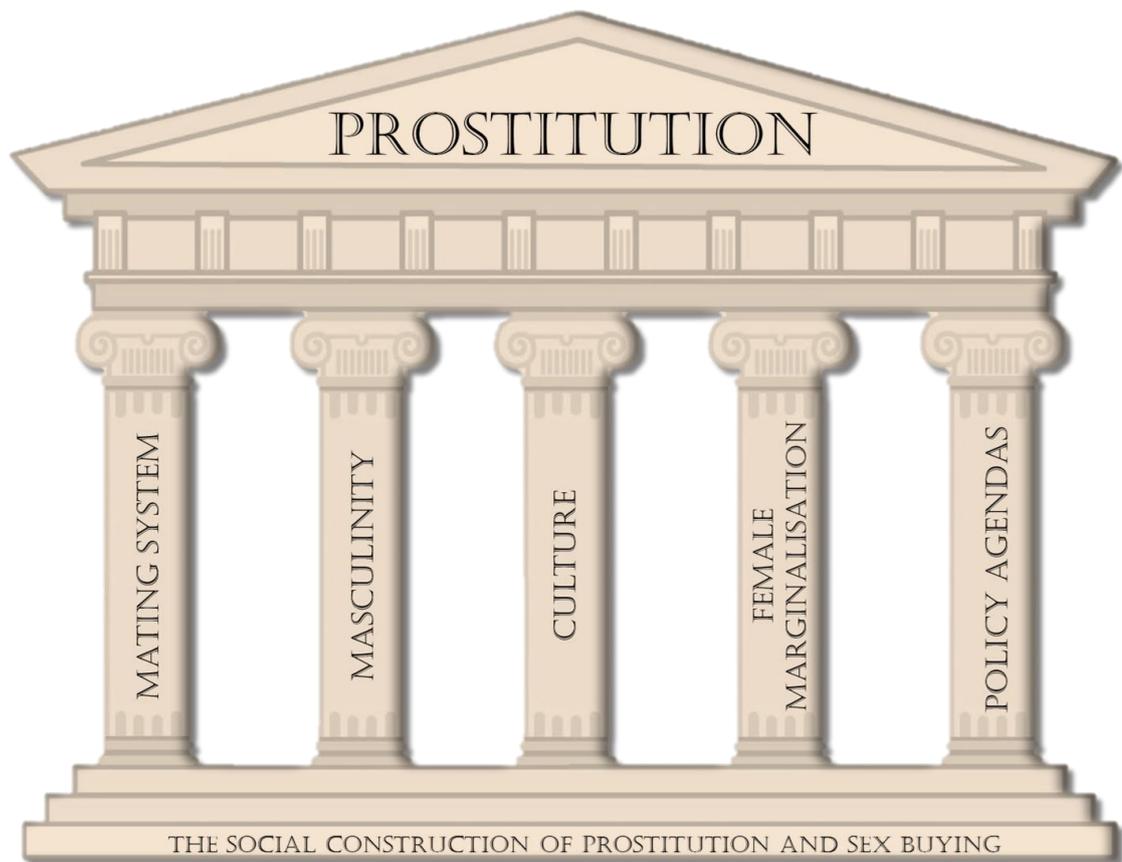
The Five Pillars of Prostitution and Sex Buying

The above discussion has illustrated how understanding, language, and social attitudes towards sex and prostitution have changed and evolved over time based on culture, location, and prevailing policies. In this section, I will examine this through the ontological lens of social constructionism.

In Figure 1.1 below, I present a model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying. This model is an original contribution to the discussion and understanding of these phenomena that I derived through an examination of historical literature, research, and policy as presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. The model is included here to illustrate the lens through which the context of prostitution and sex buying has been gathered and assessed for this research through an iterative, reflexive approach. The derivation of this model will be presented in subsequent chapters and re-

examined in Part Three of this thesis in light of the findings of this research. These pillars are not intended to be distinct, indeed there is much overlap between them. They are sufficiently distinct, however, to allow for these to be the basis of a thematic analysis of the research data.

Figure 1.1: A Model of the Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying



Social Constructionism

Burr (2015) provides a description of social constructionism as challenging the belief that knowledge is understood from direct perception but is a construct of our shared version of reality and there is no such thing as an objective fact or, by implication, a universal truth. Everything we know has been derived by examining the world from a particular perspective, either sub-consciously or implicitly, and is generally done so in service of

one set of interests over another, whether consciously or otherwise. All observations must be interpreted through a social or cultural lens to determine knowledge.

In understanding what is meant by social constructionism, Gergen (1985) suggested that one or more of the following assumptions should apply:

1. Conventional, or taken-for-granted knowledge, should be challenged as regards being built upon objective or unbiased observation. Positivist and empiricist epistemological approaches assume that the nature of the world can be understood through observation in order that the 'true' answer can be revealed. Social constructionism does not assume that categories into which we separate the world are 'real' divisions and, therefore, require some critical interpretation.
2. Social constructionism argues that our understanding of the world is historically and culturally specific. Ideas and truths evolve over time and a modern understanding will be very different to a historical one, as will differences between cultures and ideologies. Gergen (1985, p267) describes our understanding as 'social artefacts'.
3. Knowledge is not derived from the 'reality of the world' but is sustained by social processes such as communication or conflict for example. Much of this comes down to language and shared customs.
4. Social interactions provide a constructed knowledge, which in turn informs social action, so that the two drive and develop together. In the same manner, what Gergen (1985, p268) calls 'negotiated understanding', can also preclude or promote particular social actions.

Gergen's assumptions are useful in understanding practices involving buying and providing sex. This will be developed in the following sections.

The Social Construction of Prostitution

The above discussion has illustrated how social constructionism provides an approach for understanding prostitution and sex buying. Several authors have addressed this,

often for different purposes such as arguing for one policy approach over another, but most serve to illustrate how prostitution in the modern era is a product of both history and culture.

Gurd and O'Brien (2013) examined the policy shifts in the USA regarding addressing the 'problem' of prostitution from a focus on the sex provider to the sex buyer, particularly through the use of offender rehabilitation programmes known in the USA as John Schools. They argue that the schools present two social creations, these being the 'victim' and the 'offender', where the focus on the sex providers has shifted from promiscuity of the 'fallen woman' towards viewing them as 'victims'; and the view of the male sex buyers has moved from their behaviour being an expression of masculinity to a result of ignorance. They conclude by arguing that:

'Prostitution remains constructed as a deviant sexual behaviour that is socially undesirable, with both the sex workers' and clients' choice to engage in a sexual transaction being challenged on the grounds of psychological affliction, coercion, or ignorance,' (ibid., p157).

Gurd and O'Brien's findings support Gergen's assumptions above and demonstrate social action coming from constructed knowledge. They use their conclusions to argue for prostitution to be viewed as commercial sex work, partly illustrating how Burr, above, describes social constructionism, or at least the interpretation of it, as invariably taking place to further a particular interest.

Morash (2006) proposes that people who provide sex can be conceptualised in one of three ways based on the culpability of the participants:

1. the prostitute,
2. the prostitute as victim, or
3. the prostitute as sex worker.

This differentiation is based on freedom of choice. A woman choosing to provide sex could be viewed as a commercial sex worker, another forced into prostitution could be seen as a victim, whereas Morash uses the first term of prostitute as a fixed identity,

summing up the totality of a person's life. Hayes-Smith and Shekharkar (2010) discuss how this constructed identity can be used as the basis for a policy position in that 'prostitute' lends itself to criminalisation, 'victim' to decriminalisation, and 'sex worker' to legalisation. This will be developed further when considering policy in Chapter Four.

Hirschman (2003) proposed a feminist theory of freedom, particularly related to the perceived choices of women in modern society. She considers liberty for women in three limited areas, those of domestic violence, the US state benefit system and Islamic veiling. Hirschman describes a social constructionist model whereby women's choices in these circumstances are shaped by social formations and relationships that have developed over time. She places a great deal of emphasis on the power of language to shape perceptions on societal moral views and the restrictions this can place on freedom of choice. Hirschman argues that for a choice to be genuinely free, there must be an absence of external coercion combined with an opportunity to assess and choose from a range of relevant options. The key argument here is that circumstances shape choices. Even where there may appear to be an element of choice, this can become funnelled by these circumstances.

Brison (2006) develops this theory further with specific reference to sex work, which she subdivides into pornography and prostitution. She concludes that any assessment of freedom for a woman must be based on the social circumstances and historical context.

Against this background, I will argue in this thesis that the social construction of prostitution and sex buying rests upon five pillars, which are in turn all socially constructed. These are not necessarily distinct, indeed there are some considerable overlaps. They are stated here with brief explanations and discussion of the social construction of each, but the full derivation of how these underpin prostitution is presented throughout Chapters Two, Three and Four with a review of the historical context of, and policy approaches towards prostitution and sex buying, together with a review of the theoretical understanding of sex buying.

The five pillars are:

1. Mating Systems

2. Masculinity
3. Culture
4. Female Marginalisation
5. Policy Agendas

The First Pillar: Mating Systems

A mating system structures a group of people in relation to their sexual behaviour and is a collective term for monogamy, polygamy, and promiscuity in humans (Dunbar and Barrett 2007).

In ancient civilisations it is believed that there was a large degree of promiscuity with very little monogamy (Scott 1996). In this form of society, there is no market requirement for paid-for sex as this is freely available. Gradually, as societies developed so did the institution of marriage, often linked to religion. Chapter Two illustrates how each time a society throughout history developed a stronger bond of marriage together with monogamy, then so the instances of prostitution became more entrenched and widespread. Lerner (1986) argues that whenever promiscuity is restricted or curtailed, prostitution rises in response. An example of this in the modern world would be the Wodaabe tribe in northern Niger (Lister 2019), which is a patriarchal society, but the women have control over sex and sexual relations to the extent that they can freely have sex outside of their marriages with no shame, stigma, or condemnation. In this society, men compete to be sexually attractive to women. Whilst marriage exists, sex is not restricted to this. The concept of paid-for sex would not make sense to the Wodaabe who freely engage in sex with multiple partners without condemnation from their society.

Byrd (2009) describes how the social construction of marriage essentially has two components, these being interpersonal and marriage commitments. Interpersonal commitment is a value rational component with personal and moral aspects. This can be thought of as the emotional response based on marrying for love. Marital commitment is a practical component based on the likelihood that a person will marry,

and stay married to, another individual for reasons such as security, prosperity, and convenience. Anciete and Soloski (2011) discuss how marriage in early civilisations was largely a practical engagement that revolved around a patriarchal society where the man was the provider and the woman the child barer. This often included financial elements such as dowries and bound the couple together in a practical union of survival that tied the woman to the family home. Divorce in western societies did not become commonplace until the 1960s (ibid.), so many couples stayed together through necessity.

Hollway (1998) argues that men have a biological drive to engage in regular sex, often with multiple partners, that they have little or no control over and that this drive is not present in women, although this latter point is contested (Fugère 2020). Some researchers (for example, Huysamen and Boonzaier 2015) have found evidence of Hollway's assertions when conducting studies into the social construction of male sexuality. When tied to a monogamous marital partner, this is one potential explanation as to why men pay for sex outside of their marriage. Jordan (1997) conducted interviews with sex buyers and found some of them stated that they no longer enjoyed sex with their spouse and saw paying someone else for this as a better option than having an affair. Macleod *et al.* (2008) conducted similar interviews with the same results, but concluded that these were excuses, comparing this to men who blame their wives for provoking them into domestic violence, suggesting that this perceived 'biological drive' may itself be a construction. This will be explored further in Chapters Two and Three.

The Second Pillar: Masculinity

Chapters Two and Three will demonstrate the role that masculinity and gender, itself a social construct, have played in the evolution of prostitution. This can take overt forms of gender differentiation such as men joining the military and women providing sex as camp followers in ancient conflicts (for example: feudal China, Ren 1993) to relatively more recent times resulting in legislation in the UK such as the Contagious Diseases Acts (Bullough and Bullough 1987), and forms of masculinity such as male peer pressure (for

example, Gibbens and Silberman 1960) or a sense of male entitlement to sex (for example, Coy *et al.* 2007).

Gender can be a complicated concept, but it is one that is often taken for granted. As Lorber (1991, p111) puts it: 'Gender is so pervasive that in our society we assume it is bred into our genes'. Gender is often consigned to a person in their very early years based on sexual organs, a gender-specific name, how they are dressed, and other markers such as toys or books. This is reinforced in puberty through what Lorber (1991, p112) calls a 'gendered mating dance' and later in gender-assigned parenting roles.

This construction of gender roles creates expectations and demands that are not balanced across society. As Lorber (1991, p113) argues:

'As a social institution, gender is a process of creating distinguishable social statuses for the assignment of rights and responsibilities. As part of a stratification system that ranks these statuses unequally, gender is a major building block in the social structures built on these unequal statuses.'

The construction of a masculine identity takes this assignment of a gender role a step further and involves social status, aggressiveness, or toughness (Herek 1986). This can also include a degree of homophobia or authority over women, where the masculine male asserts power and control through dominance (*ibid.*). Since the 1980s, the term 'hegemonic masculinity' has become prevalent in literature to describe the social nature of masculinity and the 'male sex role', based on power and alienating outsiders, such as homosexuals. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p832) describe this, 'Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion.'

Joseph and Black (2012) looked specifically at the impact of masculinity on sex buying males. They identify two specific forms of masculinity amongst the men they studied, described as 'fragile' and 'consumer'. They define fragile masculinity as representing men who consider themselves unattractive to women and uncomfortable around them. As such, they perceive themselves as being unable to engage in a sexual activity with a woman other than through prostitution. Consumer masculinity represents men who

access prostitution in search of excitement, lack of commitment, multiple partners, or a sexual act not available in regular relationships.

Harrington (2012) describes how interpretations of masculinity can be used in the formulation of policy or legislation regarding prostitution. She argues that countering masculinity and emphasising the 'prostitute's voice' in New Zealand led to the decriminalisation of sex buying, whereas a focus on hegemonic masculinity in Sweden led to a liberal authoritarian law criminalising sex buying.

The Third Pillar: Culture

The cultural influences on men who pay for sex are a significant contribution to both their behaviour and the overall social construction of prostitution and sex buying. In a study of over three-hundred people providing sex across the UK and South America, Gillies and Parker (1994) examined the cultural impact of sex and prostitution on the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases and concluded that:

'Studies that expose and explore the complexity of sexual life and that place behaviour in the social context within which it occurs, challenge us to develop innovative responses for STD prevention. Such responses clearly need to be informed by an understanding of local sexual culture and the emotional meaning, power and significance of behaviours within diverse settings.' (ibid., p267).

Following on from the observation by Gillies and Parker that the complexity of sexual behaviour must be understood through the social context within which it occurs, the following will develop the discussion concerning mating systems and consider an extension of this idea based on the cultural shift in such behaviours beyond relationships in western societies. This is sometimes referred to as 'hook-up culture', which Garcia et al. (2012, p161) define as, 'brief uncommitted sexual encounters among individuals who are not romantic partners or dating each other.' There are a number of other terms that appear to relate to the same phenomenon, such as 'casual sex' or 'one-night stands',

but all of these terms are characterised by the sexual act being primarily physical, with little, or no emotional connection involved.

Garcia *et al.* (2012) further note that the emergence of this new form of sexual behaviour developed over the twentieth century, primarily as communication and connections improved through transport and media. Caltabiano, Castiglioni and De-Rose (2020) trace the emergence of hook-up culture to the so-called sexual revolution of the 1960s, although they note that this was not as sudden an emergence as is sometimes suggested and dates back to a gradual change in sexual practices from the 1940s onwards. Sigusch (2004) describes how the transformation in sexual behaviours since the 1960s has been more gradual and less obvious but has actually had a greater impact than the sexual revolution of the 1960s. We now have a generation of adults who have been exposed to a significant popularisation of hook-up culture through popular media, books, and films so that this has become regarded as normalised behaviour (Garcia *et al.* 2012).

Allison and Risman (2013) found in their study that there is a gendered difference in attitudes towards people who engage in this form of behaviour, with men seeing it as reinforcing their masculinity, whereas women are seen more negatively and dismissed in derogatory terms. Christensen (2020) notes the rise in terminology such as 'Tinderslut' to denote a female who has sex with a large number of males contacted through dating apps, and 'Tinderella' to represent a 'dream girl' or the 'girl next door', usually available for a one-night stand. No such terms appear to exist in regards to males who engage in this behaviour, further illustrating a gendered difference in viewing participants of hook-up cultures.

The use of technology in hook-up culture has proliferated with dating apps such as Tinder or Grindr that Hobbs, Owen and Gerber (2016) describe as a 'digital sexual revolution'. Interestingly, whilst dating apps might appear as the most transactional approach to hook-up culture, the authors found that a significant number of users were using them as 'intermediaries in the search for companionship, love, sex, and intimacy,' (ibid, p281), suggesting that their usage is more of a modern form of technological courtship, rather than a search for anonymised sex.

The following quote from Castro and Barrada (2020, p1) illustrates this usage of dating apps and the extent of their integration into modern relationships:

“For example, the Statista Market Forecast portal estimated that by the end of 2019, there were more than 200 million active users of dating apps worldwide. It has been noted that more than ten million people use Tinder daily, which has been downloaded more than a hundred million times worldwide. In addition, studies conducted in different geographical and cultural contexts have shown that around 40% of single adults are looking for an online partner, or that around 25% of new couples met through this means.”

Most of the studies conducted on hook-up culture or dating apps tend to focus on either homosexual males or American college students (Chan 2017). There is little research to date on the wider use and engagement in these behavioural traits. As such, it's not currently possible to assess the impact and behavioural change due to hook-up culture on older males, who may feel excluded from these sex or relationship markets.

Morris (2018) looked at the role that paid-for sex has within hook-up culture, and particularly dating apps. He is quite specific in differentiating this from prostitution in that most of his subjects distanced themselves from labels such as escort or sex worker in order to disassociate themselves with stigmatising stereotypes. Morris describes this behaviour as 'incidental sex work' where his participants' primary motivation in accessing the apps was to engage in casual sex, payment was not always required or received. Morris' subject group was men who have sex with men, so it is not clear that the same scenario would arise in heterosexual encounters.

What this discussion has demonstrated is that western cultural sexual behaviours have continually evolved since the mid-twentieth century. These new and emerging behaviours focus more on casual sex and short-term hook-ups, rather than seeking longer term emotional relationships although the recent advancement in the use of technology and dating apps appears to cater for both hook-up culture and as part of a

courtship for a more traditional relationship. Much more research is required to fully understand the role that these apps play in modern sexual behaviour.

In a previous study (Radford 2018) I showed that there is a significant proportion of sex buyers in Nottingham who were not born in the UK. These men are from diverse backgrounds and cultures from all populated continents of the world, bringing with them their cultural influences, biases and often gender-based learned behaviours (Cotton, Farley and Barron 2002). These impact on sex buying in the UK and contribute to the social construction of prostitution.

Following on from this general consideration of cultural influences, the important role that religion has played in prostitution becoming what it is in the modern world should be considered. There are two major aspects of this contribution. The first comes from the apparent promotion and profiteering by the sale of sex in ancient civilisations. This is usually referred to as cult, sacred, or temple prostitution (Beard and Henderson 1997), although there are some who dispute this interpretation of history (for example, Budin 2008). However, there appear to be too many references to some form of the sale of sex in and around religious temples in ancient documents for this to be completely fictitious, although the exact form of the practices remains unclear (Bullough and Bullough 1987). Whilst sex appears to have been for sale in these religious places, the societies at the time would not have recognised this as prostitution and considered it a part of communing with their gods or goddesses. Whatever the reasons, temple prostitution served to make the sale of sex commonplace and acceptable in ancient societies.

The second contribution of religion to prostitution arises out of the moral condemnation of the practice and the requirement to 'save' the women involved in providing sex. This largely began with the rise of Christianity, particularly evident with the apparent reformation from prostitution of Mary Magdalene by Christ (Bassermann 1993), which has been used throughout history as a basis of religious intervention in prostitution and programmes to 'save fallen women' as in Medieval Britain for example (Smith 2010a). Throughout the many government promoted reviews of prostitution and legislation surrounding it in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the evidence of

religious groups is always prominent and has influenced the development of policy and laws. For example, the Wolfenden Committee, who largely provided the evidence for the Street Offences Act 1959 to control on-street prostitution in England and Wales, heard evidence from the Salvation Army, the Church of England Moral Welfare Council, the Public Morality Council, and the Roman Catholic Advisory Committee on Prostitution, together with several individual witnesses with strong religious views on prostitution (Wolfenden 1957). This is discussed further in Chapter Two.

Schilbrack (2012, p98) points out that, 'Several theorists argue that the concept of "religion" is not a cultural universal but rather emerged under particular historical and political conditions in the modern post-Reformation west.' He goes on to discuss the social construction of religion providing three key points to support this argument:

1. the concept of religion is not universal, for example, there is no word for religion in Sanskrit and, as such, in Hindu scriptures,
2. you cannot have religion without non-religion, the development of concepts of religious and secular beliefs develop concurrently and are, as Schilbrack (ibid., p98) puts it, 'two sides of the same coin', and
3. the religion/secular concepts have been used historically to justify colonialism and the subjugation of non-Western peoples.

As such, Schilbrack argues that religion is a product of European modernity and is a vital part of Western ideology.

Lynch (2017, p3) states that, 'religion invents that which it purports to describe,' by which he argues that the concept of religion has been developed by a mix of linguists, theologians, missionaries, authorities, and social scientists to explain and shape social interactions and practices resulting in a consensus of what religion is and how it affects people's lives.

The Fourth Pillar: Female Marginalisation

The phenomenon of marginalisation is a complex and multi-faceted concept that is summed up in this quote from UK Aid Direct (2017, p1):

‘Marginalisation describes both a process, and a condition, that prevents individuals or groups from full participation in social, economic, and political life. As a condition, it can prevent individuals from actively participating. There is a multidimensional aspect, with social, economic, and political barriers all contributing to the marginalisation of an individual or group of individuals. People can be marginalised due to multiple factors: sexual orientation, gender, geography, ethnicity, religion, displacement, conflict, or disability.’

In considering the marginalisation of women across the world and throughout history, a number of significant contributory factors are apparent:

- *patriarchal regimes* – legislation tends to favour the view that men have an absolute right to sex and that it is the responsibility of women to cater for this. D’Cunha (1987, p1919) argues that the passing of laws in a patriarchal society is, ‘based on the premise of man’s aggressive and uncontrollable sexuality and polygamous nature, considered ‘natural and biological’ giving rise to prostitution.’
- *lack of legal rights for women* – linked to the patriarchal regimes, laws tend to be discriminatory and limit women’s access to justice. Overs and Loff (2013, p186) state that, ‘We identify “lack of recognition as a person before the law” as an important but undocumented barrier to accessing services and conclude that multi-faceted, setting-specific reform is needed, rather than a singular focus on decriminalization, if the health and human rights of sex workers are to be realized.’
- *lack of social power for women* – women are regarded as having a lower social standing than men in society and men will exercise this perceived higher status

to dominate and subjugate women. Peterson-Iyer (1998, p28) sums this up as, 'This view highlights the differing degrees of social power that men and women exercise: in our society, men are assumed, expected, and even encouraged to dominate women socially.'

- *social norms* – these can affect the presentation of prostitution in two ways. In cases where prostitution is seen as a breach of a social norm, the women providing the sex can become stigmatised and marginalised. Gunawan *et al.* (2020, p53) describe this as, 'Prostitution is contrary to the sociological definition of crime, because it is categorized as an evil act that contradicts and violates norms in social life because it is not only prohibited by legal norms and religious norms, but also contrary to (norms) morality in every human conscience.' The second aspect of social norms is where the provision of sex is regarded as normal behaviour within a society, reinforcing men's expectations of an absolute right to sex and the role of women in providing this. Cox (1993, p167) describes this in regard to the Badi, an untouchable caste in Nepal: 'Badi girls, from early childhood on, know, and generally accept the fact, that a life of prostitution awaits them. Their parents, and other Badi, tell them that prostitution is, and always has been, the work of women in the Badi caste, and to aspire to any other profession would be unrealistic.'
- *female poverty* – the poverty of women throughout history has been one of the key marginalisation factors leading them, or forcing them, into prostitution. UK Aid Direct (2017, p1) sum this up as, 'Poverty is both a consequence and a cause of being marginalised.' The topic of female poverty is discussed in greater detail below.
- *lack of access to education* – in societies where education is denied to women and girls, there is a reduction in opportunities, a drive to enter prostitution, and a barrier to exiting. Balfour and Allen (2014, p6) describe this as, 'The literature suggests that poor education, as well as a lack of training and qualifications, impacts on vulnerability, driving entrance into sex work and reducing the chances of finding alternative forms of employment.'

- *lack of opportunities for women* – linked to the lack of education, where circumstances and policies deny women agency and the opportunities that are present for men, this can lead to a lack of choice and a driver into prostitution. In considering the impact on migrant women struggling with residency and immigration legality, the NSWSP (2017b, p2) describe this as, ‘This prevents migrant sex workers from accessing other fundamental rights and creates a universal lack of opportunity with regard to both movement and employment.’
- *lack of gender parity in the workplace* – there are two aspects to the lack of gender parity in the workplace. The first considers the disproportionate amount of unpaid work that women engage with, such as caring or domestic labour. The second looks at the pay gap between men and women in the workplace driving poverty and a lack of opportunity. Shelton (2006, pp386-387) describes the former as, ‘The amount of time invested in unpaid work as opposed to paid work, the distribution of unpaid work time among specific tasks, and the patterns of care and responsibility are all determined to a large degree by one’s gender.’ Shaw and Mariano (2021, p1) address the latter by pointing out that, ‘If working women received equal pay with comparable men - men who are of the same age, have the same level of education, work the same number of hours, and have the same urban/rural status - poverty for working women would be reduced by more than 40 percent.’ Both of these factors drive poverty for women and produce circumstances where prostitution is not only viable, but often probable.
- *inequitable health care* – access to, and the effectiveness of health care is often determined by gender, and this in turn can have a direct impact on the ability to work, to socialise, and to maintain agency in women’s lives, which can leave them vulnerable to poverty and exploitation. Spitzer (2005, p578) sums this up as, ‘This review suggests health is detrimentally affected by gender roles and statuses as they intersect with economic disparities, cultural, sexual, physical and historical marginalization as well as the strains of domestic and paid labour. These conditions result in an unfair health burden borne, in particular, by women whose access to health determinants is – in various degrees – limited.’

- *the disproportionate experiences of violence against women* – gender-based violence is well documented in literature and research where it has been demonstrated that the disproportionate risk that women face in becoming a victim of violence is a factor in their exploitation and lack of agency. Invariably, it is men who are the perpetrators of this violence. Public Health Scotland (2021, para 4) describe this as, ‘The unequal position of women in relationships and society – violence occurs at higher levels in societies in which men are viewed as superior and possess the economic and decision-making power.’
- *lack of understanding of women’s sexual desires* – this relates to the lack of understanding by men of women’s sexual desires, either through lack of knowledge or wilful ignorance. This can be summed up in the Madonna/whore dichotomy (MWD) (Freud 1953) where women are seen through a binary lens of either being good and chaste (i.e., Madonnas), or promiscuous and seductive (i.e., whores). Bareket *et al.* (2018, p519) suggest that this ignorance is wilful and intended to further the needs of men: ‘Whereas prior theories focused on unresolved sexual complexes or evolved psychological tendencies, feminist theory suggests the MWD stems from a desire to reinforce patriarchy.’

This discussion has illustrated a great deal of overlap between many of these factors, but all are based upon a perception by men that they are in some way superior and have a higher standing in society and in relationships than women. In this, each of these factors are themselves socially constructed and, together, represent the Female Marginalisation pillar in the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying. The discussion through Chapters Two to Four, will develop this further and demonstrate how the marginalisation of women is key to understanding the representation of prostitution in historical and modern societies.

A significant and recurring theme in this description is female poverty. Taking a lead from the UK Aid Direct (2017) quote above, poverty is regarded as both a cause of marginalisation and a consequence of it, effectively trapping some women into a cycle of poverty and prostitution. This is explored further below.

Chapter Two will demonstrate how the financial and economic status of individuals, groups and nation states have contributed to the social construction of prostitution. This presents as poverty for individual women with little, or no, opportunities for employment, marriage, health provision, housing, or financial independence resulting in having to sell sex to survive (Monroe 2005). In some poorer cultures, parents of large families may sell their daughters to brothel keepers to feed their other children (Scott 1996).

Where poverty exists, others will generally exploit this. Exploiters have always seen economic profits to be made from the prostitution of others, in some cases resulting in kidnap, trafficking and slavery to provide to a market demanding paid-for sex (Ringdal 2004). Additionally, states, monarchs and leaders have seen prostitution as a lucrative source of taxation, often whilst simultaneously publicly condemning the sale of sex and the people involved (for example, Henry II in medieval Britain (Smith 2010a)).

Lawson (2012, p5) takes a Marxist view of poverty and examines this through 'both the devaluation of people and places under crisis and through adverse incorporation of people in specific sites of accumulation.' Through this, she argues that a class structure exploits and excludes individuals based on identifiable criteria such as race, gender or nationality resulting in poverty. According to Lawson, there are cultural and political reasons for this that 'consolidate unequal social categories and limit the political voice of the poor,' (ibid., p8). McCarthy (2001) specifically looks at poverty and inequality in relation to women. She concludes that this is 'partially constructed in and through social discourse at the public level (for example, politics and the media),' (ibid., p253). This is explained as poverty leading to negative social descriptions that leave the individual vulnerable to stigma and reduced opportunities, effectively trapping the person in poverty, citing examples such governmental pressure on welfare payments. McCarthy argues that stereotyping of low-class young women as unmarried mothers and being sexually irresponsible creates this social discourse and compounds the poverty of this marginalised group.

Poverty, profiteering of individuals, and the taxation by governments of prostitution can all be considered as part of the social construction of the economy under which the sale

of sex exists, particularly in the context where sex is increasingly commodified. In his description of an economy as a social construct, Stern (1990) begins by asserting that this is easy to demonstrate and then goes on to describe how different societies trade in blood, abortions, slaves, or marriageable women whereas others do not. He also states that, 'identical activities may be defined as part of the economy or not, depending on circumstances,' (ibid., p38) and uses an example of housework and childcare, which could be considered part of the economy if a paid person carries these out, but not if this is part of a shared marriage agreement. The slave trade is also an example of something which has changed over time from a sale of humans as commodities to a human rights violation. The social construction of economies is far from easy to describe, however Stern's introduction illustrates that an economy is a social construct.

The Fifth Pillar: Policy Agendas

Political, religious, and moral agendas have all shaped and informed policies regarding prostitution, significantly contributing to the social construction of the sale and purchase of sex. Two major aspects of this are public health concerns and feminist polarised debates and polemics.

There are two significant periods in history where public health concerns have shaped attitudes and policy towards prostitution in Western Europe. The first of these was the syphilis epidemic of the 1860s that resulted in the Contagious Diseases Acts in Britain and Europe (Ringdal 2004) and the second was the identification of AIDS in the 1980s (Huminer *et al.* 1987). Both are sexually transmitted and, in both cases, prostitution was claimed to be a significant factor in the spread of the diseases (Scambler *et al.* 1990) resulting in, what Snell (1994) described as, a sacrifice of civil liberties and personal rights for the 'greater good'. Whilst these outbreaks significantly raised the role of sexually transmitted diseases amongst women providing sex, protection of the public health from the effects of prostitution has shaped societal views and control of these women throughout history. Herek *et al.* (2003) conducted a study into the stigma attached to AIDS and reported how this affects public attitudes, the likelihood of

engaging with preventative measures such as routine testing and isolating specific groups such as gay men and intravenous drug users, effectively marginalizing these subcultures. This discussion will be developed further in Chapter Two.

Whilst *Treponema pallidum* (the spirochaete that causes syphilis) and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV – the virus that can lead to AIDS) can both be considered as ‘fact’, this cannot necessarily be said for illness or disease. Conrad and Barker (2010) propose three arguments for the social construction of illness:

1. some illnesses have a cultural meaning,
2. people develop an understanding of their illnesses through experience and find ways to live with them, and
3. medical knowledge of illnesses is developed by persons or groups with a particular interest or agenda.

They conclude by saying that ‘Social constructionism provides an important counterpoint to medicine's largely deterministic approaches to disease and illness, and it can help us broaden policy deliberations and decisions,’ (ibid., p567).

Attempting to provide a definition of feminism seems to be an impossible exercise. As Thompson (2020, p171) puts it: ‘Defining feminism is not a straightforward task because there is a reluctance amongst feminist writers to engage in definition. On the whole, feminists tend, quite often deliberately, not to define what they mean by “feminism”.’ The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines feminism as: ‘the belief in social, economic, and political equality of the sexes,’ (Burkett and Brunell 2019). Hoffman (2001, p198) describes feminism as ‘an inverted patriarchy.’ The multiple, often contradictory, forms that feminism appears to take only serve to complicate this process. Lord (1997) describes thirteen individual types of feminism, but this list seems to grow on an annual basis and is probably considerably larger than Lord envisioned it over twenty years ago.

What all the various forms of feminism share, however, is a drive toward equality for women in all walks of life. The Encyclopaedia Britannica limits this to social, economic,

and political arenas, but it goes far beyond this. What this does illustrate, however, is that each of the scenarios where inequality currently exists are themselves social constructions leading to inequality. From this viewpoint, feminism is a response to those situations that have negatively influenced and disadvantaged the lives of women and is itself a social construction intended to counter this.

Walkowitz (1980a) would agree with Hoffman above in that she views feminism in relation to prostitution as a direct response to patriarchal control of the sale of sex. The most cited forms of feminism relating to prostitution are liberal and radical feminism, although even these have developed sub-types within the overall headings. These will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter Three, but briefly the radical view represents the sale of sex as oppression, exploitation, or violence against women (MacKinnon 1993) whereas the liberal view is that prostitution should be regarded as erotic labour that is empowering and liberating for women who should have labour rights the same as any other occupation (Weitzer 2007). These two competing ideologies have influenced policy at national and local levels in the western world since the 1980s resulting in diametrically opposite approaches based on either the abolition of prostitution or a decriminalisation approach (Di Nicola 2005).

Another aspect of feminism is the creation of the 'victim' within prostitution. Radical feminists argue that all female prostitution is violence against women (Farley *et al.* 1998) and, by extension, that all female sex providers are victims of this violence in what Hamilton (2010) refers to as the 'victimisation paradigm', a position that liberal feminists strongly disagree with (Weitzer 2010a). Conversely, some liberal feminists advocate that all crimes against sex providers should be regarded as 'hate crimes' (Campbell 2014), a designation that presents its own form of specialised 'victimhood'. This is discussed further below and in Chapter Four.

Boutellier (1991) describes these competing views as being 'structural' or 'subjective'. He describes the structuralist approach as representing male dominance over women where prostitution is regarded as sexual violence. In contrast, the subjective approach views prostitution as a form of freely chosen labour. In the former, the sex provider is seen as a victim, but in the latter, she is making a free choice and in control of her own

labour.

Farley *et al.* (1998, p15) conducted a study into violence against women providing sex and concluded that: 'Our data indicate that violence and PTSD are widely prevalent among 475 prostituted people in five countries. Physical assault, rape and homelessness were common.' Based on this, they advocated viewing prostitution as violence and, by extension, the women providing sex as victims. Weitzer (2010a) on the other hand argues that, what he refers to as the 'oppression paradigm', is one-dimensional and that the violence is regarded as a key defining component of prostitution. He proposes an alternative 'polymorphous paradigm', that acknowledges that some violence exists within prostitution, but also that there is a range of worker experiences and power relations that are far more complex than simply regarding all prostitution as violence against women.

In terms of policy, the 'prostitution as violence' view is usually offered to support an abolitionist approach, whereas the free-choice labour view is used to promote a decriminalisation policy model (Morash 2006). By extension, if prostitution is viewed as violence against women and the sex providers are regarded as victims, then the sex buyers must be the perpetrators of this violence and should be viewed as offenders. This view has given rise to a form of neo-abolitionism where the sale of sex is decriminalised, but the purchase is made an absolute offence. This is typified by the so-called Nordic Model introduced in Sweden in 1999 (Levy and Jakobson 2014). If prostitution is viewed as labour, then the sex buyer is no more than a consumer of a service and should not be criminalised (Campbell and Storr 2001).

Stobl (2004) provides five criteria that must be satisfied from an incident for a person to be regarded as a victim:

1. There must be an identifiable single event, thereby excluding structural and latent phenomena.
2. There must be a negative evaluation.
3. It must be an uncontrollable event where the person has no control or causation of the event. In effect, victimisation absolves the victim of responsibility.

4. The event must be attributable to a personal or social offender. In effect, this would exclude a 'victim' of a natural disaster for example.
5. The event must be a violation of a socially shared norm. This criterium is culturally and geographically specific over different time periods.

This definition is restrictive, but it serves to illustrate the social construction of victimhood, particularly with criterium five. Stobl also discusses the difference between social-recognition and self-recognition of victimisation, with his definition favouring the former. In essence, it is not sufficient for a person to believe they are a victim, society must confer this status upon them. Conversely, it is possible for society to view a person as a victim, even if they do not see themselves as such. This latter point is seen in debates on policy and legislation regarding prostitution where groups representing sex providers advocate a labour model, but governments introduce legislation to protect them from victimisation.

Chapter Four will discuss the policy position of designating all crimes against sex providers as 'hate crimes' (Campbell 2014) under the definition provided by the College of Policing (2014). The issue of hate crimes in general does not fit with Stobl's definition as the policy states that 'for recording purposes, the perception of the victim, or any other person ... is the defining factor in determining whether an incident is a hate incident,' (College of Policing 2014, p5), which is problematic when considering what is a 'victim' and further illustrates how this concept is being continually changed and constructed in relation to prostitution.

These feminist debates and campaigns have shaped prostitution in the west, constructing a new approach to prostitution for the twenty-first century.

Summary

This chapter has established a research paradigm for the social construction of prostitution and sex buying. The five pillars underpinning this have been established. Having provided this model as a lens through which to view prostitution and sex buying,

I will show how this was developed through a discussion of the historical context of prostitution and sex buying in Chapter Two, a review of the theoretical understanding of why men buy sex in Chapter Three, and how prostitution policy models are formulated in Chapter Four. These paradigms will be used to construct interview topics and data collection throughout the field work and an analysis of the results will revisit the five pillars and examine the findings thematically through this social constructionist lens.

The model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying presented here is an original contribution to the debate and understanding of these phenomena. This has been derived within a literature review for this research to provide a lens through which to view the research findings and as a basis for the discussion based on this.

Chapter Two – The Historical Context of Prostitution and Sex Buying

The previous chapter discussed the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, introducing the five pillars that underpin this. This chapter will situate prostitution and sex buying within their historical context to develop and define these pillars. This will demonstrate how prostitution came to be socially constructed as it is today and what social and personal attributes of sex buyers and sex providers contributed to this. In appreciating how prostitution was constructed into the phenomenon we see today, a better understanding of how it currently exists, and the nuances within this, can be gained and policy initiatives can be contextualised.

The issues and debates surrounding prostitution and sex buying are not new and have been repeated throughout history. To understand and address the sale and buying of sex in the current climate, we must understand it in the past. Placing prostitution in its historical context is intrinsically important to developing theory and policy in the future guarding against what Rock (2005) refers to as chronocentrism, describing this as:

‘the unsubstantiated, often uninspected, almost certainly untenable but powerful doctrine that what is current must somehow be superior to what went before, that ideas, scholars and scholarship inevitably become stale and discredited over time, and that, by implication, those who invoke older work must themselves become contaminated by the taint of staleness’ (ibid., p474).

For the purposes of this review, historical context is taken as ‘the social, religious, economic, and political conditions that existed during a certain time and place,’ (Fleming 2019, p1) along with cultural aspects relevant to different periods in history. In essence, this is a way to understand the complex interactions of these elements as they influenced people and society at that time rather than trying to judge them by contemporary standards.

This historical review is structured into four broad areas. The presentation of prostitution and sex buying in pre-Christian societies is considered first, illustrating how promiscuity in nomadic tribes gradually gave way to monogamy and marriage, which in

turn gave rise to paid-for sex in societies such as in Greece and Rome. The second area discussed considers the rise of Christian morality that changed prostitution from an accepted and often religiously sanctioned activity to something that was tolerated as a necessary evil but was ultimately undesirable. In the third section the public health fears arising out of pandemics such as syphilis and AIDS are discussed, and how the authoritarian responses to these restricted the rights and liberties of those involved in prostitution. The final section looks at social reform in the twentieth century through wartime suppression to a series of reviews and inquiries that led to a more stringent legislative control of prostitution in the UK. In structuring the review in this way, the five pillars of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying are developed and described in context, leading to an understanding as to how they underpin prostitution today.

Prostitution and Sex Buying Before the Common Era

The Origins of Prostitution and Sex Buying

In considering the socially constructed origins of prostitution and sex buying, many commentators draw links with primitive societies establishing monogamous marriage customs. In simple terms, the lack of promiscuity and freely available sexual partners creates an environment where prostitution may exist and, some researchers believe, may even be a necessity for its existence (Engels 2000).

Scott (1996, p41) draws a link between promiscuity and the lack of prostitution in, what he terms, 'savage and primitive races.' In effect, what he is saying is that if a society tolerates or promotes promiscuity on a wide scale, then there is no need within that group of people to develop prostitution; sex is freely available so there is no necessity for a system of paid-for sex. In essence, once a society introduces some form of restriction on promiscuity, then prostitution results as a natural consequence. Bloch (1912) summarises this as, 'Prostitution appears among primitive people wherever free sexual intercourse is curtailed or limited. It is nothing else than a substitute for a new form of primitive promiscuity,' (cited in Lerner 1986, p236). The reality in the modern

western world is more complicated than this, however. Since the introduction of birth control in the 1960s, the UK has developed a more hybrid state where society has become more promiscuous, but our monogamous heritage is still culturally embedded (Balzarini 2018). Despite this, Scott (1996) and Bloch's (1912) arguments are still important to consider when discussing promiscuity versus monogamy.

To arrive at his conclusions, Scott (1996) draws comparisons with less-advanced societies encountered by explorers, missionaries, or trappers. The problem with this approach is that these observations are exclusively made by male western observers, mainly in the Victorian period. As Bullough and Bullough (1987, p9) point out, these are not trained ethnographers and 'their reports consciously or unconsciously reflected their bias.' It is a key consideration for modern anthropologists to understand that their presence will have an influence on those observed. Indeed, Bullough and Bullough raise the possibility as to whether it was these western observers who introduced prostitution to these primitive societies in the first place. In reporting their observations and conclusions through the lens of western society, this would have introduced an interpretation that fitted the perceived view of 'primitive races', introducing a biased understanding and furthering the social construction of prostitution through descriptions of declining promiscuity and, by implication, increasing monogamy.

Despite this argument, it is unlikely that these observers could have introduced long-seated customs or features that do not exist in western societies. As such, these can be presumed to be integral features of those observed. Bullough and Bullough (*ibid.*, p10) conclude from this that, 'it seems clear that prostitution existed in some primitive societies, and although western intervention might well have changed or altered the original forms, they still bear resemblance to what existed before.'

This debate could have remained largely philosophical were it not for Marxist theorists who developed these ideas further and considered the impact of prostitution on societies and their economies. Originally published in 1884, Engels (2000) argued that there was no requirement for prostitution in a matriarchal society that did not contain a nuclear family unit or group marriages. In such a society promiscuous sex was readily available, but as societies moved towards a patriarchal governance, where the family

unit became stronger and dominated by men, the restrictions on sex outside of marriage meant that prostitution arose as a necessity to fill this gap. In his arguments, Engels introduces the concept that the move from promiscuity to monogamy is actually driven by men through patriarchal governance, imposing this condition upon women in society.

Bullough and Bullough (1987, p7) conclude that, 'In the presence of so much speculation and so little fact, all we can now say about prostitution's origins is that it probably existed from very early in human development.' These debates on the potential origins of prostitution are far from definitive, but they serve to illustrate the role that mating systems play as one of the pillars of prostitution and sex buying, together with their social construction. Linked to this, both masculinity and female marginalisation are also features of ancient societies that contributed to the existence of prostitution.

Temple Prostitution

The earliest documented use of written language in human history comes from ancient Sumer in Mesopotamia around 3500BCE (Justus 2002) and one of the oldest literary pieces from this period is the Epic of Gilgamesh. This relates the circumstances where a man is seduced by a temple prostitute, sometimes known as the Whore of Babylon, in the service of the goddess Ishtar (MacLachlan 1992). Whilst the historical accuracy of the poem is questionable (Ringdal 2004), for prostitution to be included at all suggests that it existed in some form during this and earlier periods and the specific reference of service to Ishtar would seem to indicate links to religious cultism (MacLachlan 1992). However, Kelly (2020, para 2) asserts that the concept of Sacred Prostitution is a myth and 'a more exotic and culturally appropriative version of the image of the "happy hooker".' El Saawadi (1985) presents a description of prostitution in temples in Egypt dedicated to the god Amun and there are numerous references to prostitution and paid-for sex in the Indian Vedas with evidence of temple prostitution during this period involving girls as young as seven years old (Ringdal 2004). Lerner (1986) states that this theme of goddess worship recurs in many early civilisations and may even date back to Neolithic times. In most cases the sex provider is regarded as the embodiment of the

goddess in human form and the sexual act as a form of religious ceremony. Although payment would have been expected for this sexual encounter, it is important to note that these ancient civilisations would not have regarded this as prostitution in the way that we would in the modern world, but more of a service to the temple (Bullough and Bullough 1987). In this way, prostitution became an integral part of society and religious worship.

There is some evidence of men providing sex, but then, as now, it was predominantly women and girls who were involved in prostitution with men as their clients (Scott 1996). The reasons as to why these young women entered into prostitution during this period are many, but most have an underlying root in religion and marginalisation. In some cases, families gave up their daughters seeking favour from the gods, especially if the daughter was the firstborn and the family wanted a son, in fulfilment of a sacred vow or as rituals of defloration carried out on young women by priests or favoured patrons (King 1910, Bullough and Bullough 1987). In other cases, the families simply could not afford to feed themselves and surrendered some children in order that others may survive. Bhattacharji (1987) describes the number of girls 'given away' in this manner in ancient India as staggering and describes how they would be used by the priests as servants or sex providers for a time until they were discarded and sent to brothels or slave markets. Ringdal (2004) points out that the poorest women involved in prostitution in ancient society were often slaves. In ancient China, if there were insufficient numbers of girls to satisfy this need, it was not unusual for demand to be met by kidnapping young girls from their villages by people traders (*ibid.*). In some cases, if a woman was convicted of a criminal offence, she could be ordered to work in a brothel as her punishment or if a man was similarly convicted and either imprisoned or exiled, his entire close family could be ordered into enslavement, which, for his female relatives, would have been into prostitution (Ren 1993). Female prisoners of war often ended up as sex providers, while others were simply slaves, which in practical terms, meant the same thing (Bullough and Bullough 1987).

Given this, whilst temple prostitution may be portrayed in these societies as a holy calling, most of the women probably did not do so willingly. Women kept as sex providers, slaves, or both, could suffer punishments such as being publicly stripped,

flogged, and tarred for 'offences' such as failing to wear a veil in public (Lerner 1986). Despite their alleged sacred nature, these women were evidently regarded as being of low standing and social outcasts (Bullough and Bullough 1987). Through these early processes, prostitution began to be constructed through religious practices, preying on the most impoverished in society who had little or no other options. This discussion illustrates the role that marginalisation and poverty, together with the lack of equality and opportunity for women within these, are key factors in the development of prostitution and its inclusion in the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

Ringdal (2004) points out that Mesopotamian temples were not simply of religious significance, they were also a centre of diplomacy and commerce in the region, meaning that men would come from far and wide to trade and settle disputes, as well as to worship. This would have meant a regular and large throughput of men around the temples. Whilst many historical texts focus on prostitution associated with temples, there is evidence of other forms of ancient prostitution in the towns and cities away from these and, whilst some premises or brothels paid homage to the temples, this may have been a form of legitimisation rather than religious adherence (Bullough and Bullough 1987).

There is evidence to show that prostitution took place in religious temples in ancient Greece and that part of their income went to the temple. This does not appear to be Sacred Prostitution as it appeared in earlier cultures in that this was not provided in worship of a deity, but seemingly more out of convenience of the availability of male customers (Bullough and Bullough 1987).

The role of armies in the early development of prostitution is also significant. These consisted almost exclusively of male soldiers and leaders saw it as their duty to supply sex providers to any army in the field, and in peacetime these girls were often sent back to the privately organised brothels (Ringdal 2004). In early Chinese culture, there existed officially run brothels for the army troops where the women were mainly captives of feudal wars (Ren 1993). Similarly, the role of war in the subjugation, enslavement, and prostitution of women in ancient Greece is often overlooked. As Henry (2011, p15) puts

it, 'the rape and sexual enslavement of women are frequent consequences of war.' Early Greek civilisation was built upon war, whether it is called piracy, raiding or conflict, and the trafficking of captured and enslaved women for enforced prostitution was commonplace (ibid.).

Some general themes have been developed during the preceding discussion on the development of prostitution and sex buying. Key amongst these has been the role of religious control or profiteering from prostitution and the dual morality present, whereby women providing sex are condemned to be outcasts, but male sex buyers are often seen as fulfilling a biological imperative or led astray by 'loose' women (Bullough and Bullough 1987). The influence of masculinity, religion, and female marginalisation were the key drivers in the social construction of prostitution throughout this ancient period of history, hence their inclusion in the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One through the pillars of masculinity, culture, and female marginalisation.

Greece and Rome: Reducing the Status of Women Providing Sex

Ancient Greek and Roman societies were patriarchal where the role of women was primarily seen as wives and mothers who were isolated inside the family unit (Bullough and Bullough 1987). The concept of marriage was central to Roman culture and it is from here that the modern institution arose (Ringdal 2004). Female chastity prior to marriage was core to this and prostitution was seen as an acceptable outlet for young men's sexual needs, but only in moderation. As Bullough and Bullough (1987, p55) put it, 'moralists ... condoned prostitution as a necessary institution designed to protect and preserve marriage.' This is further evidence of the decline of promiscuity and the rise of monogamy impacting on the presence of prostitution in society, constructing an environment where paid-for sex is seen as a necessary element to the stability of marriage and society.

The Greeks introduced the concept of concubines, known as *hetaira*, who were the ancient equivalent of escorts in modern societies, alongside many other classes of

women involved in prostitution down to the *pornē* who were often slaves found in the lowest brothels (Kapparis 2011). It is of note that the modern word 'pornography' derives from the Greek, meaning 'the writing of prostitutes' and formed a literary field in ancient Greece (Bullough and Bullough 1987). In creating this class structure of prostitution and imposing clearly defined roles on women, Greek society constructed a more formal presentation of prostitution than earlier societies that was an integral part of their culture (Kapparis 2011).

Glazebrook and Henry (2011) dispute that these distinctions in the classes of prostitution in Greece are as clear cut as they may appear, partly because the term *pornē* could be used as an insult, in much the same way as several terms for women involved in prostitution are used in the modern world, making translations complicated and interpretations flawed. Kurke (1997) goes even further than this and argues that the whole concept of *hetaira* is a social construct as a way reducing the public perception of obscenity surrounding *pornē*. In essence, the existence of *hetaira* was designed to make other forms of prostitution more palatable to Greek society and this has been seized upon and quoted in historical studies as a way of justifying prostitution in later eras in a form of ancient neutralisation. Glazebrook and Henry (2011) point out that depictions of *hetaira* in art and literature usually date from much later periods and are often idealized. They believe that these women might not have been as wealthy or highly regarded for their wit and education as is often portrayed and conclude that their primary function was probably selling sex. The liberal attitude towards prostitution that is often portrayed in art and literature is a social construction intended to make prostitution acceptable and allow society an opportunity to ignore the poor conditions and exploitation of impoverished and enslaved women.

The situation in Rome was different to that in Greece, but arguably had the same goal. Women engaging in prostitution in Roman culture were never afforded the same levels of status that the Greeks allegedly did (Scott 1996). Throughout Roman literature and art, women providing sex were portrayed as base and perverse, often corrupting others such as children and leading men astray. As Bullough and Bullough (1987, p52) argue, 'this portrayal probably allowed the Romans to close their eyes to the real abuses that the prostitute suffered.' Roman historians and commentators of the time spent a great

deal of effort creating a mythology for themselves that presented an idealised version of Roman society that did not reflect the truth. The virtues and nobility that they taught to later generations were a distortion of the past in an effort to glorify the empire (Bassermann 1993).

In both the Greek and Roman cultures, art and literature were used as propaganda to portray prostitution as something other than it was in order that society could justify its existence and ignore the exploitation and inhumane conditions imposed upon the women and girls in the brothels and streets. By either romanticising or vilifying sex providers, both cultures were constructing a representation of prostitution that differed from reality but would go on to influence future societies as discussed in later sections.

Slavery or kidnapping were common routes into prostitution, particularly trafficked from areas such as Syria or Egypt. Seneca wrote an account of the sale of a young girl by auction in a marketplace who was made to strip naked and was intimately groped by prospective sex buyers (Bullough and Bullough 1987). It is clear that money and financial gain were key motivators behind prostitution, but this was exclusively for the benefit of those controlling them, not the women themselves (Flemming 1999).

Life in a Roman brothel was extremely poor. Women would work from a small room, or cell, with their names displayed outside, possibly also with a list of sexual acts they would perform and prices that would be charged, as evidenced by graffiti found outside such premises preserved in Pompeii (Scott 1996). The women would stand outside the brothels to be visible to potential clients, which is where the word *prostitute* is derived from, translating as 'to set forth in public', although it wasn't in common use until the middle ages (ibid.).

Both Greek and Roman societies attempted to introduce an early form of regulation on prostitution, although in large part, this mainly involved taxing the brothels, which became a lucrative income for many Greek and Roman cities (Fenton 2007, Kapparis 2011). The poverty experienced by this group of women was exploited for the financial gain of both the brothel owners and the state.

The German psychoanalyst, Karen Horney (1885-1952), proposed a theory that as the home was the sole purview of the wife and mother in ancient Greece and Rome, they would have exercised control and domination over young sons, instilling a feeling of inferiority in their formative years. Horney proposes that the widespread use and acceptance of prostitution (and homosexuality) represented adult males denigrating their wives and reasserting their masculinity (Bullough and Bullough 1987). This element of early development of masculinity and 'bounded intimacy' will be returned to in more detail in Chapter Three, but it illustrates here how familial and societal influences upon boys in their early years could potentially have an impact on their self-conception of their masculinity creating subconscious attitudes towards women that effect their behaviour in paying for sex in later life.

This was a key period of transition for the social construction of prostitution as the cultish religious practices of early Rome and Greece gave way to Christian morality. It is from latter-day Rome, rather than the earlier civilisations, that modern day prostitution has evolved and these early attempts to deride and socially exclude sex providers have survived to this day. As Ringdal (2004, p85) puts it, 'the Western world has obtained its fundamental view of prostitution from Rome. The views of Judaism and ancient Greece were put aside as Rome created its legacy,' but it is also clear from the above discussion that Roman views were themselves influenced in part by earlier civilisations. However, the Romans ended any pretence of religious grounds for prostitution and set it on a commercial footing (Scott 1996).

The Rise of Christian Morality

The Early Christian Church

The Christian bible contains a recurring theme of redeeming women involved in prostitution. From Christ 'reforming' Mary Magdalene to the ministrations of Saint Jerome or Abraham, they are viewed as 'fallen women' that need to be saved by pious men (Bullough and Bullough 1987). Early Christianity is typified by the double standards and confusion it repeatedly promotes regarding sex. Some preachers were married, but

denigrated the practice, whilst others pointed to the contradiction of Saint Paul being a bachelor whilst Saint Peter was married. The problem probably lay with the fact that early Christians were mostly converts from other religions including Judaism and several Ancient Near East cults. Many of these people brought their own beliefs and practices into their new religion and Christianity's attempts to absorb these contradictory positions resulted in confusion and mixed messages (Ringdal 2004). In this way, whilst Christianity solidified the institution of marriage, and thereby declining promiscuity, as well as morally condemning prostitution, it was itself constructed upon the beliefs of its converts in its early years.

A key figure in influencing Christian views of prostitution was Saint Augustine (354-439CE). He converted from a background which was heavily influenced by republican Roman views and had very strict rules on celibacy with an open hostility to sex in general (Bullough and Bullough 1987). Augustine's opinions persisted after his conversion to Christianity, where he believed that prostitution was necessary to protect social order against the perceived 'sins of promiscuity', stating, 'banish prostitutes from humankind, and capricious lusts will overflow society,' (quoted in Ringdal 2004, p115). Given this view of sex as a sin, even within marriage, it is easy to see how sex providers became problematic for the early Christian church.

The double standard of forgiving 'weak men' for transgressing but condemning 'promiscuous women' became more pronounced as the Christian church evolved. Bullough and Bullough (1987, p71) describe this in strong terms as, 'Christianity turned out to be a male-centred, sex-negative religion with strong misogynistic tendencies and suspicion of female sexuality.' In this climate, Christianity effectively constructed a religious and institutional basis for prostitution but viewed it as something that men should strive to leave behind as they aspired to Christian ideals (Scott 1996).

Prostitution in the Middle Ages

Early Medieval views and attitudes towards prostitution were heavily influenced by earlier Roman culture, but the decline of the Roman Empire saw influences from a

diverse range of peoples imposing themselves on the cultures of Europe. New influences from Germans, Slavs, Vikings, and others all shaped Europe in the Medieval period. What links these people is the gradual conversion to Christianity, but it would be inaccurate to regard these as all being the same form of this faith and it is these differences that shaped the cultural and legal approaches to prostitution through this period (Bullough and Bullough 1987).

In the east, the Byzantine Empire abolished the place of concubines in society, which created an imbalance, with wives' role primarily being for procreation and sex providers for pleasure (Nicol and Teall 2018, Dauphin 1996). Poverty was a key driver for parents to provide their daughters into prostitution and their defloration could be auctioned at market for a handful of coins (Lascaratos and Poulakou-Rebelakou 2000). As Bullough and Bullough (1987, p111) describe it, 'most girls sold by their parents ... were confined to miserable dens of prostitution, slaving for the benefit of their masters.' Most of the women or girls forced into prostitution were slaves or illiterate peasant girls from impoverished families (Dauphin 1996).

In western Europe order and unification took longer to become established, resulting in a situation where prostitution was not tolerated, and criminal law administered harsh punishments to women providing sex, although the men paying for this went largely unpunished (Von Galen 1996). As rural communities began to grow into towns and cities, society became more impersonal leading to a changing morality over sex and an increasing tolerance of prostitution, which became subjected to regulation and taxation by the authorities. Brothels became more commonplace, but there continued to exist a stigma attached to women providing sex that required them to wear veils, but no jewellery in order that they not be mistaken for 'honourable, pious women' (Von Galen, 1996).

There is very little recorded evidence of the lives of the British people prior to the Roman conquest, but what is available shows a familiar pattern of nomadic promiscuity gradually giving way to forms of monogamy and restrictions on sexual activities, especially of women, which in turn gave rise to paid for sex (Sanger 1919). Similar to the rest of western Europe, British views of prostitution in the Middle Ages were based on

a compromise of Roman law and Christian morality (Smith 2010a). Christian Medieval Britain regarded prostitution as a necessary, if unwanted, institution to protect the wider social order. As Karras (1989, p399) puts it, the church believed that ‘sinful men ... would corrupt respectable women, their own wives, or turn to sodomy if they did not have the prostitute as a sexual outlet.’

Contemporary writers viewed a woman’s ‘choice’ to enter into prostitution as being motivated by sin and lustfulness, but the reality is that they often had no alternatives. Access to work opportunities tended to be limited for women and the ratio of women to men was very high, mainly due to war, meaning that available husbands, and more importantly dowries, were few and many women had to support themselves. Without an inheritance, many found themselves turning to prostitution to survive (Karras 1989). Brothels were places of entertainment, drinking and gambling where the combination of alcohol and large debts made these dangerous places where homicide was commonplace. Taking this together with the infectious diseases due to lifestyle and sexual transmission, the life expectancy for these women was very low; few of them living beyond the age of 30 (Smith 2010b). This demonstrates how female marginalisation, and particularly poverty, contributes to the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

The Protestant Reformation

The history of sixteenth century Europe is dominated by the Protestant Reformation with the associated changes in religious attitudes and morals. Society’s differing views of women are typified by the opposing positions of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Calvin (1509-1564). Luther still saw women as primarily involved in procreation and motherhood, whereas Calvin felt that women had a larger part to play in marriage and society as life-long companions of their husbands. Both, however, held the institution of marriage in much higher esteem than had earlier interpretations of Christianity and were far less tolerant of promiscuity (Bullough and Bullough 1987). This shift in viewing marriage as a convenient means of procreation to having an element of companionship

and an emotional attachment strengthened the concept of marriage, but also increased the social and moral condemnation of adultery, which included prostitution (Roper 1985). The earlier reluctant toleration of prostitution no longer existed. Some instances were more extreme, such as Philip Stubbs (c1555-c1610) who urged that 'all whores be cauterized with a red-hot iron on their cheeks, forehead, and all other visible parts of the body,' (quoted in Bullough and Bullough 1987, p143).

This puritan approach and rigid morality also began to impact upon Catholic states in southern Europe where the relaxed morals of the Medieval period began to be challenged, leading to more pronounced double-standards and mixed views towards courtesans and prostitution. Brothels continued to exist in cities such as Venice or Rome, although the Catholic church began to take a stronger disapproving view of prostitution, challenging the position of courtesans and viewing other sex providers as of a very low social standing (Roper 1985).

The Middle Ages saw Christianity become the dominant religion in western Europe. This led to the promiscuous lifestyles of ancient cultures being eradicated and the dominance of monogamy, particularly through marriage, established. Christianity also saw the end of sacred or temple prostitution, with the church adopting a moral-based position of condemning prostitution whilst also regarding it as a necessary evil to cater to masculine needs. This created a contradictory position where men were simultaneously corrupted by licentious women but would also allegedly be reduced to attacking 'respectable' women or homosexuality if their sexual needs were not catered to. Female marginalisation emerged as the dominant cause of women and girls turning to, or being sold into, prostitution. Christianity in the Middle Ages shaped and constructed prostitution within society, completely eradicating the glamourised portrayal of these women in earlier societies and replacing this with stigma and condemnation.

The preceding historical account has provided considerable detail into the evolution and presentation of prostitution and sex buying. Through this description, I have sort to situate these phenomena in their cultural context to illustrate the social construction of these as an on-going and dynamic process to derive the five pillars included in the model presented in Chapter One.

Public Health Agendas

Syphilis: The First Sexually Transmitted Disease Pandemic

Venereal diseases had been known about for some considerable time amongst the Greeks and earlier civilisations. The term venereal derives from the Latin word *venery*, or the pursuit of Venus, the goddess of love, so some aspects of sexual transmission were understood. Gonorrhoea was probably responsible for the sterility of many women in earlier cultures, but it was during the latter part of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries that syphilis was identified as a particularly virulent and life-threatening disease (Bullough and Bullough 1987). There is much speculation about the origins of syphilis although this will probably never be fully understood. The earliest reports originate with a French army capturing Naples, but falling ill to a new disease, later identified as syphilis. On returning to their home countries, they spread the disease. In the space of little more than twenty years, cases were identified as far away as China (Ringdal 2004).

With little or no apparent evidence, women involved in prostitution were identified as the main cause of the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and syphilis in particular (Roper 1985). The explosion of syphilis amongst most nations, coupled with the emerging religious opposition to prostitution, was to have a great impact on attitudes towards women providing sex and men purchasing it. Both secular and church laws began to take a harsher view of prostitution and penalties for engaging in this became more rigorously enforced. Women suspected of carrying the infection were detained and banished from cities and towns, brothels were forcibly closed, and hospitals refused to treat these women. The men buying sex did not escape punishment either and examples exist of men imprisoned on a diet of bread and water for several weeks for being caught accessing prostitution (Roper 1985). Public health agendas were beginning to shape and construct prostitution and sex buying throughout western societies.

Once the initial rate of infection from syphilis began to fall in the seventeenth century, coupled with a decline in the fear of venereal diseases, prostitution began to return to most of these countries, but with greater control and regulation. Brothels were

restricted to certain quarters of cities and under the supervision of the city authorities (Orme 1987). As a result of this combination of religious reform and the fear of syphilis, sixteenth century Europe probably contained fewer sex providers, relatively, than any period before or since (Ringdal 2004).

Medical Interventions

Solutions to the apparent 'problem' of women providing sex being vectors for sexually transmitted diseases included Magdalen Houses, which were effectively workhouses for women involved in prostitution, and the Lock Hospital, which had a specific remit of curing the poor of venereal diseases, with a particular focus on women providing sex (Trumbach 1991). Trumbach (1991, p199) notes, 'the men, after their discharge, usually had their places of abode or occupations to which to return, the women had only prostitution.' Whilst the houses and hospitals would address infections and attempt to provide some support, the women were effectively trapped in a cycle of marginalisation, poverty and prostitution. In this way, medical interventions contributed to the social construction of prostitution in society.

Condoms began to be used, but the risk of contracting diseases orally was not fully understood, and this became the most likely way to catch syphilis (Smith 2010b). Young and inexperienced girls were preferred in brothels, partly because they were less likely to have syphilis or any other sexually transmitted diseases. Girls would quickly find that their time spent in the brothels would be short once they aged or contracted a venereal disease. Very few women remained in brothels over the age of thirty and would be cast out into the streets where they would sell sex for one or two pence in alleys or under bridges (ibid.).

Sexually transmitted diseases were not the only danger for these women, who were subjected to violence and even murder. The subject of dehumanising women who are sex providers will be returned to in Chapter Three, but in essence this demonstrates how these women are seen as objects to be used, abused, and cast aside (Nussbaum 1995). Most brothels close to the Thames had sewage outlets directly into the river where the

bodies of abused women would be washed out to sea and their deaths not investigated (Basserman 1993). In the eighteenth century, the only treatment for syphilis was oral or topical mercury, which caused as much harm and fatalities as the disease did (ibid.). Termination of pregnancies was commonplace, either surgically or by the ingestion of poisonous substances and many women did not survive the births (Smith 2010b). The life expectancy of women involved in prostitution was, consequently, very low.

Whilst not limited to prostitution, a series of new laws in Britain, that later became known as the 'solicitation laws,' were enacted between 1744 and 1851 to provide extended powers to the police and to create offences relating to women providing sex in an attempt to exert more stringent control (Rolph 1955, Trumbach 1991). The last of these would not be repealed in relation to prostitution until 1959, giving the State over two hundred years of social control over prostitution through these laws. This marked a turning point in the British approach to prostitution using the law to specifically target the women involved, which in turn further stigmatised, impoverished, and disadvantaged them. This was largely driven by public health concerns that shaped the arguments against prostitution and constructed the situation and presentation of prostitution in society.

The Contagious Diseases Acts

During the 1850s and 1860s, there was growing concern at the inefficient condition and chaotic administration of Britain's military. As Walkowitz (1980a, p73) puts it:

'The armed services were plagued by a series of evils, including severe problems of manning and recruitment, desertion, alcoholism, homosexuality, and the prevalence of venereal disease.'

During the Crimean War (1854-1856), more British soldiers died in hospital than did on the battlefield and a significant factor in this were sexually transmitted diseases (Smith 1971).

In response to this situation, three Contagious Diseases Acts (CDAs) were passed between 1864 and 1869 in England that provided powers to the police in certain garrison and dock towns in the south of the country. This allowed for an authorised police officer to identify a woman as being involved in prostitution and carrying a sexually transmitted disease. Once so identified, she would be subjected to a medical examination and, if the disease was confirmed, she could be detained for up to three months in hospital for treatment. If the woman would not voluntarily consent to the examination, then she could be brought before a magistrate and ordered to do so (Bullough and Bullough 1987).

Walkowitz (1980a, p78) argues that, 'the acts became openly linked to a tradition of repressive social legislation that tried to enforce a social discipline on the unrespectable poor.' The CDAs evolved from statutes aimed at military medical measures to domestic legislation, although the results of the testing and treatment did not yield the desired results as sexually transmitted diseases were debilitating the army as much as ever. The blame for this lack of results was placed on the women providing sex and their tendency to move from area to area spreading disease (MacDonagh 1958).

In response to the CDAs, the first women's suffrage societies were formed in 1866, which quickly recruited notable suffragettes such as Josephine Butler (1828-1906) who argued that the acts, 'punish the sex who are the victims of vice and leave unpunished the sex who are the main causes both of the vice and its dreaded consequences,' (Butler 1896, p9). Under pressure from these feminist groups with the support of some Members of Parliament, the CDAs were eventually repealed in 1886 (Hammond and Hammond 1932).

The legacy of the CDAs did not lie in the impact they had on individual women providing sex. Geographically, they affected a very small part of the country and were in force for only twenty-two years, but significantly more is written and argued about the CDAs than any of the solicitation laws, which tends to distort the influence of this regulatory system on the overall impact of regulation and control of prostitution throughout nineteenth century Britain as a whole (Laité 2008a). What the CDAs, and the repeal campaigns in particular, did achieve was in focussing social awareness onto prostitution, the unfair

practices, and the double standards that women providing sex endured, particularly when contrasted with the male sex buyers (Walkowitz 1980a). This marked the beginning of feminist debates and campaigning to reform the laws surrounding prostitution and to improve the lives of the women involved. These feminist arguments have continued to shape the social construction of prostitution to the current day but have fragmented with opposing views taking radically differing approaches as discussed further below.

For the first time, public health fears were influencing perceptions of, and responses to, prostitution across the whole of Europe. The evidence for placing the blame with women involved in prostitution was weak and imbalanced against the responsibility attributed to the sex buyers leading to punitive and discriminatory actions against these women. In this way, public health agendas began to socially construct prostitution throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in ways that are still prevalent today as evidenced by the HIV / AIDS pandemic of the 1980s.

AIDS: The Second Sexually Transmitted Disease Pandemic

The first reported case of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was recorded in the USA in 1981, although there may well have been sporadic cases prior to this (Hummer *et al.* 1987). The disease quickly spread around the globe with cases appearing in most countries within a few years. The etiological agent was eventually identified as the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) (Fauci *et al.* 1985).

Berridge (1996) describes how policy evolved in the UK after 1981 to address the emerging issue of AIDS from initial development to a wartime siege mentality in the mid-1980s, until it finally became normalised and professionalised later that decade. Initially, the press fuelled public opinion constructed AIDS as a biblical plague. The nature of its sexual transmission, particularly amongst homosexual males, quickly identified them as a primary concern, although the moral panic that followed quickly grew to include heterosexual women involved in prostitution (Scambler *et al.* 1990).

The call for mandatory HIV testing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly in America, had some very similar characteristics to the CDAs in the 1860s, where civil liberties and personal rights could be sacrificed for the 'greater good' (Snell 1994). This was particularly the case for sex providers being tested on arrest and specific treatment being mandated as part of sentencing at court. Ultimately, these tests were found to be unconstitutional and had to be stopped (ibid.).

Studies looking at the causation of HIV and AIDS on prostitution, and vice versa, have shown that the impact is very much based on geography and social development (Piot and Laga 1988). In the late 1980s, comparisons demonstrated that the rates of HIV infection amongst women providing sex in Europe and the USA were around 8%, whereas in African nations such as Rwanda and Kenya, the rates were as high as 85% in some areas. Comparative infection rates for syphilis were about 40% regardless of region (ibid.). Root-Bernstein (1993) reported that in New York when comparing the incidence of positive HIV tests amongst street sex providers between intravenous drug users and those who were not, that none of the latter group tested positive. There was no evident difference in sexual practices or protection, suggesting that the use of intravenous drugs presented a substantially greater risk of contracting HIV than was prostitution. However, in Africa, the incidence of HIV is significantly lower amongst sex providers who use condoms (Campbell 1990). There would appear to be no evidence to show that female sex providers are a vector for HIV in the heterosexual population in Europe and the USA, but they are a major contributory factor in Africa (Piot and Laga 1988).

In much the same way as the fear of syphilis was in the nineteenth century, fear of AIDS became a driving force behind calls for social reform and prohibition of prostitution in the twentieth century. In the face of press and public opinion, the lack of evidence did not prevent legal measures being taken to control prostitution and public health agendas continued to shape and construct prostitution in western societies. The majority of this focussed on the sex providers with the sex buyers largely being absent from the debate. Despite initially presenting in a very similar way to how syphilis spread in sixteenth century Europe, AIDS has not had the same lasting impact upon prostitution

and calls for regulation or control of women providing sex no longer feature very highly in debates or policies on prostitution.

COVID-19 Pandemic

COVID-19 is a pneumonia type illness that had a significant impact on society in general, and prostitution in particular, throughout 2020 and into 2021. The causative virus, SARS-CoV-2 of the coronavirus family, was first identified in December 2019 in the city of Wuhan in China (Guo *et al.* 2020). By the 11th of March 2020, the World Health Organisation declared the disease a pandemic with cases identified in most parts of the world and a significant mortality rate, particularly in the elderly or vulnerable (WHO 2020).

Unlike the syphilis or AIDS pandemics, the COVID-19 pandemic was a respiratory infection, not a sexually transmitted one (Lake 2020). Despite this, sex providers were blamed for transmission of the disease, particularly in the Far East, and suffered hardships as a result of the policy measures to control the disease. In Thailand, sex providers were specifically blamed for bringing the virus into the country from South Korea where tens of thousands of Thai sex providers were based (Thai Medical News 2020). In Tokyo, reports estimated that twenty-five per cent of all transmissions of COVID-19 in the hard-hit region of Kabukicho were the result of sexual contacts with sex providers (Holloway 2020).

As the pandemic evolved, most countries around the world introduced lockdown measures that involved the closure of businesses and activities deemed as non-essential or high risk. Given the nature of prostitution, this was clamped down on very quickly. Examples included brothels being closed in Nevada (Alonzo 2020), along with all forms of prostitution banned in European countries such as Switzerland (Zeltman 2020), Netherlands (Schaps 2020), and Germany (Kirschbaum 2020). The UK was equally affected with the on-street prostitution tolerance zone in Holbeck, Leeds being temporarily closed (Beecham 2020) and areas as far apart as Swansea (Evans 2020) and Edinburgh (Smith 2020) seeing prostitution discouraged as a vector for the virus.

Some specific actions were taken against sex providers. As a result of the perceived risk posed by sex providers returning from South Korea to Thailand, some online campaigning began to demand that the women should be quarantined on a deserted island for a minimum of fourteen days, although this was not actioned (Thai Visa 2020). In Australia, brothel raids were conducted that identified breaches of restrictions that resulted in women being prosecuted and receiving large fines (Wolfe and Sutton 2020). Miren (2020) reported that stigmatisation around prostitution had increased significantly during lockdown measures with many members of the public blaming sex providers, resulting in them being spat at or insulted in the street.

Lockdown measures around the world to try to contain the disease had a significant impact on sex providers, largely due to a complete loss of income (ECP 2020). The sex providers were generally excluded from government facilitated support packages (Delaunay 2020), compounding the underlying poverty that was a causative factor for many women providing sex in the first place. Some nations eventually introduced financial aid for sex providers, such as Japan (Yeung, Ogura and Ripley 2020) and New Zealand (Sussman 2020), but in many other cases, sex provider support agencies launched campaigns for public charitable donations such as SWARM (2020) in England and Umbrella Lane (2020) in Scotland.

The COVID-19 pandemic illustrated the tenuous nature of the survival of many sex providers, particularly women providing sex on the streets. The lack of income forced many women further into poverty and the stigmatisation isolated them within society, increasing their marginalisation.

Despite the massive amount of news coverage surrounding COVID-19, including a significant presence of commentary on sex providers, there was no discussion of the role that sex buyers play in the presentation of prostitution within the pandemic or their role in transmission of the virus. The men once again largely remained anonymous and in the shadows with the perceived blame placed firmly on the sex providers.

This discussion has illustrated the significant impact that policy agendas can have, through social perceptions, moral objections, and misinformation, on prostitution and

sex buying. In most cases, the brunt of the impact of this is felt by the sex providers who experienced increased marginalisation, poverty, and stigmatisation. This underscores the inclusions of female marginalisation and policy agendas in the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

Social Reform

The discussion above regarding public health impacts on prostitution examined a very specific element of control and the social construction of prostitution, but this has to be considered alongside the backdrop of broader social reform in society over the same period.

Social Control of Prostitution in Wartime Britain

By the outbreak of the First World War, sexually transmitted diseases were again becoming a serious issue, particularly with the armed forces, and the fear of women involved in prostitution infecting soldiers quickly grew to levels that had not been seen since the 1860s when the CDAs were introduced (Fee 1988). Reminiscent of that period, regulation 40D was introduced which allowed for the conviction and imprisonment of any woman who had transmitted a venereal disease to a member of the armed forces (Lammasniemi 2017). With hundreds of thousands of soldiers passing through London, women suffering from poverty or hardship found that selling sex was far more lucrative than most of the jobs they were being asked to do with the male workforce in short supply (Laité 2012). The regulation was not widely used, but, as Lammasniemi (2017, p589) argues, 'Rather than an effective piece of legislation, 40D can be seen as a symbolic attempt to protect public morality by publicly punishing promiscuous women.' This regulation was contested by feminist organisations and was repealed six months after being passed, although this had as much to do with the war ending than it did to the campaigning (ibid.).

The most prominent feminist abolitionist organisation at the time of the First World War was the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH). At times, theirs was a lone voice campaigning for increased safeguarding and protection for the women involved in prostitution, but they proved to be a very effective voice before, during and after the war. An inquiry by AMSH (1920) into sexual morality, the status of women in society, high birth rates and general health proved to be highly influential (Caslin 2015). This report highlighted a number of social and moral issues with the current policies of dealing with prostitution, particularly focussing on the inherent harm that was being caused by a double standard of penalising female sex providers but ignoring male sex buyers (AMSH 1920).

In much the same way as it had during the First World War, there was great concern amongst the authorities of the effect that 'promiscuous' young women were having on the armed forces during the Second World War, particularly with the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Rose (1988, p1150) quotes annual rates of syphilis infections in 1941 as having increased by 13% amongst males and a staggering 63% in females. Once again, women providing sex were identified as the main vector in the spread of these diseases. As one council officer commented, 'Experience has convinced me that it is the ordinary street walker, the habitually promiscuous girl who is not doing a job, or not a full-time one, that is the person who is doing the damage,' (Wailes 1945, p16).

This became an even greater issue with the arrival of the American G.I.s in 1942 that led to the introduction of an amendment to Regulation 33B (Cox 2007). This operated in a similar manner to Regulation 40D in the previous war in that it tried to manage contact tracing whereby if two patients named the same person as being the source of their infection, then that person was required to submit themselves for treatment (Rose 1988). In practice, however, it often only took one person to name another for them to be traced and brought into the system (Wailes 1945). Regulation 33B was withdrawn in 1947, but many of its principals in terms of contact tracing by health professionals persisted until the 1980s (Cox 2007).

Wartime is often a period of confusion and upheaval where legal rights and civil freedoms are sacrificed within society for the 'greater good'. It is a recurring theme

throughout history from ancient China in 770BCE (Ren 1993) to the Second World War that where large numbers of men join the military, similarly large numbers of women will be left with no income and struggling to survive. In this climate, prostitution is often seen as the only way out and the masculine environment of armies provides a ready market. Despite the drivers apparently being female marginalisation and hegemonic masculinity, the response is invariably the same in that blame is positioned on the women providing sex and punitive measures against them are imposed as the only way to 'solve' the problem. Wars continue around the world today and, whilst not on the scale of the two World Wars, women continue to be hidden victims as they are exploited and forced into prostitution due to poverty, hardship, and survival (Rose 1998). These factors continue to shape and construct prostitution within modern societies.

Reviews, Inquiries and Legislative Control

Throughout the 1920s the conduct of the police and authorities around prostitution was increasingly challenged by feminist campaigners and allegations of misconduct received considerable attention in the press. Two notable examples occurred in 1928 that were to have a great impact. The first of these was the arrest of the so-called 'Queen of Nightclubs', Kate Meyrick (1875-1933), for prostitution offences throughout the 1920s. In the subsequent investigation, corruption in the Metropolitan Police was uncovered in the form of bribes to ignore offences and protect the guilty parties (Shore 2013). The second incident centred around the differential treatment given to a known sex provider, Irene Savidge (1905-1985) and a sex buyer, the Labour MP, Sir Leo Money (1870-1944) following the two of them being caught engaging in prostitution in Hyde Park. Savidge was questioned for five hours and prosecuted, whilst no action was taken against Money, allegedly at the Home Secretary's instruction (Donaldson 2002). These cases demonstrate how enforcement within a patriarchal society unfavourably discriminates against women, especially those involved in prostitution, but also highlights how press and public opinion were changing regarding how these women were being treated. This largely revolved around campaigns from feminist activists that

illustrate how these continued to affect the social construction of prostitution and sex buying.

Following an inquiry and lobbying by organisations such as the AMSH, the Savidge case ultimately led to changes in the treatment of female prisoners in police custody. A further outcome of public and media pressure in both cases was the formation of the Street Offences Committee under the chair of Hugh Macmillan (1873-1952) (Laite 2008b). The Macmillan Report made several recommendations that largely came down to consolidating the existing solicitation laws into a new offence with no meaningful change in terms of how this affected the women on the streets (Street Offences Committee 1928, Caslin 2015). The debates around this report highlighted the conflicting goals of different feminist movements of the time. These were typified by the debate over the term 'common prostitute'. Where AMSH wanted this abolished, some of the 'rescue societies' favoured its retention and the prosecution of women who were persistent to the annoyance of the community (Slater 2012). These fundamental differences dated back to the repeal of the CDAs, a campaign that had previously united all reformers, but ultimately served to highlight their contrasting political and moral viewpoints (Mort 2010). This division is still evident in feminist arguments today, as discussed in Chapter Three. No new legislation arose from this inquiry and this was undoubtedly a missed opportunity for many of the interested parties in failing to deliver any meaningful safeguarding for the women involved. Enforcement continued to be the order of the day.

The late 1940s and early 1950s continued to see considerable media interest surrounding prostitution in what Smart (1981) identifies as a moral panic. This media and public pressure led to the commission of another inquiry appointed under the chair of John Wolfenden (Davidson and Davis 2004). Self (2003) is highly critical of the way in which the Wolfenden Committee was predominantly male, actively sought evidence from mainly male official sources and tried to side-line organisations such as AMSH from giving evidence. As these organisations pushed for a voice in the proceedings, they became increasingly vilified and their views ignored. The final report concludes: 'Conscious of the strength of the feelings which underlie the representations which have been made to us and recognising the sincerity (if not always the validity) of the

arguments against this formula,' (Wolfenden Committee 1957, p88) demonstrating this approach. The report repeatedly falls back on morality and uses emotive language such as 'prostitution is an evil of which any society which claims to be civilised should seek to rid itself,' (Wolfenden Committee 1957, p80).

The Wolfenden Report made a number of recommendations that again mainly focussed on penalising women for selling sex on the streets (Wolfenden Committee 1957) that led to the introduction of the Street Offences Act 1959 and repealing the nineteenth century solicitation laws. Despite their opposition, the AMSH were unable to reverse this trend towards, what Laite (2008b, p219) describes as a 'licenced concerted crackdown on street prostitution.'

Both the Macmillan and Wolfenden reports were highly influential in promoting the abolition of prostitution, but both fall back on old approaches of focussing on the women providing sex as being the 'problem' and punitive policies against them as being the 'solution'. Neither addressed the underlying causes of sex providing or buying and largely ignored the marginalisation, poverty, exploitation, and stigmatisation of the women involved, thereby continuing to construct prostitution as a female driven activity where the main social impact was the nuisance caused to the general public.

Two further reviews were conducted in the 1970s: the Working Party on Vagrancy and Street Offences, under the chair of Anthony Brennan (1927-2017) (Brennan 1974, 1976), and the Criminal Law Revision Committee (CLRC) under the chair of Lord Justice Frederick Lawson (1911-2001) (CLRC 1982, 1984, 1986). These reviews showed a marked shift from the previous ones with feminist arguments and viewpoints receiving a more prominent position in the debate. This element of the discussion will be developed further in Chapter Three. The result of these reviews was the passing of the Sexual Offences Act 1985 that introduced specific offences relating to men 'kerb crawling' and purchasing sex in a public place (Kantola and Squires 2004). This marked a significant change in legislative approach with the sex buyer being criminalised for the first time. Whilst the shift to focussing more on the sex buyer would take decades to be properly established, this was the beginning of the process in Britain and shows how the

social construction of prostitution is a constantly evolving process with many complex contributions.

After a century of debate, reviews and legislation, the British government announced in 1998 a wholesale review of all sexual offences, including prostitution and kerb crawling, which resulted in the report 'Setting the Boundaries' in 2000 and the passing of the Sexual Offences Act 2003. This launched a whole new set of debates, reviews, inquiries, and legislation in the UK around prostitution that continues at the time of writing and will be developed and discussed in Chapter Four on prostitution policy models.

Summary

This chapter has placed prostitution and sex buying within historical and cultural contexts and demonstrates how this has shaped and contributed to their social construction.

From a shift from nomadic lifestyles to settled communities that included a change from promiscuity to monogamy leading to an associated rise in paid-for sex, to a rise in cultish religions incorporating prostitution into their faith-based practices, it has been shown how mating systems, masculinity, culture and female marginalisation have shaped prostitution and sex buying throughout ancient history. The rise of Christian morality continued this process, often based on values derived from earlier Roman practices.

Two major pandemics of sexually transmitted diseases concerning syphilis and AIDS, and a third non-sexual pandemic of COVID-19, have led to punitive and restrictive legislation and policies that further drove prostitution outside of society and left the women involved increasingly marginalised, deeper in poverty, and exploited. The blame attached to sex providers is generally without evidence and partly used to excuse or ignore men as potential vectors for the diseases despite the above described shift in the perception of sex buyers between the AIDS and COVID-19 pandemics. In this way, policy agendas, particularly as they relate to public health, are regarded as a pillar of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying.

Following on from the punitive control of women providing sex on public health fears, a marked rise in feminist campaigns began that continues to this day. Whilst initially unified in opposition to the violation of women's basic rights, these feminist groups gradually took on differing views. At their extremes, some groups sought to 'rescue' these women and abolish prostitution altogether, whereas others were more concerned with the protection and safety of the women involved. These opposing feminist debates have shaped policy and legislation around the world and continue to do so and help to explain why there is such a diversity of approach, thereby contributing to the policy agendas pillar of the social construction of prostitution.

This extensive review of the literature around the historical context of prostitution and sex buying has formed the basis of the model of the social construction of these phenomena derived in Chapter One. All five pillars of this model are evident in this discussion as underpinning the provision and buying of paid-for sex.

The aim and objectives of this study seek to understand the reasons and motives of men who pay for sex on the streets. Having established the historical and cultural context of prostitution and sex buying together with their social construction, Chapter Three will develop these themes by reviewing theoretical explanations and research into sex buyers with a particular focus on how this is socially constructed.

Chapter Three - Theoretical Explanations for Sex Buying

This chapter builds upon the historical context presented in Chapter Two by examining previous studies and proposed theories emerging from the literature concerning the reasons and motivations as to why men pay for sex. Some of the historical theories need to be considered alongside the prevailing attitudes and policies in place at the time of their introduction to give them context. The contribution of these theories to the understanding of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying is examined.

The purpose of this review is to identify what has gone before in order to build upon this and to identify gaps in the current understanding of sex buying. This will ensure that this current study offers an original contribution to knowledge and broadens the overall theoretical and research underpinnings of this area.

The theoretical understanding of sex buying is presented in several sections in this chapter, each of which will consider a different theoretical approach, beginning with an examination of psychopathological causes such as perversion, sexual addiction, and voyeurism. The feminist theories introduced in Chapter Two are then developed, with a particular focus on radical and liberal feminist theories of sex buying and prostitution. Building upon the discussion on masculinity in Chapter Two the subjects of biological inevitability, risk and excitement, shame and stigma are analysed together with how all of these contribute to a man's identity as a sex buyer. Violence perpetrated by sex buyers against women is then examined considering issues such as power and control as motivators for sex buying and for violence. The commodification of prostitution as a commercial enterprise and how this may cater to the desire for a different type of sex or sexual partner are discussed. The final sections examine the impact of culture and religion on men's attitudes towards sex and sex buying, and the impact of socio-demographic variables on identifying potential sex buyers.

Psychopathology

Sex Buying as a Perversion

There was little attempt prior to the twentieth century to understand why men paid women for sex. The theories that had been proposed took a positivistic view claiming some form of psychological predisposition, often in the form of a perversion (Davis 1937; Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin 1948; Gibbens and Silberman 1960; Glover 1969). These theories have largely been discounted with more recent studies, but it is useful to examine the ideas behind them to see how positivistic theories of sex buying developed and later to illustrate how constructionism offers a better understanding.

One of the first attempts to try to understand the behaviour of paying for sex was put forward by Kingsley Davis in 1937. He stated that this could be regarded as both a 'simple biological appetite' and a 'desire for satisfaction in a particular, often unsanctioned, way' (Davis 1937, p753), implying some form of psychological component. He expanded upon this referring to it as a 'craving for variety, for perverse gratification, for mysterious and provocative surroundings, for intercourse free from entangling cares and civilized pretence,' (ibid., p753). In this, he introduced the concept of paying for sex as a perversion, without defining what he meant by this. Edward Glover published a pamphlet in 1944 concerning the psychopathology of prostitution (Glover 1969). In this, he is clear that he views acts such as fellatio, sodomy, and exhibitionism as all being perversions that arise from repressed, or regressed, infantile sexuality. By extension, Glover argues that engagement with prostitution is a form of perversion, often based on a mental disorder such as psychopathy or narcissism. By implication, both Davis' (1937) and Glover's (1969) use of the term perversion is a social construction of itself.

Following on from the above theoretical attempts to understand sex buying, an early empirical study designed to examine who was buying sex within prostitution was conducted by Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues (Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin 1948). This study focussed mainly on sociodemographic data but did probe into some of the reasons that the participants paid for sex. These tended to be superficial reasons, albeit with complex underpinnings, such as 'it is simpler to go to prostitutes than to try to court and

win the favours of a girl who is not a prostitute' (ibid., p599) or 'to find the variety that sexual experience with a new partner may offer,' (ibid., p606). This study provided an invaluable beginning in studying sex buyers and a baseline for future research to build upon but did not further Davis' discussion of biological or psychological factors underpinning this behaviour. Albert Ellis took the discussion a step further when he proposed reasons for men paying for sex (Ellis 1959). He provided a list that includes items such as variety, unhappy marriages or reduced shame and anxiety, but amongst these, he also lists 'neurotic reasons such as ... hostility against females' (ibid., p344). In considering hostility as a contributory factor in the sex buyer's psychology, Ellis expanded upon Davis' consideration of perversion by introducing an element of hatred or violence, although Ellis did not necessarily believe that all sex buying was perverse. Gibbens and Silberman (1960) conducted over two hundred interviews with patients with sexually transmitted diseases contracted through prostitution. Amongst the other reasons provided for paying for sex, they found 'elements of sadism, masochism, and voyeurism were frequently present as incomplete perversions,' (ibid., p114), but also discussed that this information was difficult to come by, possibly due to reluctance to provide this by the participants. In his study, Winick (1962) found that fantasy was a significant factor in men engaging in prostitution conferring a symbolic meaning to paying for sex beyond the physical act. He concludes by saying that 'men who visit prostitutes are likely to be extremely disturbed,' (ibid., p297).

Freud provided an early description of the influence of the psyche on sex and sexuality with his personality theory (Freud 1961). In this, he discusses how the psyche has three components, the id, the ego, and the superego. The id is the impulsive and unconscious part of the psyche which responds directly and immediately to basic urges, needs, and desires. It contains the inherited components of personality, including the sex and aggression instincts. The id operates on the pleasure principle (Freud 1955) which is the idea that every wishful impulse should be satisfied immediately, regardless of the consequences. When the id achieves its demands, we experience pleasure, however when it is denied we experience tension. Conversely, the superego is learned from society and incorporates values and morals, thereby controlling the id's impulses. The ego is the decision-making component and mediates between the id and the superego

(Freud 1961). As with many of Freud's theories, personality theory has received some criticism in recent years based on the generality of the ideas and the lack of empirical evidence. Behaviour is now regarded as a joint function of situational and personal variables (Maddi 1993). Considering men paying for sex, this provides a possible explanation for how the search for immediate sexual gratification and pleasure may be a subconscious process based on an interplay of psychological impulses and learned behaviour.

Foucault (1990) described how the concept of degeneracy in relation to sex arose in the nineteenth century where sexual perversions were thought to have been hereditary and a danger to public morals. This view of perverse sex encompassed any form of sexual activity outside the bonds of marriage, but tended to focus on children, homosexuals and the mentally ill.

All of this was brought together by Robert Stoller in his influential book 'Perversion, The Erotic Form of Hatred' (Stoller 1976). He begins by providing definitions to differentiate two forms of aberration, being variant (or deviation) and perversion, in relation to sexual activity. He defines an aberration as 'an erotic technique or constellation of techniques that one uses as his complete sexual act and that differs from his culture's traditional, avowed definition of normality' (ibid., p3), in essence saying that an aberration is any sexual act that would not be considered the norm in a given society. He goes on to define perversion as:

'Perversion, the erotic form of hatred, is a fantasy, usually acted out but occasionally restricted to a daydream. ... It is a habitual, preferred aberration necessary for one's full satisfaction, primarily motivated by hostility. ... The hostility in perversion takes form in a fantasy of revenge hidden in the actions that make up the perversion and serves to convert childhood trauma to adult triumph. To create the greatest excitement, the perversion must also portray itself as an act of risk-taking. (ibid., p4)'

There are several key parts of this definition. Stoller is quite clear that 'hostility' is an intent to cause harm. This does not necessarily mean that any actual violence has to

take place, but this is the root cause of the perversion. Stoller considered motivations and fantasies of hatred and revenge as drivers of purchasing sex, often relating back to childhood repressions or trauma. This is a real trauma, such as childhood sexual abuse, and the perversion is an attempt to be rid of this, which rarely succeeds requiring the perversion to be indulged repeatedly. A key element to Stoller's perversion fantasies is that the object is dehumanised so that no emotion need be attached to the other person.

These fantasies and perversions mature as a person ages. Bak (1968) identifies two key periods in a person's growth, that of puberty and 'advancing age' where the loss of sexual potency effects engagement with sexual relations, arguing that these are the two main periods in development where these fantasies reach their peak.

Stoller defines 'variants' simply as aberrations that aren't perversions but is clear that the real difference between the two is the attitude of the individual rather than an external or societal viewpoint. Stoller is quite clear that paying for sex is a perversion under his definitions. Stoller's discussion of perversion has received considerable support generally. Weeks (1985, p212), for example, referred to it as the 'most authoritative modern study of the subject.'

Holzman and Pines (1982) carried out a study where they interviewed thirty men identified through social networks as paying for sex. They highlight how all of the men built a fantasy prior to actually seeking out paid-for sex and this fantasy was often more important than the actual woman they engaged with. Other than this element, however, they found very little evidence of perversion, as defined by Stoller, in their participants. From this period onwards, academics began to separate fantasy from perversion.

It is important to note that the earlier theories based on psychological positivism were developed by psychiatrists or psychotherapists (Davis, Gibbens, Silberman or Stoller for example). As Gibbens and Silberman (1960) point out obtaining participants can be difficult and they relied on patients attending genitourinary clinics. It would be reasonable to assume that the other researchers similarly relied on patients through clinical practice to recruit participants. As such, these would not have been

representative of all sex buyers. There is also a possibility that psychiatrists were specifically looking for a psychological explanation without considering the wider social context.

An element used to corroborate these theories is that studies with women providing sex tended to support the psychiatric assessments in terms of who the sex buyers were and what their motives were (for example, Janus *et al.* 1977). Holzman and Pines (1982) also note that some earlier studies relied on descriptions of sex buyers from the sex providers to understand these men, making specific reference to Masters and Johnson (1966). As Holzman and Pines found in their study when talking to the men, they would often present a false portrayal of themselves to the sex providers by preparing themselves, mentally and physically (such as dressing up) and would try to present an image of a man with sexual prowess and confidence, whereas women providing sex tend to be focussed on the payment and ending the encounter as soon as practicable. Considering this, it is unlikely that the women providing sex were able to offer realistic descriptions and understandings of the sex buyers.

Davis, Vaillancourt and Arnocky (2020) describe a personality model characterised by, what they refer to as, a Dark Tetrad:

- *narcissism* - egocentrism and grandiosity,
- *Machiavellianism* - manipulative and cynical tendencies,
- *psychopathy* - callousness and antisociality, and
- *sadism* - taking enjoyment in the pain and suffering of others.

They conclude that these 'socially aversive traits' characterise some sex buyers, particularly those motivated by a desire for risk and excitement, or seeking a new type of sexual act or partner. They also argue that these traits are more evident in men purchasing sex on the streets rather than other forms of prostitution. The authors accept, however, that these traits may not be present in all sex buyers.

This study illustrates that psychopathological reasons for sex buying are still considered, although as the discussion below will illustrate, most recent studies have found little evidence of psychological, positivistic explanations or perversions amongst the sex

buying males who participated in their research to understand why men pay for sex. Constructionism offers a better understanding of the reasons behind this behaviour.

Sexual Addiction

The term 'sexual addiction' was first suggested by Carnes in 1983 and was used as a broad term to include a variety of situations all relating to a perceived compulsion towards sexual activity (Carnes 2001). There is no consensus as to the existence, diagnosis, or treatment of sexual addiction and, as such, it is not included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders due to a lack of sufficient evidence (Levine 2010). However, as Hall (2013) points out, neither are bereavement or relationship breakdown, and interventions or support are offered for both of these. Levine and Troiden (1988, p347) are critical of the existence of sexual addiction, arguing that, 'There is nothing inherently pathological in the conduct that is labelled sexually compulsive or addictive,' and regard it as being a learned pattern of behaviour. Goodman (2001) also states that a clinical perception of sexual addiction is based on behaviours rather than a diagnosis and these include an element of moral judgment based on what constitutes sexual normality in any given society. This is influenced by society and culture and will be socially constructed in different ways dependent on influences including familial and societal.

A few studies on men paying for sex have examined the question of sexual addiction as a possible motive for this behaviour. Gordon-Lamoureux (2007) found a third of the men in her study potentially had this condition, whereas Durschlag and Goswami (2008) reported 83% of the men in their study gave sexual addiction as one of the reasons for them paying for sex. These studies took place in Canada and the US involving men who had completed a rehabilitation course known as John Schools. A subsequent study by Gurd and O'Brien (2013) in similar circumstances highlighted some serious shortcomings in the methodology employed in the previous studies. The John Schools studied provided detailed accounts of sexual addiction to the participants, suggesting it to them as a possible explanation for their behaviour, including inputs from organisations

specifically formed to help people cope with this condition. As Gurd and O'Brien put it, 'Sex addiction as a possible cause for the men's desire to buy sex is clearly promoted to the Johns in all three programs, with an individual section of each programs' curriculum devoted solely to this subject,' (ibid., p156). It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that many men offer this as a reason for their actions after having attended such a course. Kennedy *et al.* (2004) looked at two different John Schools in Toronto and British Columbia, the former including the input on sexual addiction and the latter not doing so. They found a significant difference in the reporting of sexual addiction as a reason for paying for sex, with the Toronto school higher.

Levine (2010) carried out a study of men who had presented to clinicians with self-diagnosed sexual addiction. The motivations for the men making such a report, in all cases, was due to them having been 'caught' breaking some form of social rule on sex, such as a wife discovering their use of pornography or prostitution. Levine found that only 25% of the men could potentially be considered to have a sexual addiction with the remainder using it as an excuse for their rule breaking, a form of guilt neutralisation. Whilst this may not be a representative group of all men, it presents similar circumstances to men caught paying for sex by the police and offers another reason as to why men give sexual addiction as a reason for their behaviour.

Whether sexual addiction exists is the subject of on-going dispute, but it appears to describe a learned behaviour rather than a psychopathological condition suggesting that it is constructed through experience and societal influences. There is evidence, as described above, that sexual addiction is often used as an excuse for sexual behaviour. Cases such as Harvey Weinstein checking himself into a clinic for sexual addiction after a string of accusations of rape or sexual assault (Myska 2018) only reinforce this misuse of the behavioural term in the general public's mind.

Voyeurism

Voyeurism has become a term that is widely used in popular culture and television, but the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders provides a very restricted

definition as: 'the practice of looking specifically at unsuspecting individuals, usually strangers, who are naked, in the process of disrobing, or engaging in sexual activity,' (Metzl 2004, p127).

Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe (2010) identified circumstances in their study where a small number of men were seen to be driving around the on-street prostitution area for no other purpose than to look at the women providing sex. On being caught by the police, these men would offer explanations such as: 'I was just looking at the girls' or 'I like looking at the girls' (ibid., p155). The authors view this behaviour as showing elements of voyeurism. McKeganey and Barnard (1996, p18) similarly noted that, 'The red-light district exerts a magnetism for some people whose interest is perhaps best described as voyeuristic.' What is clear is that these descriptions of voyeurism are largely restricted to on-street prostitution with men driving around a geographical area simply to 'look' at women engaging in prostitution. Metzl (2004) notes that the voyeur will often derive sexual pleasure from the behaviour culminating later in masturbation in private.

Gibbens and Silberman (1960) regard voyeurism, in relation to prostitution, as an incomplete perversion, suggesting that there is some form of psychopathology involved, but perhaps also indicating that the behaviour in these circumstances falls short of what a psychiatrist would consider to be a diagnosis. It appears that the term voyeurism is used loosely when applied to 'cruising' with a more 'everyman' understanding being applied. In this way, the practice of voyeurism is constructed within given societies based on what is considered abnormal behaviour.

Leonard (1990, p43) notes from her observations that, 'Some men cruised by several times per day, several days per week, or once every few weeks before approaching,' and Freund *et al.* (1991, p580) similarly noted that, 'Many clients were observed (by the interviewers) driving ... and cruising slowly until contact was made with a prostitute.' Blevins and Holt (2009, p626) examined on-line 'reviews' by sex buyers and recorded a novice to the scene stating, 'Everyday, on the way home from work I travel the clix and cruise through Hamden.'

The term 'cruising' is generally taken to refer to a person driving around an area known for prostitution looking at the women in the streets (Blevin and Holt 2009). These three examples illustrate that behaviours, which may appear on preliminary examination to constitute voyeurism, are actually precursors to purchasing sex in the streets. It would be natural to expect men to build up to approaching a woman in the street, either through fantasy, research or simply by looking in this manner rather than becoming a sex buyer instantaneously. Sex buying is better thought of as a process rather than a single event. Further study is needed to differentiate between the behaviours of voyeurism and cruising.

This discussion on proposed psychopathological explanations for sex buying has examined key areas including perversion, sexual addiction, and voyeurism. What this has identified is that these reasons are disputed and probably better described by learned behavioural characteristics. These positivistic explanations do not adequately explain sex buying by themselves. As such, these are not included in the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying developed in Chapter One. The remaining sections of this chapter examine a constructionist understanding of sex buying and are generally found to be better explanations.

Feminist Theories of Prostitution and Sex Buying

In direct response to patriarchal views of prostitution in the nineteenth century, the suffragette movement, with exponents such as Josephine Butler, began to represent prostitution as oppression of poorer women by men and society in general (Walkowitz 1980a). These campaigns continued into the twentieth century as feminist perceptions of prostitution began to develop.

Feminist theories attempt to understand the 'roles, experiences, and values of individuals on the basis of gender,' (Gerassi 2016). There are several different feminist ideologies that try to explain prostitution and men who pay for sex. There is a broad agreement in recognising current and historical prostitution and sex buying as involving the oppression of women but differ greatly in explaining how this oppression occurs and

in advocating differing policy approaches to addressing this (Beegan and Moran 2017). There are two dominant feminist ideologies regarding prostitution. The first largely focuses on prostitution being viewed as exploitation and violence against women, and the second as an empowering free choice of work for women (O'Neill 2001). The following discussion expands upon these competing perspectives.

A Radical Feminist Perspective on Prostitution and Sex Buying

Radical feminists argue that prostitution is a gendered, misogynist construction (Barry 1995) that is based on an oppressive male dominance of women (MacKinnon 1993). As Beegan and Moran (2017, p62) put it, 'Radical feminists are of the view that gender is a constructed power arrangement that relegates women to a social status that is secondary to men.' This gives rise to a situation where the perceived right to pay for sex, based on a patriarchal system, perpetuates women's subordination by men (Farley 2005). Radical feminism advocates an abolitionist approach to prostitution arguing that the inherent oppression associated with prostitution can only be addressed by completely eradicating prostitution from society, either directly or by eliminating female marginalisation, oppression and poverty in society leading indirectly to the abolition of prostitution (Gerassi 2016).

Critics of this perspective argue that it reduces women's identity to a single trait, that of sex provider, largely ignoring the complex interplay of other factors such as poverty, culture, or race (Scoular 2004a). Kesler (2002) states that this objectifies and reduces a woman to her body whereas she argues that biology should play no part in addressing gender inequalities. Critics further argue that radical feminism focusses too much on the exploitation and trafficking of women and children (Fitzgerald and Munro 2012), thereby constructing a paradigm of prostitution that is entirely based on oppression where women have no agency. In essence, a radical feminist perspective allows no room for a woman to make a free and independent choice to sell sex.

A Liberal Feminist Perspective on Prostitution and Sex Buying

Liberal feminism rejects the perspective that prostitution is inherently abusive to women and argues that it can be viewed 'as a form of women's liberation, sexual freedom and sex positive' (Beegan and Moran 2017, p62). This perspective views prostitution as a form of labour and positions it as 'sex work'. Vanwesenbeeck (2013, p11) illustrates this by saying that as regards providing sex: 'a proposition has come to prevail of sex work as a rational, financially motivated choice by adult women in a context of limited (other) career possibilities.' It is this question of choice that separates liberal feminist perspectives from radical ones, with the former arguing that policy and legislation often ignores or overlooks women who have made a choice to sell sex to combat poverty or as a career (Weitzer 2005a). Liberal feminists argue that some women providing sex do have agency and that attempts to limit or restrict their ability to earn money is a breach of their human rights (Kempadoo *et al.* 2016). Many liberal feminists advocate the complete decriminalisation of prostitution for both the sex provider and the sex buyer, arguing that this is the only means of effectively safeguarding the sex providers, creating additional opportunities for agency, and reducing the stigma associated with prostitution (Sanders and Campbell 2007).

In challenging this liberal feminist view of prostitution, O'Connell Davidson (2002, p87) argues that it is hard to present sex labour as a form of resistance to inequalities and points out that 'Few would ... describe the sweatshop worker as "challenging" poverty by stitching garments.' When considering the choice of women providing sex, Jeffreys (2008a) argues that, in her experience, choice is generally more explicitly available when leaving prostitution than when entering. As one survivor of prostitution observes, 'if a woman has no viable choice then she may as well have no choice at all,' (Moran 2013, p161). Barry (1995, p83) argues that elevating personal choice as the only condition of freedom creates an ideological environment 'above *any* concept of a common good or collective well-being,' (emphasis in original). Beegan and Moran (2017, p63) comment that this question of choice and options places the 'responsibility of prostitution on the prostituted woman' removing any culpability from the sex buyer. In contrast to the argument that decriminalisation improves the safeguarding for sex providers, radical

feminists argue that sex providers are at least just as likely to suffer violence under decriminalisation if not more so (Farley 2004).

Both radical and liberal feminists point to studies that support their argument in terms of restricting or promoting violence against women providing sex through abolition or decriminalisation of prostitution (for example Farley 2017, Sanders and Campbell 2007), meaning that this debate is far from settled.

A Feminist Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying

The social construction of prostitution and sex buying is clear through this discussion. The basic premise of feminism is that gender and masculinity are constructed and used for the oppression of women and this has created the environment where male entitlement to pay for sex has seen prostitution proliferate. Whilst most feminist arguments centre on women providing sex, this cannot happen without a demand for this from men. If women are oppressed, then it is men who are carrying out the oppression. Both the liberal and radical feminist positions acknowledge the role that sex buyers play in constructing prostitution. This is often linked to and compounded by female marginalisation as a key driver linking it to the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

Religious groups have lent their support to radical feminists in campaigns to abolish pornography and prostitution that proved to be very influential in American considerations of policy and legislation (Weitzer 2007). Weitzer describes this as a moral crusade constructed to suppress prostitution, restricting women's rights and freedoms (ibid.). The influence that religion continues to play in prostitution, usually from a moral objection point of view, has found an unlikely ally in radical feminism in advocating an abolitionist stance, something that O'Connell Davidson (2019, p55) describes as 'sleeping with the enemy'.

The question of victimisation is apparent in both sides of the feminism debate. Liberal feminists argue that the radical position unnecessarily imposes the label of 'victim' on

women providing sex whereas radical feminists argue that all women providing sex are oppressed and exploited, thereby justifying the label (Miriam 2005). Whichever side of the argument is adopted, the concept of victimisation continues to be used to construct prostitution.

The whole concept of 'sex work' as a form of labour is a construction of itself. Without this, the liberal argument could not exist. The campaigns of organisations such as the Network for Sex Work Projects (NSWP) have focussed entirely on this concept and promoted it as the only paradigm that offers sex providers rights and safety, whilst reducing stigma (NSWP 2010). Similarly, the presentation of prostitution as 'violence against women' is a construction used to argue for the radical perspective.

Whilst radical and liberal feminist views of prostitution are diametrically opposed on the surface, it is difficult not to have some academic empathy with both elements. The causes and drivers leading to women entering prostitution are undoubtedly more complex than some radical feminist arguments seem to portray (Monroe 2005), and simply abolishing prostitution will not address the underlying issues of marginalisation, poverty, lack of opportunity, and oppression. However, it is difficult to accept the argument that all prostitution is labour and that trafficking for prostitution is labour exploitation rather than sexual exploitation. To further this argument, does this reduce rape to an acquisitive crime? This is a position that cannot be defended.

The question of free choice in entering prostitution is also problematic. The quote above from Vanwesenbeeck (2013) is from a liberal perspective intended to support the free choice argument, but even here the definition is qualified by reference to 'limited choices'. For a person to truly have agency and the ability to make their own decisions, these choices must be informed and freely made, but the reality is often more complex (O'Connell Davidson 1995). Many women are driven to prostitution by marginalisation, poverty or underlying drug addictions (Miriam 2005). If they cannot survive without prostitution, then this is not a free choice. Studies seeking to identify the age at which women first enter prostitution yield widely varying results, but in many studies, this is reported as under the age of sixteen (Clarke *et al.* 2012). Whilst the percentages entering as children is often disputed, there is evidence that a significant proportion are

underage on entry. All sides of the feminism debate would agree that no child can make an informed choice to sell sex and to do so would constitute child sexual exploitation by all involved. The issue arises when those children become adults and remain in prostitution. This cannot be considered an informed choice given the abuse and indoctrination they suffered as children often trapping these women into a situation not of their choosing.

Masculinity and Sex Buying

Having considered the social construction of prostitution from a feminist perspective, this section will develop this discussion and examine the effect that masculinity in society has had in shaping the modern presentation of prostitution and sex buying. Shumka *et al.* (2017, p4) assert that, 'Masculinity is not one thing, but a wide range of embodiments, behaviors, practices, relationships, and ideologies that are used to define who men are, and who they are not.' Following from this, the following presents a general discussion of masculinity and sex buying from a theoretical and research perspective, before considering some specific categories of behaviour and development and how these have shaped the social construction of masculinity and sex buying.

In Chapter One, masculinity, was presented as the second pillar underpinning prostitution and sex buying from both a historical aspect and a current one, illustrating how hegemonic masculinity describes the social nature of masculinity and the 'male sex role' (Herek 1986). This can present as the male asserting power and control through dominance, discriminating against groups such as women or homosexuals for example. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p832) describe this as, 'ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion.' In essence, hegemonic masculinity describes what it means 'to be a man' in modern society through this limited lens (West 2001).

Jordan (1997) argues that many men experience an overwhelming pressure to be sexually active in society and to be visibly seen to be so. This presents as claiming to be experienced, even if a virgin; boasting about 'sexual conquests' to other males, especially if they are single; and widowed or divorced men needing to find a

replacement as soon as possible. Jordan (1997, p66) describes this as, 'Pervasive masculine stereotypes define men's sexuality as essentially insatiable and uncontrollable,' but when applied to sex buying, she goes on to state that, 'to internalise such beliefs can serve as a legitimisation of men's role as sexual consumers.'

Månsson (2006) argues that the extension of equal rights to women in modern society has been seen by some men as a loss of male supremacy and that this can lead to 'strong regressive and anti-feminist attitudes,' (ibid., p91). Månsson views male sex buying as, in part, a reaction to this erosion of dominance and a means of reasserting this over a submissive group of women. Joseph and Black (2012) defined a subgroup of the male sex buyers in their study as having 'fragile masculinities'. They argue that it is an attempt to address this fragility and insecurity in their masculinity that they feel compelled to prove themselves as sexually virile by engaging with prostitution and paying for the sexual encounter. Jordan (1997, p69) summarises this as, 'In this sense the most important message the men receive when they visit prostitutes may be of their egos rather than their genitals.'

Developmental Years

Some studies demonstrate results that suggest that social and familial factors can impact on males in the very early years of life affecting their potential to resort to sex buying in later life. Object Relations Theory describes how an individual's development from early infancy is dependent on their relationships with the people closest to them, particularly their mother, and how this affects their later development into adulthood (Hamilton 1992). Winick (1962) applies this idea to men paying for sex and argues that some of the participants in his study demonstrated a relationship with their mothers in early life that was cold and unattached. He theorises that these men visit women providing sex as this is a cold and unattached form of intimacy, thereby conforming to their understanding of relationships with women based on their experiences with their mothers.

Gibbens and Silberman (1960) discuss how a poor relationship with a father-figure in early life due to neglect, alcoholism or witnessing domestic violence can lead to an over-reliance and dependence on the mother, who may be bitter towards the father and relationships in general. They argue that this leads to a mistrust in emotional relationships, insecurity, and repressed aggressiveness in the male child, which in turn leads the adult male to engage in sex buying as an impersonal sexual contact that can also be an outlet for their frustration and aggression.

Lowman and Atchison (2006) reported that 23% of the men in their study of sex buyers stated that they had been the victims of sexual abuse prior to the age of 18, with an average age of 12 years old. Based on the theory that suggests that being a victim of sexual violence can lead to becoming a perpetrator of sexual violence (Jespersen *et al.* 2009), Lowman and Atchison argue that this is a factor in almost a quarter of the men they interviewed.

Applying Object Relations Theory to sex buying males illustrates the socially constructed developmental characteristics and behaviours in these men, particularly from family and parents. The theory argues that the relationships with their mother and father in infancy can directly affect their propensity to engage in sex buying as an adult.

As young boys enter puberty, there is increasing pressure and expectations on them to become sexually active. Duncan-Ricks (1992, p319) reports that 'adolescents are becoming sexually active at younger ages than previous generations' and Burack (1999, p145) states that 'teenagers as young as 12 or 13 years old ... are becoming fully sexually active,' with this being particularly prevalent amongst teenage boys. Gibbens and Silberman (1960, p114) in their study of sex buyers remarked on the presence in their group of participants of 'experimental young men with little or no previous experience.' Winick (1962) found that 17% of respondents stated that they had learned about sex from sex providers, especially the younger participants, and Macleod *et al.* (2008) also reported that 17% of the men they interviewed claimed that prostitution was their first sexual experience, with one respondent regarding this as a 'rite of passage' (*ibid.*, p13). Since the advent of the Internet, the expectations on young people to become sexually active has been dominated by online pornography and chat rooms (Sun *et al.* 2016), but

the same impact is experienced. This suggests that adolescent experimentation is a potential driver for teenage boys to purchase sex constructed on their understanding of society and culture relevant to them.

A further element that contributes to young men engaging in sex buying in their developmental years (and beyond) is peer pressure. Potard *et al.* (2008, p265) state that, 'Peers are, during adolescence, the preferential sources of information about sexuality,' and that there is considerable social pressure amongst peer groups for teenage boys to lose their virginity at a young age. On interviewing sex buyers, Jordan (1997) spoke to participants who disclosed that they had lost their virginity through prostitution on a specific event, such as a sixteenth birthday outing, at the encouragement and expectation of peers. Jordon (1997, p65) describes this as, 'What these men's experiences suggested was that many men feel an overwhelming pressure in our society to be actively sexual.' A similar situation was found by Macleod *et al.* (2008, p10) where one interviewee stated that, 'There was an atmosphere of all the lads egging each other on.'

This peer pressure can be a key element in constructing an individual's desire to fit in to a peer group or society in general, leading to an expectation that he should be sexually active and engage with prostitution at a young age to conform.

Is Sex Buying a Biological Inevitability?

Having discussed the developmental impacts on young boys creating a predisposition to pay for sex, this section will consider whether there is a biological imperative on some men to engage with certain sexual activities or sex buying. Biological imperative, or 'male sex drive discourse,' (Hollway 2005, p228), is the argument that men are biologically predetermined with a 'need' for sex to perpetuate the existence of the species and to continue their genetic heritage.

Weatherall and Priestley (2001, p337) found that this biological 'urge' for sex in men was part of the social construction of prostitution and was used to 'justify and rationalize

the gendered and sexual hierarchy of sex work.’ This view is that prostitution is a release for men’s biological need to have sex. Taking this assertion to its logical conclusion, an argument is sometimes put forward that prostitution serves to prevent the rape of other women in society (Farley *et al.* 2012), which would be inevitable if men did not pay for sex, although there is no empirical evidence to support this claim.

This need for sex is sometimes transformed into a sense of entitlement amongst men. Almost half of the male sex buying participants in a study by Coy, Horvath and Kelly (2007) expressed a degree of entitlement to sex with women and Macleod *et al.* (2008, p19) state, ‘The men we interviewed did not question the notion that men have the absolute right to have their sexual needs met whenever and wherever they want,’ further describing the participants as considering their sex drive to be inevitable and undeterrable.

A common theme found in studies of sex buyers concerns single men who have no regular sexual partner, usually through an inability to form relationships or following the end of a relationship through a break-up or bereavement. Blevins and Holt (2009) identify the term ‘girlfriend experience’ to highlight the need of some men to fill the perceived void in their lives, which involves sex with a falsified element of emotion on the part of the sex provider. Huschke and Schubotz (2016) argue that this craving for an emotional connection sets these men apart from other sex buyers as they are provided with a service that helps them to deal with their loss. One participant in a study by Monto (1999, p34) said that, ‘It’s not sexual relief that I go for, it’s to relieve some loneliness that I feel.’ Despite this, most of these men still insist on paying for a sexual act and, in most cases, the woman is forgotten soon after the encounter.

A variation of this theme is where a man is in a relationship that no longer includes a sexual element. Jordon (1997) records men stating that their wives no longer satisfy them or are no longer interested in sex, but that they do not want their marriage to end. As such, they see paying for sex as a necessary outlet and preferable to having an affair with an emotional element. Macleod *et al.* (2008, p19) criticise this view, stating that, ‘Like women who are blamed for provoking men into beating them, women who fail to

provide the sex acts demanded by their partners are blamed for their partners' turning to prostitution.'

In the cases of men seeking to respond to loneliness, there is still an element of entitlement present in that these men believe that a woman should be providing them with sex because, as a man, they have a biological need. Gilfoyle, Wilson and Brown (1992, p209) developed Hollway's discussion of the 'male sex drive discourse' concluding that, 'the resources of meaning concerning sex suit men's interests, rather than women's, and reflect male dominance in a (hetero)sexist society.' In essence, they argue that a so-called biological 'need' for sex in men is a construction designed to oppress women.

In applying the 'male sex drive discourse' to men paying for sex, this appears to collapse when subjected to scrutiny. It would seem that the perceived 'need' or 'urge' is not biological at all, but a learned behaviour that is socially constructed to give men a sense of entitlement to sex with a woman that requires an outlet that prostitution is believed to provide.

Bandura (1977) developed a Social Learning Theory to integrate previous cognitive and behavioural theories of learning with three core concepts based on learning through observation, the essential nature of internal mental states, and that learning may not necessarily lead to a change in behaviour. Burgess and Akers (1966) described criminal or deviant behaviour as the result of learning through a combination of direct reinforcement, vicarious reinforcement, explicit instruction, and observation. Relating these views to paying for sex suggests that exposure to prostitution in peer groups and societal groups will reinforce learning in the individual, but it requires the necessary phenomenology or 'thinking state' (Tye and Wright 2011) for the learning to become action, which, in part, explains why exposure to sex buying does not lead to this behaviour in all men.

Bounded Intimacy

Following on from the above discussion about men who either have no intimate relationship or find the one that they are in unsatisfactory for their 'needs', a large number of participants in multiple studies gave a 'lack of commitment' as one of the main reasons for paying a sex provider for sex. Huschke and Schubotz (2016) reported this in 38% of their respondents and Winick (1962) found that 27% of his participants cited this as a reason for paying for sex and that this was one of the most common responses. In a study by Jordan (1997, p59), one participant found paying for sex to be 'a more honest, less complicated way of having his sexual needs met than having a series of casual affairs or one-night stands.' This suggests that paying for sex was perceived as a less complicated way of obtaining sex when compared to alternatives, especially for married men. Even for some single men, prostitution was seen as preferable, with one participant claiming that it was 'more satisfactory for him ... than chasing after women for long-term relationships,' (ibid., p60).

Bernstein (2007, p6) coined the phrase 'bounded authenticity' to describe this behaviour. She defines this as, 'Instead of being premised on marital or even durable relationships, the recreational sexual ethic derives its primary meaning from the depth of physical sensation and from emotionally bounded erotic exchange.' This describes a situation where the contact that is provided goes beyond a physical act to cater for an emotional need as well as a sexual one, but this is time-restricted to the duration of the contact, being 'bounded' by the limitations of the exchange. Bernstein further refers to 'market intimacy' to describe the commercial aspect of paying for sex and these two terms have been merged by subsequent theorists and researchers as 'bounded intimacy' to represent the transient nature of the combination of emotional and sexual contact between a sex buyer and sex provider.

Huschke and Schubotz (2016, p881) found evidence of bounded intimacy within their participants reporting a desire for an encounter that was not a conventional relationship, but offered a 'real and reciprocal erotic connection, but precisely a limited one.' Milrod and Weitzer (2012, p454) describe this as a 'paid relationship' and found a 'genuine but limited sexual and emotional experience, whereby the client's perception

of intimacy is real but restricted by temporal and financial parameters,' something that Kong (2015b, p817) also reported, describing it as an 'emotional labour of sex.'

Conversely, Macleod *et al.* (2008, p17) viewed this as being a fantasy, arguing that, in reference to the sex buyer, 'He may pretend emotional intimacy but the relationship with a prostitute always stops short of emotional mutuality or commitment.' Plumridge *et al.* (1997, p172) similarly argue that, 'Although they insisted on continuing to gloss their contact with prostitutes in relationship terms, the men expressed confidence that payment of money for sex entitled them to freedom from the requirements normally associated with relationships.' Joseph and Black (2012, p491) view bounded intimacy with sex providers as an attempt to 'connect erotic expression and consumption with the ethos of the marketplace,' in essence arguing that describing the encounter as involving an emotional connection, albeit a limited one, is a means of framing prostitution as a commercial activity with a service being provided, almost as if it were some form of therapy.

Researchers are divided on whether bounded intimacy contains any genuine emotional connection, but 'lack of commitment' and 'girlfriend experience' are regularly given by sex buyers as reasons for engaging with prostitution. It is hard to envisage this as a true connection when the encounter is paid for and one party is simulating the emotion for the benefit of the other. It is more likely that these men have been conditioned to 'need' an emotional connection, either through Object Relations Theory (as above) or through societal and peer constructions of what their masculinity should be and are prepared to view a paid-for sexual encounter as providing this, even if just for a short period of time. The term 'bounded intimacy' is used in this thesis to describe the situations where men are paying for a restricted form of intimacy or emotional contact, as well as situations where men state that they are seeking sex with no emotional connection at all.

Risk and Excitement as Motivators for Buying Sex

Having considered an intimate emotional component, or lack of it, through bounded intimacy, this section will consider another emotional aspect of sex buying with a

particular focus on excitement through risk taking. There are many risks involved with purchasing sex that are cited by sex buyers as a factor in their behaviour including the chances of being caught and arrested (Della Giusta *et al.* 2017), being found out by partners or family (Faugier and Cranfield 1995), contracting a sexually transmitted disease (McKeganey 2007), or being a victim of violence or theft (Holt and Blevins 2010). The excitement and thrill involved with taking these risks can be a significant factor in men paying for sex (Winick 1962).

Faugier and Cranfield (1995) found that some men would take ever-increasingly risky behaviour such as paying for unprotected sexual acts, increasingly the potential for contracting sexually transmitted diseases, stating that they needed the excitement of this risky behaviour to achieve a satisfying experience. Coy, Horvath and Kelly (2007, p21) quote one participant as saying, 'It's not just the sexual thing, it's more the excitement.'

Kong (2015b) equates sex buying risk taking with edgework (Lyng 1990). As Kong puts it, 'Edgeworkers are those individuals who engage in voluntary high-risk and thrilling activities that involve a clearly observable threat to their physical or mental well-being or their sense of an ordered existence,' (ibid., p106). Lyng and Matthews (2007) argue that the concept of risk-taking and edgework show predictors strongly linked to gender, with males being much more likely to display this behaviour. Kong (2015b) found evidence amongst his participants to demonstrate the concept of edgework as being present amongst male sex buyers and that risk-taking is a significant factor for many men engaging in this behaviour. Laurendeau (2008) develops this argument by examining 'risk cultures' and their effects based on gender. He states that societies construct masculinity through certain sports and other risk-based activities, creating a culture where males are encouraged to take risks and an expectation that masculinity is achieved by those who take the greatest risks with the greatest rewards. This can be despite increased adverse consequences in some cases such as paying extra for sex without a condom potentially exposing both participants to sexually transmitted diseases (Carter 2013).

Using the principals of edgework, an understanding of how masculinity is partly constructed through developing a risk culture demonstrates how this behaviour develops into sex buying based on the risks involved.

Conversely, Cameron and Collins (2003) found some of the risks involved in purchasing sex could also act as a strong deterrent to this behaviour. Della Giusta *et al.* (2009) divided their participants into two groups referred to as 'experimenters' and 'regulars', with the former group being risk-takers and the latter risk averse. These studies find that risk-taking is not a motivator for all men and it is the balance of excitement and consequences that determine the level of engagement in prostitution in given circumstances. The resolution of this balance for individual men will be determined by their desire for excitement through risk-taking based on the social, familial, and cultural construction of their personal masculinity.

The Shame and Stigma of Being a Sex Buyer

In judging how genuine a sex buyer is when disclosing their reasons or motivations, two potential causes must be considered. The first is simply a fear of being caught or prosecuted (Brooks-Gordon 2006). This is likely to elicit an external form of neutralisation whereby the sex buyer attempts to convince an authority or partner that they have not committed the behaviour that they are accused of. This presents as denial and is unlikely to be deep seated and is usually difficult to maintain. Brooks-Gordon (2006) observed men caught by the police attempting to purchase sex and noted a series of phases that the men went through. The second of these was the 'excuse phase', whereby men would offer reasons for their presence and behaviour that they later abandoned under closer scrutiny.

The second cause is based on a feeling of guilt or shame at what they have done (Huschke and Schubotz 2016). This is more likely to promote an internal form of neutralisation where they try to convince themselves and others that what they have done is acceptable. Peng (2007, p320) interviewed a sex buyer who stated that engaging

with prostitution was his 'greatest shame', largely based on his feeling of pity for his perceptions of the woman's imagined suffering.

Shame is often used as a policy initiative to deter potential sex buyers from acting on this behaviour. This can take the form of 'naming and shaming' in local media outlets, something that Sanders (2008a, p147) describes as a 'public shaming ritual', highlighting the unforeseen impact on a sex buyer's family as well as the disproportionate consequences outside of any formal justice system, such as job loss and marriage breakdown. Archard (2016) similarly argues that the intention of shaming in this manner is designed to work by humiliating the sex buyer, which contradicts a society's duty to protect the dignity of all of its citizens.

In extreme forms, guilt and shame, when coupled with public moral condemnation, can lead to the stigmatisation of sex buying and the sex buyers. Della Giusta *et al.* (2009, p2263) describe this stigma as, 'a loss of reputation, which can affect social standing and therefore, both pay and working conditions.'

As Sanders (2012) points out, stigma is a manifestation of the wider society rather than any breach of a formal law and is an expression of a moral condemnation based on a perceived transgression of a cultural norm. Stigmatisation is a form of Becker's labelling (Becker 1963) whereby a self-identity is adopted based upon the labels placed upon a person by society. Once imposed, the label can be adopted and become the defining characteristic of the person. As such, once a man is identified as a 'sex buyer', he may see this as his personal identity and his future behaviour will be influenced by this, even to the point of further engagement with prostitution. This presupposes that purchasing sex is morally or legally 'wrong' within a particular society.

The imposition or experience of stigma is entirely dependent on society and is socially constructed, sometimes deliberately, to achieve a given end such as deterrence, or organically as an expression of cultural values. The effects of stigma will be individual with some men ending their sex buying behaviour. However, the number of men acknowledging stigma in studies suggests that they continued to pay for sex, even whilst experiencing stigma (Kotsadam and Jakobsson 2012).

A Masculine Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying

This discussion has illustrated how family, peer groups, culture and society influence how a man perceives himself and his masculinity. When this emerges as a form of hegemonic masculinity, there is a need to reassert his dominance over anything that does not conform to the narrow lens he sees himself through. This can take the form of dominance over women and by paying a woman for a sexual activity, with the control and power this includes, reinforcing his masculinity. The subject of power and dominance will be revisited in the next section.

Masculinity and gender are social constructions of themselves and a product of the society they exist within. The influence of parents and family at a young age, as well as peer pressure and expectations in adolescence all contribute to defining what it means 'to be a man' for the individual. A desire for time-limited intimacy, risk or excitement add to this construction of masculinity as does social or relationship isolation. Taken together, this construction of masculinity underpins prostitution, and explains why it was included as one of the five pillars forming the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

A Continuum of Dehumanisation: Objectification to Sexual Violence

Stoltenberg (2000, p45) states:

'Not all sexual objectifying necessarily precedes sexual violence, and not all men are yet satiated by their sexual objectifying; but there is a perceptible sense in which every act of sexual objectifying occurs on a continuum of dehumanization that promises male sexual violence at its far end. The depersonalization that begins in sexual objectification is what makes violence possible; for once you have made a person out to be a thing, you can do anything to it you want.'

Taking a lead from Stoltenberg, this section builds upon, and brings together, the previous discussions on masculinity and feminist ideologies, and looks at some of the

potential results of this social construction of prostitution and sex buying along this continuum from sexual objectification to violence against women.

Sexual Objectification of Women Providing Sex

Nussbaum (1995, p257) defines 'objectification' as simply treating a human being as an object and offers seven notions that are involved in the concept of objectification that are reproduced here:

1. *Instrumentality*: The objectifier treats the object as a tool of his or her purposes.
2. *Denial of autonomy*: The objectifier treats the object as lacking in autonomy and self-determination.
3. *Inertness*: The objectifier treats the object as lacking in agency, and perhaps also in activity.
4. *Fungibility*: The objectifier treats the object as interchangeable (a) with other objects of the same type, and/or (b) with objects of other types.
5. *Violability*: The objectifier treats the object as lacking in boundary-integrity, as something that it is permissible to break up, smash, break into.
6. *Ownership*: The objectifier treats the object as something that is owned by another, can be bought or sold etc.
7. *Denial of subjectivity*: The objectifier treats the object as something whose experience and feelings (if any) need not be taken into account.

Marshall (1999) takes two of these criteria to discuss women involved in prostitution, these being 'fungibility' and 'denial of subjectivity'. When considering fungibility, she draws a distinction over whether a sex buyer is purchasing an act from an object, or from a human being that he can objectify. She argues that it is the latter that occurs in prostitution, that is, an anatomically correct robot would not suffice. In this way, Marshall argues that the objectification taking place dehumanises the sex provider and is a potentially damaging relationship as the sex buyer will take no account of risk or harm to the sex provider. Marshall further discusses the concept of 'sex' and the fact that the sex provider need not experience any pleasure from the experience, indeed it

is quite likely that she does not. Marshall claims that the 'caring prostitute', or 'tart with a heart' is a gender-specific mythology. Some men will state on interview that they 'hope' or 'believe' that the sex provider enjoys the interaction, but this is not a prerequisite for the sex buyer and, in this, they demonstrate a 'denial of subjectivity'. Marshall concludes by arguing that viewing prostitution as a commercial service necessitates some form of objectification that is both damaging and stigmatising for the sex provider.

When considering Nussbaum's criteria, Coy (2008) further adds 'instrumentality' to the characteristics she uses to explore commercial sex transactions, evidencing one interviewee describing sex providers as, 'A prostitute is a piece of meat,' (ibid., p187). Coy states that where sex buyers perceive the function of a woman is simply to facilitate their sexual gratification, then objectification through instrumentality will exist. She concludes by stating that:

'The accounts detailed in this chapter strengthen the evidence base of harm in relation to prostitution by highlighting aspects of objectification in commercial sex that perpetuate views of women who sell sex as depersonalised, which are, in turn, frequently, and destructively, internalised by women,' (ibid., p196).

The views of Marshall and Coy reflect a radical feminist view of prostitution and may be a generalisation, but there is other evidence to suggest that some degree of objectification and dehumanisation by sex buyers occurs. Jovanski and Tyler (2018, p1895) reviewed on-line forums populated by sex buyers and found 'notable, overt objectification of the women reviewed,' by reducing women to bodily parts or functions. They argue that this demonstrates a narrative of 'domination, violation, and sexual violence ... through the sexual objectification of women,' (ibid., p1895). Farley *et al.* (2017) similarly found that sex buyers tended to view women providing sex as intrinsically different to other women, dehumanising them and demonstrating a lack of empathy. Elements of Nussbaum's criteria are evident in these studies and the researchers view these as indicators of a potential to commit violence against sex providers.

It is not much of a stretch to see all seven of Nussbaum's criteria present in some forms of prostitution, especially on-street. It is this process of objectification and dehumanisation that demonstrates some aspects of the social construction of sex buyers' masculinity through their views and treatment of this group of women.

The next stage of the continuum of dehumanisation develops sexual objectification to an exercise of power or control over sex providers.

Power and Control as Motivators for Buying Sex

Pateman (1988, p289) argues that prostitution is an 'integral part of patriarchal capitalism,' wherein men can buy the rights to women's bodies. She views the purchase of sex as 'the exercise of the law of male sex-right,' (ibid., p296) and a means for men to exercise power and control over women. This view assumes a generalisation of sex buyers that is disputed by some commentators (for example, Sanders and Campbell 2008). There are many examples in research, however, that demonstrate that power is a significant contributing factor in men's decision to buy sex (for example Monto 1999, Lowman and Atchison 2006 or Birch 2015). O'Neill (2001, pp92-93) recounts the experiences of a sex provider, Cherie, who described her fear at the level of hatred in a sex buyer's eyes and repeatedly asserts that she feared he would kill her. O'Neill discusses how this 'is about the "power" of men and men exercising control over women,' (ibid.). In a study by Macleod *et al.* (2008) they found a higher proportion of men who demonstrated behaviours or ideas that reflect their desire for power or control through prostitution with comments such as, 'Prostitution's exciting to the extent you know you've got control,' or 'You need to know how to manipulate and control them,' (ibid., p20).

Faugier and Cranfield (1995) found that this power imbalance was used by sex buyers as a negotiation tool, bargaining for acts that the sex provider would not otherwise agree to, such as sex without a condom or lower prices, on the assumption that the women 'are more desperate and powerless,' (ibid., p3).

Cornwall and Lindisfarne (2016) argue that the very term 'hegemonic masculinity' is defined by power, either over other men, in what they define as 'subordinate variants', or over women. This illustrates that men are not all equally powerful, but they contend that all masculinity involves some form of power with subordinate variants demonstrating power over women. Loizos (2016) goes as far as arguing that the act of sexual penetration is, of itself, as much about power as it is about intimacy. Cornwall and Lindisfarne (2016, p4) further state that 'people's experiences of the intersecting relation between gender and power are socially constructed and historically located,' suggesting that this power imbalance is not biological or inevitable, but a product of the society within which it exists.

Moore (1994) equates a man's self-image with a fantasy of power and argues that it is an inability to control this that can lead to interpersonal violence to 'reconfirm the nature of a masculinity otherwise denied,' (ibid., p154), invariably directing this violence at women. This link between power and violence is further developed below.

Sex Buyers' Acceptance of Rape Myths

Building upon the discussions on the objectification of women providing sex and gender-power imbalances in prostitution, several studies have examined the acceptance of rape myths amongst male sex buyers as an indicator of their views and attitudes towards women in general and those providing sex in particular.

Burt (1980) introduced the term and concept of 'rape myths' to represent a set of attitudes that minimises or support sexual violence against women. Typically, rape myths appear to find justification for rape or try to blame the victim. Burt (1980, p217) offers examples such as:

- only bad girls get raped,
- any healthy woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to,
- women ask for it,

- women 'cry rape' only when they have been jilted or have something to cover up, or
- rapists are sex-starved, insane, or both.

News reports of court cases appear regularly that illustrate these views in action. As an example, Shaw (2017) reports a case where a judge was accused of 'victim-blaming' for focussing on the fact that the victim was drunk, rather than the offender committing rape.

It should be stressed that the existence of attitudes representing rape myths does not necessarily mean that a man has, or will, commit such an offence, but it does serve to illustrate the dehumanisation and objectification of women in general. As Joseph and Black (2012, p490) point out, rape myths are a 'sociocultural phenomenon in which persons may rely on a series of culturally available attitudes to justify and support their violent behaviour.' As such, the existence of rape myths and the adherence to such ideas is entirely based on culture and is socially constructed based on societal, familial and peer attitudes.

A study of sex buyers by Della Giusta *et al.* (2009) found that 30% of their participants believed that women in provocative dress were asking for trouble, 17% thought that rape victims had a bad reputation and 23% thought that if a woman went home with a man, this automatically constituted consent to have sex. A similar study by Macleod *et al.* (2008) found that over a quarter of the men they interviewed endorsed rape-tolerant attitudes. 12% of their participants went as far as stating that it was not possible to rape a sex provider or that the concept of rape did not apply to prostitution based on the woman's activities and lifestyle. Monto and Hotaling (2001) found that men who regularly engaged in prostitution were more likely to endorse rape myths, suggesting that a degree of regularity in purchasing sex tends to increase the dehumanisation of the women providing sex.

These results suggest that a significant number of sex buyers have rape myth attitudes and would endorse the belief that women providing sex cannot be raped, presumably regarding this as a contractual breach of failing to pay for services received. This is a

disturbing number of men possessing a dangerous view of women providing sex that could very easily lead to sexual violence along the continuum of dehumanisation. These attitudes are socially constructed, but are not necessarily limited to men (Burt, 1980), reinforcing the 'acceptability' of such views in sex buyers.

Violence Against Women Providing Sex

The discussions above concerning masculinity and the dehumanisation of women providing sex have shown that an argument is made by many commentators that, in order for a man to develop and maintain his masculinity, he must demonstrate his power and control over women. Lowman and Atchison (2006, p288) point out that, 'Many feminists maintain that violence against women is a product of the power and control dimensions of traditional gender roles - men assert their control through violence as a way of maintaining their hegemonic power over women.'

In a study of two hundred women providing sex, Silbert and Pines (1982) found that 70% of the participants reported having been raped by men claiming to be sex buyers. In addition, 65% had also been assaulted in non-sexual violent attacks. Miller (1997) found that 75% of her research participants had been raped by potential sex buyers with 82% having been physically assaulted. In a wide-ranging study of 854 people providing sex across nine different countries, Farley *et al.* (2004) found that 71% had been physically assaulted and 63% reported having been raped.

In reviewing on-line reviews of prostitution encounters by men, Jovanski and Tyler (2018, p1894) found that sex buyers would 'construct and normalize narratives of violation,' and, in some cases, expressed a view that harassment and violation of the women made the experience more enjoyable. Jovanski and Tyler (*ibid.*) identified a 'continuum of male sexual violence' that ranged from objectification and harassment through to physical violence, in extreme cases involving rape, echoing Stoltenberg's continuum of dehumanisation and further illustrating the way that the men constructed the violation and violence as part of enhancing their reputation and masculinity to their peers in the forums.

Joseph and Black (2012) draw a causal link between men who feel insecure about their masculinity and a susceptibility to engage in compensatory behaviours, which may include violence against women to reassert their status.

Heise (1998, p265) offers an integrated, ecological framework for conceptualising gender-based violence under four sections that she labels as follows:

- *personal history* – an absent father growing up or witnessing domestic violence as a child etc.
- *microsystem* – male dominance, male control of finances etc.
- *exosystem* – unemployment, delinquent peers, female isolation etc.
- *macrosystem* – aggressive masculinity, male entitlement, rigid gender roles etc.

Many of the items listed under these sections mirror the discussion above concerning masculinity and objectifying women as well as the feminist debates on the roles of men and women in society. It is clear from this, that gender-based violence is also socially constructed within societies and families.

Busch *et al.* (2002, p1095) argue that ‘Well-established feminist theory of violence against women rests on three concepts: power, control, and traditional gender roles,’ illustrating how the above constructs contribute to the occurrence of gender-based violence and the presence of power and control within this.

Several commentators argue that violence against sex providers is exacerbated by policy or the policing of prostitution. Kinnell (2006a, p163) states that, ‘Violence against sex workers is intimately related to hostile legislation, law enforcement and public attitudes.’ Deering *et al.* (2014, p51) similarly argue that, ‘In our review, there was consistent evidence of an independent link between policing practices (e.g., arrest, violence, coercion) and elevated rates of physical or sexual violence against sex workers.’ This view is often used as evidence for the decriminalisation or legalisation of prostitution. Other researchers, however, dispute this. Jovanski and Tyler (2018) compared statistics and attitudes across areas with different policy and legislative approaches and found no difference between them. Farley *et al.* (2017) similarly could find no difference in sexually aggressive behaviour in areas where prostitution was

illegal when compared to regions with legalised prostitution. Macleod *et al.* (2008) challenge the view that legalising prostitution offers a safer environment for women providing sex by examining Nevada, which is the only state in the USA where prostitution is legal. They argue that 'the Nevada rate of rape was higher than the U.S. average and it was significantly higher than rates of rape in several more populous U.S. states,' (ibid., p23). The effects of policy and policing on the levels of violence against women providing sex is an argument that is invariably used to support one policy campaign or another and is usually presented in a format sympathetic to the position being advocated, meaning that the true impact remains unclear and that the levels of violence against women providing sex can also be constructed by researchers.

Sex Provider Homicides

Kinnell (2008, pp160-161) states:

'It is assumed that those who kill sex workers are motivated by a specific hatred of sex workers and / or have a perverted sexuality which can only be satisfied by killing; that their attacks are planned and targeted; that sex workers' lives inevitably expose them to such killers; that people who murder sex workers do not murder other people, and, therefore, that the rest of us are safe. None of these assumptions are true.'

Whenever the media or the public think of the murders of women providing sex, they are invariably drawn to sensationalist reports of serial killers who prey on these women. As the quote from Kinnell above illustrates, the number of female sex providers murdered by serial killers is a very small proportion of the total number of such homicides in the UK. Between 1990 and 2016, 180 sex providers were murdered in the UK, 110 of these by sex buyers (NPCC 2019), but less than ten of these formed a pattern of serial killing. The true overall figures are likely to be higher than these reported ones due to the secretive nature of prostitution and the fact that there are several missing women who have yet to be found (Kinnell 2008). A further complication is that there is no Home Office tag under occupation for anyone providing sex, so the nature of the

murder may not be immediately obvious on researching (Brookman and Maguire 2004). The majority of these murders are one-off killings by sex buyers with little, or no, specific targeting. Busch *et al.* (2002) point out there are a number of factors that make this group of women particularly vulnerable to violence and homicide, including the secret and illegal nature of their activities as well as the fact that they will voluntarily accompany unfamiliar men into cars or isolated locations. It could be argued, however, that this view is a further example of 'victim blaming' and places the focus on the victim rather than the offender.

Brewer *et al.* (2006) reported that 2.7% of all female homicide victims in the US between 1982 and 2000 were providing sex and most were killed by men presenting themselves as sex buyers. Potterat *et al.* (2004) conducted a survey of nearly two thousand women over a twenty-three-year period in the state of Colorado, of which they found 117 probable deaths. From this analysis, they concluded that women engaged in prostitution were 18 times more likely to be the victims of homicide than women in the general population and they report that this is likely to be an under-estimation due to the reasons given above. Most of the offenders in these cases were sex buyers.

Kinnell (2006a) carried out a review of 84 sex providers who were reported dead or missing in the UK between 1990 and 2004. All bar one of these was female and 82% were engaged in street level prostitution. In the cases of women who were murdered, where known, the majority of offenders were sex buyers, the remainder including partners and drug dealers. Over a third of the murder investigations remain unsolved at the time of Kinnell's review, several of which resulted from collapsed trials or acquittals, which Kinnell attributes to 'prejudice on the part of juries against sex worker victims or witnesses, or from idiosyncrasies in the judicial process, or from failures of the police to gather sufficient evidence,' (ibid., p161), which she further describes as 'unacceptable'. Whilst this view is based on Kinnell's opinion, it does serve to highlight that whilst the social construction of the 'sex worker' or 'prostitute' in society continues to portray these women as somehow inferior to the rest of women, they will continue to be disadvantaged and, by extension, more vulnerable.

In considering the question of why male sex buyers commit offences of homicide against women providing sex, Hollway (1981, p33) argues that the acts are 'an expression, albeit an extreme one, of the construction of an aggressive masculine sexuality and of women as its objects.' In this, she is saying that the killers are not necessarily any different to other men, simply that their behaviour is an extreme example of how masculinity is constructed in all men in a particular society, and it is only in the extreme nature of their development that forms their actions. Hollway further argues that by demonising the offenders, particularly serial killers, that this allows other men to distance themselves from the behaviour and that it is only by addressing aggressive hegemonic masculinity in all men that these horrendous offences can be reduced or eradicated. Research does seem to suggest that the most prolific male killers of women providing sex are often described as the 'man next door' (Rule, 2005), although this may only be scratching the surface. There have been several studies of serial killers, but very little consideration of sex buyers who commit a one-off murder, so the true motivations and underlying causes may not yet be fully understood.

This section considered sex buyers' behaviours across literatures from sociology, psychology, and medical fields regarding objectifying women through to the murder of sex providers. What has been demonstrated is that these behaviours are on a continuum of dehumanisation of this group of women rather than being isolated characteristics. This is not to suggest that all sex buyers will go on to commit serious offences of rape or murder, but it is likely that the men who have committed these offences have begun at the lower end of this continuum. To repeat Stoltenberg (2000), it is only once a woman has been depersonalised through sexual objectification that violence becomes possible.

It has also been shown that it is the concept of masculinity that drives this continuum and that this is a product of familial and societal constructions rather than any inherent biological abnormality. Ioana (2012, p324) argues that no-one is born a killer and that this arises as a combination of factors including 'education, socialisation, culture and, especially, the socio-economic environment the individual lives in.' Through these

processes, the murderer acquires appropriate tools and stereotypes that enable him to carry out a murder.

Cultural Influences

This section will examine the impact of cultural influences on male sex buying through sexual script theory, religion, and socio-demographic profiles in research studies. A full description of how the term culture is used in this thesis is provided in the introduction.

This is based on the following definition:

‘Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member’s behaviour and his/her interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour.’ (Spencer-Oatey 2008, p3).

Additionally, any reference to culture within this thesis is regarded as being in the plural, recognising the contribution of multiple cultures or subcultures within an identity.

Sexual Script Theory

The cultural influences on men’s involvement with paying for sex goes beyond prostitution and involves their understanding, relationship and responses to sex and women in general. This can, in part, be explained by sexual script theory. This was first proposed in 1973 by Gagnon and Simon (2005). The basic premise is that all social behaviour, including sexual behaviour, is socially scripted and constructed from shared beliefs within a given social group.

Gagnon and Simon (2005, p13) summarise this as:

‘Scripts are involved in learning the meaning of internal states, organizing the sequencing of specifically sexual acts, decoding novel situations, setting the

limits on sexual responses, and linking meanings from nonsexual aspects of life to specifically sexual experience.'

The authors describe three levels of scripting (Simon and Gagnon 2007, Wiederman 2015):

- *Cultural scenarios* – how individuals construct, interpret, and make sense of cultural experiences and behaviours.
- *Interpersonal scripts* – this describes how individuals adapt and create their own understanding of situations from their experiences within a given culture, which in turn shapes their interpersonal behaviour in future situations.
- *Intrapsychic scripts* – these entail specific plans or strategies for making the interpersonal scripts a reality, including fantasy, memory, and mental rehearsal.

These levels are not static and 'Gagnon and Simon viewed all three levels of scripts as dynamically related, and frequently in flux,' (Wiederman 2015, p9). As cultural settings change and the individual creates ever more complex scenarios, the internal scripts will evolve and develop. Simon and Gagnon (2007, p39) also argue that 'the major cultural scenarios that shape the most common interpersonal scripts tend to be almost exclusively drawn from the requirements of adolescence and early adulthood.' In common with the discussion above on the developmental years of a male's life, this suggests that the culture that a male is exposed to in early life will continue to have a significant impact on the sexual scripts he constructs in later life. As such, his understanding of sex, women and prostitution will be significantly influenced by the cultural experiences he encounters or witnesses in his youth.

There have been several studies that have related sexual script theory to sex providers (for example Gagnon and Simon 2005; Järvinen and Henriksen 2018), but very few attempts to understand sex buying through this theoretical lens.

Lynch (2010) looked at sexual scripts in an on-line environment, illustrating that cultural influences stretch beyond the conventional culture of a physical society and will include a virtual one in the modern world. This is particularly relevant with the use of

pornography (Tewksbury and Golder 2005) and Internet sites dedicated to the discussion and review of prostitution encounters by sex buyers (Blevins and Holt 2009).

Religion and Religiosity

For the purposes of this discussion, religion is regarded as a particular system of faith and worship, whereas religiosity relates to the strength of religious feeling or belief as well as the level of participation in religion.

In a study on adolescent risk taking, Zaleski and Schiaffino (2000) found that religiosity represented a potential protective factor amongst their participants with those identifying strongly with religious teachings and traditions were less likely to engage in risk-taking behaviours such as pre-marital sexual activity. De Visser *et al.* (2007) found similar results when studying practitioners from monotheistic Abrahamic religions including Islam, Judaism and Christianity.

Cameron and Collins (2003, p285), however, found that where religion imposed severe social controls restricting 'community-specific sexual opportunities' that young males tended 'to substitute, at the margin, towards the paid arena', suggesting that religious restrictions on pre-marital sex within their own communities can lead to young males experimenting with sex through prostitution. Cameron and Collins specifically cite Roman Catholic and Muslim males as potentially vulnerable to this.

Adamczyk and Hayes (2012) found that young males from Muslim countries were less likely to report pre-marital sex than for any other religions due to cultural and religious influences, rather than simply not engaging in sex. Sex before marriage is effectively forbidden, even for courting couples. This may be a reason that young Muslim males turn to prostitution to experiment with sexual encounters as they may believe that this will be anonymous and hidden from their family, culture, and cultural symbols of having sex with women outside of their religion or ethnicity supporting Kinnell's (2006b) category of anonymous sex being one reason given by men purchasing sex.

Perversely, it may be that the stronger the level of religiosity and the desire to adhere to religious restrictions, the more vulnerable young men are to seeking anonymous experimental sex through prostitution outside of their religion and culture. This may partially explain the disproportionate levels of male sex buyers from Islamic countries in western studies (for example Radford 2018). In this way the impact of religion on the social construction of prostitution goes beyond historical profiteering and modern moral condemnation, to influencing how young males view sex and sex buying within cultural and religious restraints and opportunities.

Socio-Demographic Profiles of Sex Buyers

Previous studies have included statistical analyses of the socio-demographic variables of the participants. These tend to be quantitative studies with large numbers of respondents, often by questionnaire for ease of collation and coding. As such, they do not offer any in-depth understanding of the participants' backgrounds, culture, or motivations.

Most studies found a mean age for sex buyers being in their late 30s (for example Leonard 1990, Della Giusta *et al.* 2009, Farley *et al.* 2011). The National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles has been conducted in the UK three times, in 1990-1991, 1999-2001 and 2010-2012 (Natsal 2015). This is primarily a health survey but does include questions on paying for sex. These surveys have formed the basis for a number of studies, and all reveal a slightly younger age group between 25 and 34 years (Ward *et al.* 2005, Groom and Nandwani 2006, Jones *et al.* 2015). A few of the more recent international studies have found an older mean age over 40 (for example Atchison 2010, Schei and Stigum 2010, Ompad *et al.* 2013). This may represent a shift over time to older males engaging with street level prostitution.

In many cases, the economic activity of the participants was not reported, but where this is provided most results suggest a rate of over 80% of the men being in employment (for example Pitts *et al.* 2004, Monto and McRee 2005, Joseph and Black 2012). Notable exceptions include Faugier and Cranfield (1995) in Manchester, UK with 68% and

Sanders (2012) in the UK with 74% employed. With only two such results, it is not possible to draw a clear inference, but this may suggest that the percentage of employed males in the UK is lower than in the USA.

Most studies outside of the USA found that between 70% and 90% of the men were white males from the country in question (for example Jordan 1997 in New Zealand, Atchison 2010 in Canada, Schei and Stigum 2010 in Norway). The USA generally shows a lower value between 50% and 70% white males (for example Della Giusta *et al.* 2009, Joseph and Black 2012, Monto and Milrod 2014). Previous UK studies reveal a result of around 85% white males (for example Faugier and Cranfield 1995, Groom and Nandwani 2006, Sanders 2012). A notable exception to this was Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe (2003a) who found only 43% of their participants in London were white British. This is likely to be dependent on the levels of immigration into particular areas.

There is a wide variation in results concerning marital status, with values from 20% to 56% (as exemplified by most studies referenced above), with Ompad *et al.* (2013) being the only study featuring results outside of this range possibly due to the different nations studied (south and central America). This is a problematic variable to compare between different studies as the coding of the measurement varies greatly, with some studies grouping married and co-habiting couples, whereas other studies group every male in any form of relationship. As such, it is difficult to identify any obvious patterns.

Evidence shows that there is a great deal of variation over time and in different locations. Additionally, it is not always transparent whether the quoted figures relate to all sex buying males, or just those in a certain sector, such as on-street. Whilst the Home Office (2004, p17) states that 'Research provides us with a profile of a prostitute user that is a man of around 30 years of age, married, in full time employment, and with no criminal convictions,' this appears to be an over-simplification that fails to offer any depth of understanding.

Profiles of sex buyers based on socio-demographic variables can be useful for discovering who is paying for sex but provide little information as to why they do so.

Results from Nottingham based studies (Hamilton 2010, Radford 2018) are discussed in Chapter Four.

The Commodification of Prostitution and Sex Buying

The liberal feminist view of prostitution as being a job, profession, or occupation like any other naturally leads to providing sex being viewed as a consumer activity and market economy (Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007). A radical feminist view, however, would see commodification as a gender-based inequality that exploits and objectifies women (Jyrkinen 2012). Whilst both sides of the debate would accept that prostitution and sex buying are being commodified, the impact of this process is disputed. The following discussion looks at both arguments.

Prostitution as a Commercial Enterprise

Bernstein (2007) argues that the representation of all women involved in prostitution as being exploited or forced into providing sex is exaggerated and not representative. She states that,

‘part of the message I wish to convey revolves around the way that relatively privileged people, women as well as men, have entered into commercial sexual encounters in response to new subjective and social meanings that attend to market-mediated sex.’ (Bernstein 2007, pp4-5).

She maintains that some prostitution is consensual, being based on leisure for the sex buyer and financial gain for the sex provider. As such, Bernstein advocates a capitalist view of prostitution that can benefit all involved that she describes as being ‘subjectively normalized for sex workers and clients alike,’ (ibid., p7). This is a view that is supported by Sanders, O’Neill and Pitcher (2018, p122) who state that ‘the commodification of sex is prolific and entrenched in capitalism and consumption,’ arguing that the regulation of

prostitution must take account of the 'vibrant dynamics of the market of the sex industry.'

Weitzer (2010b, p26) offers, what he terms, a polymorphous paradigm, that he states holds, 'a constellation of occupational arrangements, power relations, and worker experiences exists within the arena of paid sexual services and performances.' This is based on the large variety of representations of prostitution and the fact that levels of control and exploitation vary in different locations and forms of prostitution, stating that it is both possible and right that women should be free to choose for themselves to provide sex.

The McDonaldization of Prostitution

Blanchard (1994, quoted in Monto 1999, p34) records a comment from a sex buyer as:

'It's like going to McDonalds; most people are looking for a good quick cheap meal. It's satisfying, it's greasy, and then you get the hell out of there.'

Quotes such as the one above from sex buyers led to Blanchard coining the term McSex to indicate a commodified perspective toward sexuality that situates the purchase of sex as being more analogous to consumer behaviour than to an intimate relationship (Monto 1999).

Ritzer (2010, p4) introduced the term 'McDonaldization' to represent 'the process by which the principals of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world.' Ritzer stated that there were four main characteristics of McDonaldization, these being:

1. *Efficiency* – the optimal method for achieving a given task is employed,
2. *Calculability* – the focus should be on quantifiable outcomes rather than being subjective, i.e., number of sales over the taste of the product,
3. *Predictability* – the service and product are the same wherever it is encountered,
4. *Control* – employees are standardised and uniform.

Hausbeck and Brent (2010) took Ritzer's principals of McDonaldization and applied them to prostitution as follows:

1. *Efficiency* – both on-street and off-street prostitution offer quick access to sex providers, potentially even taking place in the sex buyer's car (much like fast food). On-line marketing can be specifically tailored to an individual's preferences enabling quick access.
2. *Calculability* – prostitution is readily available in most cities and in plentiful supply. This becomes even more so in regions where there is decriminalisation or legalisation of the sale of sex. This allows the sex buyer to 'shop around' to obtain the best deal.
3. *Predictability* – by dehumanising the sex provider as simply a female receptacle, the sex buyer can demand the sex act of his choice by paying the required sum, largely ensuring that prostitution is the same wherever it is encountered, particularly in the western world.
4. *Control* – in off-street sex markets, there is a great emphasis on the idealised female body, which can be obtained through medical intervention. Similarly, the more chaotic on-street market tends to produce a uniform woman standing on the street corner.

Jyrkinen (2012, p24) extends this argument to, what she refers to as, McSexualization, to 'refer to the mainstreaming and industrialization of sex as business(es) and the commercialization of bodies, sex and sexualities.' Jyrkinen (ibid.) states that this process presents a situation where the sex market must artificially create new needs in sex buyers to sustain itself, thereby drawing more and more women into prostitution. She continues her argument stating that this is rooted in gender inequality and seeks to normalise the profiting from women's bodies by individuals and organisations that blur the boundaries of acceptability.

'The Other' – In Search of a Different Sexual Experience

A result of commodifying prostitution and either representing it as a commercial enterprise or objectifying the sex provider, is that sex buyers can 'shop around' for different services, of 'the other', to suit their individual tastes or needs. Macleod *et al.* (2008) found that sex buyers engaged with prostitution for sex acts that they could not obtain from their regular sexual partners, such as wives or girlfriends. They encountered men who paid for anal sex, corporal punishment, sadism, and masochism and 'things you wouldn't dare ask a normal female for,' (ibid., p24), evidencing both objectification and a market mentality. Similarly, Preston and Brown-Hart (2005, p53) reported that men paid for sex to 'obtain sexual gratification in ways that were not normally permitted them within the context of their own marriages or current dating relationships.' Other studies report similar findings (Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007, Faugier and Cranfield 1995, Gibbens and Silberman 1960, Huschke and Schubotz 2016, Winick 1962).

Månsson (2006) interviewed sex providers, some of whom suggested that the demands made upon them by sex buyers were sometimes inspired by what they had seen displayed in pornography. As Månsson describes this:

'The clientele of prostitutes today consists of men, whose views about gender and sexuality have been shaped by late modern society's mass-produced images about sexuality in pornography, advertisement, and other media,' (ibid., p90).

A discussion of the role of pornography in the social construction of hegemonic masculinity and the impact of commodification on the pornography industry is beyond the limits of this discussion, but is well documented elsewhere (for example, Garlick 2010). What is clear from research such as Månsson's (2006) is that pornography is giving unrealistic expectations of sex and sexual activities, especially to younger people, that cannot be satisfied within 'normal' relationships. As such, prostitution may offer another means of accessing this.

In considering why men felt the need to pay for sex acts that they felt were not available to them in their 'normal' relationships, Monto (1999) considered the case of oral sex. In a study of sex buyers, Monto found that a significant number of the men went to women

providing sex for fellatio. Part of this study also considered views of sex and associated acts within the Canadian National Health and Social Life Survey. From this, it was revealed that whilst 45% of men enjoyed receiving fellatio, only 17% of women found performing the act particularly appealing. Conversely, where 34% of men enjoyed performing cunnilingus, only 29% of women enjoyed receiving this act. Monto posits that this discrepancy may mean that the perceived sexual needs of men may not be satisfied with their partners and links this to Merton's (1938) strain theory with a perceived goal-means gap leading to deviant behaviour. Monto (1999, p42) describes this as a cultural tension, within which, 'Prostitution exists in the breach, fulfilling sexual interests that may be immoral or illegal.'

'The Other' – In Search of a Different Type of Sexual Partner

A second aspect of the commodification of prostitution allowing men to search for something different, is the prospect of paying a different type of woman for a sexual act. Coy, Horvath and Kelly (2007) found that the men they interviewed had very specific ideas about the physical attributes and socio-demographic profile of the women they wanted to buy sex from. This included a particular age, breast size, waist size, appearance, or ethnicity. Some men fell into a category of seeking an 'exotic other' by wanting women from a different ethnicity from their own. Preston and Brown-Hart (2005) report that sex buyers will often make very specific choices in terms of physical characteristics such as bust size or hair colour, but a particular subgroup particularly wanted women with a more exotic ethnic background.

Sanders (2005, p319) describes how women providing sex will use knowledge of this search for something different to 'create a manufactured identity specifically for the workplace as a self-protection mechanism to manage the stresses of providing sex as well as crafting the work image as a business strategy to attract and maintain clientele,' effectively reinforcing the stereotypes and constructed masculinity of the men.

Winick (1962) reports that, in searching for 'the other', sex buyers were far more focussed on a different type of woman than they were on a different sexual act. He also

found, however, that very few of the men were able to later describe the woman that they paid for sex, suggesting that the different woman was as much a creation in their minds as it was the reality before them. In interviewing sex buyers, Månsson (2006) found some for whom the image of the 'whore' was an exciting fantasy. This mythical woman would often be sexually advanced and experienced, willing to engage in sexual acts that their wives or partners would not. Conversely, however, when it actually came to purchasing a sexual act, most of these men tended pay for regular intercourse or masturbation, avoiding 'exotic or kinky sex'. This would imply that, whilst fantasising about, or even seeking, something or someone 'different', the reality tends to be more conventional. Månsson suggests that men fantasise about 'the other' kind of woman through prostitution due to 'the contradictory character of the sex trade, as being both repugnant and attractive at the same time,' (ibid., p89). This implies that the risk and excitement elements contributing to a man's masculinity are part of what leads him to search for something different. Shrage (1994, p48) suggests that sex buyer demand for women from 'exotic' ethnicities may 'be explained in part by culturally produced racial fantasies regarding the sexuality of these women,' again emphasising the role of social construction in understanding sex buying.

The idea of the 'whore' image was described by Freud (1953) with his discussion of the Madonna-whore complex, where the former represents women that men respect and the latter, women they sexually desire. In this manner, purity and desirability are viewed as mutually exclusive. This sublimates sexuality and promotes secrecy and 'debasement' in the form of pornography or prostitution (Landau *et al.* 2006). Whilst modern scholars consider many of Freud's sexual theories as antiquated and sexist, the psychoanalytic notion of the Madonna-whore complex is still viewed as viable and relevant in modern sexual dynamics and gender roles (Hartmann 2009) and may offer some explanation as to why men seek a different type of woman through prostitution.

Situational Sexual Behaviour

The theory of Situational Sexual Behaviour describes the phenomenon that a person's sexual behaviour is different in different situations (Jones *et al.* 2015). Examples of this in relation to prostitution would include paying for sex on holiday abroad, engaging in prostitution on a specific occasion such as an all-male stag party, or whilst abroad for work purposes, including military service. In these scenarios, the male would not ordinarily pay for sex in their routine lives.

Gibbens and Silberman (1960) found that some of the sex buyers they interviewed reported that they only paid for sex when away from home for work purposes at conferences or conventions. These sex buyers were invariably in the company of other men and often blamed alcohol for, what they called, 'an odd slip-up'. These men typically expressed guilt afterwards but acknowledged that peer pressure played a large part in their wanting to fit in with the group. Winick (1962) also reported that purchasing sex at work conventions or international sporting events were common practice from sex buyers.

Jordan (1997) interviewed a man who stated that his first experience of paying for sex was whilst out on an all-male drinking party. Another member of the group suggested visiting a massage parlour and the participant went along. Jordan suggests that 'many men feel an overwhelming pressure in our society to be actively sexual,' (*ibid.*, p65), pointing out that the interviewee was a virgin at the time of this incident and felt it was expected of him to join in.

A participant in a study by Macleod *et al.* (2008) stated that he paid for sex whilst on holiday in Amsterdam with friends and described the experience as a 'rite of passage'. The interviewee also noted that one male in the group had declined to be involved and, as a result, was teased and harassed by the rest of the group. A fifth of the men interviewed stated that they had paid for sex whilst deployed on military service.

All these studies illustrate that peer pressure plays a large part in these examples, either through social or work groups. As previously discussed above, this process of pressure

and learning from peers is a large contributor to a male's construction of his masculinity (Potard *et al.* 2008).

Another aspect of Situational Sexual Behaviour concerns 'sex tourism'. This is a broad term that is used by some researchers to include the sexual exploitation of children whilst abroad (O'Connell Davidson 1998) but is limited here to cover the situation where men specifically travel abroad to pay an adult for a sexual activity (Ryan and Kinder 1996). An added complication arises where prostitution in the destination country is regulated differently. This is particularly a factor if the sex buyer travels from a country where paying for sex is illegal or heavily controlled to one where the sale of sex is legal.

Ryan and Kinder (1996) describe sex tourism as a 'liminal behaviour'. This is a theory that is often applied to various forms of tourism and relates to 'a liberation occurs from the social, intellectual and physical limiting factors inherent to working conditions in the Western world,' (Gisolf 2013, section 4, para 1). In essence, it concerns leaving a person's 'life' at home and allowing themselves to engage in marginal behaviour whilst away. Jyrkinen (2012), however, argues that international sex businesses have links to organised crime groups that leads to women being forced into prostitution either through physical coercion or by marginalisation, and that sex tourism fuels and sustains this system.

O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor (1999, p37) argue that sex tourism is not so much about 'the other' as it is about 'a desire for an extraordinarily high degree of control over the management of self and others as sexual, racialized and engendered beings,' focussing on the control and power aspects of the process of purchasing sex. They further draw together elements of socially constructed gender, masculinity, and financial economic drivers for prostitution, demonstrating that sex tourism is a significant contributor to this.

This section has developed the radical and liberal feminist views of prostitution as either oppression or labour, demonstrating how both lead to the commodification of prostitution. This is based on gender inequalities that help men to construct their

masculinity, but it is also clear that prostitution as a commodity, especially in the form of sex tourism, is a big business. The Office for National Statistics estimates that prostitution in the UK added £5.3bn to the national GDP in 2009 (ONS 2014). It is likely to be significantly higher in countries where prostitution is legalised. Considering the potential links to organised crime, particularly sex trafficking (Jyrkinen 2012), sex tourism will remain a lucrative source of income for criminals and exploiters. To sustain this industry, a constant influx of women into prostitution must be maintained and many of these will either not be consenting individuals or will be faced with very limited choices in life through marginalisation, poverty, war, and displacement.

Evidence shows that financial influences are a significant factor in the social construction of prostitution. It is this business approach to providing sex that has shaped much of the current practices of providing sex around the world.

This discussion supports the inclusion of mating systems, masculinity, culture, female marginalisation, and policy agendas as key pillars in the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

Neutralisation and Rationalisation of Sex Buying

Many studies have shown that sex buyers are a representative subset of the general population of men (for example Monto and Milrod 2014) and there is nothing particularly out of the ordinary about them. Prostitution policies vary widely across the world (see Chapter Four for further discussion), but in England and Wales, an abolitionist model makes the purchase of sex on the streets unlawful. If the sex buyers are 'ordinary' men who are prepared to break the law in order to continue their behaviour, there must be some cognitive process that allows them to transgress in this manner, a means for internally 'making it okay'.

Neutralisation theory offers some explanation of how this occurs. Sykes and Matza (1957) described five techniques of neutralisation that they found amongst adolescent offenders. These techniques have become widely utilised in research and theory

development since that time with both adolescents and adults, and many adaptations and additions to the original 'famous five' have arisen (Kaptein and van Helvoort 2019). Sykes and Matza stated that they did not consider their list of five techniques to be definitive, nor complete and, as Maruna and Copes (2005, p234) point out, 'it appears that "new" techniques emerge with each new exploration into a deviant group.' Many of these additions are specific to a particular research area, for example, Bryant *et al.* (2017) proposed new categories in relation to genocide perpetrators in Rwanda.

Matza (1964, p89) later argued that neutralisation theories should not be used in isolation but should form part of a larger theory:

'It makes little sense to take each element out of context, to gaze at it and to reject it because it does not significantly differentiate delinquents from other boys. That the subcultural delinquent is not significantly different from other boys is precisely the point. He is marginally different and only in process is there a cumulation sufficient to sometimes culminate in infraction.'

In this regard, the discussion here forms part of the overall understanding of sex buying presented throughout this chapter and does not provide a complete explanation of itself.

Maruna and Copes (2005) argue that, in the strictest sense, the process of neutralisation must take place before the commission of the act. After the behaviour has taken place, any attempt to 'make it okay' is a rationalisation, which is a different, albeit similar, process. Most modern commentators tend to use the terms neutralisation and rationalisation synonymously and regard the two processes as sufficiently similar as to allow them to be regarded as being the same (Kaptein and van Helvoort 2019). To some extent, this is a compromise of convenience as most research has a methodological process of interviewing participants after the act has been committed and it is difficult to differentiate when the cognitive process of 'making it okay' occurred and may even be a continuous process before and after the behaviour was exhibited and acted upon. As this study will involve interviewing male sex buyers after they have engaged in this

behaviour, this approach to neutralisation and rationalisation will be adopted here, regarding the two as part of the same process.

Sykes and Matza's original techniques of neutralisation can be summarised as follows:

- *Denial of responsibility* – the circumstances or situation were beyond the control of the individual and they had 'no choice'.
- *Denial of injury* – their actions did not result in harm or damage, thereby minimising the behaviour.
- *Denial of the victim* – that the victim deserved whatever happened to them, that it was somehow their fault.
- *Condemnation of the condemners* – claiming that those who condemn their actions have an ulterior motive for doing so, such as spite, unfair moral condemnation or shifting the blame from themselves.
- *Appeal to higher loyalties* – stating that their behaviour was 'for the greater good' and that their actions were justified by the long-term consequences.

Neutralisation theory is rarely applied to sex buyers, but where it is, it shows significant relevance and is often the most common finding in analysing sex buyer interviews (for example Zaitch and Staring 2009). Anderson and O'Connell (2003) reported comments made by sex buyers when discussing violence against sex providers where the blame was placed on the sex provider due to a perceived substandard service or an insistence on using a condom. Caudero *et al.* (2009) found extensive use of neutralisation techniques in on-line forums in Italy such as a denial of harm to sex providers and a denial of trafficking for sexual purposes. Zaitch and Staring (2009) found very similar results in the Netherlands that included claims by participants that they would somehow be able to tell if a woman was being forced to provide sex or had been trafficked. They conclude that 'only a minority of the people participating on this site do not neutralize their role,' (*ibid.*, p104).

It appears that some form of neutralisation cognitive process is necessary to enable 'ordinary' men to engage in behaviour prohibited by society and to purchase sex on the streets in England. The original five techniques proposed by Sykes and Matza may not

be adequate for all research areas, but they have been shown to be sufficient for the understanding of sex buying behaviour (for example, Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe 2010).

Summary

This chapter has examined previous understanding, research, and theories as to why men pay for sex, presenting a number of paradigms, whether viewed separately or as linked mechanisms, from psychological or biological positivism to hegemonic masculinity and commodification of prostitution, and highlighted the contested nature of many of these. These build upon the cultural context(s) of prostitution as developed through historical periods in different geographical locations as presented in Chapter Two. The reality is that it is likely to be a combination of these factors to varying extents that contributes to each individual man's decision to pay for sex.

It is these historical, cultural, and societal factors that contribute to the social construction of prostitution as demonstrated through the five pillars presented in Chapter One. Most of the studies discussed in this chapter have tended to focus on a narrow lens of this broad spectrum, often as a means of 'proving' a particular political or policy approach. It would be naïve to assume that this study could avoid prior beliefs and preconceptions regarding sex buying, but in acknowledging these I will attempt to offer a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding in these individual cases without attempting to test a hypothesis or prior assertion.

Having suggested how some of the theories in the chapter have political or policy underpinnings to them, the next chapter will examine this further by looking at policy approaches to prostitution and how these influence, and in turn are influenced by, theory.

Chapter Four - Prostitution Policy Models

The research paradigm of social constructionism in relation to prostitution and sex buying is presented in Chapter One. This is developed and defined through its historical context in Chapter Two and the understanding of theory and research in Chapter Three. This chapter is the final part of that derivation. It has been demonstrated that political and policy approaches are influential in developing theory regarding prostitution and sex buying. In order to understand these and to place prostitution into context within these paradigms, this chapter will discuss the dominant prostitution policy models in modern societies. This will be examined in Part Three of this thesis when assessing the potential implications of this research.

This chapter begins by looking at a broad international view of policy models by considering each of four prevalent approaches: regulation, decriminalisation, prohibition, and abolition. These are defined and discussed with a particular emphasis on policy implementation and how this shapes the models. This discussion is then narrowed to firstly consider the UK approach and finally how prostitution policy is implemented within the city of Nottingham to provide the context for this research study.

Policy Models Relating to Prostitution and Sex Buying

Classification of Prostitution Policy Models

Bailey (1994) offers a generic classification process which allows for the study and comparison of policies by maximising 'within-group homogeneity' and 'between-group heterogeneity' by ordering policies into groups. For this process to work, there must be a set of clear criteria upon which this process functions. Unfortunately, analyses of prostitution policies rarely follow this process and authors use a variety of typologies, occasionally even using the same label to refer to different approaches (Östergren 2017).

The first problem arises in deciding if the national approaches to prostitution qualify as a policy, a model, a regime, or a framework. As Skilbrei and Holmström (2013) argue, terms such as policy or model presume some form of static and coherent approach, which is often absent within national approaches, and, as such, they propose using the term 'legal regulatory framework'. With a similar argument, Scoular (2010) refers to 'regulatory approaches', that employs an understanding that is more complex than simple distinctive pairings, such as legal/illegal or criminalisation/decriminalisation. Wagenaar *et al.* (2013) prefer the term 'policy regime' to reflect how policy institutions, actors and ideas become relatively long-term and institutionalised. Della Giusta (2008) similarly believes that 'policy regime' is a useful term but cautions that this does not necessarily mean that these policies are coherent over time. Matthews (2008) highlights how policy models tend to overlap, which is in contradiction of Bailey's generic classification process. Matthews suggests that any classification should be regarded as an 'ideal typology'.

Having considered this discussion, approaches to prostitution will be viewed as 'idealised policy models' in this thesis to allow discussion and comparison, whilst understanding that these models will show variation over time and place.

The next stage is to consider how a classification of prostitution policies should be constructed. There is no consensus in research as to how this should be done. Authors have offered three-fold, four-fold and five-fold typologies. Some have added new variations, often prefixed with 'neo' and others question the nature of legalisation or decriminalisation in these models. Some examples of typologies are:

- Wiljers (1998) – prohibition, regulation, abolition, and decriminalisation.
- West (2000) – prohibition, legalisation, and decriminalisation.
- Halley *et al.* (2006) - prohibition, licensing, and decriminalisation.
- Matthews (2008) – prohibition, regulation, legalisation, and decriminalisation.

The terms regulation and legalisation are often used interchangeably, but Matthews (2008) separates these as different approaches. Weitzer (2012) prefers the terms 'de facto' and 'de jure' as subordinate forms of both legalisation and decriminalisation to

represent the situations where a mixture of regulation and either criminalisation or decriminalisation occur based on how the laws are enforced. However, this appears to be based more on implementation than with the policies themselves.

Sweden introduced new legislation in 1999 that focussed on decriminalising the supply of sex, but criminalised the demand, which later became known as neo-abolition, amongst other terms (Jakobsson and Kotsadam 2013). Danna (2014) split these elements to propose the terms neo-regulation for decriminalising supply and neo-prohibition for criminalising the demand.

Finally, Östergren (2017) offers a completely new approach to classifying prostitution policies based on, what she terms, an inductive methodological approach. She offers three categories of 'repressive', 'restrictive' and 'integrative' based on an attempt to adhere closer to Bailey's 'within-group homogeneity' and 'between-group heterogeneity' to define individual groups. Whilst this approach lends itself to policy science and a scientific analysis, it does not fit naturally to common conceptions of prostitution policy models.

This discussion has illustrated that national policy decisions and models are open to interpretation and the same policy may be viewed differently by different authors. This continues to demonstrate the social construction of prostitution at all levels, including as high as national or international policy debates.

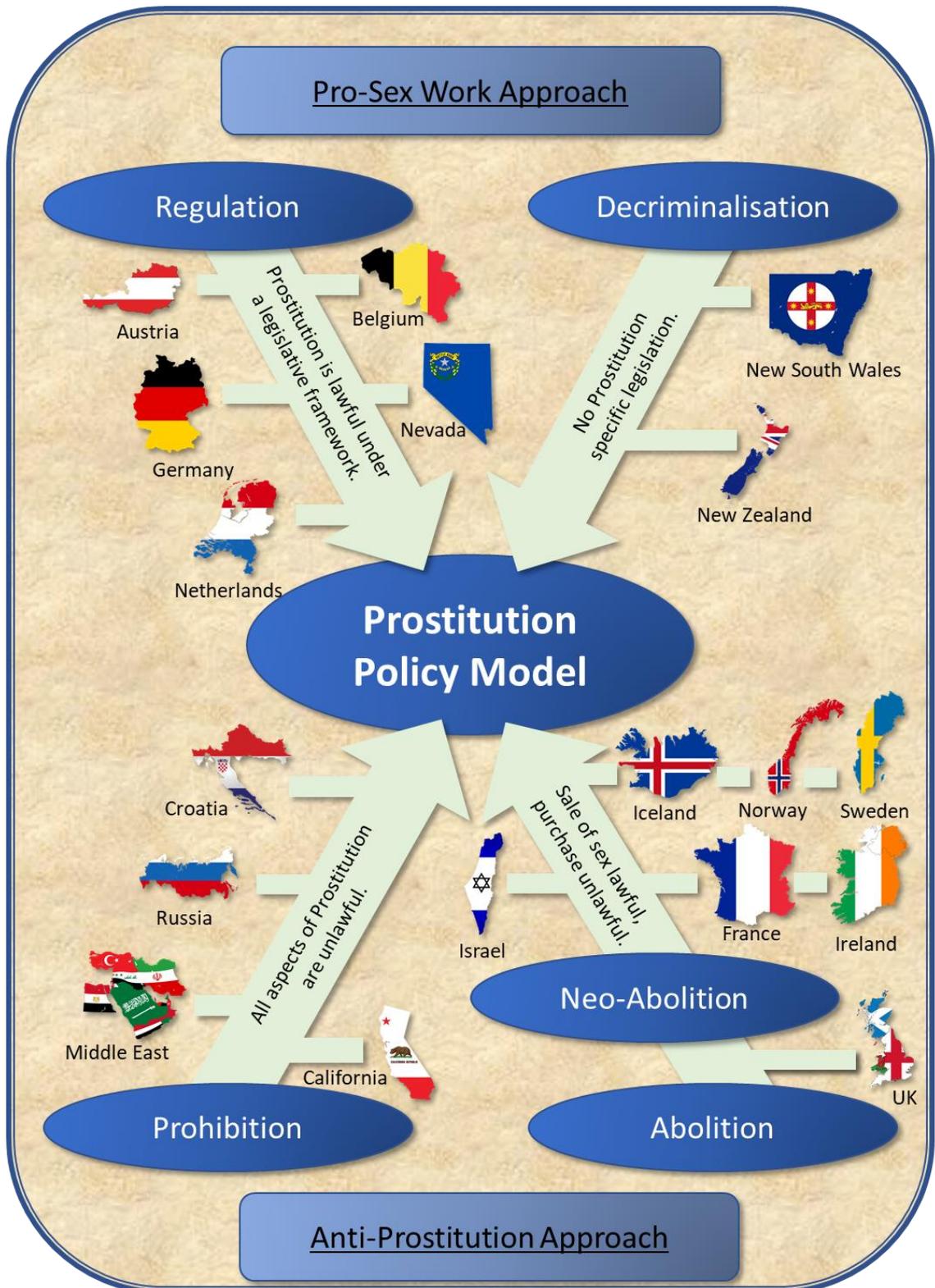
For the purposes of this thesis, a decision has been made to adopt a classification based on the intent of the policy, usually either a 'pro-sex work' or 'anti-prostitution' approach as a strategic aim. These tend to be based around the liberal and radical feminist discourses with the former promoting a model that supports a 'pro-sex work' approach and the latter an 'anti-prostitution' approach. These policy models are divided into groups in this thesis according to the following rationale. Sex work as labour can be achieved through two approaches, these being regulation or decriminalisation. Likewise, prostitution as exploitation and violence against women can also be promoted through two approaches, these being prohibition and abolition.

These are defined here as follows:

- *Regulation* has a legislative framework under which prostitution is lawful in given circumstances. Any sale of sex outside of these laws would constitute an offence. Labour laws would apply to prostitution in these circumstances. This is similar to what some researchers call legalisation.
- *Decriminalisation* requires the repeal of all legislation around prostitution, which includes the supply, purchase, and management of the sale of sex in all circumstances. Offences such as violence against any party, trafficking or coercion would be dealt with under alternative laws that are not specific to prostitution. Labour laws will apply to sex providers.
- *Prohibition* involves a set of laws that make any form of sale or purchase of sex, or management of prostitution a criminal offence.
- *Abolition* is a less defined model that seeks to see an end to all forms of prostitution in society through a combination of legislation and social reform. In terms of implementation and presentation abolition and regulation can appear similar, but the intent behind the models are diametrically opposite.
- Recent decades have seen the rise of a new form of abolition, often referred to as *neo-abolition* or the Nordic Model or the Equality Model, that has the same aims and objectives as abolition, but is more clearly defined. It is based on a combination of the decriminalisation of the sale of sex, but involves an absolute offence of purchasing sex, or a Sex Buyer Law.

Figure 4.1 below shows a representation of the relationship between these four policy approaches together with examples of some countries that follow each approach.

Figure 4.1: International Policy Approaches Towards Prostitution



(Map Images used under Pixabay licence)

Each of these models will now be considered in greater detail, with clear descriptions and examples provided to avoid some of the issues raised concerning vague and overlapping classifications.

Regulation Policy Models

In order to consider the impact of a regulation policy model of prostitution, the examples of the Netherlands and Germany are considered. These are typical of a regulatory approach to prostitution, which can be found in countries such as Belgium and Austria as well as in the US state of Nevada and some Australian territories (Mossman 2007).

On the 1st of October 2000, the Act Lifting the Ban on Brothels was introduced in the Netherlands (Post, Brouwer and Vols 2018). The stated aims of this act were to protect persons providing sex through licensing and to tackle abuses against these people by prosecuting businesses providing sex outside of this framework (Netherlands Ministry 2012). In order to be licensed, each sex provider must have a physical address and a telephone number, partly to make prostitution more transparent, but also to make it more manageable for the local authorities (Weitzer 2012). Kilvington, Day and Ward (2001, p78) viewed this as 'normalizing aspects of the sex industry through decriminalizing both workers and businesses,' although it should be recognised that this was written almost immediately after the introduction of the act and they acknowledge that it was too soon to gauge the full impact of the legislation. Daadler (2007), however found that this normalisation or empowerment of sex providers had not occurred to any great extent, partly due to the on-going association with crime groups and continuing stigmatisation. Daadler states that police resources are focused on monitoring licensed prostitution, meaning that the illegal forms receive less attention under the act than they did before. She argues that this situation has put vulnerable adults and children at greater risk of exploitation. Daadler further points out that a significant number of people providing sex wish to avoid paying taxes, which is a requirement under Dutch law. As such, these sex providers do not licence themselves and remain underground.

Weitzer (2012) points out that the stigma of providing sex has not disappeared in the Netherlands. According to Seals (2015) the Dutch legislation is aimed at improving employee-employer relationships, but most sex providers are self-employed, meaning that the regulations do not benefit them. Seals states that the 'Emotional well-being of prostitutes has declined,' (ibid., p788) and that sex provider's work situation and health implications have remained unchanged. Dutch municipalities have the discretion to control the licensing of brothels under planning law but cannot outright ban prostitution. As an example, the municipality of Assen has made provision for two licensed premises (Assen Municipal Council 2018). As of 2019, Assen had no licensed premises, but acknowledged a significant, but hidden, number of illegal premises, particularly involving foreign national women from Eastern Europe. They state that:

'The biggest change that prostitution has undergone in recent years is the shift from traditional "window and club prostitution" to "working from home" through advertisements on the internet. As a result, the sector is largely hidden from the view of enforcers and aid workers,' (ibid., p5).

In a 2008 interview, the Mayor of Amsterdam, Job Cohen stated that, 'We've realized this is no longer about small-scale entrepreneurs, but that big crime organizations are involved here in trafficking women, drugs, killings and other criminal activities,' (Simons 2008). Much of this criminal activity involved Eastern European males controlling prostitution. As a result, Cohen introduced stricter controls around the area affected by prostitution, closed many of the windows used for prostitution and brought several unlawful premises under authority control. A campaign in 2019 called 'I Am Priceless', saw a petition of 42,000 signatures, mainly from young women, presented to the Dutch parliament demanding that the Netherlands move to a neo-abolitionist model of prostitution, although a local 'sex worker's collective', Proud, argue that this will further force women into hidden forms of prostitution (Holligan 2019). The debates in the Dutch parliament are on-going.

Evidence shows that the Dutch attempt to regulate prostitution through licensing has incurred several unforeseen consequences. Many sex providers are not obtaining licences, either through coercion or tax avoidance and police monitoring is too heavily

focused on maintain the licensing system, rather than pursuing illegal prostitution and potential exploitation. It appears that the number of women from outside the Netherlands who are providing sex has increased dramatically and the authorities have little, or no understanding of the extent of this. Prostitution in the Netherlands is still largely hidden, meaning that any claims regarding the impact of legislative changes are unevidenced.

In Germany, the Prostitution Act came into force on the first of January 2002. This was introduced with the stated aims of improving the legal, social, and working conditions of sex providers, to tackle illegal activity and to enable sex providers to leave prostitution if they so desired (Kelly *et al.* 2009). The goal was to secure a legal status for sex providers that included labour rights such as sick pay and a pension (Weitzer 2002).

In reality, however, as in the Netherlands, the majority of sex providers are self-employed and do not benefit from these rights (Kavemann, Rabe and Fischer 2007). In implementing the law, local jurisdictions have the freedom to determine their own policy, which builds in a great deal of variation in practice to the extent that some regions continued to prosecute sex buyers or controllers after the introduction of the law using other legislation (Di Nicola 2005). Taxation is also a significant issue in Germany with employed and self-employed sex providers, as well as brothel keepers, wishing to preserve anonymity and being unwilling to pay these taxes, thereby denying themselves the limited legal labour law protection (Mitrovic 2004).

A governmental report in 2007 concluded that, 'The Prostitution Act has thus, up until now, also not been able to make actual, measurable improvements to prostitutes' social protection,' (German Ministry 2007, p79). The report further concluded that there had been no visible indications that the act had reduced crime or improved the transparency of prostitution. Weitzer (2012) places the blame for this failure on the unreasonable restrictions placed on sex providers in that they are not accepted as a trade by Germany's trade association, they are not allowed to advertise other than on the Internet and 'repressive police practices in some places violate the spirit of the 2002 law,' (ibid., p117). This appears to be a criticism more of the implementation rather than of the policy itself.

The final aim of the new legislation was to facilitate exit from prostitution where sex providers desired this. Once again, the reality failed to deliver this aim as funding for centres designed to facilitate this was cut after the introduction of the act (Kavemann, Rabe and Fischer 2007). Sex providers are not offered any form of retraining and are categorised as long-term unemployed with no formal skills or training if they do try to leave prostitution (ibid.). This restricts any opportunities for any other form of obtaining a survivable wage and most 'decline socially into immediate poverty,' (Seals 2015, p791).

Pates (2012, p211) argues that this law remains without effect, largely due to regional interpretation and lack of central guidance, concluding that:

- The governments of the Länder (*federal states*) refuse, or fail, to pass implementation guidelines.
- The old logics of interference prevail at an institutional level.
- Individual administrators focus on paternalistic or punitive logics rather than on the guaranteeing of human rights.

As with the Netherlands legislation, Germany's attempts to regulate prostitution largely fail to achieve their stated aims and bring no obvious benefit or safeguarding for those providing sex. This is largely down to two main reasons, the first being that both countries allow a significant degree of local interpretation and policing, creating inhomogeneity (Weitzer 2012) and the second being that most of the sex providers tend to be self-employed, if they acknowledge their legal status at all, thereby falling outside of the laws and safety mechanisms, and being regarded as operating illegally (Seals 2015).

A further aim of the legislation in both countries was to protect victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. A study of data regarding trafficking in 150 countries by Cho, Dreher and Neumayer (2013, p2) concluded that, 'On average, countries where prostitution is legal experience larger reported human trafficking inflows.'

Some authors and campaigners lobby for limited forms of legalisation of prostitution. Key amongst these over many years is an argument advocating the sexual rights of disabled people and the use of sex providers to facilitate this. Appel (2010) likens the

situation of disabled persons who are sexually deprived accessing prostitution to cancer patients who have received a mastectomy having breast replacement. He uses this argument to recommend a distinction be drawn between prostitution for the disabled and prostitution for the able-bodied, and thereby provide sex acts for the former regardless of the legal position of prostitution in society. Geymonat (2019) prefers the term 'sexual assistance' to sex work or prostitution when applied to provisions for the disabled. This appears to be no more than semantics, however, and presents the phenomenon in a more palatable form for society. Henriques-Gomes (2020) reports the federal court in Australia ruling that disability insurance claims can be used to pay sex providers to address their sexual 'needs', contrary to the insurance company's initial ruling. Gwynne (2016, para 13) takes issue with this view and argues that the debate over disability sexual rights only focusses on the rights of men to the exclusion of women, stating,

'Disabled men's sexuality is considered sacrosanct and takes priority over the rights of a socially disadvantaged prostituted woman... Disabled women, on the other hand are denied any sexuality at all and it is common practice for them to be sterilised.'

Jeffreys (2008b, p327) agrees that this argument contains a gender imbalance, stating 'Male sexuality is constructed out of male dominance and is likely to manifest the eroticisation of hierarchy and the idea that males should have the sexual right to access the female body.'

Gwynne and Jeffreys both agree that the argument for disabled sexual rights is based on assumptions that men have a right to sex and that women should cater to this, ignoring any other discussion regarding the situation or rights of the sex providers.

A regulation policy model of prostitution does not appear to work on a large scale across a country. The examples given show no apparent benefits for the sex providers and both countries report an increase in the number of women providing sex, particularly migrants from Eastern Europe. This policy model has little favour with other countries looking to research or amend their own policies and, as such, it is unlikely that any other

countries will follow this lead. There are also campaigns in both countries for the policies to change to a different model.

Decriminalisation Policy Models

Decriminalisation of prostitution involves the revocation of all laws relating to the sale, purchase, and control of the sale of sex. This is very much an idealised form of policy model (Matthews 2008) in that, in practical terms, a complete absence of any legislation would effectively create chaos. What this model represents, is an exchange of one form of regulation for another. As stated, all prostitution laws are repealed, but these are replaced by employment laws, health and safety laws, and planning regulations. This model views the sale of sex as labour and makes all sex providers either employees or self-employed and required to pay taxes, insurance, and pension contributions.

The only current examples of decriminalisation policies in the world are in New Zealand and the Australian state of New South Wales, although both have retained elements of direct prostitution regulation in that brothel operators require a licence in New Zealand (Mossman 2007), whilst on-street prostitution is subject to zoning and brothels regulated by planning laws in New South Wales (Kelly *et al.* 2009). This discussion will look at the effectiveness of these policies in addressing their stated aims.

In New Zealand, the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) was passed in 2003. Prior to this the legislation was very similar to that in the UK where the sale of sex was not an offence of itself, but associated acts such as soliciting or operating a brothel were. The new act situated the sale of sex as service work, operating under employment law with worker rights as with any other occupation (Abel 2014). The aims of the act were based on harm minimisation, but also giving the sex providers autonomy with a protection of their rights.

Despite initial fears that decriminalisation would lead to increased numbers of sex providers in New Zealand, Abel, Fitzgerald and Brunton (2009) found no evidence for any appreciable change in the number of people providing sex.

The Prostitution Law Review Committee report of 2008 found that sex providers were more likely to report offences against themselves since the advent of the act and a minority believed that incidents of violence had also decreased. Significantly, the committee acknowledged that 'the purpose of the PRA, particularly in terms of promoting the welfare and occupational health and safety of sex workers, cannot be fully realised in the street-based sector,' (ibid., p16) and offers the vague advice of encouraging these sex providers to either move indoors or leave prostitution altogether.

Brothel operators must still hold a licence to manage their premises under this act and providing sex without one would constitute an offence. Other powers under the PRA allow local authorities to pass byelaws to regulate the location of brothels, signage displayed, and powers of entry for police and health and safety inspectors (Abel 2014). Warnock and Wheen (2012, p416) argue that this has been used in ways that contravene the spirit of the original act which has led to: 'In practical terms, brothels became heavily regulated and were pushed into marginal areas primarily because public submitters were opposed to sex work *per se*,' which, they state, potentially undermines the welfare and safety of sex providers, and risks prostitution being driven further underground. Knight (2010) agrees that the vagueness of local authority powers in the PRA has created a situation where vociferous local opposition has seen the imposition of byelaws that are oppressively restrictive that have led to several legal challenges against these, some of which have been successful. As with the regulation policy models discussed above, most sex providers in New Zealand are self-employed or 'independent contractors' (Abel 2014), which absolves the brothel operators of having to manage paid or sick leave, but tribunals have ruled in favour of sex providers in some cases where unsafe or unfair practices are in place (ibid.). A recent case has seen a sex provider win a six-figure award in court for sexual harassment to compensate for emotional harm and lost earnings (Livingstone 2020). Whilst the full details of this case have not been published, it does indicate a significant improvement in the rights of sex providers.

Bindel (2017), however, is highly critical of the decriminalisation model, arguing that it benefits the sex buyer and controllers far more than it does the sex providers, claiming that 'what used to be viewed as sexual violence is now seen as occupational hazards,' (ibid., p101). Bindel interviewed one sex provider who stated that instead of being

offered support in managing her underlying problems, she was offered an induction pack that extolled the virtues of the new legislation that she described as 'propaganda'. An anti-prostitution MP in New Zealand, Graham Copeland, has made claims that criminal gangs are playing a significant role in running prostitution in the country (NZ Herald 2006), a claim that is supported by Bindel.

New South Wales, in Australia, decriminalised street prostitution in 1979 and most forms of off-street in the 1990s, but both forms are subject to stringent geographical restrictions and brothels require registration. The aims of this policy were to safeguard the sex providers and maintain the public health (Hindle and Barnett 2008). Sullivan (2010) states that the reforms in New South Wales have resulted in fewer illegal brothels and legal ones that are confined to industrial areas due to zoning. However, in assessing the impact of these policies on the delivery of health promotion programmes, Harcourt *et al.* (2010) concluded that, due to the regulation restrictions and costs, there were a significant number of illegal brothels, which attracted enforcement activity from the police. As such, this group of sex providers were 'isolated from peer-education and support,' (ibid., p482).

There can be little doubt that the underlying principles of decriminalisation in terms of harm reduction and improved sex provider rights are desirable but putting these into practice is often subjective and inconsistent, which can lead to ineffective implementation as the following quote illustrates:

'The sex workers' rights movement calls for decriminalization. This utopian but vague concept generally posits the removal of all negative laws and the deprioritizing of police enforcement. The idea is rational in recommending the sweeping away of inefficient, hypocritical, and impossible regimes as a first step in a more progressive governance of commercial sex, but, so far, its proponents rarely address what forms of regulation might follow,' (Agustin 2008, p83).

Prohibition Policy Models

Whitebread (1999, p235) states:

‘Prohibitory legislation occurs when a social majority objects morally to the specific conduct, value-system, or culture of others and imposes regulation upon them.’

As this quote illustrates, prohibition policy models regarding prostitution are usually based on the predominant moral view of a society at a given time. This will often take a religious objection or public health concerns approach and is entirely socially constructed as previously discussed under the pillars of prostitution. In essence, all aspects of prostitution, including the providing, buying, or managing the sale of sex are legislated against and made offences in all circumstances. As before, this is very much an idealised policy model and the reality is that enforcement is generally disproportionately focussed on women providing sex rather than men paying for it, as the following discussion will illustrate.

This section will consider two prohibition policy models, these being in Croatia and California, as examples, but this approach is also common in areas such as Russia, the Middle East, southern Asia, and parts of Africa. As these represent some of the migrant sex buyers encountered in Nottingham (Hamilton 2010, Radford 2018), the understanding of prostitution in society and in law will be based on a prohibition approach for many of these men.

Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, Croatia has developed its own legislative structure, but this is still heavily influenced by the old regime (Radačić 2018). In relation to prostitution, this has resulted in a prohibition policy model that largely focusses on penalising sex providers. Since 2003, it has been an offence to purchase sex from underage, coerced, or trafficked persons, but otherwise, sex buyers do not commit any offences in purchasing sex (*ibid.*). Violence against sex providers in Croatia appears to be high with 40% of interviewees in one study reporting having been physically assaulted and 18% sexually assaulted (Štulhofer *et al.* 2010).

Radačić (2018, p217) describes Croatia's policy model as 'based on patriarchal double standards of morality,' focussing on the different approaches to male sex buyers and female sex providers. This is a common feature of prohibition policy models, which tend to be based on twentieth century morals and legislation. There have been two proposals to amend this policy approach in Croatia to criminalise sex buying in 2012 and 2016, but both amendments also included tighter regulation of sex providers, further penalising this vulnerable group and, as such, did not receive support and failed to pass (Radačić and Šikić-Mićanović 2017).

Radačić (2018) describes how the existing policy approach has no provision for harm reduction or an exit strategy for those wishing to leave prostitution. She further argues that the only apparent answer to this 'social evil' appears to be prosecution of sex providers.

All states in the USA use a prohibition model of prostitution with the notable exception of Nevada, which operates the regulation of legal brothels in some counties within the state, but not in the main cities such as Las Vegas, although there is evidence of large-scale illegal prostitution there (Bindel 2017).

California is discussed here as a typical state with a prohibition model of prostitution. The Californian penal code creates offences of soliciting, loitering, and living off the earnings of prostitution (Barnett, Casavant and Nicol 2011). Unlike prohibition models in Croatia, Russia, Southern Asia, and Africa, those in the USA also include strict prohibition on the purchase of sex (Weitzer 1999). In many cases, this leads to a requirement to attend a rehabilitation programme, often referred to as a 'John School', with San Francisco introducing the first course in 1995 (ibid.). Since this date, many other cities in both America and worldwide have introduced similar courses to address sex buying. Alongside this attempt to rehabilitate sex buyers, the sex providers continue to be prosecuted and criminalised, reinforcing Radačić's (2018) view of double standards based on gender and morality.

This penalisation of the sex providers tends to force them to operate in isolated and potentially unsafe locations, exposing them to greater risks of harm and violence (Barnett, Casavant and Nicol 2011).

A key aim of any prohibition model is to reduce or eliminate prostitution within society, but there is very little evidence to suggest that this occurs (Moser 2001). Additionally, a criminal record will impede a sex provider's employment prospects outside of prostitution and impose further financial burdens on them (Barnett, Casavant and Nicol 2011), effectively trapping them in a cycle of prostitution.

Whitebread (1999, p236) discusses three major prohibition movements in the USA, these being alcohol, drugs, and prostitution, comparing the legal enforcement of morality in each of them to highlight three criteria that arise to illustrate why these regimes all failed:

- the dominant group no longer disapproves of the behaviour,
- the behaviour is so widespread that enforcement of the prohibition becomes impossible, or
- other benefits undermine the societal disapproval.

In the case of alcohol and drug prohibition, it is the second of these that predominated, with the law enforcement agencies overwhelmed by the task of enforcing the prohibition, but the other elements also played a part in the failure as did the financial costs of this policy approach. Whitebread argues that a prostitution prohibition policy model focusses mainly on the sex providers and involves persecution, prosecution, and incarceration. Enforcing a prohibition approach is time consuming and financially costly and, in a time of reducing resources and competing demands for law enforcement agencies, the widespread nature of prostitution results in prohibition enforcement being sporadic and takes the easiest option of tackling the sex providers. As the bulk of enforcement activity addresses street level prostitution, this means that it is women already marginalised through poverty or exploitation who bear the brunt of this, leading to criminalisation and reduced opportunities, effecting trapping the individual in a cycle

of providing sex to survive. In contrast, the sex buyers are largely unaffected. In these circumstances, the policy is driving prostitution rather than prohibiting it.

Neo-Abolition Policy Models

An abolitionist prostitution policy starts from the premise that society does not want to accept prostitution and seeks to abolish it, usually based on religious or moral objection, or on public health concerns (Bullough and Bullough 1987). How this is achieved varies greatly and will include varying levels of regulation of aspects associated with prostitution such as loitering, soliciting, or managing prostitution as well as brothel related control. As such, abolitionism is socially constructed through societal views and morals, which in turn become policy and law. Abolitionism will be discussed further when considering the policy approaches to prostitution in the UK.

Neo-abolition is a more recent variation of abolitionism that repeals all legislation that criminalises the sale of sex, but still seeks to abolish prostitution by introducing an absolute offence of purchasing sex, sometimes referred to as a Sex Buyer Law. Other aspects such as controlling prostitution or managing a brothel are generally legislated against. Coupled with the punitive measures against sex buyers, the model involves comprehensive support and safeguarding measures for those providing sex (Ekberg 2004). The aim of this approach is to see sex providers exit from prostitution.

The neo-abolition policy approach to prostitution was first introduced in Sweden in 1999 and, as such, is sometimes referred to as the Nordic Model or the Equality Model (Kilvington, Day and Ward 2001). Reviewing the implementation after five years, Ekberg (2004) found that the number of women involved in street prostitution had decreased by between 30% and 50% since the introduction of the law and that there was no evidence to suggest that the reduction was as a result of a move to other sectors of prostitution. More recent reviews, however, have shown a large increase in Internet advertising for prostitution, especially involving Eastern European women (Östergren 2018). This would suggest that the policy approach has had a significant impact on Swedish women but is not showing the same levels of reduction for migrant women.

This is a pattern that is replicated in most policy approaches to prostitution (Jahnsen and Wagenaar 2018). It is also important to note that the number of women involved in providing sex in the whole of Sweden was only estimated as around 2,500 to 3,000 prior to the introduction of the new legislation (Östergren 2018). This equates to significantly less than many European countries as illustrated by Cusick *et al's* (2009) estimate of 36,000 sex providers in England and Scotland and Kinnell's (1999) estimate of 80,000 in the UK. As such, it cannot be assumed that the Swedish policy model is necessarily transferable, although comparative studies with other Scandinavian countries appear to show that the reduction in Sweden is statistically relevant (Coy, Pringle and Tyler 2016).

The subjects of prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation are often linked by abolitionist arguments, with those advocating the model claiming that a neo-abolition policy model reduces human trafficking (for example, Kelly and Lovett 2016), whilst other commentators argue that the two should be viewed separately and laws designed to combat trafficking should not be used to manage prostitution (for example Butcher 2003). This essentially comes down to the feminist positions of prostitution as inherently exploitative or as sex labour.

Sweden's neo-abolition prostitution policy model has been adopted by several other countries since 1999, including Norway, Iceland, Northern Ireland, Canada, France, Republic of Ireland, and Israel, with other countries debating the model (Nordic Model Now 2019). Following the introduction of a sex buyer law into Northern Ireland, a debate has begun in the Scottish Parliament (Malloch, Robertson and Forbes 2020) and a ten-minute bill introduced into the British parliament (Hansard 2020), both favouring a similar law. Both debates are in progress at the time of writing.

In Sweden, there has been a concerted effort by public agencies such as the police and social services to see the neo-abolition model implemented to present a deterrent for sex buyers coupled with a supportive structure to assist sex providers to be safer and to exit if they so wish (Ekberg 2004). This has not been the case everywhere, however. In the Republic of Ireland, only one man was prosecuted for purchasing sex in the first two years following the introduction of a sex buyer law (Oppenheim 2019). At the same time, significantly more women who provide sex together in off-street premises were still

being convicted of managing a brothel (*ibid.*). Critics argue that this is evidence that a neo-abolition policy model criminalises sex providers (for example McGarry and FitzGerald 2017), but this would appear to be more of an issue with implementation rather than policy. This is discussed further below.

A significant criticism of neo-abolitionist policy approaches is that they lead to riskier behaviour and a potential increase in violent offences committed against sex providers. A report in the Irish Independent claimed that in the first two years since the introduction of a sex buyer law into the Republic of Ireland, violent offences against sex providers had increased by 92% (Moore 2019). This was based on a press release from Ugly Mugs (Ireland), an organisation that records confidential reports of abuse or violence against sex providers. Unfortunately, this press release did not contain details of how the data was gathered or analysed. Campbell *et al.* (2020) looked to rectify this by conducting an academically rigorous analysis of Ugly Mugs (Ireland) data. They found a significant increase in reports of violence following the introduction of the new legislation, although they caution that direct causation cannot be established through this data. Key reasons for the increase in reports of violence are suggested to be an increased distrust of the police and a reduced risk assessment of sex buyers due to fewer sex buyers being available and a desire to rush the initial contact to avoid police detection. A study by Krüsi *et al.* (2014) of the impact of introducing a sex buyer law into Canada concluded that the new law had little impact on the rates of violence against sex providers, despite a stated intention that the law would reduce such offences. However, they found no evidence to suggest that the law increased violent offences. It remains to be seen whether this is a true rise in violent offences, or a product of better or different recording practices. Either way, any rise in offences of any kind against sex providers is a cause for concern and one that demands further study.

Policy Implementation

The impact of policy on the social construction of prostitution is evidenced within the above discussion. This is largely divided along the radical and liberal feminist arguments

of prostitution as violence against women or as erotic labour. It has also been shown that religious, moral, and public health concerns shape populist views of prostitution and influence policy makers. Beyond this, however, it has been demonstrated that the implementation of policy models has as large an impact as the policy itself. From New Zealand's local authorities passing byelaws that conflict with the national legislation to the Irish police failing to actively engage with governmental policy, the implementation is often completely contrary to the original intentions of parliaments and policy makers.

Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) demonstrated that, in a large number of cases, the delivery of public services are often far removed from the original conception. They presented a statistical probability model based on 'clearance points' that had to be achieved for a policy to be realised as conceived. In some cases, they identified as many as eighty such points and ultimately concluded that it was remarkable that any policies succeeded at all.

Unintended consequences in policy implementation can lead to the opposite outcomes to those desired (Hill and Hupe 2002). Examples of this include tax avoidance by sex providers in regulated or decriminalised policy models meaning that the most vulnerable people that the policies were intended to protect, actively avoid engagement and do not take advantage of the support available.

A complete analysis of implementation within policy science is beyond the remit of this thesis, but simply put, there is a competing argument for a 'top-down' approach whereby policy makers impose a model on implementors that is intended to eliminate the potential gap between formulation and delivery, with a 'bottom-up' approach that regards the participation of delivery actors at a formulation stage as desirable to respond to real-world scenarios (Hill and Hupe 2002). In reality, many policy models consist of a synthesis of the two approaches, but it is clear that without a commitment and involvement from the public agencies charged with delivering the policy, it will not be realised in action.

Technosexuality and Prostitution

In recent years, policies around sex buying have begun to include technological advancements as alternatives to 'traditional prostitution'. Some of these are explored here under the label of technosexuality. This discussion is included to allow an understanding of learned behaviours around sexual practices and will be returned to in part three of this thesis.

Bardzell and Bardzell (2016) offer a definition of technosexuality that I adopt for this thesis. This definition provides two common formulations:

1. The use of technology is viewed as a social force that shapes or configures human sexuality by facilitating and expanding opportunities and knowledge around sex and sexuality, and
2. Human sexual attraction to technologies including sexual stimulation through sex toys, sex robots or virtual reality.

The use of the Internet to facilitate prostitution through advertising and reviews of the interactions has grown rapidly since the 1990s to become the dominant form of contact between sex providers and buyers. This is something that Cunningham and Kendall (2009) refer to as 'Prostitution 2.0' to illustrate the advancement in the use of this technology and the step forward in the sale of sex. They found that this phenomenon focussed almost exclusively with off-street forms of prostitution and showed some elements of offering better safeguarding for the sex providers, although this was reduced for migrant sex providers who tended to be more hidden and less inclined to report incidents to the police or other authorities. Peppet (2012) takes this use of technology further and proposes 'Prostitution 3.0' by identifying technological solutions to further improve safeguarding, with mechanisms such as biometric identification of all parties, access to health records including sexual health, access to criminal records for sex buyers, and anti-trafficking intelligence. There are legal barriers to these advancements at present, particularly considering data protection, but it is easy to see how these measures could improve safety for all concerned. Peppet acknowledges,

however, that very few of these advancements would have any effect on street level prostitution.

Figures on Internet use for pornography vary widely, but all agree that the use of the world wide web for sexual gratification is a huge industry. Ropelato (2006) reported that every second on the Internet:

- \$3,075.64 is being spent on pornography,
- 28,258 internet users are viewing pornography, and
- 372 internet users are typing adult search terms into search engines.

Castleman (2016) estimates that around 10% of all web use involves pornography. Whatever the original intention for the uses of the Internet, it is clear that a significant portion of its use now facilitates sexual gratification.

Greene (2018) argues that advancements in technology will make providing sex safer for all concerned by artificial intelligence serving as a ‘companion’ for sex providers that could track their location through GPS, monitor their health, or managing appointments.

The advancement of robotic technologies has placed the prospect of the general public purchasing a facsimile human with artificial intelligence as a reality for many people (Su *et al.* 2019). It seems that whenever new technologies emerge, someone, somewhere will attempt to find some way to use this for sexual gratification. There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that this is true of robotics (Kannabiran, Bardzell and Bardzell 2012). Dubé and Anctil (2020) list examples of virtual or augmented partners, erotic chatbots, and sex robots all available for sexual gratification. They collectively refer to these as *erobots*.

The advancement of robots in prostitution is an almost inevitable next step in paying for sex. Yeoman and Mars (2012, p365) predict that by 2050, all prostitution in Amsterdam will involve ‘android prostitutes’ who are:

‘clean of sexual transmitted infections (STIs), not smuggled in from Eastern Europe and forced into slavery, [and] the city council will have direct control

over android sex workers controlling prices, hours of operations and sexual services.'

The first robot brothels are already beginning to appear in the UK (Pritchard 2018) and the arguments presented above appear to offer regulation and safeguarding. However, as Chapters Two and Three discussed, female marginalisation, and particularly poverty, is a key driver behind women becoming involved in prostitution, particularly so at the street level. None of the potential benefits address this driver and would potentially remove the only means of making money that some women have.

Levy (2009, p194) advocates a development of human-robot relationships through a model based on the interaction between sex providers and sex buyers involved prostitution, describing 'parallels between paying human prostitutes and purchasing sex robots.' Richardson (2015) argues against this approach. In both of the cases of paying for sex or purchasing a sex robot, she describes the asymmetrical relationships with the user having power over the robot or sex provider. In particular, Richardson focusses on the part of this argument that regards sex providers and robots as having the same lack of agency and rights in the interaction. In essence, she describes how this argument reduces sex providers to the status of an inanimate object and property to be used.

Further concerns over the development of sex robots include the large number of dolls that resemble children rather than adults (Maras and Shapiro 2017) with one reported case involving the use of a stolen image of a child taken from a social media platform to act as a template for a sex doll (Burke 2020). In other cases, robots have been made in the likeness of celebrities without their permission (Charlton 2016).

In Australia, the purchase or importation of a sex doll resembling a child is now legislated against (Brown and Shelling 2019) with the first arrest taking place in January of 2020 (Australian Federal Police, 2020). Otherwise, policy around the world regarding sex robots is virtually non-existent. Current advancements in robotics in terms of availability and cost are accelerating and the advent of sex doll brothels will become more prevalent. It remains to be seen whether this will have a negative impact on sex providers or sex buyers.

Technology is likely to pervade many aspects of prostitution. Cohen and Hopkins (2019) suggest that pay-by-the-hour hotel rooms that are currently used for prostitution may be replaced in the future by driverless cars, or ‘connected and autonomous vehicles’ (CAVs), effectively creating mobile brothels that can be controlled remotely.

Policy will need to be developed around prostitution and technology based on research and evidence that is currently lacking.

Prostitution Policy in the UK

Reviews and Inquiries

The historical approaches to prostitution policy in the UK were discussed in Chapter Two. The current policy model in the UK can be considered as an abolitionist approach, but as Chapter Two illustrated, this is as much by evolution as by design. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Home Office conducted several reviews and published no fewer than five reports on prostitution:

- ‘Setting the Boundaries’ (Home Office 2000),
- ‘Tackling Street Prostitution’ (Hester and Westmarland 2004),
- ‘Paying the Price’ (Home Office 2004),
- ‘A Coordinated Prostitution Strategy,’ (Home Office 2006), and
- ‘Tackling the Demand for Prostitution’ (Home Office 2008).

These reports sought to move the emphasis from a national response to prostitution to local needs-based approaches (Sagar and Jones 2012, 2013, 2018), which Sagar and Jones (2014, p230) argue leads to a ‘denial of agency and the positioning of sex workers as victims within the local policy framework,’ effectively removing sex providers from the debate and imposing initiatives on them, rather than with them.

With each successive report the Home Office shifted the focus towards supporting sex providers and penalising sex buyers. Despite this, the offence of loitering or soliciting for the purposes of prostitution in a public place (section 1, Street Offences Act 1959) still

exists, although it has seen several amendments such as making the offence applicable to both men and women in 2004, thereby removing a gender imbalance; making it applicable only to persons aged 18 or over in 2015, effectively decriminalising the sale of sex by children (but also introducing strict penalties for paying or controlling a child); and removing the term 'common prostitute' in 2010, which was argued to be stigmatising. These amendments are seen as little more than tinkering by liberal and radical feminists alike, who would all wish to see the offence of loitering or soliciting for the purposes of prostitution repealed altogether.

The overall focus remains still very much on the abolition of prostitution, but the method of achieving this has shifted from a punitive approach to sex providers to a supportive one. The approach being taken is in response to radical feminist calls for the abolition of prostitution and holding the sex buyers responsible for a perceived violence against women. Scoular and O'Neill (2007, p764) argue that this 'offers insight into New Labour's attempt to increase social control under the rhetoric of inclusion,' whereas Soothill and Sanders (2004, p642) offer a series of concerns with the proposals, although their main argument appears to be that the strategy does not 'facilitate safe, consensual commercial sex,' suggesting that the whole abolition tone is potentially the issue for them.

A new penalty on conviction for the offence of loitering or soliciting for prostitution was also introduced in 2010, this being an Engagement and Support Order (ESO), intended to encourage and support sex providers to exit from prostitution. Some commentators argue that these orders are counterproductive. Carline and Scoular (2015, p103) regard this as 'forced welfarism' and conclude:

'This narrow focus individualises the causes of poverty and prostitution, elides the wider structural factors that shape sex work and does little to address the real needs of this vulnerable group.'

This attempt to rehabilitate women providing sex by a court order is further reflection of the moral stance of seeing prostitution as something to be stamped out and society deciding that it knows what is best for these women, even if they must force them to

engage (ibid.). A counter argument would be that the orders are not particularly onerous (three meetings in a six-month period) and are not conditional upon any result other than attending. This may offer an opportunity for some women to engage and escape any exploitation she may be suffering. Whichever way the orders are viewed, it cannot be denied that it creates a criminal record for the recipient, which of itself will be a barrier to future opportunities of employment outside of prostitution.

The legal position of sex buyers has also been reviewed and debated, although very little has changed. The previous kerb crawling offences (sections 1 and 2, Sexual Offences Act 1985) curiously differentiated whether a sex buyer was in a motor vehicle or not, requiring a degree of persistence in the latter case. A replacement offence (section 51A Sexual Offences Act 2003) removes this element of persistence, making it a first instance offence in all cases. A new strict liability offence of paying for sex from a person subjected to force, threat or coercion (section 53A Sexual Offences Act 2003) only requires evidence of the exploitation, not the knowledge of the sex buyer and can be committed in private premises as well as public places, although this can be difficult to prove evidentially and is underused by the police and prosecution services. In the first three years of the new offence (2010-2012) a total of 61 men were convicted of this offence throughout England and Wales, most of these occurring in the first year. In the following four years (2012-2016), only two men were convicted, both in 2015 (Hansard 2018). Despite an initial push to prosecute for this offence, it has almost never been used since. This is a further example of policy implementation not matching expectation, although in this case it is likely to be due to ill-conceived legislation, rather than unwillingness on the part of the implementors.

In 2008, an All Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade (APPG) was formed with stated aims of raising awareness around the impact of prostitution and developing proposals for government action with a focus on tackling the demand for prostitution. To date, this group has produced three reports:

- Shifting the Burden (APPG 2014),
- How to Implement the Sex Buyer Law in the UK (APPG 2016), and
- Behind Closed Doors (APPG 2018).

These reports are all neo-abolitionist in content and advocate a policy model similar to the Nordic Model introduced in Sweden as discussed above. Some researchers are critical of this approach, Scoular and Carline (2014) contest that increasing sex buyer's criminalisation will not reduce the sex provider's vulnerability, pointing to the underuse of the offence of strict liability for purchasing sex from someone subjected to force, threat or coercion as discussed above. Rather than further legislation and offences, the authors argue that there is a requirement for more 'social initiatives to improve conditions and safety in and out of sex work,' (ibid., p622), advocating that safeguarding is more important than abolition. Other researchers counter this with the argument that it is only by abolishing the 'inherently exploitative' nature of prostitution, that those providing sex can be safeguarded (Bindel 2017).

The Home Affairs Select Committee (HASC) launched an inquiry in early 2016 that culminated in an interim report later that year simply entitled 'Prostitution' (HASC 2016). Where the APPG takes a largely radical feminist approach to prostitution policy, the HASC report has a distinctly liberal feminist approach. In commenting on a Sex Buyer Law, such as the Swedish Nordic Model, the HASC comments that it 'makes no attempt to discriminate between prostitution which occurs between two consenting adults, and that which involves exploitation,' (ibid., p38), clearly viewing some prostitution as being labour. The report also goes on to praise the New Zealand model of decriminalisation, commenting on the better conditions for sex providers and improved communication between sex providers and the police. Ultimately, the report concludes that no existing policy model is directly transferable to the UK and avoids any recommendation for overall change. The report suggests repealing the law on loitering and soliciting as well as deleting all past convictions for this offence, which appears to be something that both radical and liberal feminists would agree on. As such, the report avoids any recommendations that would be contentious and finishes with a promise to evaluate and make recommendations on policy models in its final report.

Three months after the publication of this interim report, the chair of the HASC, MP Keith Vaz, was reported in national newspapers as having been caught paying two male sex providers and discussing recreational drugs with them (Syal and Asthana 2016). Vaz accepted the reports and resigned as chair of the committee. Unfortunately, once the

new chair, MP Yvette Cooper, was appointed, the inquiry was closed, and no further consideration was given to the recommendations raised in the interim report. The government issued a response to the HASC report (Home Office 2016) that acknowledged the issues and thanked the committee but failed to promise any action other than to launch another inquiry, which has yet to materialise.

An inquiry carried out by the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission published its report, *The Limits of Consent*, in 2019 (CPHRC 2019) after receiving verbal testimonies and written evidence. This report concluded that the sale of sex should be decriminalised whilst the purchase should be made an absolute offence, marking a return to a neo-abolitionist approach akin to that of the APPG.

Police ACPO / NPCC Guidance

As previously discussed, the implementation of policy is as important, if not more so on occasions, than the policy itself. As such, the guidance issued by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), which later became known as the National Police Chief's Council (NPCC), is key to understanding how police services approach and deal with prostitution.

In 2004, the guidelines identified four motivating factors for prostitution, these being Need, Opportunity, Reward, and Demand (ACPO 2004). The last of these states that without demand, there would be no market for prostitution. This comprehensive guidance lists 42 separate strategic aims to address these motivators. Amongst these are several aims that address the cautioning and prosecution of sex providers, as well as the use of Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) and Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) to effectively force women into engaging with support services. The only mention of sex buyers is to suggest that there is a need to gather intelligence on who these men are. Most of the remaining aims consider intelligence gathering and partnership working.

By 2011, the guidelines to police services and officers (ACPO 2011) were a development of the earlier strategy with a similar structure, but with a much greater emphasis on the

safeguarding of sex providers. The guidelines on cautioning and prosecuting for loitering or soliciting and the use of ASBOs still existed but were regarded as a course of last resort and only when linked to a staged support plan. The guidance did contain references to kerb crawling in terms of 'utilising effective kerb-crawling operations,' (ibid., p12), obtaining DNA from offenders of recordable offences, and the seizure of vehicles from persistent kerb crawlers, but offers no operational guidance.

The 2015 guidelines were completely rewritten from earlier versions (NPCC 2015). This guidance is almost exclusively concerned with the safeguarding of sex providers. The main discussion of enforcement is around offences against the sex providers such as violence or trafficking. Police services are discouraged from enforcing loitering or soliciting offences other than in the most extreme circumstances. Sex buyers are not mentioned at all in the main guidelines.

The 2019 guidelines are partially rewritten again and are a much more operational guidance document (NPCC 2019), but the emphasis is still very much around safeguarding and developing intelligence. Once again, sex buyers are not mentioned at all.

These four guidance documents are chosen as they are written under four successive police chief leads on prostitution, who presumably had their own views on prostitution and the policing of this. The elements of safeguarding sex providers run consistently through all documents from both the government and the police. However, the last official policy model published by the Home Office was in 2008, but in the lead up to this, the clear direction is towards reducing the demand for prostitution by shifting the focus to the sex buyers. The APPG are clearly advocating a neo-abolitionist approach and the HASC were equivocal on the subject. In this political climate, the police have moved in the opposite direction, reducing guidance on tackling sex buyers. This illustrates that both policy makers and implementors can have a significant impact on the social construction of prostitution.

Even with these guidelines, however, local policy implementors in individual police services and local authorities have radically different approaches to prostitution as is discussed in the next section.

Local Prostitution Policy Initiatives

Despite the policy direction from central government and the guidance offered by the NPCC, there are considerable variations in how prostitution is approached at the local level within police service areas, something that Feis-Bryce (2017) refers to as a 'patchwork approach'. To illustrate this, four widely differing initiatives are discussed here, these being kerb crawler rehabilitation schemes, prostitution hate crimes, tolerance zones, and prohibition through court orders and injunctions.

A kerb crawler rehabilitation scheme is a structured programme that usually takes place in one day-long session that 'employs a cognitive behavioural model of rehabilitation,' (Hamilton 2010, p159) that seeks to educate and divert men from sex buying and, as such, is better described as a re-education scheme rather than rehabilitation. It is generally offered as an alternative to being charged or summonsed to court but may include a police caution. This means that the offence is still recorded and samples such as fingerprints and DNA are taken (ibid.). The first official kerb crawler rehabilitation scheme was launched in San Francisco in 1995 as the 'First Offenders Prostitution Program' (Weitzer 1999). Following initial successes there, this was quickly adopted in other American cities such as Buffalo and St Paul (ibid.), before crossing the border to be taken up in Canada (Wortley, Fischer and Webster 2002). In the North American continent, these courses are often referred to as 'John Schools.'

The first kerb crawler rehabilitation scheme in the UK was a pilot course run in Leeds between 1998 and 1999 (Hansard 2000). Over the course of twelve months, 81 men attended the course, of which only one was known to reoffend within the duration of the pilot (ibid.), although it does not appear that any follow-up study was made to see

if this desistence lasted beyond the initial period. Other schemes have been tested, such as the 'Way Out Project' in Hull (Mower 2006), but by far the most widespread is the 'Change Course' (Caren 2010), which began in Hampshire in 1999 and has since been used by several police services across the country (ibid.).

Critics of any form of enforcement or attempts to re-educate sex buyers, including kerb crawler rehabilitation schemes, argue that these initiatives have the unintended consequences of making on-street negotiations between sex buyers and sex providers rushed, meaning that the sex provider is not properly risk assessing and may be making herself more vulnerable (Campbell and Storr 2001, Sanders 2009). Proponents of the schemes claim huge successes in reducing recidivism rates. The Change Course website states that over 7000 men have taken this course since 1999 and only 2% have reoffended, compared to a Home Office predicted Offender Group Reconviction Scale (OGRS) rate of 19% for men not attending the course (Caren 2010). It is not entirely clear how these figures are arrived at and it is equally problematic judging the effectiveness of an intervention programme based on reoffending rates which relies on police services catching the offenders again (Sanders 2009). Numbers aside however, studies have noted some success in re-educating the men attending the course, as Hamilton (2010, p301) illustrates:

'From an 'attitudinal change' perspective, there is enough evidence from the survey results and interview data to validate the view that those men exposed to the Change Programme curriculum perceive street-level prostitution to be less desirable.'

The College of Policing (2014, p3) guidelines for dealing with hate crimes defines these as follows:

'Hate crimes and incidents are taken to mean any crime or incident where the perpetrator's hostility or prejudice against an identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who is victimised.'

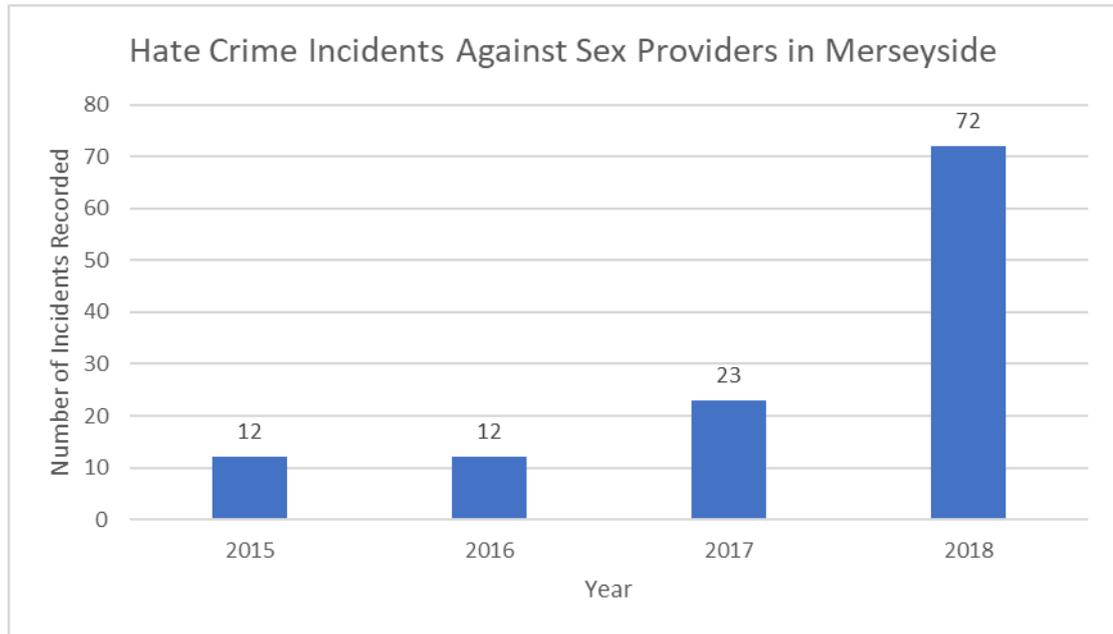
There are a number of predefined characteristics of hate crime, referred to as 'monitored strands', that automatically categorise an incident as a hate crime. These concern identifiable groups based on disability, race, religion, sexual orientation, or transgender (ibid.). The guidelines also recognise non-monitored hate crime and state that, 'Agencies and partnerships are free to extend their own policy response to include the hostilities that they believe are prevalent in their area or that are causing the greatest concern to the community,' (ibid., p7). Once an incident has been defined as a hate crime, it will receive an enhanced response and monitoring by the police and may attract a more punitive sentence on conviction at court.

Since 2006, Merseyside Police have used the definition of non-monitored hate crimes to respond to offences against sex providers, reasoning that violence against these women is fuelled by gender hostility and is significantly under-reported (Campbell 2014). Merseyside Police state that 'This recognises the fact that violent and other crimes against sex workers are often shaped by discrimination, attitudes of hostility and prejudice,' (Merseyside Police 2019a). This approach is also included as a case study in the College of Policing (2014) guidelines and national police guidance (NPCC 2019).

A Freedom of Information request (Merseyside Police 2019b) revealed that the number of hate crimes recorded where the victim was identified as a 'sex worker' from 2015 to 2018 were as below in Figure 4.2 (Merseyside Police state that prior to 2015, the information is not in a searchable format).

Merseyside Police explain the sharp rise in reports towards the end of 2017 and in 2018 as being the result of two factors, these being improved crime data integrity and the deployment of a dedicated Sex Worker Liaison Officer to act as a single point of contact (ibid.). The number of reports in 2015 and 2016 seem low if this represents all reported crime committed against sex providers engaging in prostitution, suggesting that simply designating these offences as hate crimes has not necessarily improved reporting rates. This is further supported by the introduction of a dedicated officer proactively seeking these reports in 2017 and 2018.

Figure 4.2: Hate Crime Incidents Against Sex Providers Recorded by Merseyside Police from 2015 to 2018



There is no reason to suspect that offences against sex providers increased dramatically over this period and the rise is likely to be entirely down to this new approach. The Crime Survey of England and Wales (ONS 2019) suggests that there is a vast under-reporting of crime to the police amongst all areas, socio-economic groups, and marginalised people. It is likely that if a dedicated police officer were allocated to proactively solicit reports of crimes from any of these groups, that the levels of reporting would increase markedly. This is not to say that this is necessarily wrong, but it would be an impossible task considering the number of officers that would be required. It is to Merseyside Police’s credit that they have significantly improved the reporting of offences against sex providers, but it appears that this has been brought about by a dedicated officer supporting this scheme rather than the designation of the offences as hate crimes of itself. If this designation is what is required to improve the recording and investigation of these offences, then it is a significant and desirable approach.

There are some critics of hate crime policies in general, however. Jacobs and Potter (1997, p1) argue that:

‘Creation of a hate crime category fills political and symbolic functions but is unlikely to provide a useful indication of the state of various prejudices or to

reduce crime generated by prejudice. Indeed, deconstructing the dictates of “identity politics” might exacerbate conflict.’

They further argue that the term ‘hate crime’ is a misnomer, as it actually refers to a motivation of prejudice rather than hatred, which is an extremely complicated concept to reduce to a crime statistic. By categorising a group of people as both victims and as the subjects of hate crime, there is a risk that they become further marginalised and defined by this identity, which may have the effect of exacerbating community tensions (Iganski 1999).

Chapter Two provided a working definition of a ‘victim’ based on Stobl’s (2004) description. The interpretation of this is that it is not sufficient for an individual to believe that they are a victim, society must confer this status upon them through socially accepted norms. The College of Policing guidelines (2014, p5), however, state that ‘for recording purposes, the perception of the victim, or any other person, ... is the defining factor in determining whether an incident is a hate incident,’ which appears to contradict Stobl’s definition of ‘victim’ and can be problematic in that it could potentially create a crime where there might not otherwise be one.

There can be no doubt that there are offences that are committed against sex providers that are entirely based on a prejudice or hatred against them as a group, such as several examples of serial murders of sex providers (Kinnell 2006a), and it is beneficial to use the hate crime policies in cases where this is the clear motivation, but to do so in every case appears both presumptive and potentially counter-productive if they become identified as a homogenous victimised group. There is also plenty of evidence that offences against sex providers are grossly under-reported (Campbell 2014) and initiatives to encourage this reporting are urgently needed. The Merseyside approach does appear to have improved relationships between sex providers as a group and the police, leading to an increased rate of reporting offences of violence against them (ibid.). This is a positive aspect, although this has resource implications, and it is impossible from the available data to assess whether this has reduced violence against women providing sex.

The terms Managed Zone and Tolerance Zone appear to be used synonymously in both news media and academic studies to relate to an area in a city or town designated as a place where street prostitution can take place. In some cases, such as the Netherlands, this is legislated for (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017), whereas in others it is a case of making a policy decision not to enforce legislation outlawing the behaviour, such as in Leeds (Sanders and Sehmbi 2015). For the purposes of this thesis, it is useful to differentiate these two approaches and the term Managed Zone will be used where there is a legal framework for the existence of the zone, whereas Tolerance Zone will be used where the zone is based on a local agreement not to enforce legislation that would otherwise make the activities an offence.

The existence of adopted or designated public areas for street prostitution is nothing new and there are examples throughout history where this has occurred either with the express permission of the local authority, or at least with a degree of 'turning a blind eye' (Bullough and Bullough 1987). In the modern era, the phenomenon of an authorised zone is best identified with the Dutch policies of the 1980s onwards.

The Netherlands introduced several managed on-street prostitution zones, known as tippelzones, since 1983, together with legislation for the management of such:

- 1983 - zone opened in The Hague, but later closed in 2006 (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017).
- 1984 - zone opened in Rotterdam, but later closed in 2005 (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017).
- 1986 - zone opened in Utrecht, but the current area is due for renovation. A new site was opened in 2020 but is closed at the time of writing under COVID-19 lockdown restrictions (Kondakçi 2019).
- 1996 - zone opened in Amsterdam, but later closed in 2003 (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017).
- 1996 - zone opened in Arnhem, but unpopular with local politicians and closed at the time of writing under COVID-19 lockdown restrictions (Rutten 2019).
- 1998 - zone opened in Groningen, but later closed in 2019 (Bakker 2019).

- 2000 - zone opened in Nijmegen, but unpopular with local politicians and closed at the time of writing under COVID-19 lockdown restrictions (Friedrichs 2019).
- 2003 – zone opened in Eindhoven, but closed in 2008 (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017).

Studies suggest that tippelzones are falling out of favour in the Netherlands. The reasons cited for the closures mainly revolve around the influence of organised crime groups, human trafficking, and the zones being unmanageable due to the large influx of Eastern European migrant women (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017), but also include the costs involved in maintaining the zones (Rutten 2019). Local authorities have also described the desired safety of the tippelzones as a sham, stating that ‘nobody knows what exactly happens in the finishing shed behind the curtains’ (Rutten 2019, para 6, *translated from the Dutch original*).

A study by Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw (2017) examined crime rates in the Netherlands with a focus on the tippelzones. They concluded that ‘opening a legal street prostitution zone decreases registered sexual abuse and rape by about 30% to 40% in the first two years’ (ibid., p1). This conclusion is based on a statistical analysis of assaults on women providing sex. Bindel (2017), however, reports that whilst interviewing police officers in the Utrecht zone that one told her that they were recommending painting the various cubicles different colours to make it easier for victims to identify which one she was raped in as ‘the mountain of semen soaked articles covering the ground’ (ibid., p106) made it difficult to carry out forensic tests for DNA. Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw (2017) regard the tippelzones as causal effects in the measured reduction in violent crimes reported and their findings received a significant amount of press coverage at the time in support of the introduction of managed zones elsewhere. However, it is not clear that this causation has been empirically established and other factors may have influenced this perceived reduction.

Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw also found that drug use by sex providers increased initially, but later fell to levels below the initial usage. However, they also found that drug use in areas immediately surrounding the zones showed a permanent increase. The Salvation Army have highlighted the fact that, when the zones were

initially created, a significant proportion of the sex providers were addicted to class A drugs and were providing sex to pay for this habit, but since the creation of the tippelzones, a greater number have come into street prostitution without pre-existing addictions. Unfortunately, many of these women turn to drugs once they become involved in prostitution to cope with the strains, but also due to their ready availability (Waller, Szekeres and Scholz 2018). It is possible that what Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw found was actually a displacement of drug use rather than a decline.

Having a legal basis for a managed zone usually leads to a licensing system for women providing sex and this is coupled with support agencies working in the zone (Bisschop, Kastoryano and van der Klaauw 2017), which can lead to problems with women, particularly migrants if they are illegally in the country, avoiding the support and safeguarding in place for them so as to avoid licensing.

The first suggestion of introducing a tolerance zone in the UK came from Liverpool (Bellis *et al.* 2007) following a consultation process in 2004 with sex providers, local residents and businesses. Whilst the responses presented were generally in favour of the establishment of a zone, this was not supported by central government and did not happen.

The only acknowledged tolerance zone in the UK to date, is one that was established in Leeds in 2014 (Sanders and Sehmbi 2015). This is based in the Holbeck area of the city and has a temporal restriction of 8pm to 6am, which is considerably longer than most of the Dutch areas which have very short hours, often only 7pm to midnight (Kondakçi 2019). In a review of the initiative, Sanders and Sehmbi (2015) list several key outcomes of the pilot study:

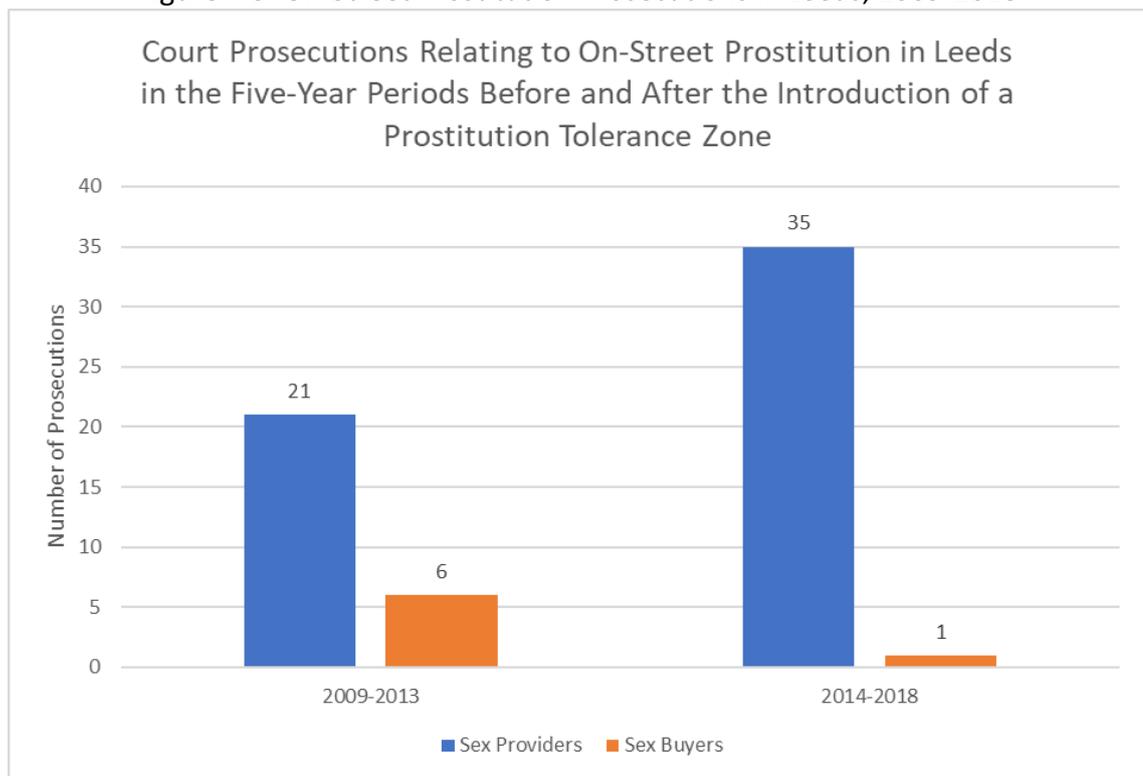
- The relationship between sex providers and the police has improved, although they note that sex providers reported that there were less police officers in the area, leading to a fear of crime and violence remaining high.
- The number of reports of suspicious activity reported to Ugly Mugs had improved, which appears to be better recording by support agencies rather than an actual increase in incidents.

- Outreach and support workers reported that they had improved access to the sex providers on the streets.

Sanders and Sehmbi (2015) also report a reduction in complaints from local residents and businesses, but this does not seem to be supported by reports in local newspapers and the formation of a residents' action group (Save Our Eyes 2019) opposed to the area.

Sanders and Sehmbi (2015) state that there has been a reduction in enforcement against sex providers since the establishment of the tolerance zone. A Freedom of Information response does not appear to support this claim over a longer period (West Yorkshire Police 2019) as demonstrated in Figure 4.3 below:

Figure 4.3: On-Street Prostitution Prosecutions in Leeds, 2009-2018



In the five years after the introduction of the tolerance zone (2014-2018), when compared to the five years before its introduction (2009-2013), the number of prosecutions against sex providers saw an increase of 67%. Over the same periods, prosecutions against sex buyers saw a reduction of 83%. It appears that the tolerance zone has benefited sex buyers significantly more than sex providers and suggests that it

is the purchase of sex that is being tolerated rather than the sale, which is in direct contrast to the policy's original stated aims (Sanders and Sehmbi 2015).

In June 2015, following on from a review of the tolerance zone, the local authority hailed it as a success (Yorkshire Evening Post 2015). In December 2015, a Polish migrant sex provider, Daria Pionko, was brutally beaten and murdered within the Leeds tolerance zone whilst engaging in street prostitution (Parraudin 2016). Less than a year later, following a twelve-month review of the tolerance zone, the local authority and police issued a joint statement to the effect that following the successes, the zone would become permanent (Yorkshire Evening Post 2016). Many local residents and businesses have objected to this decision (ibid.) and several campaigners have levelled serious criticism at Leeds for this decision (for example Bindel 2017). The murder of Daria Pionko has continuously been used as an objection to the Leeds tolerance zone, which may be unfair, but the initiative does not appear to have done anything to protect her. There have been several reviews of the zone and these continue (BBC News 2019), but the Leeds zone remains for the foreseeable future, despite a temporary closure of the area during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown (Beecham 2020). There have been campaigns for a similar zone to be established in the neighbouring city of Sheffield (Williams 2019). A further review of the tolerance zone in Leeds was published in 2020 (Roach *et al.* 2020). This review found that the approach was broadly supported by local agencies and residential communities as facilitating multi-agency work and support.

Prohibition through enforcement is best illustrated by the use of Section 222 of the Local Government Act 1972 injunctions. This power allows a local authority to take criminal enforcement actions where they consider it expedient for the promotion or protection of the interests of the inhabitants of their area. An early attempt to use these powers to address street prostitution was used by Birmingham City Council between December 2002 and February 2003 against twenty women providing sex on the streets (Hubbard 2006, p20). This policy approach was adopted by Hull City Council in 2014 where orders were introduced designed to tackle loitering and soliciting for the purposes of prostitution by sex providers or sex buyers on the street, as well as public sex associated

with prostitution (NSWP 2014). This included a power of arrest for the police. Figures for a typical three-month period in 2018 showed that 16 orders were issued to male sex buyers and 33 to female sex providers (Campbell 2018). Over this same period, there were 32 breaches by sex providers and none by sex buyers (ibid.). This illustrates that efforts to prohibit prostitution on the streets through enforcement are disproportionately focussed on sex providers resulting in criminalising these women.

Following a landmark case in London regarding the use of Section 222 against animal rights activists that saw the use of the power ruled as unlawful due to individuals not being named in the order, thereby breaching their human right to lawful protest, Hull City Council took the decision to have their order discharged early in 2020, prior to any appeals being launched against them (Mutch 2020). This suggests that this power was never intended to address issues such as street prostitution and illustrates the misuse of enforcement and legislation to bypass existing prostitution policy that did not appear to reduce the incidence of street sex providing and had the consequence of criminalising the sex providers (Brewer 2017).

The use of enforcement can also be seen in the rise of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) granted against sex providers following their introduction in 1998. Sagar (2007, 2009) argues that these orders were imposed contrary to the spirit of the legislation in that they were sought without consultation with sex provider support agencies, did little to improve the quality of life of neighbourhoods, and ran against advice from successful intervention such as the Kirklees 'What Works' initiative that requires an active and on-going consultation (Ballintyne and Fraser 2000). Sagar (2007, p165) concludes by stating, 'The use of the ASBO against sex workers contributes nothing useful.'

These local interventions are predicated on assumptions concerning sex buyers. Kerb crawler rehabilitation courses and tolerance zones presume that the sex buyers' motivations are a learned behaviour that can be re-educated and hate crimes assume that all offences committed against sex providers are based on hatred or prejudice against them as an identifiable group. Kerb crawler rehabilitation schemes appear to

have some success with deterring reoffending amongst existing sex buyers, but there is little evidence that they have any kind of deterrent effect for men not previously caught by the police. Hate crimes, tolerance zones, and court injunctions appear to place the burden on the sex providers, particularly if a licensing system is introduced, with very little focus on the sex buyers. If the objective is to reduce prostitution, tackle the demand or to improve the safety of sex providers, then the motivations and activities of the sex buyers needs to be better understood to introduce more effective initiatives. These presumptions and the implementation of these policies shape prostitution in the local area, contributing to the social construction of the sale of sex.

On-Street Prostitution in Nottingham

Historical Context

Prostitution in Victorian Nottingham tended to occur in socially deprived areas, such as The Meadows or Narrow Marsh (Nottingham Review 1850), and in the city centre around the Market Place, which was connected to the north to Parliament Street by a series of 'yards' (Nottinghamshire Guardian 1873). These were narrow and dark alleyways with a mix of residential dwellings, public houses, and small shops, which invariably included a number of brothels (ibid.). They were unsanitary, with effluent discarded into the yard to be washed away by the rain. Prostitution at this time was not as clearly delineated as on-street or off-street and women would go out onto the streets or into the public houses to search out potential sex buyers, who they would often take back to a brothel (often legislated against as disorderly houses) to carry out the sexual act (Nottinghamshire Guardian 1875). The phenomenon of prostitution sex in public places such as parks, gardens or inside cars is a more modern aspect.

There were, however, some parallels to the twenty-first century. Migrant women were drawn into prostitution then as now, only in the nineteenth century, these were Irish (Nottinghamshire Guardian 1858). The abuse of substances such as alcohol or laudanum (an opiate) were not uncommon amongst sex providers as a coping mechanism, and sex buyers as a form of leisure (Nottingham Review 1836). Sex providers were also at risk of

violence and abuse, occasionally as extreme as murder (Nottingham Review 1828). Despite the progress in society and living standards, the lot of the women providing sex on the streets has not improved significantly since this time.

This geography of prostitution in the city began to change at the end of the nineteenth century with the demolition of many of the yards off the Market Place in 1888 (Picture Nottingham 2018) and prostitution tended to move more towards the south side of the central square. The area around Narrow Marsh was demolished in the 1930s (Earp 2013), but the main impact was the post-war redevelopment of Nottingham City Centre in the 1950s and 1960s (Scott 2013), which saw major urban planning programmes resulting in most of the last remaining Victorian narrow streets demolished and replaced with 'modern' thoroughfares such as the dual-carriageway Maid Marion Way. This period also saw most of the old residential accommodation in the city centre demolished to be replaced by shops and businesses (ibid.). With them went the old brothels.

The first arrest of a woman for soliciting for prostitution on Forest Road, the current area affected by on-street prostitution, was in December 1960 (Nottingham Petty Court Register PS. CA 1/298). The last arrests of any women for this offence in the city centre was in 1967 (Nottingham Petty Court Register PS. CA 1/315). Within the space of less than a decade, the established geographical impact of prostitution completely relocated.

A further reason for this shift of the on-street prostitution area lies in the geography of the city. The Forest Fields estate lies to the north of the city centre and the new on-street prostitution area sits directly between these two. This estate is a zone of transition (Shaw and McKay 1942) for the city and is invariably the first area to be settled by migrants moving into Nottingham. This can be seen in Caribbean migrants arriving in the 1960s (ONS 1971), Pakistani migrants arriving in the 1980s (ONS 1991), and Eastern European migrants in the 2000s (ONS 2011). On arrival, these groups often experience marginalisation, poverty, and hardship, which can be drivers for women to provide sex and for men to access the cheapest form of prostitution, that being on-street (APPG 2018). Court records show an increase in Caribbean women providing sex and Caribbean men either purchasing or controlling the sale of sex during the 1960s (Nottingham Petty

Court Register PS. CA 1/298-315). A similar pattern is seen with Eastern European sex providers and sex buyers in the 2000s (Radford 2018), illustrating how immigration effects both the people and the location of street prostitution in Nottingham.

The Current Approach to Prostitution in Nottingham

The current approach towards prostitution in Nottingham can trace its roots to the early 1990s. Two key initiatives developed independently at this time.

In the first of these, Nottingham Safer Cities commissioned Nottingham Trent University senior lecturer Maggie O'Neill to undertake a pilot study in the city to look at proposals for improved multi-agency initiatives that facilitated the empowerment of individuals and groups (O'Neill 1995). This study took place in the wake of a 'police crack-down' on prostitution that began in 1989, that focussed almost exclusively on sex providers and saw a significant number of women criminalised (ibid.). O'Neill highlighted several key areas that required further study, one of these being geographical displacement (mainly city to city). This latter point was evidenced when a probation worker indicated that, despite high levels of police activity against sex providers in Nottingham and a visible reduction in the city, her case load had not decreased as the same women were being arrested for providing sex in other cities (ibid.). The police focus on sex providers achieved little in terms of addressing the underlying social causes and drivers for prostitution but had the negative effect of criminalising women and making life even harder for them by having to travel to other cities where they were unfamiliar with the locations and more vulnerable. A further issue was that reporters in court could publish the names of women convicted for these offences, introducing further stigma and damaging prospects later in life for employment (ibid.).

Some sex buyers were also arrested during this period where an average fine of £100 plus £25 costs appears to have been the norm at court. No other alternative was available at this time and the same issue of reporting court proceedings led to stigmatisation (O'Neill 1995). O'Neill quotes statistics of 38 men prosecuted for the offence of 'living off immoral earnings of prostitution', an offence designed to target the

controllers of prostitution, and compares this to only three in both Sheffield and Manchester to illustrate the enforcement approach being adopted in Nottingham.

O'Neill's pilot led to an interactive seminar involving key agencies which highlighted the conflicting priorities between enforcement driving women off the streets, but not away from prostitution, and increasing difficulties in accessing welfare. This work culminated in three proposals:

1. A need for an action research initiative aiming to examine the links between poverty, homelessness, the care system, drug use, and prostitution.
2. A focus on the self-protection, welfare, and education of sex providers.
3. A need for assistance for individuals to exit prostitution.

It was concluded that these could only be achieved by a multi-agency approach with common goals. At this stage, sex providers were only involved through informal on-street interviews with O'Neill (1995).

At the same time as O'Neill's study was taking place, in 1990 funding from the World Health Organisation and Nottingham Health Authority was made available to develop a unique programme whereby sex providers were offered training to research and support other women involved in prostitution (Johns 2002). The initial response from sex workers was a reluctance to engage due to the perceived stigma of associating the study with a public health agenda in the wake of the HIV pandemic, but after consideration a small number of women took up this challenge and quickly highlighted that the existing services were not suitable or adequate for the complex needs of sex providers (*ibid.*). From this, the women formed POW (POW Nottingham 2019). POW was originally an acronym for Prostitute Outreach Workers, but latterly simply POW to avoid any perceived stigma associated with the word 'prostitute'. POW was originally a peer-based support project, initially operating out of one of the women's front rooms but has evolved over the intervening decades to offer significantly more services than just on-street outreach and has moved away from being peer-based, but still advocates on behalf of sex providers (*ibid.*).

By 1992 when O'Neill arranged a further multi-agency conference to examine prostitution in the city, representatives of POW were now integrated into the partnership and the voice of the sex provider was firmly embedded in discussions on initiatives as part of the Nottingham Multi-Agency Forum into Prostitution (O'Neill 1995). This included the funding of a base of operations for POW close to the area affected by on-street prostitution that included a drop-in facility for sex providers to complement the outreach undertaken on the streets (POW Nottingham 2019).

In her initial study, O'Neill reports that the women providing sex that she interviewed were aged between 18 and 24 years and that key drivers for entering prostitution revolved around poverty, but she also found that the use of drugs was becoming more apparent (O'Neill 1995). A report in the Independent newspaper in 1994 highlights an emerging clash between a new generation of women and girls entering street prostitution in Nottingham and the more established women (Lonsdale 1994). This article focusses on two 17-year-old girls who were providing sex to fund cocaine habits, and women in their late twenties or early thirties who were providing sex to pay for rent and household bills. The indication is that the introduction of drugs like cocaine was a relatively new occurrence. The clash between these two generations was undermining a long-established tradition of women looking out for each other on the streets where the younger girls were deliberately undercutting the older women and committing acquisitive crimes such as robbery or blackmail against sex buyers. All of this was making the streets a more dangerous place for women providing sex and one woman interviewed blamed this new shift in sex providers for a spate of baseball bat attacks on the women. A further difference highlighted is in how the women dressed in order to attract sex providers. Lonsdale found that the older women tended to 'take care' over their appearance and 'dressed the part' whereas the younger girls relied entirely on their age. She reports a disturbing trait in that the girls tell sex buyers that they are only 15 years old to secure custom.

In the mid-1990s reporter Nick Davies conducted an investigation into the hidden aspects of prostitution and child exploitation that he records in his book *Dark Heart* (Davies 1998). He details encounters with children as young as 12 years old, both boys and girls, who were providing sex around the Forest Recreation Ground, adjacent to the

established area for on-street prostitution in Nottingham. The children listed a catalogue of family breakdowns, violence, abuse, and living in care. None of the children seemed to recognise the exploitation of themselves by the men paying them and all were left damaged by their experiences.

St Andrews Anglican church sits at the heart of the area affected by on-street prostitution in Nottingham. As such, it became a regular focus for women providing sex, both as a convenient location to take sex buyers for a sexual act, but also as a source of support and help. Women would regularly knock on the vicarage door looking for help or simply food. In response, the faith-based organisation known as the Jericho Road Project was developed in 2000 to address this need and based in rooms at the rear of the church (Jericho Road Project 2019). The name comes from the biblical story of the Good Samaritan on the road to Jericho. The project offers outreach, drop-in, and other services including prison visits to women.

Another aspect influencing prostitution during the decade of the 1990s is the popular rise of the Internet for business and leisure, but also, unfortunately, for crime. Traditional police 'vice squads' found themselves increasingly tackling the sexual exploitation of children through shared images and videos on-line, leaving the issues of adult prostitution to local beat teams (Radford 2015). As a result, the visible presence of prostitution in the areas of Forest and Mapperley Roads increased significantly by the end of the decade and into the early 2000s. In response to this, a joint initiative by Nottingham City Council and Nottinghamshire Police saw the creation of the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) in June 2004 consisting of a mix of police officers, police staff, council staff and drug support workers (Radford 2015), which is the point at which I came into the narrative as team leader. The PTF built upon the earlier work by O'Neill and the multi-agency forum by developing close partnerships with both statutory and non-statutory organisations with a focus on shifting the enforcement focus to the men paying for sex with both safeguarding and developing routes out of prostitution for the women providing it. This latter element resulted in the creation of the Prostitution Support Network (PSN) that brings practitioners together once a month to share appropriate information and case study the most prolific women to ensure the best support from the relevant agencies (ibid.).

In 2010, much of the multi-agency work was formalised in the Crime and Drugs Partnership's (CDP) Prostitution Strategy (Nottingham CDP 2010). This was largely based on the government's Coordinated Prostitution Strategy (Home Office 2006) and took an abolitionist approach to prostitution with a focus on safeguarding women providing sex through counselling, health care, and police patrols. The PSN was chaired by the CDP and funding made available for drug workers. With this local partnership approach, the policing of prostitution continued in line with this strategy.

There have been a few changes since the CDP strategy, but the approach has continued largely unchanged. The CDP no longer play an active role and the drug provision is provided through the charity Framework, but otherwise, the strategy continues with the dual approach towards prostitution of reducing demand and safeguarding the women involved in the supply (Radford 2015).

Reducing Demand, Controlling Supply: Evaluating New Street-Level Prostitution Policy Interventions and Paradigms in Nottingham (Hamilton 2010)

As O'Neill observes above, most of the focus in understanding and responding to street prostitution in Nottingham has focussed on the women providing sex, with interventions targeting sex buyers largely being limited to police enforcement operations. In 2002, Nottinghamshire Police began using the Change Course kerb crawler rehabilitation programme (Caren 2010), first developed in Hampshire, and discussed above. The course is still offered and, as of June 2019, a total of 1050 men have gone through the process over 17 years (Nottinghamshire Police 2019a). The courses are currently suspended due to COVID-19 lockdown restrictions at the time of writing.

The programme is delivered over the course of one day, usually on a Saturday, at a police station and consists of four sessions: education, offending cycles, consequences, and planning a future (Caren 2010). A group orientated approach based on cognitive behavioural therapy takes around ten men per course through a process of re-education to deter future behaviour associated with sex buying (ibid.).

Between 2006 and 2008, an evaluation of the Change Course was conducted by Nottingham Trent University researcher Paul Hamilton, as part of a wider study of policy interventions in Nottingham (Hamilton 2010). This part of the study involved questionnaires with the participants, both before and after the course, as well as some follow-up interviews a few months later. This is the first time an academic study of any aspect of sex buyers in the city has been conducted and presents some important understandings of this group of men.

Hamilton found a number of issues and limitations with the Change Course, such as the focus on harm to sex providers and to communities being likely to have a limited impact due to deep-seated empathies towards anonymised strangers being difficult to engender within the restricted timespan of a one-day course. The study also found attitudes towards prostitution-related legislation and the inevitability of prostitution were stubbornly resistant to change. Hamilton sums this up as:

‘This demonstrates the obvious limitations and boundaries of attitudinal change brought about by the Change Programme and perhaps most symbolically reveals the influence of entrenched socio-cultural influences in shaping perceptions of the permanence of commercial sex markets.’ (ibid., p304).

Despite these reservations, Hamilton found that:

‘From an “attitudinal change” perspective, there is enough evidence from the survey results and interview data to validate the view that those men exposed to the Change Programme curriculum perceive street-level prostitution to be less desirable. In this sense the Change Programme may reasonably be considered a “success” and to be “working”.’ (ibid., p301).

During the interviews with sex buyers, a number of insights were gained as to their motivations in engaging with prostitution. One interviewee stated he was looking for a ‘quick adrenaline rush’ (Hamilton 2010, p191) whereas another claimed that the risk of being seen or caught added to the excitement. Several participants revealed a desire for

a different kind of sexual act or sexual partner, discussing fantasies about women from different ethnicities or different sexual practices.

Interestingly, the majority of men found the sex providers physically unattractive. As one interviewee put it, 'to be brutally honest, she was disgusting and looked ill,' (Hamilton 2010, p193). Despite this, Hamilton found evidence to suggest that many sex buyers continued to pay for sex in these circumstances, being dissatisfied with both the woman and the experience and concluded that other motivational factors were more dominant with some men blaming this on biological urges or entitlement. One man described paying for sex as 'an act of desperation and not out of choice or enjoyment,' (ibid., p194) and another to 'hating' paying for sex but felt that he had no choice. This is perhaps best summed up in the following, derogatory quote from one participant, which also illustrates the dehumanisation of the sex provider:

'I felt sad, because you know this is an act of...it's like a similar feeling that you're so thirsty that you drink muddy water. You do not enjoy it'. (Hamilton 2010, p238).

Other men focussed on the convenience of paying for sex and believed that this was less of a betrayal of a regular partner than having an affair would be. Some cited loneliness and emotional isolation as the reasons they paid for sex. Evidence of peer pressure was found, particularly amongst groups of younger males out socialising together.

Many of the motivational factors discussed in the previous chapter were evident in the interviews conducted by Hamilton, suggesting that Nottingham sex buyers are representative of men in other studies across the western world.

Hamilton concludes with a number of areas that require future research around sex buyers, sex providers and policy interventions into prostitution, particularly concerning the re-education of sex buyers.

Nottinghamshire Police (2019a) report that, of the 1050 men who have undertaken the course in the city by June 2019, only 28 (3.5%) are known to have reoffended. Of these,

28 (2.7%) reoffended within five years and 13 (1.2%) reoffended within two years of attending the course.

Paying for Sex on the Streets: Understanding Who the Buyers are in the On-Street Prostitution Market (Radford 2018)

In preparation for this current study, I undertook a quantitative statistical analysis on the socio-demographic details of 1803 men caught by the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) in Nottingham from 2001 to 2017 inclusive, in situations where they had either paid a woman for sex on the streets or were about to (Radford 2018). This was not designed to offer any insight as to motivations of sex buyers but was primarily intended to provide an overview of who these men were and to identify any changes over the seventeen-year period.

The socio-demographic variables were analysed as at the time of being caught. These were as follows: age, relationship status, ethnicity, country of birth, economic activity, occupation, and home address (by post code area).

The youngest male caught was 14 years old, whilst the eldest was 84. The overall mean age of sex buyers was 35.6 years old. An ANOVA test demonstrated that there was no significant change in the average age of the sex buyers over this period. By grouping the ages into five year age bands in line with Annual Population Survey (APS) (ONS 2017), odds ratios were used to assess if the distribution of ages is what would be expected from a random selection of the male population. All age groups between 20 and 54 showed an over-representation in the sample data. The highest odds ratios were for the 25 to 29-year-olds and the 30 to 34-year-olds groups. Between them, these two age groups accounted for about a third of the men caught.

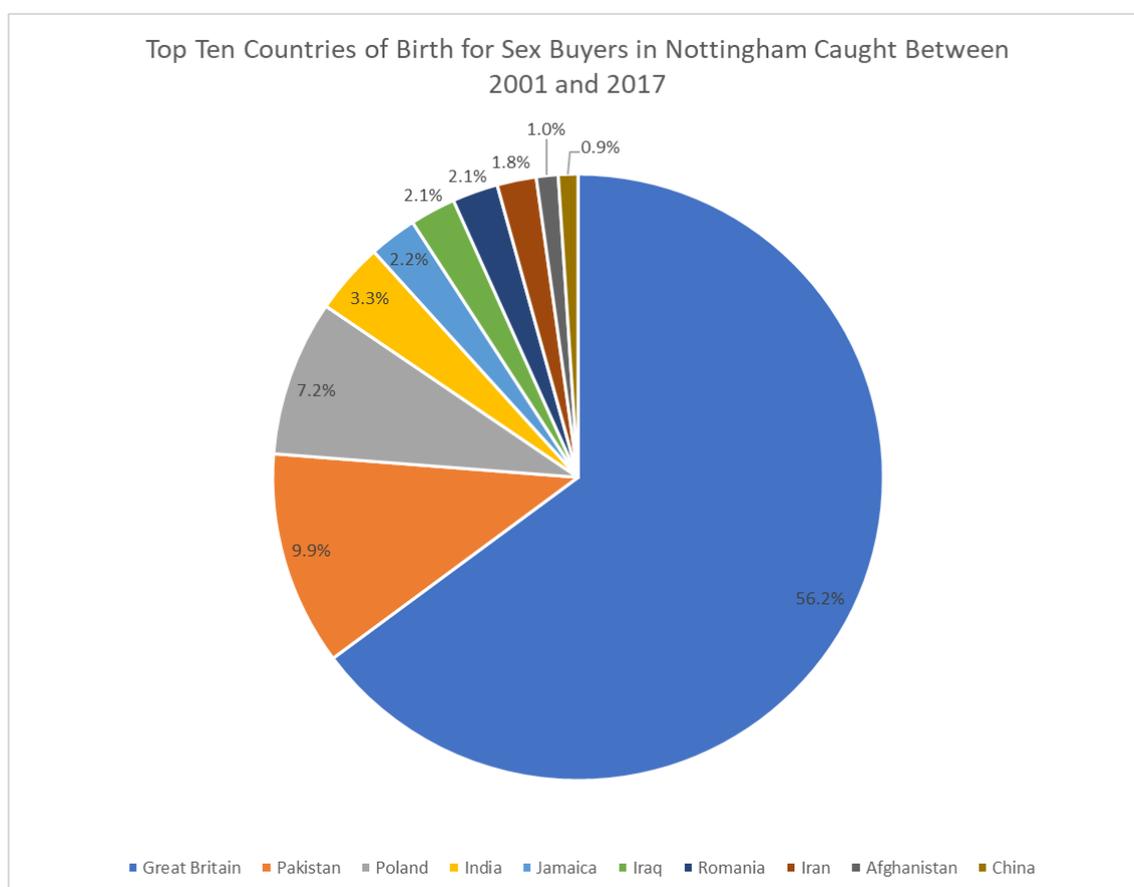
Relationship status was only available from 2015 to 2017 and was divided into groups as single, having a girlfriend, or married. No men disclosed being in a same sex relationship and divorced, separated, or widowed men were absorbed into the 'single' category due to small numbers of men in these groups. Results showed that 49% of the

men were single, 30% married, and 21% had a girlfriend. When compared to the general population, the numbers of married men in the sample data was below what would be expected from a random sample.

Overall, approximately half of the men were white British (50.9%). The next highest groups were 'white other' (14.4% - mainly accounted for by Eastern European males) and Pakistani (9.9%).

The top ten countries of birth are shown in Figure 4.4 below:

Figure 4.4: Sex Buyer Country of Birth, Nottingham 2001-2017



When analysed year on year however, it was shown that the white British males accounted for 78% of the total in 2001, whereas they represented only 22% in 2017, the data showing a steady and significant decline over the period of the study. Conversely, the 'white other' group rose from 6% to 46% and the Pakistani males from 6% to 12% over the same period. When comparing ethnicities to the general population by odds ratios, it was found that the most disproportionately over-represented group were the

Arab males, mainly from Iraq or Syria, whereas white British and white Irish were the most under-represented in the sample data.

Once again, odds ratios were used to compare to the general population. The most disproportionately over-represented countries of birth were Gambia, Romania, Latvia, Eritrea, and Afghanistan. In total 72 different countries from all around the world were represented in the sample data and, of these, only those born in the UK were under-represented.

68.1% of the men were in employment and 18.8% were unemployed. The remainder were students (4.1%), retired (2.3%), or economic activity was not provided. When compared to the general population, the unemployed group was the most over-represented. The occupations were grouped according to the Annual Population Survey (APS) (ONS 2017) and the most common groups were for skilled trades (31.1%), representing occupations such as electricians, plumbers, and carpenters; and elementary occupations (19.9%), which includes cleaners and factory workers. When compared to the general population, it was the elementary trades that were most disproportionately over-represented.

Overall, 84% of the men caught lived within the Greater Nottingham area (which includes the city and surrounding urban areas of Gedling, Broxtowe, and Rushcliffe). The study concluded that 'this suggests that Nottingham is not experiencing sex tourism and appears to have a "catchment area",' (2018, p65). When examined at the ward level and compared to the general population, the Arboretum and Berridge wards are the most over-represented. The on-street area affected by prostitution lies within the Arboretum ward; and the Forest Fields estate, discussed above as the city's main zone of transition, lies within the Berridge ward.

These results are not analysed further here but will be used and discussed when examining the results of this study to assess the representation of participants and responses.

Summary

This chapter has concluded the analysis of the historical, theoretical and policy influences that have shaped the social construction of prostitution and sex buying. The prevalent policy approaches of regulation, decriminalisation, prohibition, and abolition have been defined and discussed in relation to international, UK and Nottingham policy environments to demonstrate how these are influenced by cultural approaches to prostitution and the theoretical understanding of sex buying, whilst at the same time these policies have in turn influenced and defined both the theory and historical presentation of prostitution and sex buying.

This chapter has served a dual purpose of providing an understanding of the contribution of policy agendas and implementation to the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, justifying its inclusion as one of the five pillars underpinning this, and secondly to provide a comprehensive understanding of policy models to act as a baseline for discussion in Part Three of this thesis as to the policy implications of the findings of this research.

Chapter Five - Methodology

Chapter One presented the ontological and epistemological approach of social constructionism that this research will take. This chapter will describe the considerations and implementation of the methodology adopted to achieve these.

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, the primary aim of this research was to develop an in-depth understanding of the reasons and motivations that lead men to paying women for sex on the streets by using a qualitative approach consisting of a multi-case study design.

I developed a number of objectives to achieve this aim:

1. To formulate a series of themes based on a review of available literature regarding the historical context of prostitution, theoretical understanding of sex buying and current policy models around prostitution.
2. To use these themes developed from the literature to frame analyses of the case studies to identify each participant's reasons and motivations for engaging with street prostitution.
3. To compare case studies and themes emerging from them to identify generalities and patterns in their reasons and motivations.
4. To critically compare previous prostitution studies and paradigms to the findings of this study.
5. To examine the practical implications of these findings in relation to prostitution policy models and future research.

Having established an aim and objectives for this study, the key research question was: *Why do men pay for sex in the adult female heterosexual street sex market?*

To accomplish the stated aims and objectives, this chapter will describe how qualitative methods of data collection were utilised within a multi-case study approach where each sex buyer was considered as an individual case. These cases were researched using

semi-structured interviews with the sex buyer, semi-structured interviews with police staff and respective sex providers as well as observations carried out in a rehabilitation course or at magistrate's court as applicable. This is expanded upon in further sections of this chapter. The data gathered through the case studies was analysed using reflexive thematic analysis utilising the software programme QSR NVivo. Triangulation of the findings was carried out through further semi-structured interviews with sex providers, support workers and police staff to generate complementary information. These interviews were conducted separate from the case studies and involved a number of different interviewees from those cases. Triangulation is expanded upon later in this chapter.

The following sections describe why I chose this methodology and how I implemented this.

Methodological Considerations

Why Use a Case Study Approach?

Yin (2018) uses a simplistic division of research into '*what*', '*how*' or '*why*' questions and suggests methodological approaches that could be used to address each but concludes by arguing that if the research question is '*why*', then a case study is the best method to achieving an answer. Yin further argues that case studies are the preferred research approach when the behaviour of those involved cannot be manipulated (i.e., an experimental approach is not suitable), when contextual conditions are relevant to a phenomenon, and where the context and phenomenon do not have clear boundaries. As Baxter and Jack (2008) argue, case studies are ideal for assessing a decision-making process undertaken by participants.

Yin (2018, p15) provides a twofold definition of a case study in relation to research. These two parts define the *scope* and the *features* of a case study:

1. A case study is an empirical method that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in depth and within its real-world context, especially

when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident.

2. A case study:

- copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points,
- benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide design, data collection, and analysis, and
- relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion.

Yin (*ibid.*, p16) further states that a case study approach is an all-encompassing mode of enquiry 'with its own logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis.' This approach is not bounded by epistemological orientations and would be suitable for interpretivist or realist research but both Yin (2018) and Stake (1995) start from a constructionist perspective in developing their understandings of case studies, making this methodology valid for the social constructionist approach I developed in this research.

The aims and objectives of this research, as stated above, set out to understand why men pay for sex on the streets and to analyse their decision-making processes in engaging in this behaviour. As discussed elsewhere, I was an operational police officer focussing on issues surrounding prostitution for fifteen years prior to retirement. Inevitably, my views and opinions generated over this period have led to my personal perceptions of prostitution and sex buying and it would be naïve to believe that this would have no effect on research assumptions or analysis. However, having recognised this, I took this into account in planning the methodology and tried, wherever possible, to reduce any prior assumptions regarding the phenomenon (paying for sex) and the context (including location, culture, learned behaviour etc.) to a minimum. Given this, I considered case studies to be the ideal methodological approach to address these stated aims and objectives.

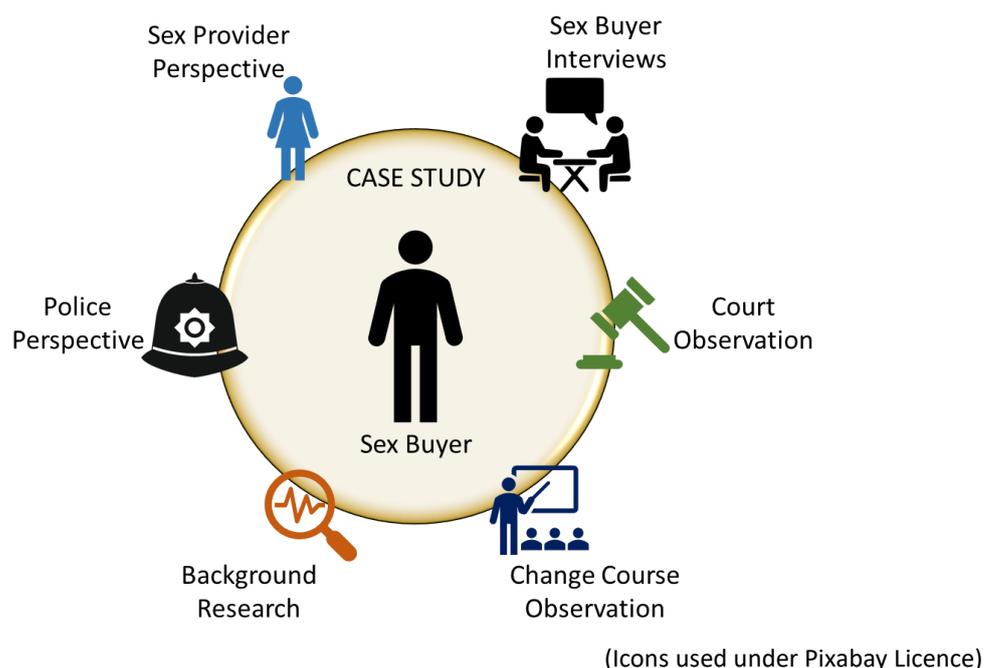
Case Design

Stake (2006, p1) stresses that ‘a case is a noun, an entity; it is seldom a verb, a participle, a functioning.’ On this basis, the subject of these case studies was not ‘sex buying’, but the ‘sex buyer’. I designed each case study to offer an in-depth understanding of each sex buyer participant through his actions, motivations, and context in relation to sex buying on the streets.

Yin (2018) provides a distinction between a ‘unit of analysis’ and a ‘unit of data collection’. A unit of analysis is described as a single source of information, such as an individual (either the subject of the case study or another person linked to the case in relation to the specific phenomenon studied) or a unique document such as a record of court proceedings. Conversely, a unit of data collection refers to a specific concept such as prior behaviour, which may be collected from multiple units of analysis. For the purposes of this research, units of analysis were utilised within each case study that included interviews with the sex buyer, the sex providers, or police officers dealing with the case. Other persons were considered for interview, such as the sex buyer’s partner, but this was considered impractical, overly intrusive, and potentially unethical. As such, these were not pursued. Observations of rehabilitation courses and court proceedings were carried out and utilised as further units of analysis, as was prior offending or sex buying histories disclosed by the sex buyer. The interviews with the sex providers and police officers at this initial stage were specifically intended to understand their perceptions of the individual sex buyer to inform the case study. Background research through literature and the sex buyer’s account regarding elements such as culture and familial relationships were used to inform the analysis of individual circumstances.

This approach is shown below in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1: Case Study Design for this Research



Several authors have argued that it is necessary to place boundaries on research (Stake 1995, Yin 2018). This is as much about determining what the research is not, as it is about what it is. Baxter and Jack (2008) offer approaches to setting boundaries based on time, place, activity, definition, and context. This research was designed to examine men who purchase sex on the streets. As previously discussed, street prostitution is only one form of providing sex amongst many varied presentations (Harcourt and Donovan 2005). A second boundary was placed regarding place. This research was conducted entirely with male sex buyers identified through Nottinghamshire Police's PTF, either whilst on patrol in Nottingham or attending the Change Course in the city. Previous studies have encountered men who approached street-based sex providers for purposes other than sex, such as an enabler for purchasing drugs for example (Baseman, Ross and Williams 1999). This study was restricted to men who either had or were seeking to purchase sex, although the presence of other elements in addition to sex buying did not exclude potential participants. By simple practicalities, a fourth boundary of time was imposed on the study by virtue of the research period. Only men caught during the five-month period of August 2019 to December 2019 were considered for this study, which I felt to be a suitably long enough period to generate sufficient case studies. This meant that no historical cases were pursued, partly because I believed that other parties, such

as the sex provider, would have little or no recollection of the encounter. This time period was also partly forced on the research due to societal lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic prohibiting face to face recruitment and interviewing, and a restructuring of the local policing response to street prostitution. In reflecting on these circumstances, I decided that to attempt to recruit men beyond these restrictions would introduce a selection bias, although the impact of the lockdown on the existing participants and prostitution in general were explored.

The next consideration was sample size: how many case studies would be required to achieve the stated aims and objectives?

Braun *et al.* (2019, p8) point out that many studies rely on the concept of 'saturation', usually taken to mean 'information redundancy, or collecting data until no new information is generated.' As will be discussed below, the data gathered in this study was analysed using a process of Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke 2012). Under this process, it is generally not possible to assess saturation whilst in the data gathering phase, this only becomes apparent upon analysis and is a retrospective process.

Stake (2006, p22) argues that:

'The benefits of multi-case study will be limited if fewer than, say, 4 cases are chosen, or more than 10. Two or three cases do not show enough of the interactivity between the programs and their situations, whereas 15 or 30 cases provide more uniqueness of interactivity than the research team or readers can come to understand.'

Conversely, Braun *et al.* (2019) argue that there is 'no magic formula' for pre-determining sample size and are critical of studies that attempt to do so. Stake (2006) and Yin (2018) both state that the quality of the case studies is far more important than the quantity of them. In this research, opportunistic recruitment was inevitable, so I regarded depth and quality of data rather than breadth as a necessary approach.

I loosely used Stake's limits of between four and ten cases in the research design, but I reviewed this on a continuing basis throughout the field work to ensure sufficient data for analysis without introducing too much information that could detract from coherent discussion. At the time of the COVID-19 lockdown and police restructure, I had recruited nine participants, and each formed an individual case study. As this lay at the upper end of Stake's range, I regarded this as a suitable number of cases. The subsequent analysis of this data, as discussed in Chapters Six to Nine, revealed that this was a reasonable assumption.

Study Design

I adopted a multi-case study design for this research, where each study was analysed thematically with common themes identified. I used a triangulation process utilising interviews with sex providers, sex provider support workers, and police staff to gather complementary information relating to sex buying. The triangulation process is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In designing this research methodology, the first consideration was to ascertain what form of case study to adopt. Baxter and Jack (2008) offer three alternatives:

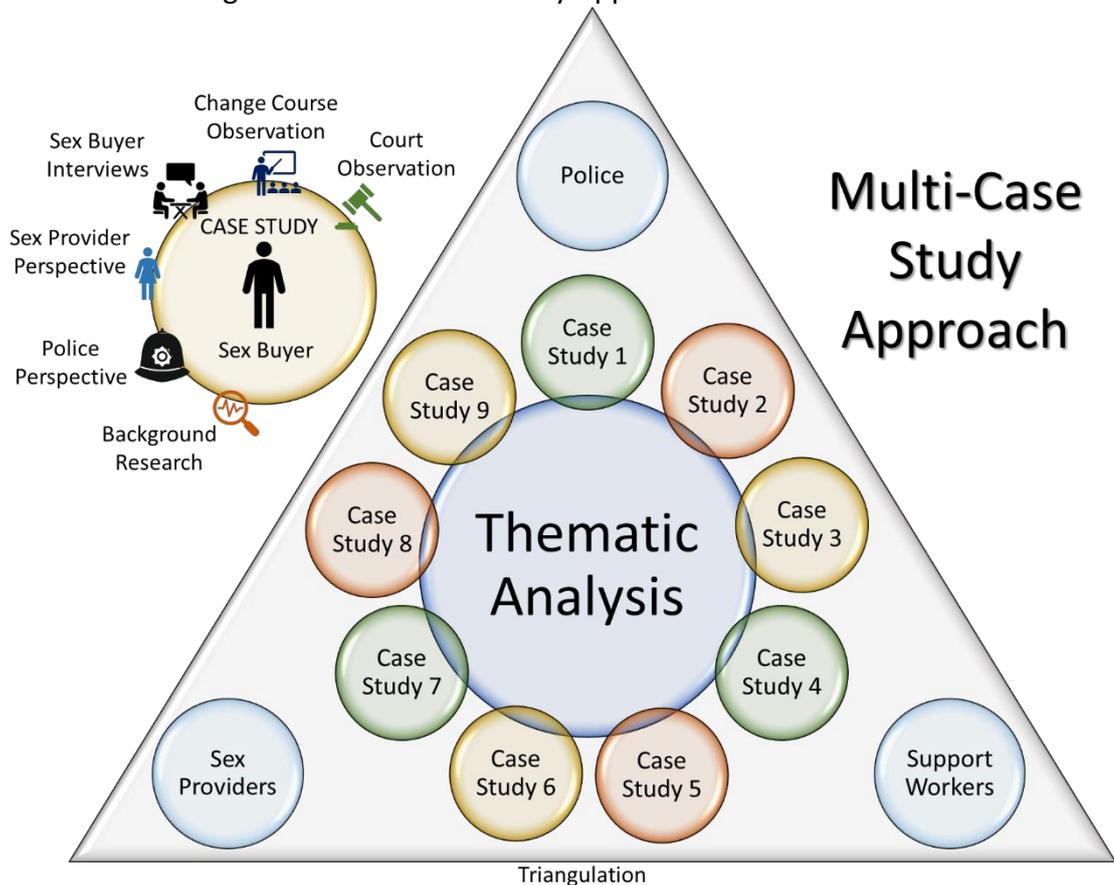
- A single case study of a general phenomenon, - in this case, this would be paying for sex on the streets,
- A single case study of a phenomenon with embedded units, - in this case, this would be paying for sex on the streets based on the different context experienced by each man, or
- A multi-case study, - in this case, this would be where each male paying for sex is considered a separate case study.

As stated above, I minimised any prior assumptions regarding the nature of each man's sex buying, meaning that no presumption of a single phenomenon and context could be made. As such, the first of these options was not suitable. When considering whether each participant would constitute an embedded unit of a single case study or separate

case studies in their own rights, I made reference to the literature review in Chapter Three concerning prior theoretical explanations for sex buying as well as previous research in Nottingham (Hamilton 2010, Radford 2018) that showed a heterogenous group of men, with differing motivations and from diverse contexts. To guide data collection, the multi-case study approach I adopted for this research allowed an in-depth understanding of each man individually, before attempting to analyse data across all cases to allow for comparison.

This approach is shown in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2: Multi-Case Study Approach for this Research



(Icons used under Pixabay Licence)

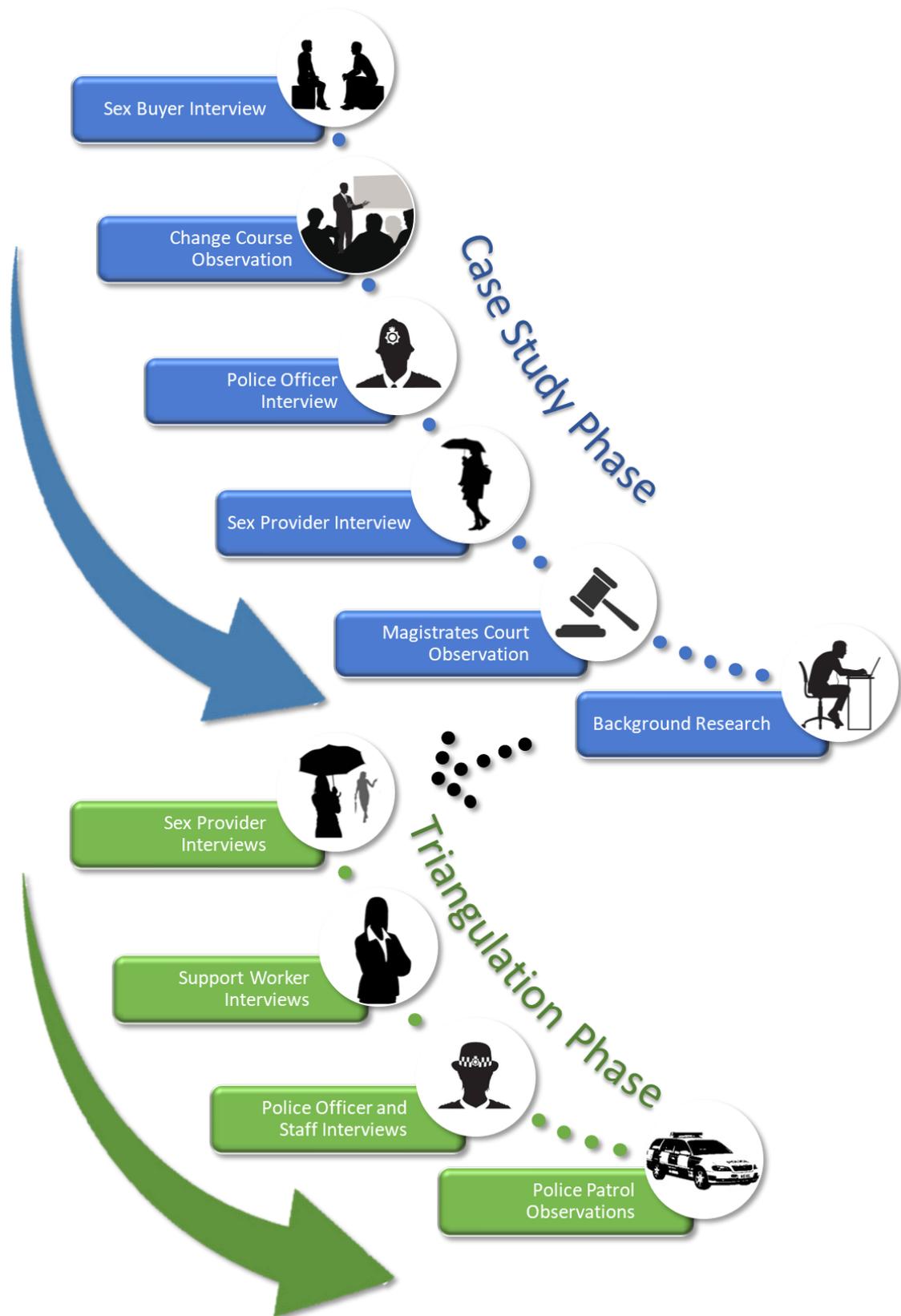
Data Collection Sequence

Figure 5.3 below illustrates the sequence for data collection. This was divided into two phases, the first being the case studies and the second the triangulation phase. The order of data collection within the two phases had some flexibility, but there was no overlap between the phases with the exception of observations on police patrols. The case study phase began with a sex buyer interview and a Change Course observation, the order of these dependent on the method of recruitment for sex buyer participants, as discussed below. Interviews with the sex provider and the police officer in the case followed this. The case studies were concluded with Magistrates Court observations where applicable, and background research into the sex buyer's individual circumstances.

The triangulation phase began after the case study data collection was completed. In this phase, the interviews with the three participant groups and the police patrol observations were conducted over the same period. Joining officers on police patrols served a dual purpose of carrying out the observations as discussed here, but also facilitated access to sex providers for interviews.

The sex provider interviewees in the two phases were all different women. A police officer and a PCSO were interviewed in both phases.

Figure 5.3: Data Collection Sequence



(Icons used under Pixabay Licence)

Participant Recruitment, Data Sources and Minimising Bias

Participant Recruitment Design

I recruited sex buyer participants for this research through police referrals and attendees on the Change Course in Nottingham between August and November 2019. No initial end-date for this process was set, but circumstances including the Christmas period and the COVID-19 pandemic affected the working practices of the police and a cessation of the Change Course resulting in it not being possible to continue beyond this point.

In many cases when researchers have used the police to recruit research participants, this has been on the back of a 'crackdown' that is not typical of routine policing (Sanders 2008a). This situation could lend itself to a biased sample that was not representative of street sex buyers in general. Fortunately, however, as discussed in the previous chapter, Nottinghamshire Police's Prostitution Task Force (PTF) have been in existence since 2004 and have routinely patrolled the area affected by street prostitution in Nottingham on a daily and weekly basis throughout the intervening years. A rotating shift pattern ensured that all times of day and days of the week were given equal priority and coverage. The PTF have very close links with sex provider support agencies (Radford 2015) offering a broader view of prostitution in the area than could be generated through policing alone. Overall, the PTF have a very different approach to policing prostitution than that suggested in the above quote from Sanders.

The team also have over fifteen years of experience as to the geographical distribution and variation of on-street prostitution in the city. The approach of the PTF was to focus on locations rather than individual men. In this way, they largely avoid any bias based on individual characteristics of the men.

It is unlikely that any sampling strategy of sex buyers on the street is completely without flaw or bias, but the patrol pattern of the PTF provides as broad a participant group as could be hoped for.

Basis for Participant Recruitment Design

It is widely accepted that sex buyers are a difficult group to access for research (Kolar and Atchison 2013). Previous studies have deployed a variety of methods to overcome the inherent hurdles involved in recruiting participants to studies. In order to review these, they have been grouped here as follows:

1. Advertising
2. Non-Contact
3. Interpersonal

The various approaches under these headings are summarised in Figure 5.4 on the following page, and expanded upon in the following sections.

Common media for advertising for participants are:

- newspapers or magazines (Barnard, McKeganey and Leyland 1993; Faugier and Cranfield 1995; Jordan 1997; Lowman and Atchison 2006; Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007; Macleod *et al.* 2008; Atchison 2010; Farley *et al.* 2017),
- leaflets in clubs and shops, especially those involved in some variation of the sex industry (Lowman and Atchison 2006; Macleod *et al.* 2008; Atchison 2010),
- adverts in men's public toilet cubicles (Lowman and Atchison 2006), or
- advertising in online forums dedicated to prostitution, either where sex is offered for sale or where men review encounters with sex providers (Atchison 2010; Kong 2015a; Huschke and Schubotz 2016; Milrod and Monto 2017).

Relying solely on men responding to an advertisement has issues in that this group is likely to be more willing to reveal information about themselves, almost to the point of boasting about their sex buying exploits (Farley *et al.* 2017). Some men may contact the researchers as a means of sexual gratification of itself, especially if the interviewer is female (*ibid.*). As such, these men are unlikely to be representative of sex buyers in general.

Figure 5.4: Participant Recruitment Options



Some of these methods of contacting a participant group are overly biased towards men who purchase sex in off-street environments (Huschke and Schubotz 2016). This may be particularly problematic with online advertising as this is not traditionally an access route for on-street prostitution (ibid.). Relying on advertising via online forums has a restriction in that only men who actively engage with the Internet and use this to access paid-for sex will respond, which will introduce a further selection bias (Atchison 2010).

This may be particularly relevant for specific groups, such as older sex buyers having less online access.

As this research was specifically focussed on sex buying on-street, recruitment methods that favoured off-street sex buyers were not suitable. This meant that advertising methods, especially on-line, would not have generated suitable participants.

Alternative methods have been used that utilise data sources that do not require any direct contact with the participants themselves, for example:

- examining police and court prosecution files (Lowman and Atchison 2006; Brewer *et al.* 2008),
- examining sex provider reports of encounters with sex buyers (Lowman and Atchison 2006), or
- analysing on-line forums where men post reviews of experiences with sex providers (Lowman and Atchison 2006; Blevins and Holt 2009; Holt and Blevins 2010; Jovanski and Tyler 2018).

I ruled out using secondary or survey data for this research based on the discussion outlined below.

The use of online forums, particularly those where sex buyers post reviews of their interactions with sex providers, are generally used by experienced sex buyers whereas novices are often actively discouraged (Jovanski and Tyler 2018), which introduces a selection bias. Social acceptability bias can be introduced with subcultures such as sex buyers on Internet forums, where some men will make exaggerated or false claims and espouse views that they may not necessarily hold but believe that other forum users want to read (Holt and Blevins 2010, Jovanski and Tyler 2018).

In some cases, data sources that were gathered as part of a broader survey of lifestyles and behaviours were utilised to obtain information as to men's sex buying behaviour. These have included:

- the UK National Survey on Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (NATSAL) (Cameron and Collins 2003; Ward *et al.* 2005),
- the Norwegian Sex Surveys (Schei and Stigum 2010), and
- the US General Social Survey (GSS) (Monto and Milrod 2014).

Use of data sources from broad surveys that are not specific to sex buying tend not to probe deeply into motivations and underlying causes, generally restricting themselves to data lacking rich, narrative information on this specific research area (Schei and Stigum 2010, Monto and Milrod 2014).

Use of sex provider evidence of the sex buyers has been previously used (Lowman and Atchison 2006). My experience from the case studies in this research, and prior experience as a police officer working in this area, has shown that street sex providers rarely have any recollection of the male sex buyer after the event. Their focus is on the sexual act and the payment received. The men are instrumental to this but are not important of themselves. Use of sex provider testimony appears to be unreliable in understanding the on-street sex buyers.

As discussed above, this research is based on aims and objectives that seek to understand the motivations and underlying reasons behind men paying for sex on the streets. The depth of the understanding was more important than the breadth of the sampled data. This demanded a qualitative approach that, in this case, could only be achieved by interviews with the sex buyers and other key parties.

Interpersonal methods of accessing participants involve the direct recruitment of men by a person or agency. Some studies have relied on researchers going on-street and directly approaching sex buyers (Freund *et al.* 1991; Barnard, McKeganey and Leyland 1993), with Leonard (1990) even posing as a sex provider herself in order to attract potential sex buyers. I considered that this raised potential safety issues that I felt were not necessary for this research.

Pitts *et al.* (2004) used a sex industry trade exhibition to recruit potential sex buyers, which introduced a selection bias in that the group of people accessing such a display were more open about their sexual practices and not representative of sex buyers.

A number of studies have relied on sex providers to recruit male sex buyer participants through:

- handing out leaflets to men approaching them (Faugier and Cranfield 1995; Lowman and Atchison 2006; Atchison 2010),
- directly introducing the researcher to the sex buyer (Thomas *et al.* 1990; Kong 2015a), or
- sex buyers referred to researchers by brothel or massage parlour receptionists (Plumridge *et al.* 1997; Xantidis and McCabe 2000).

In some studies, referrals of sex buyers have been made by voluntary or partner agencies supporting sex providers (Lowman and Atchison 2006; Kong 2015a).

When sex providers are used to recruit participants there is a tendency for well-known or regular sex buyers to be over-represented and this methodology is more successful in off-street settings (Thomas *et al.* 1990). Use of brothel or massage parlour reception staff to recruit participants will restrict the group entirely to men purchasing sex off-street. These types of participants tend to be regular visitors rather than 'passing trade' who are less inclined to complete questionnaires (Xantidis and McCabe 2000). This method would not have produced a heterogenous sample of participants for this research and was, therefore, ruled out.

Men attending sexual health clinics have been used in a significant number of studies as participants (Gibbens and Silberman 1960; Barnard, McKeganey and Leyland 1993; Groom and Nandwani 2006; Lowman and Atchison 2006; Macleod *et al.* 2008; Ompad *et al.* 2013; Girchenko *et al.* 2015; Fleming *et al.* 2017). Public health surveys and research are generally focussed on the health issues associated with prostitution, particularly with sexually transmitted diseases. As such, they do not probe particularly deeply into the underlying motivators for purchasing sex and are more concerned with

preventing the transmission of these infectious agents (Ompad *et al.* 2013) and, as such, were discounted as recruitment methods for this study.

Some research projects attempt to overcome the weaknesses and bias in these methods by combining one or more of these approaches to participant recruitment. As an extreme example, Lowman and Atchison (2006) placed advertisements in newspapers, other printed media, men's toilet cubicles, in Internet forums, bars and clubs, and in the STD clinic of a general hospital. Additionally, sex providers distributed leaflets on their behalf, and they set up a counter in a local bookshop. They also examined court files and sex provider reports of 'bad dates'. All of this generated eighty participants. Whilst this may appear on the surface to be a committed approach to recruiting participants, any potential selection bias in the various methods will be masked and it cannot be assumed that they will simply cancel each other out without further analysis.

The police have been utilised as a means of recruiting participants in previous research, either:

- through contact on the streets (Faugier and Cranfield 1995; Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe 2010), or
- as attendees on kerb crawler rehabilitation courses (or John Schools) in places such as Canada (Wortley *et al.* 2002; Kennedy *et al.* 2004) or the UK (Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007; Hamilton 2010).

A cursory glance at the literature would suggest that recruitment through 'john schools' is a very commonly used approach in the USA. However, on closer inspection, it appears that the vast majority all rely on the same data gathered by Martin Monto between 1996 and 1999 in john schools in San Francisco, Portland, Las Vegas and Santa Chiara, and made publicly available (Monto 1999; Busch *et al.* 2002; Preston and Brown-Hart 2005; Tewksbury and Golder 2005; Della Giusta *et al.* 2009; Joseph and Black 2012; Monto and Milrod 2014).

Using the police to generate a participant group raises the question as to whether the group of men caught by the police are representative of all street sex buyers. For example, more experienced sex buyers might be better at avoiding the police than novice sex buyers (Monto 1999). Police operations tend to focus on the more visible elements of prostitution and are over-represented by men purchasing sex on-street (ibid.), which was considered a benefit for this research. Issues with police-facilitated participant groups are further complicated if a kerb crawler rehabilitation course is used to access sex buyers. Most of these courses are generally only offered to English speakers and are often restricted to novice sex buyers, with repeat offenders being excluded (Wortley *et al.* 2002, Della Giusta *et al.* 2009).

Given the qualitative social constructionist approach in this research, together with the stated aims and objectives, I chose to combine police patrol referrals with Change Course attendees as the preferable means of recruiting participants who were likely to describe a range of motivations for their behaviour.

Gatekeeper Co-operation and Access to Participants

Many researchers have documented the unique environment created by 'police culture' and the problems that this can create for researchers either examining the police themselves or using them as gatekeepers for recruiting participants in other studies (Leishman, Loveday and Savage 1996; Weatheritt 1989). Authors have described how long periods of time need to be spent on becoming accepted by police teams to gain their trust to facilitate a meaningful access to participants (Reiner and Newburn 2008). Other researchers have found that they need to establish their 'credentials' with a track record of research with the police (Brown 1996).

Sharpe (1995) used a police team in Hull, UK to assist with recruiting sex buyer participants and successfully secured the co-operation of senior officers. When she came to work with frontline officers, however, she found that the key gatekeeper had apparent prejudices against research and researchers in general. This resulted in refused requests to join patrols and when she did finally manage to join the officers, it was made

clear that this was facilitated only because they felt 'obliged'. Brooks-Gordon (2006) worked with officers in London to recruit sex buyers and found more co-operation, but still an occasional wariness based on previous experiences, often with the press rather than researchers. However, she gained better access than Sharpe and found recruitment a much more successful process. These two examples illustrate that, despite extensive preparation, there can be an element of luck involved in the personalities and experiences of the gatekeepers and this can have a significant impact on participant recruitment.

In approaching this research, I was in a unique position in that, prior to retirement in 2017, I was a police sergeant in Nottinghamshire Police and the team leader of the PTF since its inception in 2004. As such, I was the author of the PTF Standard Operating Procedures (Radford 2015) and was responsible for the training and supervision of the staff performing this role throughout the fieldwork. Having been on both sides of the gatekeeper/researcher relationship, both in assisting in previous studies (Hamilton 2010) and previously using the PTF for research data (Radford 2018), I have a prior relationship with the police, and the PTF in particular, so the issues identified by other researchers were not encountered in this study.

Social Acceptability Bias

It may not be possible to completely remove social acceptability bias from a sample of male sex buyers, particularly when recruited through the police. However, I introduced techniques to minimise this impact.

Social acceptability bias can be introduced when the participant group is facilitated through the police in that men may believe that their responses could affect how they are dealt with by the criminal justice system. Additionally, those men attending rehabilitation courses may respond in a way that they think is required of them in order to satisfactorily complete the course (Wortley *et al.* 2002, Lowman and Atchison 2006), although, as Monto (1999) states, this can have the reverse effect, where men are in self-denial prior to police contact or the course, and are encouraged to acknowledge

their behaviour afterwards, thereby providing truer responses. I provided participant information that stressed the independence and transparency of the research from the police and the Change Course, with interviews taking place away from the police station on occasions.

It is well documented that when participants are asked questions about sensitive issues such as sexual beliefs and behaviour, some will introduce a bias in that they will offer answers that they believe are socially acceptable (Krumpal 2013). This is thought to be less of an issue with on-line surveys and other methodologies that guarantee anonymity for participants (Fisher 1993). When interviewing a participant, indirect questions can reduce social acceptability bias when compared to more direct questions (Atchison 2010). I designed the interview schedules in this study to allow an open conversation where interviewees could gain confidence in talking about sensitive issues and ensured anonymity in all cases, with the only proviso being that disclosure of incidents involving threat, risk or harm to any other person would be regarded as a safeguarding issue and would be passed to the police. The interview schedule design and testing are discussed further below.

Field Work

Data Gathering

I gave consideration as to how data would be obtained based on the aims and objectives of this research. To gain a qualitative, in-depth understanding of sex buyer's motivations for engaging in prostitution within a case study approach, I considered a number of methods and research instruments.

Around two thirds of the previous studies on sex buyers examined used a structured questionnaire to gather information from participants, either:

- computer assisted (Atchison 2010; Huschke and Schubotz 2016; Ompad *et al.* 2013),

- in person (Barnard, McKeganey and Leyland 1993; Busch *et al.* 2002; Faugier and Cranfield 1995; Freund *et al.* 1991; Girchenko *et al.* 2015; Groom and Nandwani 2006; Joseph and Black 2012; Kennedy *et al.* 2004; Leonard 1990; Lowman and Atchison 2006; Macleod *et al.* 2008; Milrod and Monto 2017; Monto 1999; Pitts *et al.* 2004; Preston and Brown-Hart 2005; Schei and Stigum 2010; Tewksbury and Golder 2005; Thomas *et al.* 1990; Xantidis and McCabe 2000; Wortley *et al.* 2002), or
- by telephone (Meneses and Uroz 2018).

Use of a structured questionnaire is undoubtedly the most convenient and quickly administered research instrument as these are often completed at home and posted back to the researchers or completed online. However, there is a recognition that this form of research data lacks any depth of understanding being obtained or opportunity to expand upon and clarify any information provided (Palys and Atchison 2008). The rigid structure of these instruments can lead to a 'static or over-simplified image of a social world' (Atchison 2010, p9) and do not provide the participant with opportunities to explain or expand upon their answers. If the epistemological approach is based around a quantitative analysis, then this form of research instrument is ideal as it yields data that can be easily categorised and compared. For a qualitative study such as this one, however, structured interviews or questionnaires were not suitable as they fail to provide the required depth of answers.

Several studies used a semi-structured interview approach with participants, either:

- face-to-face (Atchison 2010; Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007, Farley *et al.* 2017; Gibbens and Silberman 1960; Fleming *et al.* 2017; Huschke and Schubotz 2016; Kong 2015a; Macleod *et al.* 2008; Plumridge *et al.* 1997),
- by telephone (Atchison 2010; Barnard, McKeganey and Leyland 1993; Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007), or
- online (Atchison 2010).

This approach allows interviewees to answer in a more discursive manner whilst maintaining a degree of control for the interviewer to ensure pre-determined topic

areas are covered (Crowther-Dowey and Fossey 2013) and was an ideal approach for this study. To facilitate this process, I designed interview schedules to cover a variety of potential interviewees: sex buyer, sex provider, support worker, police officer or other relevant parties as discussed below. These schedules were designed to include relevant topic areas with prompts to ensure that key areas were discussed and some specific points to cover if they did not arise during the general discussions. I intended these to address the dual purpose of a semi-structured interview in allowing a free-flowing conversation whilst also ensuring that all relevant points were covered (Wilkinson and Birmingham 2003).

I chose face to face interviews for this research as this allowed probing the participant's narratives to assess consistency and depth, however, telephone interviews were used as an alternative where it was not practical to meet in person. This became necessary with interviews conducted once the COVID-19 lockdown measures were imposed.

During the research I gathered data from observations. Two primary settings were chosen based on ease of access, ethical considerations, and the value of the data gained. These settings were the Change Course kerb crawler rehabilitation programme and the Magistrates Court. Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe (2010) joined police officers on patrol to observe sex buyers on the streets and utilised field notes gathered by the officers as part of the evidence gathering process to inform their research. Beyond this study, observation does not appear to have been utilised in previous research, despite some obvious opportunities such as Leonard (1990), who recruited participants by standing on the street and posing as a sex provider. I joined Police officers on patrol in this study as a means of understanding their interaction with the area and the people involved. The results of this are expanded upon in Part Two of this thesis. It was not practical or realistic to expect to witness the on-street interaction with all potential participants without a significantly longer and more intensive period of field work.

Hamilton (2010) conducted observations of the Change Course, which were followed up with some individual interviews, but most of the studies of similar courses tended to use structured questionnaires before and/or after the input followed by a quantitative statistical analysis of the data generated. Kong (2015a) conducted two focus groups with

sex buyers to gather data. Whilst an observation of a Change Course is not a focus group, it did offer me an opportunity to see how a participant interacted with other sex buyers and how they responded when confronted or challenged by facilitators. This was recorded on an observation log (see Appendix Five) and was used to inform the case studies and findings in Chapters Six to Ten.

A further observation was carried out in a Magistrates Court when one participant appeared on summons for matters related to the incidents where he was caught sex buying. This was a formal setting and did not provide me a lot of opportunity to observe the participant as he was largely passive in the proceedings.

Neither of these situations allowed me any control of the activities and the data was the result of observation only. I created a standardised template for field notes of these observations, as discussed below. At the request of the Change Course facilitators, no written notes were taken during the sessions. As such, I drafted these during the breaks mid-morning, lunch time and mid-afternoon. I recorded the field notes in court contemporaneously. I transcribed all field notes after the observations were concluded to produce a format that was suitable for analysis by computer.

In line with the guidance offered by Kawulich (2005), the observation process was broken down into three components:

- Descriptive observation – a general view of the setting, the people present and the participant’s interaction with these.
- Focussed observation – concerning insights into the participant through his comments and activities.
- Selective observation – a focus on different types of activities and the participant’s involvement to delineate any differences or inconsistencies.

Project Redesign due to the COVID-19 Pandemic and Lockdowns

I consider myself fortunate that I had completed all the interviews and observations required for the case studies prior to the first national lockdown due to COVID-19 at the

end of March 2020. Unfortunately, I had yet to start the second phase of interviews for the triangulation process. In response to this I redesigned the interview methodology to include telephone interviews. Copies of the participant information and the informed consent forms were emailed to the interviewees prior to the interview. The telephone interviews were recorded with the interviewee's agreement. The informed consent form was read out during this recording and the interviewee asked to agree to each clause verbally. I conducted all sex provider support worker interviews in this manner and most of the police interviews. Having discussed this approach with some of the support workers, we agreed that this would not be a suitable approach for the sex provider interviews required for this second phase. This was partly due to difficulties in contacting them and obtaining suitable phone numbers. In addition to this, we felt that it would not be possible to confirm that the women fully understood what consent entailed as I had no address or email to send copies of the forms to and some of the women may not understand a verbal explanation. I had a small window between the first and second national lockdowns in the summer of 2020 when I was able to join the police on patrol once more. I used this period to contact sex providers on the street so that I could provide printed copies of the informed consent and participant information forms, as well as providing an explanation in person. This led to eight such interviews being conducted before the second national lockdown. I was satisfied that I had gathered adequate data from all participant groups and it would not be necessary to conduct any further field work.

Data Collection Tools

To facilitate the process of data collection, I designed bespoke interview schedules for potential interviewees including sex buyers, sex providers, police officers, sex provider support workers or other relevant parties, respectively.

I developed these schedules using the Interview Protocol Refinement (IPR) framework developed by Castillo-Montoya (2016). This framework proposes a four-phase process as follows:

1. ensuring interview questions align with, and are informed by, the research questions and the informed literature,
2. constructing an inquiry-based conversation,
3. receiving feedback on interview protocols, and
4. piloting the interview protocol.

The starting process of developing the interview schedules for this study was to develop the research questions into topic areas and then to outline key questions under each topic designed to address the research questions in more depth. I reviewed these together with my supervisors and with police officers with experience in interviewing the relevant groups to ensure that a conversational style was maintained throughout. This required a large degree of flexibility in the ordering of the topics and questions as well as keeping the questions open, ensuring that the interviewee both understood the question or topic as well as allowing them the freedom to express their views and opinions.

The schedules were expert reviewed by police officers and staff with experience in interviewing sex buyers, as well as the supervisory team and the university ethics committee. The result of this process revealed that the schedules were overly long and too prescriptive for the semi-structured approach desired. As a result, I refined the schedules with broader topics and less direct questions allowing for an improved conversational style.

It was not possible for me to pilot test the interview schedules prior to the field work due to the small sample size and the difficulty in recruiting participants. As such, the interviews were arranged with sufficient periods in-between to allow me to review and nuance the schedules after each interview to ensure that they were fit-for-purpose.

As part of the case studies, I carried out observations of police patrols, change courses and Magistrate's Court appearances. These observations were recorded on an observation log template, which was designed under the guidance on observational techniques offered by Kawulich (2005) and tested by the same process as above

(Castillo-Montoya 2016). No amendments were required to the log template following the expert review and these were also reviewed after each observation session.

A copy of the schedules and observation log template are included in Appendices Four and Five.

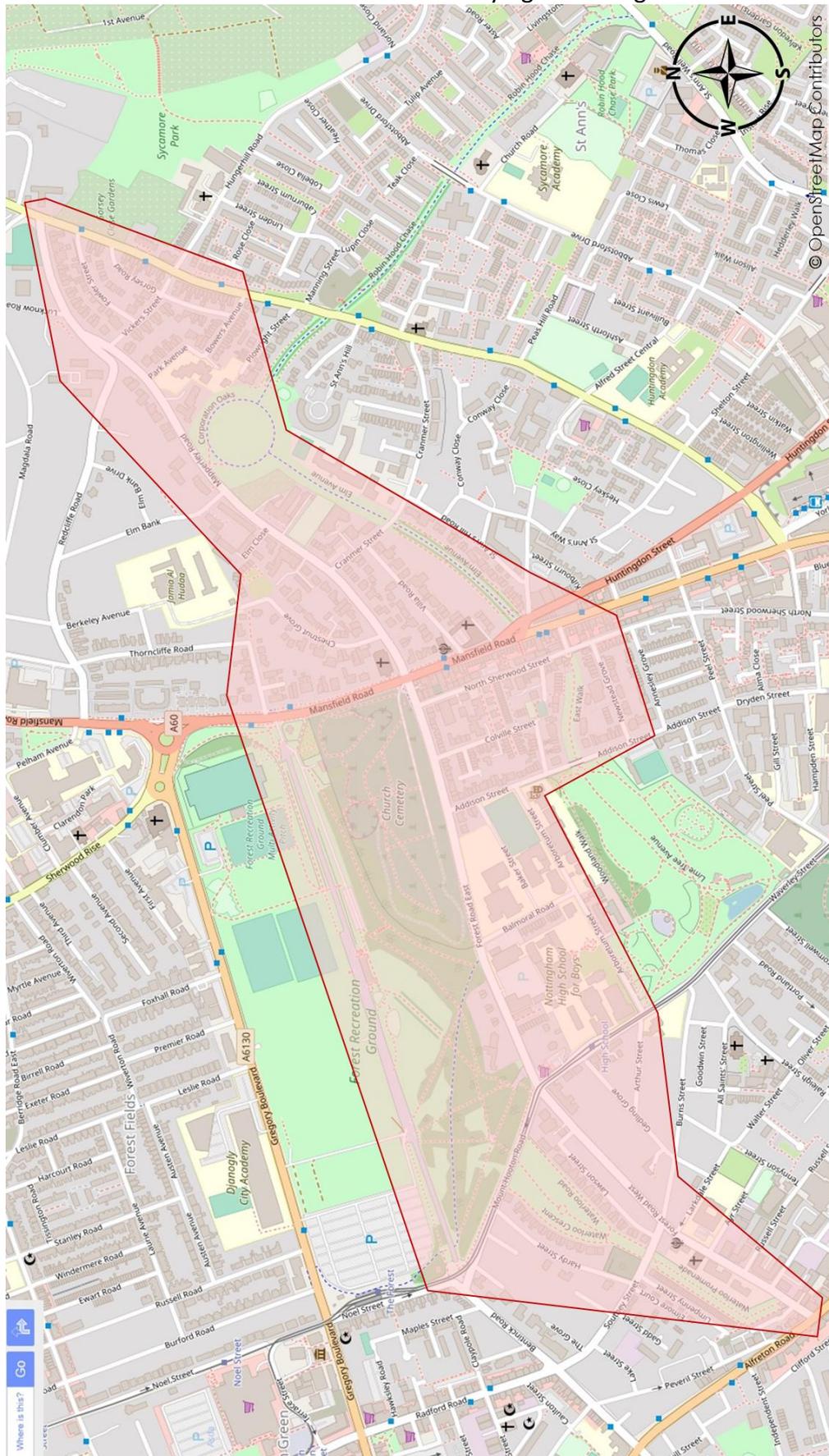
Carrying Out Observations in the Area Affected by On-Street Prostitution in Nottingham

During six observation sessions of the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) on patrol, I noted the following key geographical factors of the area.

The on-street adult female prostitution area in Nottingham is very diverse ranging from poor quality terraced housing to expensive luxury homes and included exclusive schools close to supported accommodation. The Forest Recreation Ground and the grounds of a private school are favoured locations for sex buyers on foot and sex providers to engage in a sexual act as both are dark at night and away from public view. Sex buyers in cars may leave the area with a sex provider, but many park their vehicles in nearby side-streets to engage in prostitution. Over recent years, as the numbers of sex providers on the streets has declined, the main area for prostitution has tended to focus on Forest Road East, with the park and school close by for ease of access (Observation Log 001, 2019).

A map of the affected area is shown below in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: The Geographical Area Affected by On-Street Heterosexual Adult Male Sex Buying in Nottingham



I joined the PTF on patrol with the following aims:

1. gaining an understanding of the area and how the geography affected on-street prostitution,
2. gaining a first-hand understanding of how the PTF approached policing the area and on-street prostitution,
3. to consider the impact that the police presence and approach has on on-street prostitution in the city, and
4. to assist with access to sex providers for interviews.

The first of these aims informed the description in Chapter Four and the last of these assisted with the case studies and analysis presented in later chapters. Aims 2 and 3 are discussed below.

What was immediately apparent to me was that the officers had a thorough knowledge of the geographical area and the physical presence of prostitution on the streets (Observation Logs 001, 002, 004, 008 and 009). The officers were confident that they knew when and where prostitution would be taking place, including both the locations where women loitered and where sexual acts took place. The approach of the team was to engage with women providing sex with a focus on support and safeguarding. I did not observe any enforcement activity against the women providing sex. Most of the women were comfortable speaking to me, although all of them were reluctant to be audio recorded. Despite their willingness to cooperate, very few of the women wanted to spend much time being interviewed. Their priorities were on finding paying sex buyers. As such, most of the on-street contact with sex providers consisted of very quick conversations that were not recorded at the time, with notes written up immediately after the contact. Informed Consent forms were signed in each case.

The effect of the PTF engaging with the women first had the positive effect of addressing safeguarding and also meant that the women were aware of the police presence in the area. A few of the women left the area or actively tried to avoid the police, but on the whole, most of the women were unconcerned with their presence and some even

appeared reassured by it. There did not appear to be much fear of enforcement action being taken against them.

My presence as a researcher did not appear to concern the women. However, my previous occupation and being known to many of the women did aid initial engagement. It was noticeable that of ten women approached for the second phase of interviews, eight of them were known to me through my work as a police officer. All eight of these agreed to participate, but the women unknown to me did not. Given the very brief time available to form a rapport and to engage with the women, my prior contact with the women was a huge asset. Having considered this, I had to take some time to explain my current role and to gain genuine informed consent. These women appeared interested in the research and offered invaluable insights. A potential downside to this is that it was more likely to be women who had been providing sex on the streets for a longer period that were better known to me and that any new women recently engaging in prostitution would not know me.

Several men were stopped and spoken to in situations where it was suspected that they were soliciting for prostitution during these observation patrols. None of the participants for the case studies were amongst these men. The approach of the PTF was to observe the women loitering and to wait for men to engage with them. Some men were seen driving repeatedly around the area or walking aimlessly, suggesting to the officers that they were in the area specifically for prostitution reasons, but these men were not spoken to at the time. This methodology appeared to reduce selection bias of sex buyers through police contact.

Given that the PTF has been in existence for sixteen years and have carried out regular and sustained patrols of the area, it appeared to me that they were a part of the representation of prostitution in the area. I had little doubt that the presence of these officers had a significant impact on street prostitution over many years. However, rather than being something from the outside that was imposed upon it, the PTF was internal to the phenomenon and had become part of the overall representation of street prostitution in the city.

The Change Course

All nine of the male sex buyer participants were observed taking part in the Change Course at Nottinghamshire Police's Central Police Station (Observation Logs 003, 006 and 007).

The sessions took place in a training room on a Saturday morning. There were no reception staff on duty and all access doors to the building were locked. As such, attendees had to loiter outside on the pavement until such time as an officer let them in, which could be for up to half an hour. Once inside the building, many doors were locked and only accessible with a police key card. All attendees were warned that this was an operational police station, and they should not wander around on their own. They had to be escorted anywhere outside of the two rooms used for the course.

The room itself was reasonably large, air conditioned and well appointed, having more of a feel of a training room than a police station. A ceiling mounted projector and whiteboard were used to display a PowerPoint slide show. Tea and coffee were available for breaks and sandwiches for lunch. In this way, none of the attendees were permitted to leave the building during the day with cigarette breaks taken under supervision.

All of this was potentially very intimidating, and this was reflected in the initial lack of interaction and self-conscious attitude of most of the men in the early parts of the session. A significant hurdle for the facilitator at the start of the course was to relax the men sufficiently to get them to open up and engage with the material. As the day progressed the participants became more comfortable and prepared to share personal and intimate views and experiences. It was my view that by the end of the day, the men were sharing genuine thoughts that matched the narratives provided in the interviews conducted later.

At the request of the facilitators, I was not permitted to take notes during the course sessions as this may have made some men reticent or nervous. As such, all observation notes were compiled during breaks at the end of the four individual sessions.

The course was divided into four broad areas divided equally over the day. These were:

1. *Education* – a PowerPoint led discussion concerning facts and figures surrounding street prostitution in the UK and internationally, intended to challenge any misconceptions and to set the scene for the rest of the day.
2. *Offending cycles* – a flipchart exercise examining the thought-processes that each man went through to create an opportunity to pay for sex and subsequently to develop a narrative that maintained a cycle of sex buying.
3. *Consequences* – a roleplay exercise where each man was asked to examine their sex buying through the perspective of their closest adult female relative, usually either a partner, mother, or sister. Through this roleplay they were asked to consider the consequences of their sex buying on family, work, and social groups as well as on themselves.
4. *Planning for a positive future* – to avoid some of the negative consequences that arose in American John Schools due to the shaming and guilt associated with the approach taken (Caren 2010), the Change Course ended with goal setting, attempting to facilitate a positive future that did not include sex buying.

Most of the participants received a police caution at the end of the course, thereby creating a criminal record.

I was introduced to the participants at the beginning of the course. The nature of the research and my past employment as a police officer were disclosed. None of the men objected to my presence and this did not appear to inhibit the interaction at all. The facilitators reported that they did not perceive any impact due to my presence during the sessions. Several of the participants approached me during the breaks in an attempt to 'befriend' and generally saw me as 'one of them' rather than being associated with the course facilitators or the police. This was beneficial when it came to recruiting participants and to them engaging more openly in interview.

The Change Course was predicated on an assumption that paying for sex is 'wrong' and, as the name suggests, that the men's behaviour had to be corrected or rehabilitated in some way. Any belief on the participant's part that prostitution should be legalised or

that it may be facilitated within society in any way was challenged and denied. A number of the men on the course were foreign nationals who have lived and learned in their home countries where the prostitution policy may be different to that in the UK. Given the deep-seated learning through their developing years, this absolute approach may have created internal conflicts for some of the men. Hamilton (2010) noted that the one-size-fits-all approach of the Change Course may have varying impacts on men from different cultures.

I considered that some of the facts presented during the course, particularly during the first session, may not have been entirely correct. It was my opinion that the majority of the statistics were at the top end of the normal range, but these were presented as the average. For example, discussion of a fifteen-year-old girl soliciting on the streets for 20 hours a day, or 99% of women providing sex having Class A drug addictions, were either old statistics or extreme outliers in a range. The problem with this approach is that if the men subsequently discovered that this is the case, they may doubt some of the other information provided. For example, one of the participants in this research (Frank 2019, sex buyer) appeared to be better informed than the other men on his course and he expressed doubt over the validity of the statistics. It appeared to me that this affected his level of engagement in this session. These inaccuracies or exaggerations have been identified in previous research (Hamilton 2010).

Considering the above discussion, it appeared to me that the Change Course shaped the way the participants viewed prostitution and the way they saw the women providing sex. Considering that thousands of men have attended this course in the UK, the impact of this is significant. In this way, the course contributes to the social construction of prostitution.

Triangulation

A second phase of the field work focussed on broader topics around understanding sex buyers and their motivations through interviews with police staff, sex providers and support agencies, as well as an examination of local policy and procedural documents

regarding sex buyers and prostitution. This allowed for a more general comparison of research findings, theory, and policy in practice. The results of this second phase are presented in Chapter Nine.

Carter (2014, p545) defines triangulation as ‘the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena.’ Patton (1999, p1192) notes that the term derives from land surveying where knowledge of two or more bearings are required to fix a position and in relation to qualitative research illustrates that ‘no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival explanations.’

Patton (1999) defines four types of triangulation:

- *Method triangulation* – using multiple methods of data collection about the same phenomenon,
- *Investigator triangulation* – use of two or more researchers to collect and analyse data,
- *Theory triangulation* – use of different theories to analyse and interpret data, and
- *Data source triangulation* – collection of data from different types of people or sources.

Patton (1999) and Carter (2014) argue that use of one or more of these forms of triangulation can improve the credibility and validity of qualitative research.

Triangulation in social sciences is not without its critics. Sim and Sharp (1998) argue that the very nature of qualitative research may render triangulation unnecessary if the research question is framed in specific terms. However, Yin (2018, p127) states that one of the purposes of case studies is to provide ‘converging lines of enquiry’ and that findings or conclusions derived from these are ‘likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information’ (ibid., p128). As such, Yin advocates the use of triangulation in case studies. Stake (2006, p77) makes a similar argument and goes further when considering a multi-case study design to state that if

the method is thorough, then as a matter of course, ‘triangulation occurs along the way.’ Given this argument, I built triangulation into my methodological design.

One key criticism lies with triangulating data across mixed methods, especially those involving both qualitative and quantitative approaches, in that these methods are designed to provide very different types of results and any attempt to relate them to each other may be artificial (Hammersley 2008). To avoid this complication, I kept the various research methods closely aligned, and all qualitative, to allow for direct comparison. This primarily involved semi-structured interviews with multiple parties to a case study, or direct observations involving the same participants.

Perhaps the most significant criticism is that the concept of triangulation is often poorly defined regarding the research being undertaken (Erzeberger and Kelle 2003). Hammersley (2008) defines three ‘meanings’ of the term triangulation that have evolved through social research and literature as follows:

- *Triangulation as validity-checking* – checking interpretation based on a single source of data by recourse to at least one further source that is of a strategically different type (Hammersley 2008).
- *Indefinite triangulation* – collecting accounts of the same event from several people with a view to documenting how these accounts were assembled from different perspectives (Cicourel 1974).
- *Triangulation as seeking complementary information* – investigating an aspect of social reality from two or more different viewpoints (Erzeberger and Kelle 2003).

To address these in this research, I regarded the triangulation process as encompassing elements of all three of these, but the primary purpose was to seek complementary information from the viewpoints of sex buyers, sex providers, sex provider support workers and police staff. This offered a more complete picture of the phenomenon of paying for sex on the streets, but also allowed for gaps in knowledge and procedure within these groups to be identified. I collected data in this research by interviews, observations, and background research for the individual case studies. In addition, I

conducted interviews with sex buyers, sex providers and police staff to correlate and compare narratives. This allowed for both method and data source triangulation.

Ethical Considerations

This research involved the collection of primary data from individuals, organisations and agencies that was not previously in the public domain. As such, there were ethical considerations that informed the planning and field stages of the research. These interviews took place under the supervision of, and with the support of, Nottinghamshire Police. As such, I obtained a current Data and Barring Service (DBS) clearance through Nottingham Trent University's Doctoral School in November 2018.

The Social Research Association code of ethics (SRA 2003) and the British Society of Criminology's statement of ethics (BSC 2015) outline the principals and desirability of maintaining the confidentiality of personal data and participants. I made this a key consideration in planning and managing this study. To protect the identities of participants, pseudonyms were used for all subjects, documents, and recordings, together with anonymisation of any other aspects that could uniquely identify them. The only exceptions to this were the Informed Consent forms. The SRA (2003, p30) guidance states that the use of real names on informed consent forms 'may also compromise principles of confidentiality and anonymity.' Despite this, I felt that the use of a genuine signature on this form was the best way to maintain transparency with the consent procedure. A copy of a blank Informed Consent form is included in Appendix Two. Secure storage of these forms is discussed below.

The nature of this research was such that there was a possibility of a participant disclosing information relating to serious criminal offences or situations where another person may have been at risk or threat of harm. Despite the provisional anonymity offered, I informed all participants that if they disclosed any information of this nature, then this would be passed onto the police as a safeguarding issue and potentially a criminal offence. No such disclosure was made during the field work, possibly due to the clear explanation issued prior to all interviews. I did not disclose any discussion of

potential offences relating solely to the purchase of sex, in the absence of risk, threat or harm to any person, to the police as this would have presented an unassailable barrier to data gathering.

I provided each participant with a Participant Information sheet, which was explained and discussed. These included details of how to withdraw from the project up to a period of one month following the interview. This period was set as a reasonable time for the participant to reflect upon their participation, but any extended or indeterminate period would potentially compromise any data analysis and conclusions. A copy of this form is included in Appendix One. None of the participants requested that their data be removed from the study, either within or outside of this one-month period.

Previous research (Radford 2018) has shown that immigration is a significant factor in paying for sex in the street prostitution market in Nottingham. Many of these men have limited or no understanding of English. I put plans in place to facilitate interviewing non-English speaking participants utilising the services of a police accredited interpreter in the relevant language. As above, all materials, such as Participant Information and Informed Consent were available for me to read and explain and translated into the participant's first language by the interpreter as part of the audio recorded interview. In these circumstances, oral consent for participation was to be given and recorded prior to the interview. During the period of the field work, the police encountered a few men who did not speak English. All were approached with a view to participating and all declined. This appeared to be largely due to a mistrust of the research and of the police. It appears from this research that for non-English speaking foreign nationals, recruitment through the police does not appear to be an effective approach. As such, the use of interpreters was not required.

I did not interview sex buyers whilst in the formal custody of the police. However, some were interviewed at the police station as voluntary attendees. In addition to the police procedures for explaining voluntary attendance, I explained their participation in this research as being separate to the police requirements and entirely voluntary, as was their right to withdraw from the research. Despite this, I had concerns that participants would feel 'obliged' to participate or that I was in some way associated with any police

investigation. This was compounded by a disclosure of my previous employment as a police officer. I felt that being open about this at the beginning of the process was the best approach as any later discovery of this fact may have led to deeper mistrust. I spent some time explaining the differentiation and providing reassurance, although it is not possible to fully assess the impact that interviewing in a police station may have had on the participants without follow-up research.

Other interviews took place at locations away from the police station, including a public café and the participant's home address, both at the participants' request. Interviewing in a public place raises issues of confidentiality and privacy (Herzog 2012), but a quiet period and the use of contemporaneous written notes, rather than an audio recording, went some way to mitigate this.

Nottinghamshire Police offer the rehabilitation programme for men purchasing sex known as the Change Course and through this have a signposting mechanism for men who require counselling or support in dealing with any issues arising from their use of prostitution or contact with the police (Caren 2010). This service was made available for all sex buyers interviewed as part of this study. POW (a support agency specifically focussed on sex providers) offer a comprehensive support package for women involved in prostitution and this was offered to any women not currently accessing their services (POW Nottingham 2019).

I decided not to offer any financial payment or other incentive to any participants or interviewees to take part in this research. Thompson (1996) points out that payments can improve participation, particularly in structured surveys and with groups lacking power in society. Wilkinson and Moore (1999) argue in favour of a 'freedom of contract', offering guidance to ethics committees in managing financial payments to participants. Conversely, Head (2009) argues that offering incentives raises issues with establishing true consent to participate, whereas Fry *et al.* (2006) raise a concern if financial incentives are offered to drug dependent participants, which would include many sex providers interviewed as part of this case study approach, which is not necessarily mitigated by use of vouchers as these can be sold or exchanged for items such as drugs (*ibid.*). As McKeganey (2001, p1237) states: 'In most cases the money will be spent on

the drugs to which the individual is addicted.’ Having considered these arguments, I decided not to offer incentives and relied on participants agreeing to take part after a thorough explanation of the research and their rights.

In addition to protecting individuals, organisations, and agencies, I also examined the ethical considerations regarding the protection of data gathered and stored as part of this research. This is discussed in more detail below under Data Management and Analysis.

Project approval was obtained from Nottingham Trent University’s College of Business, Law and Social Sciences (BLSS) Research Degrees Committee and ethical approval was obtained from Nottingham Trent University’s College of BLSS Research Ethics Committee based upon the Social Research Association code of ethics (SRA 2003) prior to any field work or gathering of research data.

Interviewing Participants

The question of who should carry out the interviews is an important consideration for any research study as the main researcher may not necessarily be the best placed person to do this. This is particularly the case when interviewing both men and women about potentially sensitive issues such as their sexual activities. As a male researcher, I carried out all interviews with the male sex buyers. After consideration, as detailed below, I also carried out all other interviews, including with female sex providers.

Plumridge *et al.* (1997) trained sex providers in interview skills and used this group of women to carry out semi-structured interviews with sex buyers. Their reasoning for this was that the women had personal knowledge and an in-depth understanding of the circumstances surrounding the purchase of sex and would be better positioned to achieve a good response rate. However, once the participant was told that the interviewer was a sex provider, the men initially tended to shape their responses towards the women and often ‘sought the interviewer’s approval for their views and asked questions of her as an expert’ (*ibid.*, p169).

Farley *et al.* (2011, 2015, 2017) also used female researchers to speak to male sex buyers. The interviewers later reported inappropriate comments such as asking them out to dinner or 'do these questions turn you on?' (2011, p12). When describing the sex providers, some men would make comparisons with the interviewer and would also pose questions back to her concerning her sexual preferences or propositioning her for sex. This type of response occurred in around 10% of the interviews conducted. The men were objectifying the interviewers with their responses that were bordering on sexual harassment. It is questionable how much of the interview responses were genuine or how many were designed to provoke a reaction rendering the data difficult to interpret and of limited use for understanding their motivations for purchasing sex. Macleod *et al.* (2008) reported concerns expressed by female interviewers to the point of being 'fearful about the possibility of being stalked by interviewees' (*ibid.*, p7).

This form of Participatory Action Research allows studies to be carried out 'with' rather than 'for' key parties (McIntyre 2007), but as Crotty (1998) argues, accounts generated by this method can be biased towards inherited tradition or prevailing culture.

It is apparent from these studies that using female interviewers is counter-productive in terms of probing men's motivations for accessing prostitution, particularly if this is based on hegemonic masculinity or objectification of women as this appears to become transferred to the interviewer, skewing the responses. No such problems appear to have been encountered in studies utilising male interviewers to interview male sex buyers.

Given these considerations, I decided that, for the purposes of this research, I was well placed to conduct interviews with male sex buyers.

As part of the case study approach, this research also gathered data from female sex providers by means of semi-structured interviews. This potentially raises the reverse issue with a male interviewer speaking to female sex providers (O'Connell Davidson and Layder 1994). However, Hamilton (2010, p106) found that this did not appear to be an issue, stating that sex providers were 'more than happy to talk to me as a male researcher disparagingly, unflinchingly and often brutally about punters and their sexual and social imperfections,' although this cannot be completely discounted.

I have experience through both being a police officer and a trustee at a charity designed to support women providing sex (POW Nottingham). These roles have allowed a rapport to be established with female sex providers on the streets over many years. Given Hamilton's assertions, I also conducted the semi-structured interviews with female sex providers, with a female chaperone being present in every interview. Given that these interviews were intended to gather data on the sex buyer, rather than probing too deeply into the lives of the women, this proved to be a suitable and problem-free approach. A similar pattern was found in this study as that reported by Hamilton, with sex providers having no reticence or issue with speaking to a male researcher.

On a personal level, I was forced to acknowledge that thirty years of interviewing suspected offenders as a police officer presented some issues. Whilst this gave me a level of comfort and expertise in this style of questioning, the focus here had to be less about gathering evidence of 'points to prove' to a standard required by criminal courts, and more about allowing the interviewees a degree of freedom to introduce areas of interest or concern to them to allow a more conversational style than the potentially challenging nature of a police interview. In the interest of transparency, my prior employment and experience were disclosed in advance to all participants. All the male sex buyers appeared comfortable with this and it seemed to remove any embarrassment or self-conscious responses. A few of the sex buyers went as far as seeking my advice regarding police or Change Course processes and the law in general, which provided some reassurance that they saw me as separate from these organisations.

It must be acknowledged, however, that some participants may have associated me with any police investigation or may have tried to offer answers that they believed would improve their situation. It is impossible to assess if this was mitigated altogether but most of the men relaxed during the interviews and responses were largely assessed as genuine.

Elwood and Martin (2000) discuss the importance and influence of the location that an interview is conducted within. One consideration is that interviewees can adopt different identities dependent on the situation. For example, a person may feel more relaxed and open in their own home, but more guarded and reluctant to answer in their

place of work. A further important consideration is the balance of power between interviewer and interviewee. Ideally, a location should balance this equally between the two, but the reality is that it will generally tip towards one or the other and this will impact upon the quality of the interview. It is hard to imagine a more intimidating location for an interview than a police station where even the offices and interview rooms are behind locked doors. Unfortunately, given the recruitment strategy employed in this study with participant access facilitated through the police, the initial introductions were made at the police station. I offered all participants the opportunity to meet later in a neutral location, but several of them wanted to proceed with the interview at the time with a reluctance to meet again later.

I conducted the interviews with sex providers either on the street or at the premises of a support agency, in the presence of a female support worker or PCSO, to ensure that they were comfortable with speaking to me and fully appreciated their right to terminate the interview at any stage.

Having considered the ethical implications of this research, I then considered how to manage, store, and analyse the data gathered.

Data Management

Data Management Plan

I prepared a comprehensive Data Management Plan at the outset of the planning stage of this research, and this was reviewed throughout the data gathering and analysis. A copy of the latest version of this plan is included in Appendix Six.

Where consent was agreed, I recorded participant interviews on a PIN protected digital recording device, which I later transcribed into text for analysis. Where consent was given for an interview, but not for audio recording, I captured the interview by contemporaneously written notes which were later transcribed into an accessible form for analysis.

Any hard copy documentation such as observation notes were converted to digital records as soon as practicable and stored as above. The original hard copy was destroyed in accordance with the NTU Confidential Waste Procedure.

I regarded all data gathered in this study as being sensitive and, as such, this was stored on the secure NTU Data Store with restricted access. All data was anonymised or pseudonymised to work with and to report on the results of analysis. To facilitate the requirements allowing a participant to withdraw from the study and to comply with GDPR data access requirements, it was necessary to maintain a master key of pseudonyms and true identities which was also stored on the NTU Data Store with access restricted to myself only.

Nottingham Trent University (NTU) has policies that relate to the storage and management of research data, all of which were adhered to throughout this research. Copies of the latest versions of these policies are available on the university's web site:

- The NTU Research Data Management Policy
- Data Security: Portable Devices and Media Policy
- Information Classification Policy
- NTU Records Retention Policy
- NTU Research Ethics Policy
- NTU Confidential Waste Procedure

Data Analysis

Qualitative Data Analysis

I analysed the data in this research using the process of *reflexive thematic analysis* (Braun and Clarke 2012) to provide consistency and ease of comparison. This supported within case and between cases analyses to achieve a depth of understanding.

The majority of previous studies into sex buyers and their behaviours have been quantitative in nature, producing results that are largely statistical with the aid of

computer programmes such as SPSS (Coy, Horvath and Kelly 2007, Meneses and Uroz 2018, Milrod and Monto 2017) or SYSTAT (Freund *et al.* 1991) to perform calculations. Some studies have produced little more than variable means and frequencies of socio-demographic data and standard behavioural questions (Girchenko *et al.* 2015, Groom and Nandwani 2006), whilst others have relied upon specific statistical analyses such as t-tests (Kennedy *et al.* 2004), chi square tests (Xantidis and McCabe 2000) or multivariable logistic correlation models (Ompad *et al.* 2013). The nature of these methodological approaches is not expanded upon here, other than to observe that, whilst these are valuable research studies providing insights into sex buying, they were not suitable for a qualitative multi-case study approach as taken here as the results were narrative based and could not be broken down into numerical values for a statistical analysis. Additionally, within this research, I was not necessarily concerned with how many men behaved in a certain way or how statistically relevant the results were, but more so with why they did this, which requires a much deeper understanding than can be produced by statistics.

Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe (2010) took a qualitative approach to researching sex buyers. Whilst their methodology was not a case study approach, they did obtain data from more than one source and their method is the closest to the one used in this research from the various previous studies of sex buyers. They used different methods to analyse their field notes of observations and their interview transcriptions with sex buyers. Their field notes were coded using *grounded theory* (Glaser and Strauss 2012), whilst the interviews were analysed using *discourse analysis* (Gee 2011).

Grounded theory is a method whereby theory is generated from data based on comparative analysis. This method does not require prior assumptions or hypotheses and Glaser and Strauss (2012) suggest that any theory developed using this approach is 'likely to be a better theory to the degree that it has been inductively developed from social research,' (p5). In simple terms, grounded theory requires the identification of common themes or patterns in narrative data, which are appropriately coded to enable analysis leading to the development of theory.

Gee (2011) describes discourse analysis as ‘the study of language-in-use,’ (p8). Two common approaches to this method include examining the content and context of the language used, be it written or spoken, to look for common themes or issues, or to examine the structure of the language (i.e., grammar). It is the former of these approaches that Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe (2010) used to analyse interview notes with sex buyers.

When considering analysing the data for this research and the number of different data sources involved, I considered it impractical to use different methods for different data items. Additionally, whilst I had developed a series of themes from the literature review, I wanted a degree of flexibility to develop or adapt these throughout the analysis process. Both grounded theory and discourse analysis offered some benefits, but neither were particularly suited to the multi-case study approach taken here.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Joffe (2011) credits the origins of thematic analysis to the work of Horton on ‘themata’ in the early 1970s (Horton 1973), but as Braun *et al.* (2019) point out, the term has been around for much longer and used by musicologists in the 1930s, sociologists in the 1940s and psychologists in the 1950s. What is apparent, however, is that whilst thematic analysis became widely used by the end of the twentieth century, it was ‘a poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged, yet widely used qualitative analytic method,’ (Braun and Clarke 2006, p77).

Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012, 2014, 2019) set out to properly define and describe thematic analysis to provide consistency and validity to the methodology. In this research, I utilised their approach towards data analysis as described below.

Braun and Clarke (2006, p79) describe thematic analysis as ‘a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.’ They further argue that the methodology allows a researcher to ‘see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences,’ (2012, p57). Within the context of this research, this

provided me with an opportunity to develop themes around the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One to assess the validity and appropriateness of this model.

Braun *et al.* (2019, p6) identify three different approaches to thematic analysis:

- *Coding reliability* – a method characterised by an emphasis on ‘reliability and replicability’ more akin to a scientific method commonly seen in quantitative research. This method is generally used where survey questionnaires are used to gather responses, which does not allow for probing or clarifying answers.
- *Codebook* – a codebook is a predetermined set of codes or themes that are applied to data in a rigid process, often carried out independently by multiple researchers so that their results can be compared, and a consensus reached. This method usually requires some form of prior propositions to create the codebook themes.
- *Reflexive* – coding of data is regarded as an ‘organic and open iterative process’. This method does not require any form of hypothesis to be tested and allows themes to be developed throughout the analytical process. This will require data being revisited and initial codes merged or split as each iteration proceeds until a comprehensive understanding is reached.

Braun and her colleagues advocate a reflexive thematic analytical approach as this offers flexibility, ease of use and avoids any potential researcher bias based on preconceived ideas or hypotheses. This method allows the data to dictate the results rather than being forced into prior propositions. In this way, the nature of the data is not restrictive in reflexive thematic analysis and multiple data sources can be incorporated, such as interviews, observations, and document reviews.

Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) offer a six-stage approach to thematic analysis that is a ‘reflexive and recursive, rather than strictly linear, process’ (Braun *et al.* 2019, p10), that I adopted in this research:

1. *Familiarisation* – this marked a transition from data gathering to data analysis. This stage required me to immerse myself in the data without trying to formalise themes or identify patterns.
2. *Generating codes* – this stage was more systematic, identifying similar meanings and content across the data using an inductive, or ‘bottom-up’, approach where the ideas were generated from the data rather than from predefined codes.
3. *Constructing themes* – the meanings and content were formulated into initial candidate or prototype themes. I ‘tested out’ these against the research question, aims and objectives under the principle that ‘good themes do not emerge fully formed but rather evolve’.
4. *Revising themes* – these early themes were reviewed against the whole data set to ensure a centralised organising concept. Where necessary, I removed, added, merged, or split themes until a coherent picture emerged. This ensured that themes were distinct and provided a comprehensive analysis of the data. This process was repeated several times until I produced a final product.
5. *Defining themes* – once the iterative process of creating and revising themes was completed, I clearly and concisely defined and named them.
6. *Producing the report* – I viewed this as more than simply ‘writing-up’ and was the final stage of data analysis, providing a final test of the themes and ensuring alignment with the research question, aims and objectives.

For the purposes of this research, I incorporated the literature review and analyses presented in Chapters One to Four as part of the initial stages of forming prototype themes and providing a starting point for the iterative process in ultimately developing the final set of themes. I continually tested these against the data gathered and revised them until the themes ‘fit’ this research.

Developing Themes

I used qualitative data analysis computer software NVivo 12 Pro by QSR International to manage the analysis of the data. This allowed me to input various forms of data and

allowed for ease of analysis. NVivo uses the term ‘nodes’ where other authors tend to refer to codes or coding of data, but these are managed in the same way and equate to the themes described below.

As discussed above, my initial set of themes and sub-themes were constructed from the literature reviews in Chapters One to Four as shown below in Table 5.1 as part of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying model derived in Chapter One. This consisted of 5 main themes and 16 sub-themes.

Table 5.1: First Iteration of Themes for Analysis

<p>Theme: Psychopathology</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perversion • Sexual Addiction • Voyeurism 	<p>Theme: Dehumanisation</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual Objectification • Power and Control • Violence Against Women
<p>Theme: Masculinity</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developmental Years • Biological Inevitability • Bounded Intimacy • Risk and Excitement 	<p>Theme: Commodification</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercial Enterprise • Different Sexual Experience • Different Type of Person • Situational Sexual Behaviour
<p>Theme: Culture</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Acceptance • Religion and Religiosity 	

Throughout the process of analysing the data, I reviewed and developed these themes over several iterations. It became apparent to me from the narrative data that male learned behaviours (D’Cunha 1992) and neutralisation techniques around constructed narratives (Sykes and Matza 1957) were far more prevalent and important in understanding male sex buying than had previously been reported.

Through reflexive iteration the final set of themes and sub-themes were developed as shown in Table 5.2 below. A full explanation of these is discussed in Chapters One to Four and throughout the presentation of the case studies in subsequent chapters. These relate more closely to the social construction of prostitution and sex buying model presented in Chapter One. This final iteration consists of 12 main themes and 36 sub-themes.

Table 5.2: Final Iteration of Themes and Sub-Themes for Analysis

Theme: Mating System Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promiscuity • Bounded Intimacy 	(Pillar: Mating Systems) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualified Monogamy
Theme: Hegemonic Masculinity Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developmental Years • Biological Inevitability 	(Pillar: Masculinity) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk and Excitement
Theme: Continuum of Dehumanisation Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual Objectification • Power and Control 	(Pillar: Masculinity) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence Against Women
Theme: Emotional Needs Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Companionship • Loneliness 	(Pillar: Constructed Narratives) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Isolation
Theme: Biological Needs Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual Urge 	(Pillar: Constructed Narratives) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual Need
Theme: Psychological Needs Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perversion • Sexual Addiction 	(Pillar: Constructed Narratives) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voyeurism
Theme: Techniques of Neutralisation Sub-Themes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denial of Responsibility 	(Pillar: Constructed Narratives) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Condemnation of the Condemners

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denial of Injury • Denial of the Victim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appeal to Higher Loyalties
<p>Theme: Commodification</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercial Enterprise • Different Sexual Experience 	<p>(Pillars: Culture / Policy Agendas / Masculinity)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different Type of Person • Situational Sexual Behaviour
<p>Theme: Cultural Influences</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Norms • Cultural Insularity 	<p>(Pillar: Culture)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived Inferiority of Women • Religion and Religiosity
<p>Theme: Female Marginalisation</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognises Sex Provider's Marginalisation 	<p>(Pillar: Female Marginalisation)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivated by Sex Provider's Marginalisation
<p>Theme: Public Health Influences</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognises Public Health Issues • Concerned by Public Health Issues 	<p>(Pillar: Policy Agendas)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivated by Public Health Issues
<p>Theme: Policy Influences</p> <p>Sub-Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitated by Policy • In Spite of Policy 	<p>(Pillar: Policy Agendas)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy Recommendations

Table 5.2 includes reference to a pillar of the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying that is not presented in Chapter One as derived from the literature review. This concerns constructed narratives and was identified during the iterative process as a necessary sixth pillar to fully explain the findings. This is discussed and presented as a further original contribution to the knowledge surrounding sex buying in Chapter Eleven.

Validity

Fylvjberg (2006) contends that case studies can be difficult to summarise, particularly due to the large amount of narrative data generated, and that conclusions can tend towards supporting researchers' original hypotheses, potentially introducing researcher bias. However, he goes on to present his argument that the narrative itself is a valuable insight, concluding that 'a scientific discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and that a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one,' (ibid., p219). It is Fylvjberg's contention that it is only through the presentation of a narrative by case studies that an in-depth and nuanced understanding can be reached and that generalisations can be gleaned from case studies. Ruddin (2006) disagrees with this last point, however, and contends that generalisation is not necessary, it is about the understanding of the individual case. What these arguments share, however, is that the authors concern themselves with single case studies, rather than multiple ones. Yin (2018) offers three tactics to improve the validity of conclusions reached through case studies:

1. Use multiple sources of evidence in a manner encouraging convergent lines of inquiry,
2. establish a chain of evidence, and
3. have key informants review the draft case study.

I used Yin's approach in the data gathering and analysis processes to improve the validity of this study. I collected data from several sources in each case study to view the subjects' actions, decisions, and reasoning from different perspectives. The management of data was rigorously controlled with data collection and management protocols clearly established and controlled. It was not practical to ask the subjects of the case studies to review the draft case study, but police officers and partner agencies who had been involved in the cases, were asked to review the findings. This provided both internal (items 1 and 2) and external (item 3) validity of the methodology.

This chapter has detailed the methodological considerations informing the design of this research. This was formulated through a process of pre-planning, reflection on experiences through practice, and circumstances beyond my control involving societal lockdown due to COVID-19. Given these restrictions, the methods adopted provided a rich source of data for reflexive analysis and discussion.

Part Two of this thesis presents the findings from the case studies and the triangulation interviews.

PART TWO: FIELD WORK

'Everyone, even a scientist, thinks in narrative. Science is a story. Tell it.' (Wells 2004, p758).

Introduction to Part Two

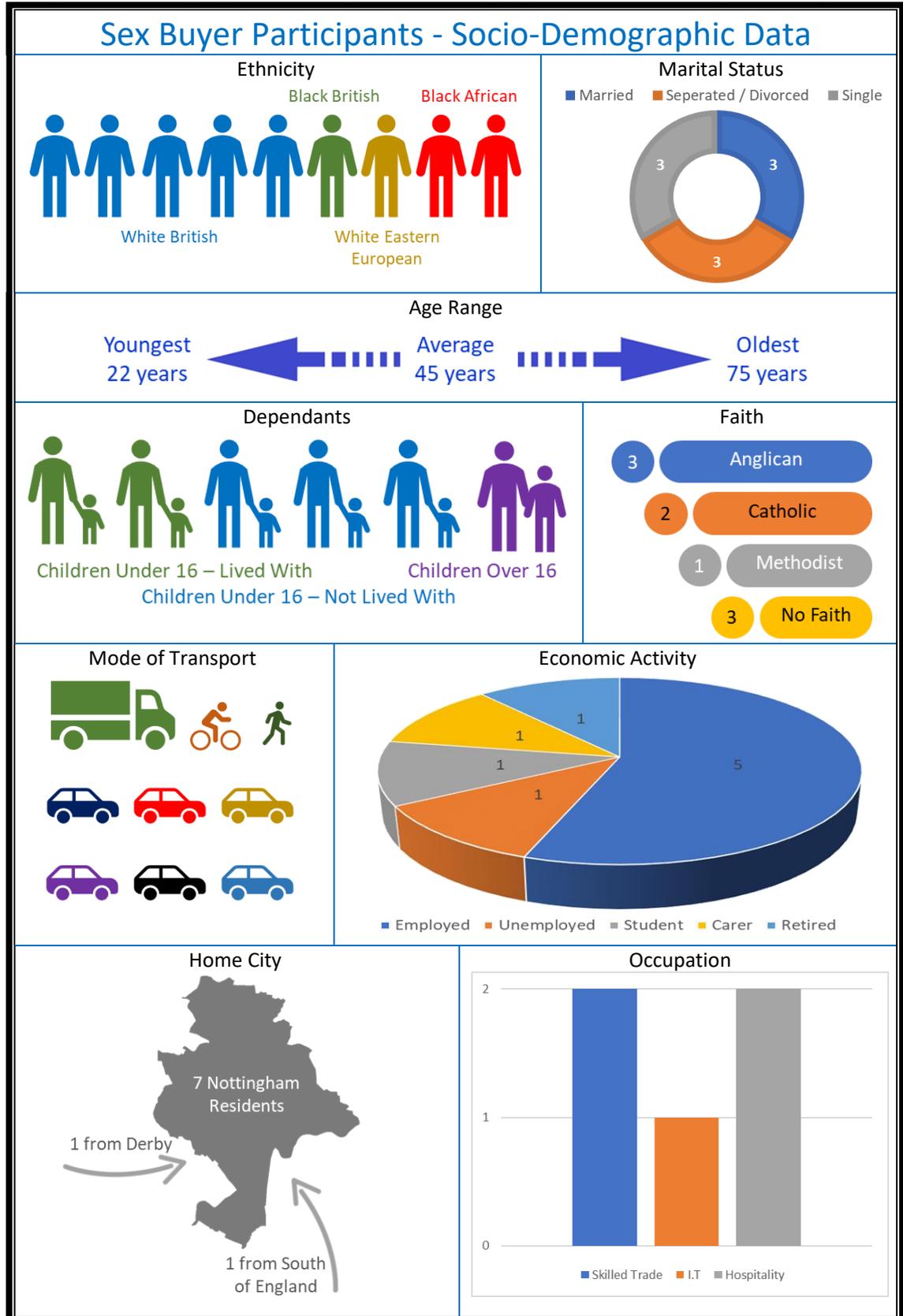
Overview of the Socio-Demographic Data of the Sex Buyer Participants

Nine sex buyers agreed to be participants in this study. Table 6.1 below shows the adopted pseudonyms and relevant socio-demographic data. A further breakdown within this data is provided in an infographic shown in Figure 6.1.

Table 6.1: Socio-Demographic Data of Sex Buyer Participants

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Children</u>
Brian	57	White British	Construction	Married	Under 16 – lived with
David	22	Black Sub-Saharan African	Student	Single	Nil
Frank	53	Black British	I. T.	Separated	Under 16 – not lived with
Joseph	30	Black Sub-Saharan African	Hospitality	Married	Nil
Leonard	31	White Eastern European	Hospitality	Married	Under 16 – lived with
Peter	44	White British	Unemployed	Single	Nil
Robert	46	White British	Skilled Labourer	Separated	Under 16 – not lived with
Simon	47	White British	Carer	Separated	Under 16 – not lived with
William	75	White British	Retired	Divorced	Over 16 – not lived with

Figure 6.1: Infographic Showing Socio-Demographic Data of Sex Buyer Participants



Participant Representation

Sex Buyer participants were recruited over a four-month period from August to November 2019. During this period, the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) dealt with twenty-one men caught in circumstances where they were paying, or attempting to pay, for sex on the streets of Nottingham (Nottinghamshire Police 2020). All of these were male sex buyers and the persons solicited were female. Of these sex buyers, nine (43%) agreed to participate in this study.

The following tables (6.2 and 6.3) show some socio-demographic data comparing the participants with those who chose not to participate. Data source for both tables is Nottinghamshire Police (2020).

Table 6.2: Ages of Street Sex Buyers in Nottingham (August to November 2019)

	Number	Age Range (years)	Average Age (years)
Participants	9	22 to 75	44.8
Non-Participants	12	21 to 58	32.5
Total	21	21 to 75	37.8

Table 6.3: Ethnicity of Street Sex Buyers in Nottingham (August to November 2019)

	White British	Black British	Eastern European	Black African	Arabic	South-East Asian
Participants	5	1	1	2	0	0
Non-Participants	0	1	8	1	1	1
Total	5	2	9	3	1	1

The data for the total number of sex buyers caught by the PTF is largely in line with the results of previous quantitative analysis in Nottingham based on data from 2001 to 2017 (Radford 2018).

Table 6.2 suggests that the participants were, on average, older than the non-participants, whereas Table 6.3 demonstrates a significant difference in the ethnicity of

the two groups. All of the white British males agreed to participate, whereas only one of nine Eastern European males took part. It is likely that these two tables are reporting linked data in that the previous study of sex buyers (Radford 2018) showed that there had been a gradual shift over the last two decades for white British street sex buyers to be older, possibly as younger males are accessing other forms of prostitution, and for the numbers of eastern European males to become more prevalent in the numbers of sex buyers, who generally tended to be younger migrants into the UK.

There are very few studies that examine why people agree to participate in research and most of these tend to focus on medical studies (Slegers *et al.* 2015). The general findings of such research are that people are more likely to participate if they have some personal experience of the disease or ailment under study, either directly or through a family member (*ibid.*). This does not necessarily assist in understanding the findings here and does not address the question of ethnicity in study groups.

It is also noteworthy that, of the eight eastern European males who did not participate, six of them reported to the police that they could not speak English. Although translation facilities were available for this study, this did not affect their decision. As they spoke no English, they were not able to attend the Change Course, which is currently only available in English, and all received an immediate police caution. Generally, these men did not engage with the police, other than to accept a caution, or with any other part of the processes involved (Owen 2020, police sergeant interview). It appeared that it was not simply this research that they declined to engage with, but all parts of the process since being caught by the police.

It is possible that my method of recruitment for this study may have aligned me too closely with the police as they secured the initial introductions. I addressed this, and largely overcame reticence with English speaking participants, but this was not as effective with Eastern European migrants or through an interpreter.

Several studies have looked at the relationship between the police and the communities they work with across several countries. A particular element of this is the trust the population places in the police. Thomasson (2013) looked at trust in the police across

fifty different countries across the world that included an assessment of the relative percentage of the population that have confidence in the police. This produced a range from 91.8% (Finland) to 15.8% (Peru) and the UK produced a result of 73.0%. The majority of the eastern European men in the non-participant group were from Romania. In Thomasson's study, in Romania only 39.8% of the general population had confidence in the police. Kääriäinen (2007) produced a number of explanations for distrust in the police, but the most prevalent of these was corruption amongst public officials. Other reasons included restrictions on civil liberties and depravation. The participants did not disclose to me their specific reasons for not participating, although if this was based on a mistrust of the police and, by association, with me, then they were unlikely to offer this as a reason.

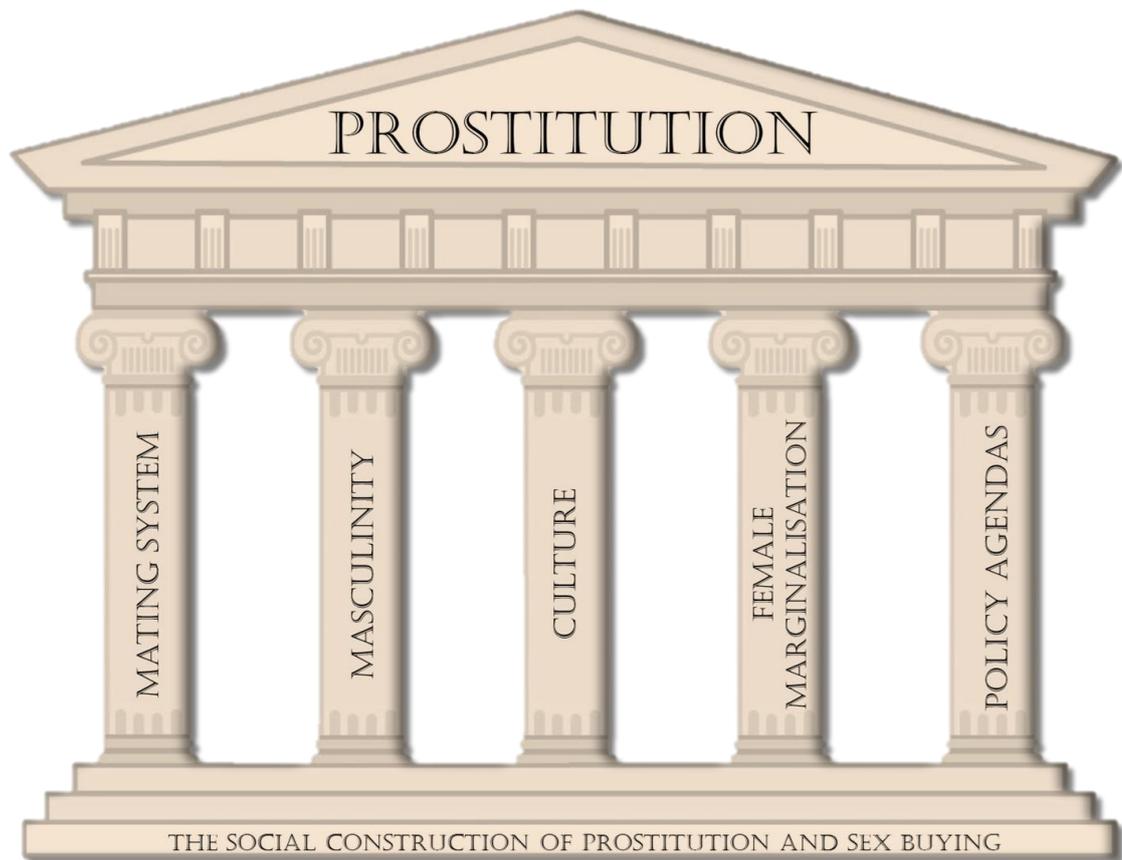
This discussion suggests that using the police as an introduction to prospective participants is an effective tool for recruiting English speaking men in a study such as this one. However, this method does not appear to be an effective approach for some migrant populations who may have a mistrust of the police based on years of societal perceptions and experiences in their home cultures. Given the indirect means of communication through an interpreter, it was difficult to overcome this blockage. The impact of this bias introduced into the recruitment process will be discussed further when discussing any potential generalisation of the results of this study.

In future research addressing the question of migrant males' sex buying motivations, an amended recruitment process will be required that does not involve the police or other public officials.

Case Study Presentation

The model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying as derived in Chapter One, was used as a lens through which to view the case studies utilising the 12 themes and 36 sub-themes discussed in Chapter Five. This was initially based on the five pillars as shown in Figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2: The Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying



Utilising this model, each case study is presented using the following structure.

- *Sex Buying Behaviour* – this section examines the first three pillars, Mating Systems, Masculinity and Culture, the latter being discussed in this section for the British males only.
- *Cultural Influences* – this section is only used for the non-British males and discusses the specific impact of their individual cultures on their sex buying, attitudes towards women and learned behaviours under the Culture pillar.
- *Constructed Narratives* - this section discusses a phenomenon that emerged during the analysis of the case studies and examines how narratives created by the participants provide neutralisation and self-justification for sex buying.
- *Potential Abstinence and Deterrents* - the pillars on female marginalisation and policy agendas have had a significant impact on the social construction, occurrence, and presentation of prostitution in society, as discussed in Chapter

Two. However, the impact of these two pillars is more relevant to sex providers than to sex buyers and neither offer much insight into the motives of the sex buyers. Where these two pillars may have some influence on sex buyers is in terms of deterring them from future sex buying behaviour. This is discussed in this section.

Chapter Six presents the first three case studies relating to Robert, Frank, and Brian. These are considered together as all three present some similar aspects of their sex buying based on learned behaviours influenced by British culture with an emphasis on issues such as situational sexual behaviour and peer pressure. All three demonstrated aspects of erosion of power in their personal relationships which they attempted to compensate for with control over sex providers.

Chapter Seven presents the case studies for Peter, Simon, and William. These three studies reflect some similar aspects to those in the previous chapter and additionally reveal a set of circumstances unique to each man that have contributed to their learned sex buying behaviour. Circumstances include:

- poor familial relationships in early life,
- end-of-life palliative care for an elderly parent, and
- isolation from family and friends in later life.

These represent issues of non-attachment and the impact of their relationships with their families is a major contributory factor towards sex buying for these three men.

Chapter Eight presents the final three case studies for David, Joseph, and Leonard as migrants into the UK from diverse African and Eastern European countries. Their home life and formative years in their respective cultures have shaped their understanding of relationships and attitudes towards women in general and sex providers in particular. To reflect this emphasis, an additional section of 'Cultural Influences' is included in these case studies.

The case studies are presented individually and consecutively, where each is discussed in isolation without reference to the other studies in what Yin (2018) refers to as a linear

format. This ensures that the relevant factors for each participant are thoroughly explored without bias being introduced from other cases. Bringing the themes together for cross-analysis will be presented in Chapter Ten.

Second Phase Interviews

A number of participants took part in interviews to facilitate the second phase of interviews. These fell into three broad groups, being:

1. street sex providers,
2. sex provider support workers, and
3. police officers and police staff (i.e., employees of Nottinghamshire Police without warranted powers).

The results of this series of interviews are presented in Chapter Nine. Once again, the above model for the social construction of prostitution is used as a framework to discuss the findings as follows:

- *Sex Buying Behaviour* – this section analyses the interviews with regard to the following three pillars – Mating Systems, Masculinity and Female Marginalisation. The last of these pillars is included in this section as it had more relevance to the triangulation interviewees.
- *Cultural Influences* – the pillar of Culture with respect to the sex buyers is discussed in this section.
- *Constructed Narratives* – building upon the narratives offered by the sex buyers', this section examines how this group of interviewees often accepted and promoted these narratives as reasons for paying for sex.
- *Policy and Practice* – this section examines the final pillar of Policy Agendas. The focus is different for each group of interviewees with the sex providers mainly concerned with the immediate practice of safety and being paid. The support workers echoed much of the same with additional discussion on their working

practices within the charity. The police discussed national and international policy, as well as their operating procedures with regards to street prostitution, which is reflected in this section.

Cross-comparison and analysis of the case studies and the triangulation process are presented in Chapter Ten using the themes developed through the five pillars of the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying developed in Chapter One.

Chapter Six – The Case Studies Part 1: British Cultural Learned Behaviours

This chapter presents three case studies of adult British male sex buyers and describes the environments and circumstances where their learned sexual behaviours developed and became reinforced through personal narratives.

Case Study – ROBERT

Robert was introduced to me at the police station by a member of the PTF. He agreed to participate in this research and was keen for the interview to take place straight away. I observed him on the Change Course on a later date.

Robert was a forty-six-year-old British male skilled labourer who lived alone, but had young teenage children living with his ex-partner. He had been separated from his long-term partner of over two decades for several years, although they were not married. He stated that they still got on well, as ‘I guess you have to be when there’s kids involved,’ (Robert 2019). He worked long hours in an all-male environment.

Sex Buying Behaviour

Robert displayed several indications of objectifying women in a sexual manner (Nussbaum 1995), often being disparaging towards sex providers. When I asked him to describe the woman he was caught with by the police, he stated, ‘she was a bit of a dog to be honest, ... she’s not one I’d go back to, there’s better out there,’ (Robert 2019). I asked if looks or appearance were important to him when selecting a woman on the streets and he answered, ‘To some extent. I mean, no-one picks a girl who looks like the back end of a bus by choice do they?’ (ibid.). Objectification of these women was something that Robert returned to repeatedly with comments such as, ‘I like a slim figure. I’m not into fat birds, even if it does usually mean big boobs,’ (ibid.).

Robert stated that he had told his teenage daughter, who was under sixteen, that he had been caught by the police soliciting for prostitution on the streets, stating that she

had merely told him he 'was an idiot' (Robert 2019). Following this, we discussed what his views would be if his daughter became involved in providing sex. He initially demonstrated denial claiming it would never happen. However, when pressed, he answered, 'I'd drag her ass back home. She wouldn't be doing it for long,' (ibid.). In considering any men who attempted to pay his daughter for sex, his response was, 'They'd get a battering,' (ibid.). I pointed out that he was demonstrating a double standard over his own attitudes towards the women currently providing sex and other men potentially doing the same to someone he cared about. He replied, 'It's different for prostitutes, they're not like my daughter. She's a good girl,' (ibid.). When I suggested that all of the women are someone's daughter, he just repeated, 'It's different.'

Robert informed me that his first time paying for sex was situational as part of a stag party in Amsterdam when he was in his early twenties. He described how, 'We got pissed and all went down a brothel. They're better over there than they are here,' (Robert 2019). He expressed the belief that the legal nature of prostitution in the city meant that it was run more like a business. He regarded this as both acceptable and normal, stating, 'You don't go on a stag do to Amsterdam unless you've looking to get laid,' (ibid.). Peer pressure (Potard *et al.* 2008) played a part in this, as Robert illustrated, 'You don't want to be the pussy who crawls back to the hotel when everyone else is getting some. You want to be in on the action,' (Robert 2019). He could not conceive of being in an all-male group such as a stag party that did not involve paying for sex, regarding it as an inevitable consequence of the situation: 'why would you go in the first place if you weren't going to visit a prostitute?' (ibid.).

Robert discussed how he had been on stag parties in Hamburg, Germany and Manchester in the UK. He described the continental brothels as being better run than those in the UK and that 'The women were a bit rough as I recall, but we were all pissed so it didn't really matter,' (Robert 2019).

Robert's responses showed elements of searching for the 'other' in both wanting sexual acts that he had not been able to engage in with his regular sexual partner and looking for a different type of woman. He described his ex-partner as 'a bit of a prude' (Robert 2019) because she did not want to perform oral sex on him. Despite this, he conceded

that she would occasionally do this as 'she loved me' (ibid.), although he denied pressuring her to do so. When I asked him to expand on his desire for other acts, he described paying women for 'oral, anal, threesomes, things like that,' (ibid.), all acts his girlfriend had not wanted to partake in. When I asked where this desire for these acts came from, he replied, 'Just through talking to the other lads I suppose. And stuff you see in porn films as well,' (ibid.). I asked if he regularly watched pornography, to which he stated, 'No more than any other bloke,' (ibid.). He did not see his use of pornography as problematic, although he did concede that this was a major contributory factor in his craving for different sexual acts as, 'It's always good to spice things up a bit, to try something different,' (ibid.).

Robert had no reticence in discussing his sex buying: 'I had no illusion about where I was going though, I came straight into town and went up into the red-light area to look for a prostitute,' (Robert 2019). He described the woman he approached as 'quite lively, bouncing around a lot,' (ibid.) which is what attracted him to her on the basis that 'she might be fun'. He went on to state that he thought she was under the influence of crack cocaine as, 'She was high as a kite, all over the place,' (ibid.). When discussing drugs, he disclosed that he, 'may have had the odd snort of coke when I was younger and a few spliffs, but nothing serious and it was a very occasional thing,' (ibid.), but his long-term girlfriend never used any form of substance. He accepted that there were other women loitering on the streets the night he was caught and in describing the one he stopped next to as: 'I don't think I've ever been with a woman who was this high before though,' (ibid.). With the way he spoke about this woman, I formed the opinion that her heightened, drug induced state was a significant part of the attraction for Robert. When I put this to him, Robert replied, 'There might be something in that,' (ibid.).

Robert displayed elements of bounded intimacy (Bernstein 2007), stating that 'If I wanted love I'd go on Tinder. It's definitely all about the physical,' (Robert 2019). He described how he wanted sex with 'no strings attached' and stated that sex providers' were more honest in that he knew exactly what he was paying for as opposed to trying to 'pick up' women in bars where he could 'buy her lots of drinks and pay her loads of compliments, but there's still no guarantee of sex,' (ibid.). He argued that on the streets, sex is guaranteed. When I asked if he was looking for any kind of emotional connection,

he replied, 'Christ no. Been there, done that. I just want a sexual release, no complications,' (ibid.).

Constructed Narratives

Despite Robert's openness regarding sex buying and apparent lack of concern for the women involved, he still engaged in some elements of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza 1957) to provide himself with a narrative to justify his behaviour. These primarily concerned claims that he had a 'need' for sex: 'Every bloke wants to have sex with as many women as possible, it's biologically programmed into us,' (Robert 2019), or that it was something that all men did, suggesting that he was merely conforming to the norm: 'Everyone's been to a prostitute at some point, it's nothing out of the ordinary,' and 'It's what men do, isn't it? They have sex with lots of women, spread their seed, so to speak,' (ibid.).

During a conversation on sex providers having multiple encounters in succession, Robert made a comment that, 'one of us would have to take sloppy seconds, who wants that?' (Robert 2019). As this discussion progressed, he denied any victimhood on the part of the woman, stating 'she probably has a wash in-between,' and 'maybe she's got some wipes in her bag or something,' (ibid.).

When we discussed how he transitioned from paying for sex in brothels on stag parties to visiting the on-street area of Nottingham, he stated that it was something he kept thinking about and when his girlfriend was 'being awkward' it pushed him into paying for sex: 'I kept thinking about how a prostitute would do anything to make me feel good. After a while, I just went for it,' (Robert 2019). He also stated that it was quicker and cheaper to go on-street rather than visiting a brothel as 'at the end of the day, it's still just about the sex, isn't it?' (ibid.). Transitioning from one form of sex providing to another is something that has previously been discussed in literature (for example, Weitzer 2009b), but the same process in sex buyers does not appear to have been examined. The comments here from Robert suggest that once he had paid for sex in one context, this became something he dwelled upon, and it began to become normalised

for him. It appeared that this was part of the learning process for him until he eventually acted upon this construction. He had learned a sex buying behaviour in one set of circumstances that he was able to apply to other instances of prostitution. He also constructed narratives around this transition that initially blamed his girlfriend for pushing him into this behaviour and a rationale of street prostitution being quicker and cheaper than other forms.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

When I asked if he would be likely to pay for sex again, Robert returned to the theme of sex being a 'need' for him stating, 'I've got to get it somewhere, don't I? Where else am I going to get it?' (Robert 2019). When discussing prostitution policy, he focussed on the impact on himself, arguing that prostitution should be legalised and that, 'You shouldn't get picked up by the cops for doing something that's perfectly natural,' (ibid.). The potential impact on the sex provider either did not occur to him, or he wilfully chose to ignore it.

Summary

Robert's sex buying began with situational behaviour on stag parties and developed to on-street prostitution through his objectification of women regarding physical appearance and sexual acts. He showed elements of looking for a different kind of sexual act and a different type of sexual partner through prostitution.

Robert's neutralisation techniques included a claim of a biological 'need' and a denial of victimhood.

He did not appear to see anything abnormal or unusual in paying for sex, regarding it as a regular part of adult male life. As such, it is my view that it is likely that he will continue to pay for sex.

Case Study – FRANK

I met Frank on the Change Course. After introducing myself to the course at the beginning of the day and outlining my research aims, Frank approached me at lunchtime to discuss the research in more detail. He expressed an interest in participating and we arranged to meet at his home address at a later date for an interview.

Frank was a 53-year-old, black British male living on his own since separating from his wife of almost twenty years. He travelled around the UK for work purposes, usually staying alone in local hotels. He had teenage children with his ex-wife and another child from an affair whilst married, which was a significant contributory reason for separation from his wife. He was involved in court proceedings from his ex-wife for maintenance and his ex-girlfriend for access to his child. Both of these had left him bitter towards both women: 'She's now taking me to court for everything I own. I left her in a nice house with the kids and I'm living in this crappy terraced house, but she wants more,' (Frank 2019). This is discussed further below.

Sex Buying Behaviour

Frank's view of the women in his life was evident on the Change Course (Observation Log 005) when he was asked to describe them. He used the words 'thieving', 'robbing' and 'self-serving' with no indication of respect or positive emotions towards them at all. He displayed a great deal of bitterness, specifically towards his ex-wife and ex-girlfriend, but seemed to have difficulty viewing women in general beyond these. When asked the same question about women providing sex, he used the words 'money', 'drugs' and 'pimps', suggesting that he has an equally negative view of this group of women as well.

On interview, Frank stated that his relationship with his wife suffered its 'ups and downs' but was generally healthy and that 'sex between us was mostly okay,' (Frank 2019). When I asked if he accessed prostitution whilst married, he replied: 'Yeah. I'm not proud of that,' (Frank 2019). He also described how the affair occurred with a woman he met whilst working away from home. He did not disclose to this woman that he was married

and kept the two women geographically apart, only visiting the second woman when working. Neither woman initially knew about the other and neither knew that he continued to pay further women for sex whilst in these relationships.

Whilst on the Change Course, at the facilitator's urging, Frank role played his ex-wife on the perspective taking exercise (Observation Log 005). He displayed bitterness and portrayed his wife as 'disgusted' and 'glad I kicked him to the kerb' (ibid.). He placed much of the blame for his situation and actions on his wife, whilst accepting that it was his affair that led to the breakdown of the marriage. He focussed on the effect this would have on his children, particularly his son, stating that he felt he was 'a poor role model' (ibid.).

Levine (2008) describes four forms of extramarital affairs, partly dependent on the presence of an emotional bond. Frank would appear to fit into Levine's definition of a 'love affair' that he describes as 'an existential choice that arises within a large array of social and psychological situations,' (ibid., p207). The key elements of Levine's description focus on a choice and the social construction of the affair through both social and learned behaviours. Richardson (1988) develops this further by arguing that the construction of the affair and the maintenance of the secrecy surrounding it is part of a power balance and that 'the strategies used to conceal the relationship increase the woman's dependence on it and reduce her power within it,' (ibid., p209). By extension, Richardson's view is that the male party to the affair is, at least in part, engaged in this behaviour as a means of exercising power over the women in his life, both the subject of the affair and his wife. It gives him a sense of control over these women, even if they are unaware of the circumstances.

When this power was taken away from Frank by the affair being exposed and both women ending their relationships with him, his reaction appeared to be that the women were being unfair to him, as the quote in relation to his wife above illustrates. Frank's narrative reconfigured himself as the victim in his circumstances. Neither of the women knew about his sex buying and when we discussed their reactions if they did find out, his immediate response was that 'They'd both use that in court to paint me in a bad light and stop me from seeing any of my kids,' (Frank 2019). Frank's focus appeared to be

about who has the power in a given situation within his relationships. The information that he paid for sex would give power to the women to his disadvantage. This aspect of power is something that was apparent in Frank's interaction with sex providers as well, as discussed below.

The police described how Frank stopped his car a short distance from the female he believed was a sex provider and flashed his headlights to attract her attention (Michael 2019a). In discussing this type of behaviour, the police described it as something they see quite often and viewed it as, 'for the ones who flash their lights, it might be that they want her to make the effort to come to them, a kind of power thing you know,' (ibid.). This is described as a type of behaviour intended to take control of a situation and to make the woman come to him, rather than him having to approach her. When I discussed this with Frank, he was initially vague and refused to attach any meaning to his actions, but he eventually conceded, 'Maybe I was trying to exert my control of the situation. I like being able to tell them what to do, what acts to perform, and she will do them. The only question is whether I will pay for it. It gives me control.' (Frank 2019). When I asked if he felt that the women in his life, his ex-wife and ex-girlfriend, had taken the power in their relationships away from him, he replied, 'I suppose so,' (ibid.).

This was a topic that Frank found difficult to talk about and he initially gave non-committal answers that skirted around the true meanings for him. It was only after some discussion that he began to concede that the power in these interactions was important to him, he liked to be in control. The fact that he no longer held the balance of power in his relationships only seemed to strengthen his desire for power over women providing sex. He was less interested in what they could do for him in terms of sexual acts and more focussed on having the power to tell them what to do.

Frank informed me that he had engaged with several aspects of prostitution, including on-street, massage parlours and escorts, usually when away from home on business. His reflections on these encounters were generally negative, with comments such as: 'They don't always offer full sex and when they do, it's a bit mechanical'; 'I'm usually disappointed afterwards'; and 'They also charge too much for what they offer.' (Frank 2019). Given his views, I asked why he thought he continued to pay for sex, and he

responded that, 'It's become normal for me. I've normalised it,' (ibid.) as if to suggest that it was more of a habit than a 'need'. This suggests that Frank's sex buying is a result of learned behaviour over many years.

Frank told me that his first experience of paying for sex occurred in Amsterdam on an all-male stag party in his late thirties. He had no prior experience of paying for sex. He described this first encounter as: 'Looking back, it wasn't very romantic I don't suppose, but I'd had quite a bit to drink and it was the expected thing, we all did it,' (Frank 2019). He did not pay for sex again until a year or so later when on a second stag party in Spain. Again, he did not have positive memories of the experience, describing it as: 'You get drunk and have sex in a brothel, it's part of the ritual,' (ibid.). In discussing this comment regarding ritual further, he expanded by saying:

'It's just the way it is. It's part of the male bonding experience, isn't it? It's probably quite primal. A group of men get together and get drunk and then they want sex, don't they? It's all part of the ritual.' (Frank 2019).

When I asked how he transitioned from paying for sex as part of group of men on stag parties to accessing prostitution back in the UK on his own, he described how he would be away from home, on his own in a hotel room, and he began to fantasise about his previous experiences and the possibility of paying for sex again. He further discussed how, 'I suppose I just got a taste for it. I realised how easy it was and uncomplicated. I could have sex while I was away and go back home afterwards without any baggage.' (Frank 2019).

Frank's sexual behaviour was distinctly situational, initially as part of all-male groups on stag parties and transitioning to working away from home. His sex buying in Nottingham appeared to be more of a recent event following the breakdown of his marriage and the ending of his affair, both seeming to act as triggers for this behaviour. Albeit later in life, he demonstrated how these situations facilitated paying for sex, even including elements of peer pressure and ritual male bonding until it became 'normalised' for him. As he commented, 'I don't feel guilt anymore though. I used to years ago, but I don't anymore,' (Frank 2019). He has learned that this is an acceptable routine for him, even

if he did not find the experience satisfying.

Frank displayed some indications of bounded intimacy (Bernstein 2007) in his discussion of paying for sex. At one point he referred to sex with a sex provider as being 'mechanical'. When I asked if he was looking for something beyond the physical such as an emotional connection, he was emphatic in his response:

'No, definitely not. I mean it's mechanical in that they don't put much effort in. The sex is unfulfilling. I'm definitely not looking for an emotional connection. Sex with a prostitute is transactional, there are no strings attached. You pay her and she performs sexually. It's just that sometimes, the performance isn't very good.' (Frank 2019).

Despite this strong reaction, he also displayed some contradictions in this stance and conceded, 'I guess I might be looking for intimacy and substituting sex for this. Sex with a prostitute is an artificial sex, there's no intimacy or connection in it. It's generally unsatisfying because of that.' (ibid.). Frank seemed to me to be confused as to what he was looking for and it did not appear that paying a sex provider was achieving its desired outcome. He tried to assert that he was only looking for sex and did not want intimacy or an emotional connection, but on closer introspection he accepted that this was not enough, and he was perhaps looking to satisfy his desires in the wrong places. As he himself commented, 'In the moment, at the time, it's a release, I feel good for a second or two, but it quickly passes.' (Frank 2019). This may be part of the reason that he engaged in a long-term love affair.

Constructed Narratives

When we discussed the incident where the police caught him soliciting a woman on the streets, Frank went to great lengths to describe how the location was on his usual route home from work and he was driving through this area as part of his routine behaviour. When I pointed out that the incident took place around midnight, he became evasive and repeated that he was on his way home from work, although this appeared unlikely

in the circumstances. When I further challenged that the road, he was stopped on was not a natural route home for him he responded by saying, 'Well, I suppose it's not the most direct route, but it's the way I go.' (Frank 2019). He initially claimed that his decision to stop and pick up a sex provider was 'opportunistic', but on further probing, he accepted that he knew that this was the on-street prostitution area and that he had picked women up in this location before. He finally stated, 'Maybe I'm just telling myself it's for convenience.' (ibid.).

After some consideration on his part, Frank finally accepted, 'I suppose I was looking for a woman,' (Frank 2019), but he then went on to state that: 'I don't drive round and round the area like some blokes you see, but I do drive through often.' In this, he appeared to be attempting to distance himself from other men soliciting women in the area, as if he was in some way different and that his use of prostitution was not as problematic as other men. He further stated that, 'I'm not one of these blokes who can go into town and chat up women for sex. I don't know how to do that, besides, I'm over fifty now,' (ibid.). Again, Frank was offering excuses for his behaviour and telling himself that he had no option but to engage with paid-for sex.

Frank displayed further neutralisation techniques in that he claimed some form of psychological 'need', stating that, 'I get frustrated, and I need sex sometimes. Sex is a great motivator for me, it drives me into these situations,' (Frank 2019). When discussing bringing escorts back to his hotel room, he claimed that 'The temptation was too great, ... I couldn't help myself,' (ibid.). As Levine and Troiden (1988, p347) argue 'There is nothing inherently pathological in the conduct that is labelled sexually compulsive or addictive,' and regard it as being a learned pattern of behaviour. This appeared to be the case for Frank who used this as an excuse for his behaviour, possibly on a sub-conscious level as he presented as an intelligent man who, when challenged, gave some thought to his own motivations and eventually conceded, 'I suppose there's something missing in my life that I'm trying to fill with prostitutes. It's how I self-actualise. It's a form of escapism.' (Frank 2019).

Frank displayed some deep-seated neutralisation techniques, particularly around denial of responsibility (Sykes and Matza 1957). He created a narrative that excused his

behaviour or claimed that circumstances beyond his control were responsible for his actions. Having attended the Change Course and discussed some of these techniques at length, he accepted that they might exist, but did not appear to be prepared or capable of correcting these learned behaviours as the next section will discuss.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

Frank seemed familiar with the life situations of many of the women providing sex on the streets, commenting, 'I'm not ignorant, I know that there's pimps controlling them, and a lot of the street girls are on drugs.' (Frank 2019). His reaction to this seemed to be one of indifference, it did not matter to him other than it gave him an opportunity to exert control over them through a sexual transaction.

Further to this, Frank argued that:

'They're going to be on drugs and pimped out whether I pay them or not. In many ways, if I pay them at least they have the money to pay the pimp or for drugs. If I didn't, they'd still be out on the streets waiting for the next man to come along.' (Frank 2019).

In this way, he was absolving himself of any responsibility for the harmful effects of street prostitution, even seeing himself as somehow helping to alleviate some of the issues. When I pointed out that if every man took this view, nothing would ever change, he responded by saying, 'I can't change things on my own. It's part of a bigger problem.' (ibid.).

Whilst on the Change Course (Observation log 005) Frank initially appeared disinterested, finding it difficult to look at the facilitator or other men in the room, often staring at the wall or out of the window. As the day progressed, this behaviour appeared to be more about self-recrimination and guilt. My opinion was that he was not disinterested but struggled to accept his situation and found it difficult to acknowledge the underlying causes of his behaviour.

When I asked if he believed that he would ever pay for sex again, Frank answered:

‘Honestly? Yeah, probably. I don’t want to get caught again, but I don’t see what else I can do to get the release it provides. I won’t go on street again though, it’s not worth it. I still need to work away in [redacted location] on a regular basis and I’ll still need to see escorts, but I won’t pick women up off the streets. I understand how damaging that is for those women, so I’ll avoid the streets.’ (Frank 2019).

The experience of being caught by the police had been significant for him and was something that he wanted to avoid repeating, but abstinence from paying for sex was evidently not an option. He resolutely clung to the perceived ‘need’ that prostitution addressed and only considered amending his behaviour to avoid being caught again.

At the conclusion of the interview, when I asked for his view on the current policy and legislative model in place in England and Wales, he responded:

‘I can’t see why it’s illegal. If they need money and want to perform sex to get it, they should be allowed to. By making it illegal and denying the women the opportunity to make money, you’re just making life harder for them. I don’t see why men should get a caution like me just for giving in to biological needs. It’s wrong.’ (Frank 2019).

In this, he appeared to be still reinforcing his narrative, denying responsibility and injury to the victim, as well as appealing to a higher loyalty (Sykes and Matza 1957). Frank’s learned sexual behaviour may have begun unusually later in life, but it was deep-seated and reinforced by comprehensive neutralisation techniques

Summary

Frank was someone who liked to have control of situations and, by extension, the people involved in these. This was particularly relevant to his relationships with women, including his wife, his mistress and numerous sex providers. As his power was eroded in

his relationships with his wife and mistress, through both relationships ending and each finding out about the other, he turned his attentions, and need for control, onto women providing sex, both on-street and as escorts.

Frank's sex buying initially began on all male sex parties, being influenced by peer pressure and expectations. His sex buying continued to be situational and based around working away from home and staying in hotels.

He created narratives for himself and used these neutralisation techniques to excuse and justify his behaviour, blaming his wife and mistress for creating the circumstances he found himself in, reconfiguring himself as the victim. Whilst being aware of the situation of many of the women providing sex on the street, he absolved himself of any responsibility or culpability in this, blaming circumstances beyond his control.

Case Study – BRIAN

My first contact with Brian was on the Change Course. After introducing myself in the morning and explaining my research, I engaged in a conversation with Brian over lunch. He agreed to take part in this study, signed an informed consent form and I gave him a participant information sheet on the day. Due to his work and the fact that he did not live close to Nottingham, we were not able to meet again in person, so the interview with Brian was conducted by telephone on a later date.

Brian was a fifty-seven-year-old, white British male. He was married to his second wife and had a teenage son. He joined the military as a teenager and worked in construction at the time of the interview, travelling the country to visit work sites.

Sex Buying Behaviour

Brian joined the Royal Navy in his late teens. By his own account, he told me that he was not sexually experienced at this time, but he had engaged in sexual activities with girlfriends. He recounted how his first experience of paying for sex came soon after,

when visiting Amsterdam with fellow sailors. This was the first time he had visited the city and he described how he was naïve to prostitution at the time. Older and more experienced crewmates took him to a brothel. As he described it to me, 'A group of the lads were heading into town to visit some of the brothels and they took me under their wing, ... some of the older lads took me out to show me the ropes,' (Brian 2019).

When I asked if he felt any pressure from his friends to pay for sex, he replied, 'Not really. I suppose it was expected of me, like a rite of passage or something, but I was up for it anyway,' (Brian 2019). He went on to describe how paying for sex became a regular occurrence for him whilst in the navy. He recounted visiting brothels in Singapore and Italy as well as many other countries across Europe. He explained that he became more confident with paying for sex as his level of experience grew.

In trying to explain why he repeatedly paid for sex during this period, he explained, 'You spend a lot of time surrounded by blokes without seeing a woman. They didn't allow women on ships back in the eighties. So, when we went on land, you found a prostitute,' (Brian 2019). Brian seemed to view this as entirely natural and a part of his military service, almost as much as any other part of his naval training.

Chang (2012) documents instances of military personnel engaging in prostitution and committing sexual offences throughout the twentieth century. She argues that there is often little difference between paying for sex and rape in conflict zones as women are viewed as a means to mollify or pacify men who may be killed in action later that same day. Chang (2012, p621) claims that the US government 'consistently allows and encourages the development of an active sex industry for military Rest and Recreation' as a means of controlling the military. In parallels to the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s, the only time this appears to have been an issue for the military is with the rise in sexually transmitted diseases amongst its staff. Jones (2014, p4) agrees with this assessment, describing prostitution around military bases as 'entrenched and officially sanctioned.' Mobbs (2018), however, discusses how a combination of regular engagement with prostitution combined with the stresses and traumas associated with military deployments, can result in permanent emotional and sexual dysfunctions,

which leads to a contradictory combination of self-isolation and hypersexuality, albeit lacking an emotional connection.

In Brian's case, it was clear that paying for sex was widespread amongst his contemporaries and that there was little, or no discouragement from senior officers or the establishment. This period of his life was highly influential in his understanding of sex and relationships. It is during his time in the Navy that Brian developed his view of women as a means to a sexual end without any emotion being involved, which in turn formed into learned behaviours that would stay with him throughout his adult life. His lack of contact with women outside of these paid-for sexual encounters at this formative age appeared to have led to a restricted understanding and view of women in general as discussed further below (Brian 2019).

For Brian, paying for sex was a contractual exchange: 'That's the way it should be, it's a business deal. We have a contract, I pay her and she does what I want.' (Brian 2019), although he occasionally made contradictory remarks, such as 'You can pay a fortune in some brothels and the girls are lifeless, so I might as well get a girl from the streets and save some money,' (Brian 2019), suggesting that he expected some form of reaction and connection with the woman. This may have formed part of the narrative that Brian created for himself to excuse and justify his sex buying as discussed below.

Brian displayed situational sexual behaviour (Jones *et al.* 2015) which initially appeared through military postings but developed in other ways after he left the navy, usually revolving around his work practices. For example, he stated, 'I used to go abroad a lot ... and had plenty of jobs on the continent. I'd drive over to mainland Europe and, if I needed sex, I'd visit a girl somewhere,' (Brian 2019). Brian never seemed to engage in prostitution impulsively or casually, he never described paying for sex incidentally to being out of the house in his local neighbourhood. He only ever accessed prostitution in a limited number of situations when he was away from home, invariably for work.

Brian appeared to compartmentalise paying for sex away from his home life and in doing so, made no connection between prostitution and his marriage leading to a form of qualified monogamy. When I asked if his wife would consider him paying for sex as being

unfaithful, he replied, 'What, paying a prostitute? That's not unfaithful. It's not like I went out and had an affair. ... It's easy, but it's not being unfaithful.' (Brian 2019). It was apparent that Brian believed that he was faithful to his wife and monogamous, despite paying women for sex outside of his marriage. He viewed this as a business contract and a physical act, lacking emotion, that did not breach any obligations he might feel towards his wife.

It was equally apparent that, when pressed, he did not necessarily believe that his wife would think the same. I put it to Brian that he was overlaying his own response to the situation on what he believed his wife would feel. He reluctantly accepted that she would see the situation differently and it might lead to the end of his marriage.

Kort (2018) discusses how parties to a couple often make assumptions about what they believe monogamy actually is within their relationship and how these assumptions are sometimes widely variant. It is usually seen as some vague concept of 'being loyal to each other' and is generally never openly discussed or negotiated. As the sex therapist Mary Klein said, 'Couples often fight over contracts they've never made,' (quoted in Kort 2018, para 1). Each assumes that they know what monogamy is to the other party without ever agreeing upon this. In this case, Brian's understanding of monogamy in his marriage is not so much a misunderstanding as it is a constructed narrative to suit his desires and behaviours.

When we discussed his wife, Brian focussed entirely on the sexual aspect of their relationship. He described how, 'When we was first married, we went at it like rabbits. We had plenty of sex,' and, 'Whenever I got home sparks would fly and there would be fireworks in the bedroom,' (Brian 2019). His discussion of their relationship in more recent years focussed on the lack of sex, particularly due to his wife entering her menopause. Whilst on the Change Course, he used the word 'stubborn' to refer to his wife. He spoke as if the defining characteristic of her was her menopause, offering no further insight into her character or their relationship (Observation Log 003).

In discussing women providing sex, Brian drew a clear distinction between intimacy in a sexual act with his wife and the lack of it with sex providers. He stated, 'I never kiss them

for example. That would be intimate, and I don't do that with prostitutes.' (Brian 2019). Despite this distinction, he never gave any indication to me that his sexual relationship with his wife contained any more emotion than that with sex providers.

This question of bounded intimacy (Bernstein 2007) is one that occurred repeatedly in Brian's narrative. This is summed up in the statement:

'If I pay someone to wash my van, I don't give them a second thought afterwards. We have a contract, I pay and they perform a service. It's the same with prostitutes, we have a contract, I pay and they give me sex. Why should I think about them afterwards?' (Brian 2019).

He used words such as 'contract' and 'business deal' to refer to sexual contact with sex providers, even trying to draw a distinction between the terms 'sex' and 'sexual act', based on the lack of intimacy with the latter.

Constructed Narratives

Brian went to great lengths to create opportunities for paying for sex and provided himself with narratives that suggested that the circumstances were beyond his control. His work took him around the country to various construction and repair sites. He had a work car-derived van that he had turned into a living space for when he was away from home. In the back of the van he had a mattress, a small stove and a TV with a portable aerial. He explained this as, 'I'm away from home a lot for work and I'm not wasting money on Travelodges, so I stay in my van,' (Brian 2019). He intimated that he got expenses for working away but did not want to elaborate on this point. The mattress in the back of the van was the only thing that the sex provider could recall about Brian when I spoke to her, and she confirmed that this was where they were to engage in a sexual act (Jodie 2019a). Brian stated that some of his jobs ran for several weeks and that he stayed in his van throughout these periods. Whenever he paid women for sex on the streets, he used the mattress in the back of his van to facilitate this (Brian 2019).

In discussing the occasion where he was caught by the police in Nottingham, he described to me an elaborate set of circumstances that involved one motorway being closed due to an accident, forcing him to take an alternative route over a longer period. He described how this route took him into Nottingham and that he stopped to get something to eat. He claimed that had it not been for this detour, he would not have been in Nottingham at all. He went on to say, 'As I was eating, I was thinking about Nottingham as some of the lads had been telling me about the vice area there. I decided I wanted a blow job, so I used Google to find out where the vice area was and followed the map up there,' (Brian 2019). His description of events emphasised how a closed road had 'forced' him into Nottingham and had delayed his journey, making him hungry. The idea of paying for sex apparently just came to him as he was eating, and he gave into the impulse. Throughout this description Brian was claiming that it was not a conscious decision on his part to pay for sex in Nottingham, but an outcome dictated by circumstances beyond his control.

When I asked why he continued to repeatedly pay women for sex, he was adamant that the blame lay with his wife. He stated that, 'She's going through the menopause and sex is off the menu ... Her sex drive is non-existent. It's the HRT therapy that does it,' (Brian 2019). He discussed menopause as if it were some disease that his wife had caught and that she was somehow holding onto it as if to spite him, leading to her being unreasonable in denying him sex. He did not appear to have any empathy as to how his wife was dealing with the situation and focussed entirely on how it affected him. He went as far as saying that his wife told him to go out and pay for sex: 'We were discussing it. We're married so you talk about these things. She told me to find sex somewhere else, but she said she didn't want to know about it,' (Brian 2019). When I pressed as to the circumstances of her making these remarks, he was evasive and kept repeating, 'She told me to do it.' The implication was that this was probably a throw-away remark during an argument, but he seized upon it and used it to justify his sex buying. On being asked how his wife would react if she found out he had been caught paying for sex, he responded that, 'It would be divorce,' (Brian 2019), suggesting that it was not really her intention to instruct him to engage in prostitution.

A combination of his learned behaviour in the Navy and his repeated sex buying led Brian to describe his sexual activities as a biological 'need'. He stated, 'I need sex. I have a high sex drive; I need a release. If I was getting sex at home, I wouldn't have to pay for it.' (Brian 2019).

On the Change Course, when looking at the steps to paying for sex, Brian was adamant that he never considered any preliminary steps and went straight to paying for sex. When it was pointed out that his repeated reference to a 'contract' was part of 'making it OK', he did not accept this and remained entrenched. Despite this, he was dominant in the group discussion stating that, 'it's just sex, it's not intimate', 'I'm just using them' and 'I'm not getting anything at home' (Observation Log 003).

Brian's strong personality on the Change Course repeatedly resulted in him offering advice to other attendees along the lines of seeing a doctor for depression or seeking counselling for a failing relationship. His advice was largely welcomed and supported by the facilitator, encouraging group discussion and mutual support. It struck me that Brian had no concept of his own situation when he was offering this advice. It appeared that he saw problems in everyone else's circumstances, but not in his own. In this way, Brian set himself apart from the other attendees in that he believed that they had weaknesses and problems they should address, but, in his mind, he was a victim of circumstances that he could not control.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

When discussing the possibility that some women may have been forced into prostitution or trafficked by others, he accepted that these situations occur, stating that, 'I'm not stupid, I know what goes on,' but when I asked about the many women he had paid for sex, he was adamant that none of them had ever been in this situation. He claimed that 'I would know. As soon as I walked into a room or picked up a girl I can tell. If she was underage, I'd know straight away. I'd also be able to tell if she was trafficked.' (Brian 2019). He repeated this several times, denying that there was any possibility that any of the women he had paid could possibly have been coerced, forced or trafficked,

either in the UK or around the world. It was almost as if he thought he had a superhuman power to detect these circumstances and that none of the women he paid for sex suffered before, during or after the encounter. He would not consider the contradiction of his certainty that such acts take place, but of it not happening to any of the women he had paid.

Brian was not ignorant of the personal situations of some of the women providing sex on the streets, but this did not change his views of his role in paying for sex:

‘Oh, I know they definitely have pimps. At least half of the girls on the street are pimped. What money the pimps don’t take off them is spent on drugs. The pimps use the girls and I suppose I use the girls as well. I use them to get a release and the pimps use them to earn money. ... They get their drugs. That’s what they need, and I need sex. It’s a contract that we agree on.’
(Brian 2019).

The marginalisation, poverty, or coercion of some of the women was not as important as his perceived ‘need’ for sex and he was prepared to ignore their situation in favour of his own desires. He described this situation in a detached, cold manner, not ascribing any emotional or empathic connection to the women.

When I asked if he would continue paying for sex following being caught by the police and having attended a Change Course, he replied, ‘Not if my wife sorts out the menopause and starts having sex with me again.’ (Brian 2019). He remained entrenched in his view that he would pay for sex again but was still adamant that it was not his fault. He stated that, ‘It’s a need. I need to have sex. There are women who will agree a contract and give me a sexual act for money. It’s as simple as that.’ He continued to either blame others or claim a biological ‘need’.

When I asked if his sex buying behaviour would change following this experience, he answered, ‘I need to have to sex, so I’ll have to get it from somewhere. I’ll use phone numbers though, I won’t get picked up by the cops on the streets again,’ (Brian 2019). It was apparent to me that Brian’s learned behaviours were entrenched and, whilst his contact with the police may amend this behaviour, it will not eradicate it.

Brian's views on current and potential legislation or policy towards prostitution focussed on how it would affect him personally. He believed that he had a right to pay for sex and that authority should not interfere with this: 'It's the oldest profession and you'll never get rid of it. It's just a business, a service, so why shouldn't it be legalised? It's a service that men need and there are women willing to do it for money, so why not legalise it?' (Brian 2019).

Summary

Brian's 'education' in paying for sex was situationally based in his service in the military and the peer pressure from more experienced sex buyers. He took these learned behaviours into his civilian life and repeatedly described sex as a 'need'. He displayed several neutralisation techniques and created narratives for himself to 'justify' his behaviour. In this he blamed circumstances, his wife, and his biology without accepting any responsibility himself for his own actions. He objectified women as a means to satisfying his sexual 'needs', either through marriage or as a 'contract' with sex providers and did not appear to attach emotion to either option. In paying for sex, he avoided any emotional involvement and displayed bounded intimacy, but did not regard this as any form of breach of his marriage contract in a form of qualified monogamy, repeatedly referring to sex buying as a business contract.

Given the entrenched learned behaviours that Brian displayed, he is unlikely to change these and will probably continue to pay for sex in some aspect of prostitution.

Chapter Seven – The Case Studies Part 2: Circumstantial Learned Behaviours

This chapter presents three case studies of adult male sex buyers whose learned sexual behaviours have been developed through their individual circumstances. These circumstances led to the participant being isolated from friends, family, and society in general, which significantly contributed to their sex buying behaviour.

Case Study – PETER

Peter was referred to me by a police officer on the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) as someone who was interested in taking part in this research. His circumstances were slightly different to the other participants in that he was the only one appearing at court due to failing a roadside breath test on being caught with a sex provider on two separate occasions. As such, my first contact with Peter was at court where he was largely passive in proceedings with his solicitor answering all questions beyond confirming name and address. I interviewed Peter at a police station, at his request, and later observed his interactions on the Change Course.

Peter was a forty-four-year-old male who lived at home with his mother in a small village where he was a skilled tradesman. His father died when he was young, and Peter was raised by his mother along with his sibling.

Sex Buying Behaviour

Peter stated that his father died when he was young, leaving their mother to raise him and his sister. Even prior to this, his father worked long hours and was rarely around the family home meaning that Peter believed he never had any form of close relationship with his father. In describing their relationship with their mother whilst growing up, he told me that his sister was the favourite and that, 'I just gave her problems. I was always in trouble, bunking off school, smoking and getting into bother,' (Peter 2019). This led

to a family break-down with Peter feeling isolated from his mother and sister, which in turn pushed him into a cycle of more rebellious and disruptive behaviour (ibid.). Peter informed me that his sister disapproved of several aspects of his life at the time I interviewed him, including the fact that he was still living at home with his mother, that he misused alcohol and cannabis and that 'I haven't made something of myself and gone my own way in life,' (ibid.), especially as these impacted on their mother. All of this resulted in tension between them and a maintenance of their poor relationship.

Peter stated that, even as a forty-five-year-old male, his relationship with his mother did not appear to have improved, despite still living with her. He believed that his use of cannabis was a constant source of conflict and that she refused to allow him to smoke around the house. When I asked him to describe their current relationship, he stated, 'Not great. She's threatened to throw me out enough times. I think I'm a big disappointment to her,' (Peter 2019). When I observed Peter on the Change Course (Observation log 007) he role-played his mother during the perspective taking exercise. In this role, he accepted that he drank too much alcohol and seemed to find the experience of role playing beneficial with a few introspective moments. However, the facilitator later disclosed to me that he was concerned at what might happen if Peter opened up too much and, as such, he did not press too deeply. He identified several unresolved personal and emotional issues for Peter that may have proven difficult to deal with in the environment of the Change Course within just one day. These concerns mirrored many of the topics covered here.

Peter appeared to have difficulties in forming relationships with women. He stated that, 'There have been a couple of girls when I was younger. I wasn't in love or anything, but I think I cared about them. We had sex and took drugs together anyway.' (Peter 2019). When I asked what his relationships involved other than sex and drugs, he replied, 'Not a lot really. What else is there?' (ibid.). He accepted that, 'I guess I have problems forming emotional bonds with anyone, it's not something I do particularly well, ... It's just not programmed into me. I'm not good at it.' (ibid.). Peter seemed to imply that he was conditioned this way, that his early development through childhood into adulthood had not taught him how to engage emotionally with another person.

Peter displayed some elements of bounded intimacy (Bernstein 2007). When I asked if he was looking for an emotional connection with women he paid for sex, he answered, 'Definitely not. I just want a blow job. I don't want all of that feelings crap,' (Peter 2019). However, he also contradicted himself on this point later in the interview, stating that 'I guess I sometimes get a bit lonely. I think I sometimes go out looking for companionship, someone to be with,' (ibid.). When I pointed this contradiction out to him, he replied, 'It's not emotion, it's just someone there, even if it's just for a short time,' (ibid.). He went on to admit that he always paid these women for sex and that he never felt any degree of companionship with them.

In discussing women providing sex or performing for webcams, he stated that, 'If I met one of those girls down the pub, there's no way they'd ever come home with me, and I'd never get them into bed and do those things. It's a fantasy world really,' (Peter 2019). He continued this theme when I asked if he drew a distinction between a girlfriend and a woman providing sex, where he answered, 'The girls online aren't real are they, they're a fantasy,' (ibid.). When I probed about relationships with girlfriends, he replied, 'I don't have a girlfriend, haven't had a serious relationship for years. Most of the girls I've been with just wanted me to buy them drugs. That's not the best way to start a relationship, is it?' (ibid.).

On the Change Course (Observation Log 007), Peter was asked what he thought sex providers wanted and he simply replied, 'sex'. He repeated the same word when asked why he thought women went into prostitution. When asked to describe these women, he answered, 'sexy' but when discussing women in his life, he used the word 'anger', highlighting the tension between himself and women in his life generally.

For Peter, there was a very real difference between the 'fantasy' women he paid to perform a sexual act, and with women he had been in a relationship with. Most of the girlfriends he previously had a relationship with were met through a social group that involved drug taking and this was more important in the relationship than any emotional connection. Sex in either case was a physical act that invariably left him unsatisfied and disappointed (Peter 2019).

Attachment theory posits that parent-child bonds are critical in early childhood emotional and behavioural development (Bowlby 2010, Ainsworth *et al.* 2015), which appeared to be the case for Peter. Dollard and Miller (1950) argue that this attachment is a set of learned behaviours through processes such as feeding and nurturing, often focussed on the mother. There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that childhood attachments are important in forming emotional or romantic adult relationships (Samenow 2010). For example, Walsh (1995) found a statistically significant number of subjects who reported weak or distant parental attachment, later became involved in unrestricted and promiscuous sexual activity as well as drug misuse. Similarly, Carnes (2001) reported over three-quarters of participants on a treatment programme for sexual addiction reported coming from rigid or disengaged family structures.

Carries and Delmonico (2007) looked at the relationship between childhood abuse, including sexual, physical and emotional, and self-reporting of sexual addiction. Peter did not disclose any physical abuse but made reference to emotional neglect. Carries and Delmonico found significant correlation between multiple addictive behaviours and abuse, including sexual, substance misuse and gambling. This pattern of cross addictions occurs when a person substitutes one form of addiction for another in an attempt to recover from the former (Dyer 2020). This can present as swapping one substance for another, for example alcohol instead of heroin, but can also be seen where impulse control disorders replace drug abuse (*ibid.*). These may include prostitution, pornography, gambling or even activities such as shopping. Dyer argues that this is due to a dopamine deficiency in the brain on abstaining from a drug or activity that promotes a reward response resulting in a craving for a substitute. This can be a weakness in rehabilitation programmes that only focus on one area, such as alcohol dependency, resulting in the participant switching to a different source of reward.

Peter described multiple compulsive behaviours throughout his life. At the time I interviewed him, he stated that he was a regular cannabis user and conceded that he may have a problem with excessive alcohol consumption: 'I don't suppose any alcoholic thinks it's a problem while they're drinking, do they? It's only when they stop.' (Peter 2019). He went on to claim, 'Maybe I've got an addictive personality,' (*ibid.*), and

described how he also turned to gambling at one point but managed to keep this under control.

Peter disclosed that he had been a regular heroin smoker in the past, that had led to him dealing drugs to pay for the habit (Peter 2019). This in turn resulted in his arrest and imprisonment. He stated that this was a turning point of sorts and that, 'I cleaned myself up after that,' (ibid.). However, it appeared to me that he actually swapped one addiction or compulsion for others, in that he used the cannabis and alcohol to self-medicate himself through withdrawal from heroin, stating that, 'It takes the edge off when I need it, but It's hard you know, I've kicked the harder drugs, but I still need something,' (ibid.). He stated an aspiration to 'one day I hope to just be down to tobacco, but it's a long road to there ... I can't give everything up at once,' (ibid.).

There is much academic debate over the existence of addictive personalities (Kerr 1996), but more recent discussion tends to refute this. Griffiths (2017) describes this as a 'complete myth', arguing that the causes of addictions are biopsychosocial from an individual perspective. Samenow (2010) breaks these biopsychosocial aspects of sexual compulsion down into:

- *biological determinants*, including molecular, genetic, physical/organic conditions and substance misuse,
- *psychological determinants*, such as neurological components, attachment disfunctions, cognitive or behavioural learning, and
- *social determinants*, such as social, cultural and spiritual factors.

As previously discussed, Carnes' (1983) initial description of sexual addiction is also disputed, with no clinical definition or diagnosis available (Levine 2010). It is likely that this is a learned behaviour rather than a psychopathological condition, suggesting that it is constructed through experience and societal influences (ibid.).

Peter also stated that he was a daily watcher of online pornography, usually 'in my bedroom where my mum won't disturb me,' (Peter 2019). When I asked what forms of pornography he watched, he answered, 'I don't think there's much of a distinction these days. What used to be thought of as hard core is pretty tame nowadays,' (ibid.). Peter

described how his use of pornography escalated into him subscribing to live online sexual webcams, stating that, 'It is empowering to be able to tell a woman to do something in particular, something that you want to watch' (Peter 2019).

When I asked Peter to expand on the empowering nature of this control, he answered, 'I like to have some control I suppose. My life is pretty fucked up, but for a few minutes I can be in control. I'm in charge,' (Peter 2019). This appeared to be a key point for Peter, but something that he had difficulty in admitting to himself. His various forms of addictions or compulsions largely controlled his life, affecting his work-prospects, his financial situation, and his social group. In being able to control women, even in this limited paid capacity, this was giving himself some form of perceived power over the situation; he was taking back control for a limited period. When I asked if he had ever tried to recreate anything he had watched online with a girlfriend, he answered, 'I've asked, but it's always a no-no,' but with a sex provider, 'they're a bit more amenable, if you pay them,' (Peter 2019).

Peter told me that he first paid for sex in his hometown whilst still a teenager of fifteen or sixteen years. He described how his male peers had boasted of sexual encounters and that he 'felt a bit of pressure to get it over with, get it done,' (Peter 2019). In order to achieve this, he visited a sex provider at her home address and 'paid a prostitute to take my virginity,' (ibid.). He described the encounter as 'a bit embarrassing' but could now join in with his friends' discussions about sex. It never occurred to him at the time that some of these tales might not be true.

Peter stated that he did not pay for sex again for a couple of years. He described how 'I didn't have a girlfriend or anything, so I eventually thought, why not? It seemed like an easy way to get sex without all of the complications,' (Peter 2019). When I asked him to expand on these perceived complications, he replied:

'It's easy sex, isn't it? Instant gratification without all of the hassle. There's no emotions involved, it's just a physical act. When I want sex, I can just pay for it,' (ibid.).

This took the form of regularly visiting a sex provider at her home address, close to where he was living at the time, during the day whilst her child was at school.

When I asked how he transitioned from visiting women in their homes to paying for sex on the streets, he claimed this was mainly a financial consideration: 'I'm broke most of the time and I don't have a job right now. My mum won't give me money because she thinks I'll buy drugs with it. It's cheaper on the streets,' (Peter 2019). When discussing the difference between on and off-street prostitution, he stated that, 'The girls on the streets are mostly crackheads. They're all on drugs. If you go to someone's house, they're generally cleaner, but they charge a lot more,' reiterating cost as being his primary motive for moving to the streets.

Peter also disclosed paying for sex in brothels in western Europe and North Africa, having lived in both regions for a time. He described the experience in Europe as the same as in the UK 'other than it's everywhere'. In discussing prostitution in North Africa, he stated:

'I think it was legal ... I'm not sure. If it wasn't, no-one ever did anything about it. The police would occasionally shake down the girls, but as long as they paid them off, they didn't get too much trouble.' (Peter 2019).

The legality, or otherwise, of prostitution did not seem to trouble him. He described women from other African and Far Eastern countries selling sex but gave little consideration to their consent or legal status.

Peter told me that he was stopped by the police on three occasions in the greater Nottingham area in a period of a month shortly before his court appearance. He described how, on the first occasion, he was found with two male friends and a female sex provider parked in the area affected by street prostitution. All of them were smoking cannabis as a precursor to the three males engaging in sexual acts with the woman, stating 'I get relaxed after smoking and a blow job is a great way to enjoy the buzz,' (Peter 2019). All three of the males lived outside of Nottingham and Peter had driven them all into the city with the specific intention of buying cannabis and paying for sex on the street as, 'The girls on the street are cheaper and they don't mind if you're drunk

or stoned,' (ibid.). He stated that the three of them paid the woman fifty pounds between them. The second time Peter was stopped, two weeks later, he was parked in his car with a sex provider in a local college. They were alone on this occasion.

On both incidents Peter stated that he had travelled to Nottingham to meet his drug dealer in a local pub. This involved drinking alcohol prior to approaching a sex provider. He was breath tested for alcohol by the police both times and failed the roadside test on both occasions. This resulted in criminal charges for drink driving and possession of cannabis on both dates. When asked why the first incident had not deterred him, he replied, 'Twice in two weeks. What are the chances of that?' (Peter 2019) and seemed to imply that he was merely unlucky, even though he accepted that these were not the only two occasions he had been driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol, and that this was a regular practice of his. On the second incident, the police seized his car, but he borrowed one from a friend and was caught for a third time in possession of cannabis in a village close to Nottingham, although he was alone and had not been drinking on this third occasion.

I observed Peter when he appeared before Nottingham Magistrates Court (Observation Log 005) where his appearance was slightly dishevelled. He stood quietly whilst his solicitor spoke on his behalf, pleading guilty to charges relating to drink drive and drug possession. The presence of sex providers in his car or of soliciting for the purposes of prostitution were not raised or addressed in court. He was banned from driving for twenty months and ordered to pay fines and costs of over four hundred pounds. Peter left the court very quickly after the conclusion of the short proceedings. It was apparent that this experience in court did not engage with Peter or try to understand him. The proceedings resembled a conveyor belt of offenders being summoned into court and being sentenced quickly before being sent on their way. Beyond stating his name and address, and pleading guilty, Peter did not speak in court. Given Peter's compulsive nature, it is difficult to see how this would address any of his issues.

Constructed Narratives

Peter displayed some neutralisation techniques (Sykes and Matza 1957) in addition to his statement that he gets 'a bit lonely', as discussed above. When I asked him what would happen if he did not engage in paid-for sex, he replied, 'It's not natural is it, to go without sex? You have to have sex,' (Peter 2019). He repeated this assertion, claiming that 'It's just the way it is. I'm a man and a man has to have sex,' (ibid.). In this, he appeared to be telling himself that there was some biological or psychological 'need' beyond his previously stated emotional 'need' (Hollway 2005). When this was explored further, he could offer no explanation for these other than, 'It's just the way it is,' (Peter 2019). It appeared to me that this narrative was built upon learned behaviours through his childhood development and early sex buying encounters (Bandura 1977).

Given Peter's sex buying history, both in the UK and abroad, I asked questions regarding consent and trafficking for sexual exploitation. When discussing potential indicators of coercion, he stated that, 'I guess they'd be upset or something,' (Peter 2019), expecting an obvious physical indication of exploitation. When this was challenged, he repeatedly answered, 'there's no way I could have known,' and 'I suppose there's always going to be risks, but not from me, I'm always good to them,' (ibid.) effectively excusing himself of any responsibility.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

Peter disclosed that he had previously caught chlamydia from a woman providing sex on the streets of Nottingham. He had mild symptoms and stated that it put him off paying for sex for a few months but, 'I suppose the memory fades quickly with time and I needed sex more than I was afraid of catching something else,' (Peter 2019).

Peter's behaviour was deep-seated and went beyond paying for sex to including drug and alcohol abuse, pornography, and gambling. These elements showed degrees of cross-dependence and would require a holistic approach to challenging and addressing his issues.

When discussing potential changes to prostitution policy in the UK, Peter was adamant that it should be decriminalised, stating, 'It shouldn't be against the law between two consenting adults, should it?' (Peter 2019).

It was clear to me that Peter was not going to be deterred from sex buying either by police enforcement, family condemnation, or the risk of STDs, and that his sex buying was likely to continue. He gave little consideration to the needs or situation of the women providing sex and this was unlikely to be a deterrent either.

Summary

Peter had a complex series of compulsions throughout his life that had roots in his early childhood development and familial relationships. Part of this included a claimed sexual addiction that he was unable to satisfy through relationships with girlfriends and involved elements of empowerment through control, particularly involving webcam sex.

Peter displayed some elements of bounded intimacy through a denial of looking for any emotional connection and several neutralisation techniques by claiming a sexual 'need'. He largely excused himself of any responsibility.

Peter's sex buying was part of a complex series of learned behaviours throughout his life that he failed to acknowledge through his neutralisation and constructed narratives, effectively blaming his childhood, his biology, and an 'addictive personality'.

Case Study – SIMON

I met Simon on the Change Course and struck up a conversation during one of the breaks. He agreed to participate in this research but did not want to return to the police station for an interview. He similarly did not want to meet with me at his home address. We agreed to meet in a local café at a quiet time a few days after the course.

Simon was a 47-year-old male who lived with his elderly mother, for whom he was a full-time carer. He was single with a teenage daughter who lived with his ex-partner.

Sex Buying Behaviour

Simon lived at home with his elderly mother who was in the latter stages of terminal cancer care. He was the sole carer, and this topic dominated both his interview (Simon 2019) and his participation in the Change Course (Observation Log 003). It appeared to me that this largely dominated his whole life to the exclusion of nearly all outside interests. He had siblings who were not able to offer much support and a close relative who also died of cancer a short time before his sex buying incident.

This situation caused Simon a great deal of anxiety: 'I'm really stressed all of the time. I don't know if I can pay the rent one week to the next, because I'm not working, and my mum has some bad days. It's really stressful,' (Simon 2019). He went on to say, 'It all gets on top of me sometimes and I just have to get away. I feel lonely and weighed down,' (ibid.).

Studies have shown that the majority of carers for elderly parents tend to be women (Arber and Gilbert 1989). Historically, one consequence of this was that sons as carers were often 'invisible' to policy makers and researchers, meaning that support was either not available or, more likely, not accessed (ibid.). Despite some advances in recent years, the role and impact of sons as caregivers is still not well understood (Collins 2014). McDonnell and Ryan (2013) found that male caregivers tended to be more isolated from other family members and failed to pursue outside hobbies or interests. One suggested reason is that sons are less likely to ask for help as they adopt a 'getting on with it' approach. Gaugler *et al.* (2005) examined the impact on carers of cancer patients where they found evidence of emotional fatigue, exhaustion, and role entrapment. In essence, the role of caregiving dominated their whole lives, and they had no release from this. This resulted in mood and stress problems. Nijboer *et al.* (1998) discussed carers who see their input as either a burden or as a challenge and this appears to apply to Simon who focussed on the problems that caring resulted in and gave little indication of an

emotional connection with his mother. Nijboer and colleagues also reported significant impact on the caregivers' psychological and physical health resulting in stress and depression.

Much of this research and findings appeared to apply to Simon who showed signs of isolation and being 'trapped' into his role as a carer, largely to the exclusion of outside family or a social life. On the Change Course (Observation Log 003) Simon role-played his mother during the perspective taking exercise. He became tearful and the facilitator avoided probing too deeply into these emotions, mainly due to insufficient time or resources to address these issues fully. Simon's emotional state was evident to the other participants on the course, who offered Simon advice and support, particularly around seeking professional help. At the conclusion of the course, the facilitator took Simon on one side and provided him with details of potential support agencies and a recommendation to visit his GP.

Simon told me that he had a young teenage daughter from a previous relationship. Whilst he made no specific disclosure, it appeared that his caregiving role was a contributory factor in the ending of this relationship several years before. He stated that he spoke to his daughter regularly by text and saw her in person on a periodic basis. On interview, he expressed a desire to keep his relationships with his daughter and his mother separate, as if he was compartmentalising his life, but this appeared to be having a negative effect on his contact with his daughter. He described his daughter as: 'She's my world, the only good thing I have in my life,' (Simon 2019).

Simon described how an occasional release from caregiving was an opportunity to meet with a few other men to play pub games. This was a rare occurrence that he found difficulty in making time for. On the occasion he was caught sex buying by the police, he had been on such an evening out. By his own description, he struggled to leave his caregiving issues at home and found the evening unsatisfactory. He described it as, 'I'd been having a really bad week; mum was particularly bad that week. I was really stressed out and even the skittles didn't cheer me up. I was in a bad place.' (Simon 2019).

Simon assured me that this was the first and only time he had ever paid for sex, and I believed that this was probably genuine. He was naïve about prostitution and displayed very little knowledge of the established mechanisms or forms of sex buying. He stated that, on leaving the pub, 'I was driving home, and I should have turned left, but instead I turned right and went up to the vice area,' (Simon 2019). Simon described how he was stressed and potentially depressed, and that he was in search of something to improve this. Having failed to engage with the games in the pub or to improve his outlook on his situation, he claimed that he made an impulsive decision to pay for a sexual act. He informed me that he had lived in Nottingham all of his life, so knew anecdotally where the street prostitution area was located. When I asked if he had considered going off-street, he answered, 'I wouldn't know where to look, I've never looked before. It was spur of the moment and I just knew where the vice area was, so I went there,' (ibid.).

Constructed Narratives

Simon stated he had not been engaged in a sexual relationship since separating from his ex-girlfriend and he stated that this also affected him. He summed all of this up as:

'It was an impulse, I didn't give it much thought. I was really stressed out; I'd had a bad week and I just needed something. The skittles wasn't a good session and didn't help. Like I said, I haven't had sex for five years, that plays on my mind sometimes, it just makes me more stressed. I think I must have cracked. It was like all of the pressure suddenly burst and I had to do something, so I went up to the vice area. I didn't really think it through.'
(Simon 2019).

There may be some elements of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza 1957) in Simon's rationalisation of this incident. The stress he felt he was under from his situation at home appeared genuine and significant, although his lack of sexual contact for a number of years was incidental to this. He blamed his stress and impulsiveness for sex buying, but the incident would have required some conscious decisions, such as visiting the location, stopping next to the woman, and engaging in a negotiation with her. On the Change

Course (Observation Log 003), when asked about creating an opportunity, he stated, 'I just want to speak to them,' which is inconsistent with his narrative in the interview and suggested he may have been trying to offer some justification to himself and to the facilitator.

On interview, I asked him what he remembered about the woman he approached for sex. He replied, 'Not much really,' (Simon 2019), but immediately, and without prompting, added, 'She was an adult though; I wouldn't have picked up anyone underage. I know she was an adult. I have a daughter; I wouldn't have done that,' (ibid.). When I probed this comment further and how he knew she was an adult, he simply said, 'She was, I would have known if she wasn't,' (ibid.). Given the age of his daughter, this line of thought disturbed Simon and was something he did not want to talk or think about.

When I asked what he thought the woman would do with the money, he replied, 'I don't know. Maybe she needed it for rent or something,' (Simon 2019). He repeatedly stated that he was ignorant of the lives of street sex providers and shied away from giving it too much thought. When I asked about any reflection on this since attending the Change Course, he answered, 'That's horrible. Something needs to be done about it,' (ibid.). He did not appear to be able to relate his actions in attempting to pay for sex and the situation of some of the women providing sex on the streets. The narrative he had created was that his stress had driven him to it, and he was not responsible for the broader issues.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

When I asked Simon if he thought he would ever pay for sex again, he responded, 'Definitely not. I didn't sleep for weeks before the Change Course worrying about it. It stressed me out even more,' (Simon 2019). It appeared to me that if he saw paying for sex as a release from his home situation, the result was very different. He went on to say, 'I couldn't go through that again and I know that I would be straight before the courts next time,' (ibid.). His primary focus was on the effect that engaging with

prostitution and potentially being caught again, would have on him. He gave little thought to the wider impact of street prostitution and the women involved in providing this.

Summary

Simon felt trapped in his home situation providing end-of-life care for his elderly mother and had little perspective of the broader society around him. He was largely cut off from friends and family and felt very isolated and lonely. By his own admission, he was stressed and possibly depressed, although he had not sought professional help or diagnosis. His home situation dominated everything in his life. These circumstances led to an impulsive episode of sex buying that was probably unique for Simon. It was my opinion that he was genuine in his claim that he had not engaged in such behaviour previously and was unlikely to do so again.

Case Study – WILLIAM

I was introduced to William by the police and interviewed him at the police station. I observed him on the Change Course a few weeks later.

William was a seventy-five-year-old retired taxi driver who had been divorced twice with a daughter and granddaughter from his second marriage. He had lived alone for about twenty years.

Sex Buying Behaviour

William told me that the first time he paid for sex was in his birth-town as a young man when two friends took him out following the end of his first marriage. He described this as, 'They said a good seeing to would do me good, set me straight,' (William 2019),

suggesting that anonymous sex was a solution to any emotional stress or issues he may have had.

William described how the circumstances of this were that the three of them approached the same woman on the street and solicited her for sex. He stated that this became a regular occurrence with all three of them often paying the same woman for sex as, 'it's just easier if you go with the same one,' (William 2019). He claimed that the women were happy with this as, 'they didn't have to keep going back onto the streets to wait for the next one,' (ibid.). He had no regard for the safety of the women or any potential danger she may be putting herself in by taking more than one sex buyer at a time, stating, 'We were always good to them, they had no need to worry about us,' (ibid.).

William disclosed that he had only ever paid for sex on-street in the town of his birth and where he currently lived, switching from the former to the latter on the occasion of his second marriage and relocating here. When I asked why he restricted himself to on-street sex buying he replied, 'I just like the girls on the streets, they give me what I need,' (William 2019).

William stated that his sex buying became a regular occurrence and continued, 'about once or twice a month or so,' to the time of the interview (William 2019). On the occasion he was last caught by the police, he described how he specifically went out to look for a sex provider as, 'I get lonely sometimes and I go out to see the girls,' (ibid.). He expanded upon this to agree that he intended to pay her for sex.

During the interview, William disclosed to me that he suffered from premature ejaculation, a condition he had been afflicted with since being a young man. This is a relatively common condition, although there is no medically defined period of what constitutes 'premature'. Waldinger *et al.* (2006) found the average time for ejaculation of five hundred males was five and a half minutes, although anything less is not necessarily an issue if the couple are otherwise happy with their sexual relationship. Waldinger (2012) later proposed two main types of premature ejaculation (PE):

- *Lifelong PE* – ejaculation occurs within 30-60 seconds in almost all sexual encounters and may remain rapid throughout life, or even get more rapid with aging (in 30% of cases). There are no apparent cures for lifelong PE, either by drugs or psychotherapy, and
- *Acquired PE* – usually only occurs during a fixed period in a man's life and may have a sudden onset that is secondary to dysfunctions such as urological; thyroid or psychological; or relationship problems.

Given William's description of his problem, he would appear to be suffering from Lifelong Premature Ejaculation. The NHS describe common causes such as problems with the prostate, thyroid (over or under active gland), using recreational drugs, depression, stress, or anxiety (NHS 2019a). William gave no indication of substance misuse and the only apparent psychological issue was loneliness, and this was more of an issue later in life rather than lifelong. He had not discussed this issue with a medical practitioner, so the underlying causes were not known.

William described how sex for him was often, 'over really quick and it's not satisfying,' (William 2019) and 'Sometimes I cum as they're putting the condom on, I can't help it, I get too worked up beforehand,' (ibid.). In order to address this, he discussed how he would often pay two different women for sex in one evening on separate solicitations so that he, 'can take my time the second time and enjoy it,' (ibid.). He claimed that it was better for him if he paid different women and, 'I've been with three women in one evening a time or two, it's the only way I can get complete satisfaction,' (ibid.). He was adamant that he always paid the women, even if the sex was not satisfying. I asked him if his condition caused him any concerns or embarrassment, to which he replied, 'I'm too old to get embarrassed by this. I just move on to the next one,' (ibid.).

William described how he had been a taxi driver through most of his adult life in both of the cities he had lived in, and throughout both of his marriages. He claimed that this had been a significant factor in his sex buying (William 2019).

During a previous study I conducted of 1,803 male sex buyers caught on the streets of Nottingham between 2001 and 2017 (Radford 2018) the single highest occupational

group was taxi drivers (11%). This was broken down into taxi drivers who solicited a woman on behalf of a fare and those who paid for sex for themselves. The large majority of these men fell into the latter group. Within this study, I highlighted a policy initiative in Nottingham to address taxi driver sex buyers that showed a gradual decline in incidents from 2005 to the end of the research period. This approach included a closer working relationship with taxi licensing resulting in drivers facing potential suspension of their licence if caught in these circumstances, a poster campaign in hackney carriages advising passengers of their liability if caught engaging in prostitution, and several local radio interviews reinforcing these points (Radford 2015). Without these policy interventions, it is possible that the percentage of sex buyers who were employed as taxi drivers may have been even higher. All of this illustrates the significant impact that taxi drivers were having on street level prostitution in the city over this period. Similar studies or reports have found a comparable issue in other cities such as Glasgow (Green and Goldberg 1993), New York (Yee 2012), Stockholm (The Local 2016), and London (Hooper 2019).

William described his relationship with women providing sex whilst employed in this capacity as:

‘I was a taxi driver, so you’d see it out there all night long, it would play on your mind, you know. Some of the girls would flag you down for a lift home at the end of the night and they’d pay you with a blow job instead of money. It works out for both of us that way,’ (William 2019).

William discussed how this became a regular occurrence and he would often ensure that he was available, whenever possible, at night to pick sex providers up from the streets, purporting to be collecting them as a fare, and then taking payment as some form of sexual act.

William continued to describe his relationship with sex providers as going beyond being a sex buyer as follows:

‘We do look out for them a bit, you know, well at least we used to, I don’t know what it’s like these days. We’d often get men jumping in the cab in

town and asking us to find them a prostitute. So, we'd drive them onto the beat and drop them off with a girl. There were a couple of girls who'd tip me for this,' (William 2019).

Through this process, William described how he began to get to know some of the women better, but their relationship was always about paid-for sex, stating that, 'It works for both of us,' (William 2019). He drew the line at allowing fares to engage in sex in his cab stating that, 'It was bad enough getting vomit and food out of the carpet and seats, without adding that to the mix,' (William 2019) although he accepted that he regularly had sex in the cab himself.

When I asked about taxi drivers in general, he claimed that offering taxi journeys in exchange for sex was a common practice, particularly for migrant drivers, but his arrangement of taking tips to secure sex buyers was less common. William did not see himself as taking advantage or exploiting these women at all, preferring to think of himself as being supportive.

William's relationships with sex providers developed through these practices as discussed further in the next section.

Constructed Narratives

William disclosed to me that he had allowed several street sex providers to live with him since becoming single and described them as girlfriends. He rationalised this as: 'I get lonely and I go out looking for companionship, I've met a few girlfriends on the street like that,' (William 2019). When I explored further, he explained that he would give the women money to pay for their drugs, but he could not afford to pay for all of their addictions, so the women continued to provide sex on the streets whilst living with him. As such, the women did not contribute to the household at all. On occasion, the women would bring sex buyers back to his house for a sexual act. When I asked if this bothered him at all, he replied, 'I'd wait in the kitchen, out of the way. I didn't like it, but what

could I do?' (ibid.). William also stated that he had to clear up after the women, including needles and foil used for drug taking, and used condoms or tissues used with sex buyers.

When I asked if his relationship with the women included sex, he answered, 'Yeah, usually,' (William 2019). When I probed this further, he disclosed that, 'the sex drops off after a while,' (ibid.) but he continued to allow them to sleep at his address and he paid for some of their drugs, 'for a while' until 'eventually, I'd have to kick them out ... if they stopped being my girlfriend,' (ibid.). William appeared to equate a relationship with sex. When I asked what happened if a woman living with him stopped having sex with him, he stated that, 'I'd have to go out and pick someone up off the street,' (ibid.). I asked William if he thought there was an emotional element to these relationships, to which he answered, 'They all told me they loved me,' (ibid.). When I asked if this might be them telling him what he wanted to hear to encourage him to continue paying for their drugs, he replied, 'I like to think that they loved me, even if they didn't. It makes me feel better ... I liked having sex with them. It was nice having a woman about the place' (ibid.). I asked if there was any kind of emotional bond, to which he stated, 'I've been married twice, I try not to do emotional bonds if I can help it,' (ibid.).

William told me that four women had lived with him in this manner. He described how, 'Eventually, they'd take advantage, nick my stuff, you know,' (William 2019). He claimed that items such as money, clothes and a watch had been stolen from his home by these women. In discussing why this had occurred, he simply said, 'To pay for drugs,' (ibid.).

William had a daughter and a granddaughter from his second marriage. He stated that his daughter refused to bring his granddaughter to see him when sex providers were living with him due to the drugs paraphernalia and general condition of the house. He stated that his daughter knew about his sex buying in addition to the women living with him and that she was not happy about this, stating, 'she gets upset about my girlfriends, she doesn't like them living with me,' (ibid.). When I asked if he was risking his relationship with his family by his behaviour, he answered, 'It's not like I'd lose one or the other, I just have to keep them apart,' (ibid.).

It appeared to me that the women were taking advantage of William to a large extent. He was offering somewhere to sleep, food, money for drugs and even allowing his home to be used for the women to have sex with other sex buyers. In addition, he was suffering thefts from his home. In return, William stated that he was in a 'relationship' with the women. When I discussed the situation with him, he understood the nature of the circumstances but created a narrative for himself to explain the circumstances and repeatedly referred to the women as 'girlfriends'.

Ortiz *et al.* (1998) conducted a study specifically looking at older male sex buyers and found that over a quarter of the men restricted themselves to paying for sex on-street. They concluded by stating that it is important to recognise that elderly males are still active and interested in sexual activity, and 'for those who do not have a regular sexual partner, sex workers provide one of the opportunities to indulge in sexual activities and practices,' (ibid., p219). They also found that older males are not as conscious of safe sex and condom use as younger males. Obermüller (2011) describes the use of prostitution by older males as 'Assisted Loving' and the New Zealand Herald (2018) featured a story of elderly males paying sex providers for a 'cuddle and a chat'. In many ways, this is the same debate as that of providing sex for disabled people by sex providers, which is, in essence, a case of balancing the impact upon two vulnerable groups (Appel 2010). The elderly may have limited access to sexual relations and prostitution can offer this, but it did not appear to me as if William's interactions were providing anything other than a temporary support for the women in terms of a roof over their heads and some provision for buying drugs, without any long-term benefits for them. Additionally, William did not appear to be deriving any emotional support or real companionship from his interactions. At best, he received a brief, and often unsatisfactory, sexual experience.

In discussing this situation with the police officer dealing with William, he described to me how these circumstances were not uncommon, discussing that, 'It's a bit parasitical really. They move in and take over the old man's home, sometimes even turning it into a crack house. By the end, they won't even have sex with him, they just live off him,' (Michael 2019d). The officer further discussed a policing response to these types of circumstances, stating that,

'We can never prove any offences and the man is as likely to be charged as the woman if there's drug use going on at the address. We sometimes work with the landlord or the man's family to get the woman out, but you'd be surprised how many times we've done that only to find a different woman has moved in at his invitation the week after,' (Michael 2019d).

It appeared that William's circumstances were not unique and equally that there are no easy solutions to the problems that this behaviour generates for all concerned.

As this discussion illustrates, William created narratives for himself that some of these women were his 'girlfriends' and that he was somehow helping them through paying for their drugs or whilst still a taxi driver in that he was finding them sex buyers or giving them lifts home in exchange for sex.

William offered contradictory statements, saying, 'Mainly it's for companionship. I get lonely living on my own. I don't get out much, so I go looking for company,' and 'There's not much in my life these days, it's nice to have someone tell you they love you or that they feel safe with you. I like that,' (William 2019). At other times he made comments such as, 'The girls were all out on the street and it was tempting, you know. After driving past them all night and dropping fares off with them, I needed to release my needs as well,' or 'You have to have sex, it's a basic human need,' (ibid.). When I asked if he could get companionship elsewhere, such as joining a club or similar, he responded by saying, 'I'd still have to get my sex from somewhere though, wouldn't I?' (ibid.).

He alternately claimed to be looking for companionship or to have a biological need for sex. Whilst these may not necessarily be mutually exclusive, William did not link the two and switched from one to the other. It appeared to me that he was using these narratives as a neutralisation technique (Sykes and Matza 1957) to justify to himself and others why he engaged in the behaviour he did.

William accepted that he paid for sex throughout his second marriage. When I asked if his need for companionship could have been met by his wife throughout this period, he shrugged and answered, 'I never saw it like that ... I suppose I wanted the sex as well,' (William 2019). In discussing whether his wife could have satisfied these sexual 'needs',

he could offer no reply. I asked William if his sex buying had contributed to the failure of his marriage, to which he replied, 'Maybe, a bit. She found out what I was doing, and she didn't like,' (ibid.), but when I asked if he considered stopping paying for sex after his wife found out, he responded, 'I couldn't. The girls were just there,' (ibid.).

William had a family that was being alienated by his actions, which in turn made him more isolated. He understood that his association with sex providers was what kept his daughter away, but he took no blame for this upon himself, constantly rationalising that he would find a way to accommodate both in his life and blaming circumstances rather than his own behaviour.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

William had been caught soliciting for prostitution by the police on several occasions, both whilst working as a taxi driver and in his own time. He had been previously warned and officially cautioned by the police, as well as being interviewed and warned by taxi licensing. Additionally, his name had been printed in a local newspaper as a sex buyer. He dismissed all of these interventions as having little or no effect upon him. When I asked about the prospect of going to court the next time the police caught him, he replied, 'It's not going to make any difference to me, is it? I'm seventy-five, what are they going to do to me, lock me up?' (William 2019). In discussing the impact of being named in the local paper, he commented, 'It didn't bother me really. I don't go out much, so it's not like I had many mates to take the piss or anything,' (ibid.). He also claimed that it did not concern him as to whether his daughter or family had seen the report.

When we discussed any potential changes to law or policy, William was repeatedly dismissive, stating, 'it doesn't matter to me. I need sex and the girls are willing to give it to me, it doesn't matter what the police think, does it?' (William 2019). He did not believe that any initiative or policy model would have any impact on prostitution as it would continue regardless. It was apparent to me that legal intervention or enforcement actions were not going to change William's behaviour.

When discussing potential risks to himself by engaging with street prostitution, William was equally dismissive of these. When I asked about the possibility of being the victim of assault or acquisitive crime, he replied, 'why would they bother an old man like me?' (William 2019). However, he went on to discuss an incident where a sex provider had stolen his mobile phone whilst in his car, but only described this as, 'a bit of a pain,' (ibid.). He stated that he felt no ill-will towards the woman and disclosed that he subsequently paid her for sex on a later occasion, stating that, 'she's just trying to survive, it was my fault, I shouldn't have left it where she could see it,' (ibid.).

In discussing the potential risks to the women providing sex on the streets, William described how, 'I've seen women assaulted, with black eyes and bruised faces. I saw a woman have her front teeth knocked out once. ... It's dangerous out there. The women are attacked all of the time,' (William 2019). When I asked why he thought that the women continued to provide sex after experiencing such violence, he responded, 'It's for the drugs isn't it. They need their drugs more than they need to keep safe. As long as they get paid and can buy the drugs, they don't care what's done to them,' (ibid.). I asked William if the knowledge of this level of violence experienced by sex providers was a deterrent to him continuing to pay them for sex, to which he answered, 'Why should it? I'm good to them. If they're with me, then they're not with someone who's going to batter them, are they?' (ibid.).

William also disclosed to me that one of the sex providers who had lived with him for a short time, 'just disappeared,' (William 2019). The circumstances were that she had gone out one evening to sell sex on the streets and had never returned, leaving her few possessions at his house. He had never seen nor heard of her since. When I asked if he was worried for her, he answered, 'A bit I suppose, but that's the way it is with these women, they're all over the place. They move on and you never see them again,' (ibid.). He did not report her missing nor did he make any enquiries as to her whereabouts. His response was to find another woman to move in and take her place. He was dismissive of her potential fate, rationalising the events as normal for this group of women. This discussion illustrated to me that William did not feel any emotional bond to these women.

It appeared that any potential or actual risk to either himself or to the women providing sex was not going to deter William from paying for sex. In either case, he provided a narrative for himself to justify his continued behaviour and to excuse any consequences his actions may contribute to circumstances or events.

Summary

William has paid for on-street sex throughout most of his adult life, lasting over fifty years. His work as a late-night taxi driver offered both opportunity and learning for sex buying, something that he immersed himself in. He made alternating claims of needing companionship or sex, but as his sex buying continued throughout his second marriage, this seemed inconsistent and a narrative he created to explain his behaviour.

William has repeatedly taken sex providers home with him to live at his address for short periods. He saw these as relationships but was adamant that these did not involve an emotional connection. In each case, this led to drug abuse and prostitution in his home that damaged his relationship with his daughter, further isolating him.

Chapter Eight – The Case Studies Part 3: Non-British Cultural Learned Behaviours

This chapter presents three case studies of adult male sex buyers from nationalities other than British and describes how their individual cultures contributed to the learned sexual behaviours they developed.

Case Study – DAVID

David was the first participant recruited to this study. I was introduced to him at a police station by an officer on the PTF and he requested to be interviewed at the time. I later observed him on the Change Course, following which he agreed to a second interview to clarify a few points, mainly regarding his cultural background. I had little understanding of his culture, circumstances, and country prior to the first interview resulting in me not fully understanding some of the phenomena he described, in particular, the role of, and attitude towards women in his society. I carried out background research and reading prior to the Change Course and was in a much better position to discuss these issues in the second interview.

David was a twenty-two-year-old male born and raised with his parents and siblings in a central African nation until moving to Europe in his early twenties. In his home country, David's family had the equivalent of a western middle-class status, his father being a businessman with several properties, but political and civil unrest had caused his father to flee his home nation and David to leave the country for his further education. Having lived in mainland Europe and the UK he was a college student at the time of the interview, living alone in a bedsit. His mother and sister visited from Africa occasionally, but he had little in the way of a social circle in the UK.

Cultural Influences

When I asked about prostitution in his home country, David described a situation better known as transactional sex as defined by Formson and Hilhorst (2016, p4) as ‘the exchange of sex for material or financial resources or gifts.’ This term has a focussed use Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), as Formson and Hilhorst (2016, p7) illustrate: ‘the term is used to emphasise the centrality of material exchanges to everyday sexual relationships and to clearly differentiate the practice from commercial sex and prostitution with their stigmatising connotations.’

David described this as:

‘I don’t know if it’s prostitute, you can say prostitute, but for example if you have a car a girl can easily open her legs for you, you know. Just for a drop, you know. If you have, like, two iPhone, you want to give it to another girl, she can easily open her legs. I don’t know if you can call it prostitute,’ (David 2019a).

He repeatedly used the word ‘materialist’ to describe women in general, but this did not appear to be an attempt to insult them or from bitterness, it appeared that his entire experience of women outside of his family in his home country was based around a transactional approach, especially where sex was concerned. In describing the situation for women in his home country, he explained, ‘even if you want to get a job, you need to sleep with the CEO, you know. So, if you don’t sleep with the CEO, you’re not going to get the job,’ (David 2019a). Despite understanding the limited options for women, he still seemed to blame the women to some extent for the situation: ‘Some of them are lazy and some don’t have any other way to survive, so they marry a rich man for survival. They can be materialistic and have his babies for his money,’ (David 2019b).

Transactional sex is such an ordinary part of life in SSA that, ‘gifts or money in exchange for sexual favours is considered unremarkable. A girl would feel humiliated and disrespected if she received nothing for engaging in sex,’ (Gorgen, Maier and Diesfeld 1993, p290). This should not suggest, however, that women have complete agency in transactional sex. SSA is a region of constant war and conflict and in such situations,

women and girls invariably carry a disproportionate burden of the consequences (Formson and Hilhorst 2016). Watson (2011) argues that transactional sex takes place in an environment where women have a lack of choice or opportunity. Aid and relief provided to war-torn countries can often add to these women's burdens as studies have shown that men forming part of peacekeeping forces or relief agencies can also demand sex in exchange for assistance (Notar 2006, Gilliard 2012). Transactional sex tends to become more prevalent in the aftermath of wars (Mwapu *et al.* 2016).

David appeared to have a clear understanding of the plight of women in his home country, but still blamed others for their circumstances. When discussing young girls being abused, he stated:

‘Some families are really lazy, you know. If they have a pretty daughter, she will have to go out and have sex with men to look after the whole family. They are really lazy, you know,’ (David 2019b).

It is clear to see how a patriarchal society and the marginalisation of women in David's home country has shaped the social construction of the exchange of sex for recompense and prostitution there. It is equally evident that this has developed a learned behaviour in David as to how to view women and transactional sex.

The following section will examine how this learned behaviour affects his relationships with women in general before looking specifically at sex buying.

Sex Buying Behaviour

David's primary relationships with women related to his mother and sisters. When I observed David on the Change Course, he was asked for words to describe women in his life. He focussed entirely on his family, particularly his mother, using words like ‘the future’, ‘understanding’, ‘big heart’ and ‘educator’ (Observation Log 003). He appeared to divide women into two categories: mothers and sex providers, the former to nurture and the latter to cater to men's sexual needs.

When I asked him to hypothesise about his reaction to one of his sisters being forced to provide sex to survive, he repeatedly used the word 'betrayed'. His focus was on how it would affect him, rather than the impact on his sister. It was clear that he could not relate the women he described as involved in transactional or survival sex, with someone closer to him emotionally. He understood some of the dangers involved for the women providing sex, particularly in his home country, but maintained his position of blaming the women, even if this involved his sister:

'Because, why would you do it? If you go, like, work like a whole human being, maybe you can make the money. Of course, some girls make a lot of money by doing that, but, like, it's too many risky, you know. You can be easily raped, you can get sickness, they can kidnap you easily, you know. So, you're exposed to danger in seventy-five per cent. So, I feel like, if you do it, if people like my sister maybe doing it, I think that she betrayed us, you know.' (David 2019a).

During the Change Course, he was asked to role play his mother and to comment on his being caught paying for sex. His responses tended to focus on forgiveness and expressed no surprise that he had paid for sex (Observation Log 003). It was clear that, whilst role playing his mother, there was the same cultural acceptance of prostitution as an acceptable and inevitable aspect of life.

David had one prior relationship in the UK with a girl not of his culture. He approached this relationship in the same way that he had regarded women in his home country. It appeared that this experience did address some of his deep-held beliefs as the following illustrates:

'When I first came here to UK, I thought that more girls were materialist, you know. So, I thought you should start buying her gifts, other things. She will be like, okay then me just avoid this guy. Until everything changed; I met a nice girl, but she told me she's not like this, you know. So, I started to change, you know. I did buy her gift, but not like, just to make her happy, not for having sex. Yeah, so, I started to improve.' (David 2019a).

This relationship came to an end after about a year but did appear to change some of his views towards women, although most of his entrenched attitudes remained as the following section demonstrates. The learned behaviour that David developed through cultural influences and the social construction of prostitution in his home country appear to affect his relationships with women.

David informed me that his first experience of paying for sex was at the age of fourteen in his home country. He described how a slightly older friend took him to see a girl whom they both paid to have sex with. David was unsure of her age, only describing her as older than him, but probably under eighteen. He did not consider her to be a child stating that this was not unusual nor something he was overly concerned with. He fully accepted that some of these young women might not be a willing participant, stating that, 'Sometimes if a family has a pretty daughter, men will visit the family and tell them that their daughter has to do this thing, you know,' (David 2019b), whereupon the exploiters would profit from the daughter's prostitution. Whilst I observed the Change Course, the group was asked at what age they thought that women first became involved in prostitution. In answer, David replied, 'as soon as their bodies are able,' (Observation Log 003). He went on to say that some girls providing sex in SSA were as young as thirteen years of age. This did not appear to be a sexual desire for a child in him, but more of an acceptance that this is how young girls are when they first provide sex.

David stated that paying for sex became a regular occurrence for him, on a roughly monthly basis, throughout his teenage years. It appeared to me that this became normal and routine for David over several years and something that was almost expected of him (David 2019a). Hunter (2002) describes how there is a pressure and expectation on young men to have multiple sexual partners in SSA and how this is often facilitated through prostitution, which correlates with David's story.

Most of these sex buying experiences for David were in the company of other young men or boys. He described how they would sometimes pay to have sex with the same woman or pay different women, dependent on availability and inclination. It appeared that, in his early teens, this was usually at the instigation of older friends. Peer pressure

and peer expectations placed David into these situations, but as he aged and the behaviour became more normalised, he would do the same with younger boys, introducing them to sex buying (David 2019a).

A combination of peer and cultural learning experiences taught David that paying women for sex was both acceptable and a normal part of society in growing up. He came to see paying for sex as a part of everyday life (David 2019a).

In leaving his home country, David told me that he went to live in western Europe. From here, he visited brothels in Amsterdam and northern France. On both occasions, he was with a friend. He described how they gave no real thought as to who was leading or suggesting the experience and it appeared to have been accepted as simply something they did. Given that prostitution was legal in Amsterdam and illegal in France, the legislative or policy model in place did not appear to have been a factor. The question of whether they were breaking the law never occurred to them. David even described a family member who died of a sexually contracted disease following a split condom whilst having sex with a woman providing sex, but this did not seem to have deterred him in any way. The learned behaviour developed through his teenage years appeared to be firmly implanted and he was judging prostitution in western Europe in the same way as he had in his home country. His views of women, and those providing sex in particular, remained entrenched as described above.

Despite this deep-seated learned behaviour, David still displayed several neutralisation techniques to provide a narrative to himself that he need not take any responsibility for his sex buying or the results of this, as the following section demonstrates.

Constructed Narratives

David created several aspects to his narrative of sex buying as a way of justifying his behaviour. The first of these related to how he created the opportunity to engage with prostitution on the occasion he was caught by the police. He spent some time describing to me how he had been on a local park playing basketball before walking to the tram

stop. In fact, the tram system goes nowhere near where he lives, and the city centre is only a fifteen-minute walk away. He described how his travel card would not work so he chose to walk into the city. Instead of taking the obvious route and following the tram lines, he walked tangentially along Forest Road claiming that this was the only route he knew, despite being a regular user of the trams. This route took him through the established area for street prostitution. On encountering a woman providing sex, they had a brief conversation and then he visited a nearby cash point to draw out sufficient money to pay her (Sara, PCSO, 2019a). To David, this seemed a reasonable explanation as to why he was walking along this road (David 2019a).

The second aspect of his narrative concerned blaming the woman providing sex. He described how she approached him and asked, 'Do you want business?' (David 2019a). This is a typical approach when initially negotiating a sexual act on the streets (Sara, PCSO, 2019a), but David claimed that he thought she was asking him for help with some business transaction she was engaged in. He stated to me, 'You know sometime you can find someone on the road, so you maybe like, maybe he's waiting for a taxi, maybe he came out from the college or the school who's there,' (David 2019a). In this, David was painting himself as being helpful and willing to assist this woman with whatever difficulty she had. Once they continued the conversation, it quickly became apparent to David that she 'meant business about having sex,' (David 2019a). He portrayed the woman as being the instigator of the encounter in that he believed she approached him and stopped him with a request for help. It was only after he stopped that he stated that he understood this was an encounter about paying for sex. Once he understood this, he stated that his response was simply, 'Oh, okay,' (David 2019a).

The encounter with this sex provider was witnessed by a PCSO, who described David's actions as being 'comfortable and confident in talking to her,' (Sara, PCSO, 2019a). He had no hesitation in walking up to the female and, although she spoke first, it was the PCSO's opinion that he was in the area looking for a woman providing sex. Sara (PCSO, 2019a) goes on to point out that he left the woman briefly to go to the cash point around the corner where he could have walked away into town, but he drew twenty pounds out and returned to her. I interviewed the sex provider in this scenario, who claimed that David was a 'regular punter', claiming to have 'done him' again since being stopped by

the police (Lynne, sex provider, 2019). I have some doubt as to the accuracy of Lynne's recollection of David, however, as some of her story did not match the account by Sara (PCSO, 2019a). All three agreed that David and Lynne had gone into a dark alleyway and had returned a few seconds later as David was not comfortable with the location. It appeared that Lynne's (sex provider, 2019) recollection of the incident was better than that of the person, possibly owing to the fact that she was stopped at the scene by a member of police staff, making the incident more memorable.

In portraying the encounter in this way, David positioned himself at this location due to factors outside of his control, being his tram pass would not work and he had to walk this way as it was the only route he knew. He then stated that the woman effectively tricked him into stopping by asking for business, which he took to be a request for help in some way. Only once he was placed in this position, did he agree to pay her for sex. David absolved himself of blame in this encounter, telling himself that it was due to circumstances and the woman involved.

In discussing sex and paying for it, David cited loneliness as a key factor. His family still lived in Africa and he lived alone in a bedsit. He stated, 'I don't have many friends here, ... and I don't know many women,' (David 2019b). Despite his one relationship in the UK, he described how he finds it hard to meet women and does not understand how relationships tend to work in western Europe. David linked his emotional need due to loneliness to a perceived biological need for sex, describing this as: 'being lonely, you can hit anything,' (David 2019a), implying that his loneliness and lack of a relationship with a regular sexual partner, made him less discerning and led to him having to pay women on the street for this. He expanded on this as:

'Sometimes you just need to have sex, you know. If there were no available girls in your contact list, you might go and pay a girl for this. ... It's just a need, you know. Men have to have sex sometimes and materialistic or stupid girls will do it for things, you know,' (David 2019b).

In this, David was demonstrating how his entrenched learned behaviour was being represented as some form of need and that women were simply a vehicle to satisfying this.

The following section looks at how some of David's views may be changing since his arrival in the UK through being caught and processed by the police, and education through conversations and attendance on the Change Course.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

David came over as an intelligent man who appeared to recognise some of the conflicting views he held, particularly when confronted with reality. He was interviewed twice, a few weeks apart, and in this intervening time he had tried to find out more about prostitution and claimed to have discovered that drugs were a key driver and that infectious diseases such as HIV could be passed on through prostitution. Given the high levels of HIV and AIDS in SSA (Caldwell, Caldwell and Quiggin 1989), it's difficult to believe that this is somehow new to David, but drugs do not play such a key part in prostitution in SSA, which is driven more by female poverty (Luke 2003). When asked how he found the Change Course, he replied, 'It was good. They gave me information, you know. I didn't know that in the UK the girls are all on drugs,' (David 2019b).

When I asked if this new-found understanding had changed his views of prostitution and paying for sex, his immediate response was to say 'yeah', but his entire focus was on the potential impact on himself in terms of being caught again by the police or his family finding out what he had done via social media. He gave no consideration of the situation that the women may find themselves in. When I asked about the current policy on prostitution in the UK and if this should change, he returned to his assertion that men had to get sex from somewhere and, if they did not have a girlfriend, then paying for it was the only option available to them (David 2019a).

I asked if he would ever pay for sex again, whereupon he initially stated that he would not, and that he would have to find himself 'a nice girl' (David 2019a). The implication

here was that a woman would have to cater to his sexual needs and if he was not going to pay for it, then he would require a girlfriend. He then went on to describe how a friend had shown him websites of escorts providing sex on the Internet, implying that he would shift to paying for sex in an off-street environment.

Summary

Having been born and raised in a very different culture to that in the UK, with systemic transactional sex in all walks of life, David had very entrenched views of women and buying sex. Through the social construction of prostitution in his home country, he developed a series of learned behaviours regarding the position of women in society, especially those not of his family. He viewed women as either mothers or sex providers, which lead to difficulties in forming relationships with women.

Building on these learned behaviours, David developed a series of constructed narratives to justify his actions to himself and to others. This involved a denial of responsibility and blaming others.

Case Study – JOSEPH

I first met Joseph on the Change Course. Following a conversation over lunch, he agreed to take part in this research. As such, we met on a later date back at the police station for the interview. The location was Joseph's choice.

Joseph was a thirty-year-old black male, originally from a Sub-Saharan African (SSA) nation, but had lived his adult life in the UK, working in the hospitality industry. He was married, his wife coming from the same nation and culture as himself. He had no children at the time of the interview.

Cultural Influences

Joseph's family came to London when he was still of primary school age. He stated that he had little memory of life in his home country and had only visited a few times since. Despite this, his parents remained largely separated from UK culture and remained firmly entrenched in a small community, all originating from the same small area within their home country. Joseph was not allowed to socialise with other children outside of school from other cultures. His home life was based around the culture of his home country and the protestant Christian religion practiced within their community group.

When I asked if his heritage was important to him, he emphatically replied, 'Definitely. Sometimes it's like we moved a small part of (*redacted*) here to England with us,' (Joseph 2019). He also explained that when with his family or his wife, they still spoke their native Bantu language. He went on to say that: 'We try to live our lives in the (*redacted*) way ... sticking to our own people and following our own religion. We don't socialise outside of our community,' (ibid.) (home nation name redacted to preserve anonymity).

In discussing his marriage, Joseph stated that there was an expectation on him to marry someone from within their community. This was not an arranged marriage, but his choice of partners came from a very small group of young women.

Kambarami (2006) describes the patriarchal nature of Joseph's culture stating that they are taught from a very young age that boys and girls have different roles, with the former being breadwinners and the females being 'obedient and submissive housekeepers' (ibid., p3). Jeater (2016, p171) goes further than this and argues that the culture, 'encourages polygyny and sexual prowess, ... and opens the way to a culture of impunity in cases of sexual violence.' It appears that Joseph's culture is one where the male is expected to be masculine and dominant, and the female meek and subservient. However, despite his family's attempts to shield him from British culture, it appeared to me that through school and later at work, Joseph had an understanding and some tendencies towards wanting to experience this. This appeared to cause emotional conflict within him with comments such as: 'I feel undervalued. My feelings aren't taken into account,' and 'I've tried being the nice guy, but it gets you nothing,' (Joseph 2019).

Sex Buying Behaviour

Joseph told me that he had known his wife for over a decade, and they had been married for around a year at the time of the interview. The two of them moved away from their families to Nottingham on getting married, which left Joseph distanced from the culture and support network he had known all of his life (Joseph 2019).

Joseph disclosed that his wife had an on-going affair with a man back in their home country whilst on repeated visits to see family. This was a very significant event for Joseph and once he had opened up the subject, he returned to it many times during the interview. On finding out about the affair, he stated that he confronted her, and she admitted to it. The affair ended, but it was clear that Joseph had many unresolved issues surrounding this (Joseph 2019).

Although the affair predated their wedding, Joseph described how he felt trapped into the union due to family expectations and the exchange of dowries. He did not feel that he could disclose nor discuss the affair, or his feelings about this to anyone, keeping his emotions bottled up inside him. He described feeling betrayed by her and other members of her family who travelled with her and were aware of the affair. When I asked if he felt bitter about this, he answered, 'I've never let it go. I can't forgive or forget. I know I should and that I'm the one hanging onto this, but I can't let it go,' (Joseph 2019). It appeared to me that his wife wanted to move on from this incident: 'She just says that it was two years ago, and I should move on,' (ibid.) but it appeared just as evident that Joseph could not let it go. In the end he conceded that: 'I think I pay for sex as a way of getting back at her,' (ibid.). There is a contradiction in this statement as Joseph admitted to paying for sex for a number of years preceding his wife's affair, but he did not seem to be able, or refused to, understand this inconsistency. To him, his wife was totally at fault in this situation and he had no consideration as to her agency in the situation. He stated, 'She had an affair. She has the greater sin,' (ibid.).

Joseph was conflicted in his perceptions of his own masculinity through contrasting cultural influences from Sub-Saharan Africa and the UK. He wanted to be the man the house, but also seemed to be emotionally inferior to his wife. He saw her affair as a

betrayal of him, commenting 'She doesn't appreciate my pain,' (Joseph 2019). To address this imbalance in his expectations and his reality, Joseph, in part, appeared to turn to prostitution as a way of reasserting his masculinity: 'Talking to the prostitutes is a form of escapism, a remedy to my problems. They want me, they complement the hell out of me. I feel empowered,' (ibid.). It is perhaps not surprising that some of the women providing sex would complement him and attempt to boost the ego of a potential sex buyer, and it is equally likely that this is effectively a sales technique and did not contain any true meaning (Petro 2018). When this was suggested to Joseph, he clung to the view that the women were offering genuine observations to him. He accepted that, with regards to his wife, 'there is a power imbalance in our relationship,' (Joseph 2019), but could not see that he was compensating for this by paying other women to create an artificial boost to his ego and a sense of empowerment.

Joseph demonstrated some strong evidence of the sexual objectification of women, both through his use of on-line pornography and sex buying. He was initially reticent in discussing these issues, but once he opened up, he became forthright and candid. I formed the impression that these were issues that he had never discussed with anyone before and had been bottling these inside himself. He seemed relieved to speak about this out loud and, at times, I verged on adopting a role as a counsellor. Through the police and the Change Course facilitators, I ensured that he was offered the opportunity to speak to a trained professional to address his concerns.

When the subject of pornography arose and I asked Joseph if he viewed this at all, he replied, 'Yeah, a bit too much to be honest,' (Joseph 2019). He disclosed that he had been accessing pornography regularly since he was a teenager. He immediately focussed on the fact that pornography might be a problem for him. He described watching videos on his phone and that this had escalated over a number of years to a point where it dominated his life at times: 'I watch stuff when I'm on my own, breaks at work, when my wife's out of the room,' (ibid.). Regardless of the circumstances, it appeared that if Joseph was left alone, he would access pornography on his phone, to the extreme situation of his wife going to another room in the house for a few minutes.

In describing his use of pornography, Joseph stated:

‘I suppose it started out as a healthy curiosity, but I realise that it’s a bit out of control now. I sometimes watch videos at work or look at pictures when I’m on the bus. I shouldn’t do it, but I can’t help myself.’ (Joseph 2019).

In this, Joseph began to define his pornography use as a compulsion, going on to say, ‘I understand that porn isn’t real, that it’s unhealthy and unrealistic, but I feel I have to watch it,’ and finally concluded, ‘maybe I’m addicted to it,’ (ibid.). He accepted that he had never discussed this with a medical or therapeutic professional and had no diagnosis relating to any form of compulsion or addiction. When I asked him what he got out of pornography, he replied, ‘I was turned on if that’s what you mean. It excites me, gives me a buzz,’ (ibid.).

There is no medical diagnosis of ‘pornography addiction’ and the subject is one that is widely debated and disputed (Grubbs, Kraus and Perry 2019). Voros (2009, p243) goes as far as labelling it an ‘invention’ to normalise ‘ordinary practices of control of the self and others.’ The vast majority of alleged cases are self-reported (Grubbs *et al.* 2018), with little or no professional intervention. This is then perpetuated with popular media coverage and celebrity case studies (Grubbs, Kraus and Perry 2019). This description fits with Joseph’s allusion to an addiction, without any genuine evidence of a psychological origin. It is likely that this is a result of learned behaviour through cultural confusion over his masculinity and role in relation to women, as discussed above, and neutralisation through constructed narratives, as will be discussed in a later section.

Joseph accepted that, through pornography, he focussed on women’s body parts rather than seeing the whole person, with a particular focus on breasts. After watching a video, he could recall details about the woman’s sexual organs and the acts she had performed, but not what she looked like.

Park *et al.* (2016, p17) investigated pornography use in men under forty and concluded that:

‘This review also considers evidence that Internet pornography’s unique properties (limitless novelty, potential for easy escalation to more extreme material, video format, etc.) may be potent enough to condition sexual

arousal to aspects of Internet pornography use that do not readily transition to real-life partners, such that sex with desired partners may not register as meeting expectations and arousal declines.’

Many studies have examined the potential links with excessive pornography use and medical conditions in males such as erectile dysfunction, delayed ejaculation, decreased sexual satisfaction, and diminished libido. Joseph displayed some elements of this and stated that he largely no longer found sex with his wife satisfied his apparent expectations of sex (Joseph 2019).

Joseph described how he went as far as parking up on the street and watching pornography on his phone before approaching sex providers. On the night he was caught by the police, Joseph admitted that he had been watching pornography prior to approaching the woman standing on the pavement. When he was pressed for his recollection of the woman, he eventually conceded that: ‘she had a full figure, big breasts you know,’ (Joseph 2019), but could not remember what she looked like.

Frederickson and Roberts (1997) introduced Objectification Theory as a way of understanding the impact that male objectification of women and girls has on them and how this can lead to body monitoring, body shaming and anxiety. This is a popular theory amongst modern feminist writers (Szymanski, Moffit and Carr 2011), but most of this focus is on the victims with very little research into the ‘perpetrators’ of this objectification (Gervais *et al.* 2017). An Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale (ISOS) was developed by Kozee *et al.* (2007) to illustrate the varying levels of psychological damage experienced by women, which was later developed by Gervais *et al.* (2017) to offer a matching scale for the perpetrators (ISOS-P). This provides sub-divisions of self-objectification, other-objectification, and sexual violence perpetration based on body gazes, body comments, and unwanted explicit sexual advances. In relation to the ISOS-P, Joseph engaged in other-objectification, primarily around body gazes. This involved viewing women as their constituent body parts, particularly those associated with sexual attraction. For Joseph, this appeared to be a learned behaviour through his pornography use, which accentuates and focusses on these same parts of the body. The results of this

are usually obvious to the female target, which will lead to them being self-conscious about their body and damaging their self-esteem (Kozee *et al.* 2007).

In interview, Joseph appeared largely unaware of the potential impact of his actions through this objectification, although he had some understanding of the situation of women providing sex on the streets: 'A lot of the women on the streets are on drugs, you can see that just by looking at them,' (Joseph 2019). Despite this partial realisation, this did not temper his actions, nor prevented him from sexual objectification of women, pornography use or paying for sex.

Constructed Narratives

Joseph stated that the first time he paid for sex was about three years prior to the interview. He described how he stopped his car next to a woman standing on the street corner. He claimed that 'she looked like she was in need. I stopped to ask if I could help her,' (Joseph 2019) and that she immediately offered him oral sex on getting into the car. He stated that he did not realise she was providing sex until she made this offer, but once he became aware, he agreed to the act (*ibid.*).

Joseph paid for sex outside of the UK on just one occasion. Having visited Amsterdam with his wife for a short holiday, they separated whilst she visited shops. He decided to go for a walk along the established window prostitution area of the city. He claimed that 'I just went for a look really,' but found one woman who he was drawn to, stating, 'I liked the look of her,' (Joseph 2019), and subsequently went into the property and paid her for sex.

These two incidents illustrate the narrative that Joseph told himself to explain why he placed himself in situations where he subsequently paid for sex. He repeatedly claimed that his interest in the women providing sex on the streets was one of wanting to understand prostitution: 'I'm inquisitive, I like to understand these things. I suppose I do drive around quite often to try to understand,' (Joseph 2019). When I pressed for a little more detail, he continued, 'I ask them how much they charge for different things,' (*ibid.*).

On being challenged as to his motivation, he conceded, 'I get a bit of a buzz from speaking to them,' (ibid.), but he claimed he only paid them for sex when 'she's nice.'

On discussing the incident where he was caught by the police, Joseph initially offered me a narrative to explain why he was in the area, insisting that he had not gone to the area specifically looking to pay for sex (Joseph 2019). He claimed that he was out to buy groceries, despite it being eight o'clock in the evening and he lived in a village outside of Nottingham, whereupon he would have passed several stores closer to home. After having been seen to stop and talk to a woman on the side of the road, the police witnessed him visit a nearby cash machine (Michael 2019b), but on police interview Joseph initially maintained that he needed money to pay for his groceries, despite drawing out twenty pounds, the exact fee asked for by the woman (Michael 2019b, Joseph 2019). When I pointed out these inconsistencies, he eventually conceded, 'I guess I was just driving around a bit. Like I said, I'm interested in why women become prostitutes, so I sometimes chat to them,' (Joseph 2019). He still clung to the narrative that he had not gone there specifically to pay for sex. When I pointed out that he had accepted a caution for soliciting from the police, he replied, 'Don't get me wrong, I've done it before, and I probably deserved to get caught,' (ibid.). He did accept that he had been driving around for a 'little while' and even that, 'I'd actually seen another man get stopped by, what I thought was, the police. I just didn't think that would happen to me,' (ibid.).

Joseph created a narrative that he believed explained his reasons for being in the area. It did not appear to me that he was necessarily trying to fool anyone else, but that he was telling himself this. The narrative he invented explained why he was in the area and what he was doing there, and it was only because he found himself in these situations that he went on to pay for sex. Despite this, his narrative was not particularly sophisticated, and it was clear that he found difficulty holding onto it when challenged. As described above, he eventually conceded that he had parked by the side of the road and watched pornography on his phone before approaching the woman on the street corner (Joseph 2019).

Another aspect of Joseph's neutralisation techniques, beyond denying responsibility, related to how he viewed the women providing sex and how he 'denied the victim' (Sykes and Matza 1957). On the Change Course (Observation Log 005), when discussing the offending cycle, he used the phrases 'I'm helping her' and 'I'm not hurting anyone' to justify his behaviour. Despite acknowledging some aspects of the situation of the women, he stated to me on interview: 'A lot of the women on the streets are on drugs, you can see that just by looking at them, but most of them seem happy enough,' (Joseph 2019). In discussing the potential risks to the women, he reported, 'I suppose that there's always some bad men out there that will do them harm, but they don't complain when you talk to them. They're in a public place, so they should be okay,' (ibid.). It appeared to me that he knew what the potential risks were, but he excused them away or minimised them.

These neutralisation techniques employed by Joseph appeared to be a way of 'making it alright' for him to pay for sex. His narrative was that the women were safe and willing, and that his presence was incidental to paying for sex, none of the situation was his fault.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

When I asked if his engagement with prostitution had changed over the time he had been paying for sex, Joseph answered:

'I used to have to make an effort, psych myself up to go out and pick up a prostitute. These days it feels a lot more normal, it doesn't scare me anymore. I used to have to have a drink to give me Dutch courage, but I don't need that anymore.' (Joseph 2019).

This was in obvious contrast to his earlier claims that he was either in the area for unrelated purposes or to satisfy his curiosity regarding prostitution. This illustrated that sex buying was becoming more routine for Joseph through both learned behaviour and his constructed narratives.

When I asked if he was likely to pay for sex again, he responded, 'No, definitely not. This has all been a wake-up call for me,' (Joseph 2019). The process of being caught by the police, attending the Change Course, and opening up in interview appeared to have broken some of Joseph's tenuous narrative and he was beginning to confront the reality of his behaviour and the effect it was having on others around him, particularly his wife. He acknowledged that his sense of betrayal over his wife's affair was having a negative impact on his relationship: 'I have to find a way to forgive her,' (ibid.).

Joseph appeared to genuinely want to change some aspects of his life, particularly around his use of pornography and prostitution, as well as improving his relationship with his wife. Despite this, when I asked if it should be illegal to pay for sex, he replied, 'No, not really. It's just something people do isn't it. If men need sex and women need money, it makes sense really,' (Joseph 2019). Joseph claimed that he wanted to change, but he had some deep-seated learned behaviours that will need to change if he is to achieve this.

Summary

Despite his teenage years being spent in the UK, Joseph was heavily influenced by the cultural impact of his home country due to his community being culturally insular. There was an expectation on Joseph to be the 'man of the house' and to assert his masculinity. This appeared to cause conflict for Joseph who was emotionally insecure but did not have the tools or the support to address his needs and issues. This resulted in him using pornography and prostitution as substitutes for emotional security at home, but this invariably failed to satisfy his needs or address his issues.

Joseph's extreme pornography use had negatively affected his perception of women and led to sexual objectification that focussed on body parts to the exclusion of any attention to the person. This had led to unsatisfactory attempts to recreate some of the fantasy elements of pornography into real life through prostitution.

Joseph created narratives to excuse and explain his learned sexual behaviour through culture and pornography. These techniques included denying any personal responsibility and of any victimhood for the women involved. He reconfigured himself as the victim, particularly through his wife's affair.

Case Study – LEONARD

Of several Eastern European males caught by the police during the period of participant recruitment, Leonard was the only one who agreed to participate in this research. Of all the sex buyers I interviewed, Leonard was the most concerned about anonymity and worried in case his family should find out what he had done.

I first met Leonard on the Change Course and later arranged to meet him again at the police station for an interview.

Leonard was a thirty-one-year-old male from Eastern Europe. He initially came to the UK alone around five years prior to the interview as a single male, before returning to his home country to marry his wife, a native of the same country as himself. They settled in the UK and had a son who was still pre-school at the time of the interview, whilst their respective families remained in Eastern Europe. Leonard worked in the hospitality industry, often working long shifts.

Cultural Influences

The status of women in Leonard's home country appears to be one that has deteriorated since financial hardships have forced the country into recession. In 2005, Fodor (2005, p21) noted that she could find 'no radical decline in women's position relative to that of men.' However, following the global financial crash in 2007, Nowak (2010, p19) argues that these same women 'today face disproportionate levels of unemployment and are pushed into the informal economy due to outmoded perceptions of women's roles.' The status of women in Leonard's home country has not improved since, with Margolis

(2020) reporting that the country was seeking to withdraw from the European treaty on violence against women. Informal reports of domestic violence have risen during the COVID-19 pandemic, but official reports remain stubbornly low, something that Margolis (*ibid.*, para 4) argues 'reflects how taboo the issue remains.' This illustrates the perceptions of women in Leonard's culture over recent years, which will have affected his views of, and relationships with women in general.

Leonard discussed how his first experience of paying for sex was in his hometown in Eastern Europe whilst still in his late teens, where he was taken by friends to a local brothel. He described the experience as: 'nothing special. It did not feel good afterwards,' (Leonard 2019). When I asked him to explain this, he expanded, 'It was like having sex with a plank of wood, she did not move or react, she just laid there. I did not enjoy it,' (*ibid.*).

Despite this experience, Leonard stated that he continued to pay for sex in his home country. His work required him to drive a van and he used this to provide an opportunity to engage with prostitution (Leonard 2019). He described a practice where women would loiter in remote areas on arterial routes, often close to woodland, something described by travel bloggers as common in Eastern Europe (Robert 2013). Leonard described how lorry drivers would stop and take the women into the woods or have sex in their vehicles and that he would occasionally do the same in his van. He described the policing response to men paying for sex as, 'They leave you alone if you don't bother anyone,' and 'they only arrest the women, they don't arrest the men,' (Leonard 2019).

As with many European countries, the policy on prostitution in Leonard's home country is derived from historical concerns over the wider public health, rather than the safety or health of the women providing sex (Uzarczyk 2016), something which Stauter-Halsted (2009) refers to as a moral panic where the policy is derived from public reaction rather than reasoned debate or evidence-based research. The current legislative framework in his home country is an abolitionist model due to the lack of cohesive direction leading to neither prohibition nor regulation resulting in a form of informal tolerance (Gruszczynska *et al.* 2007). As such, it is not illegal to buy or provide sex, but the policing focus regarding on-street prostitution tends to penalise the women providing sex under

anti-social behaviour legislation (Stauter-Halsted 2009), with the majority of resources directed towards tackling exploitation and human trafficking in the larger towns and cities (Brussa 2009).

It is in this cultural and legislative environment that Leonard first experimented with, and then learned to become an occasional sex buyer in a system that largely ignored the men paying for sex, effectively telling him that his behaviour was acceptable. He stated that he had not spent any length of time in any other country than his own and the UK, and that he had not paid for sex anywhere else (Leonard 2019).

Sex Buying Behaviour

Leonard stated that he paid for sex, 'maybe once a week, sometimes more,' and that this was always on-street as 'it costs too much to go to a house,' (Leonard 2019). He was very open about his sex buying, describing how, on the night he was caught, he went to the area after work specifically to find a woman providing sex. He had no knowledge of UK prostitution legislation on his initial arrival in the country but had since learned that it was against the law. Despite this, he struggled to believe that he had done anything that was not normal and natural. It appeared that Leonard's learned behaviour over his sexually formative years was deep seated to the point where he did not consider his actions to be morally or legally wrong.

Leonard also displayed elements of bounded intimacy. Leonard's wife was seriously ill, leading to a lack of sex in his marriage. Taken with his stressful work life, he blamed these for his sex buying. When I asked if he was looking for an emotional connection with the sex providers, he immediately replied, 'No, there is no emotion in prostitutes. It's just business for them, no emotion,' (Leonard 2019). He expanded on this by saying, 'There's no emotion with a prostitute, it's just sex. If I had an affair there would be emotion, that would be a betrayal of my wife,' (ibid.). When I challenged him on this, he was adamant that paying another woman for sex was not unfaithful and that he was not betraying his wife in this way. This qualified monogamy demonstrated how Leonard equated an emotional connection with being unfaithful, rather than a physical one. As

long as he could avoid any emotional element to his sex buying, he was able to excuse any sense of being unfaithful or of breaking the bonds of his marriage. In this way, bounded intimacy and qualified monogamy were intricately linked.

Constructed Narratives

Leonard worked long shifts that he found stressful and demanding. He stated that, 'I sometimes need to release the stresses, so I go to find a prostitute,' (Leonard 2019). Stress was a repeating theme for Leonard, and he seemed to believe that the best way to cope with this, or to relieve the pressure, was to pay a woman for sex. He also stated that he drank alcohol as another way to ease his stress, but that this usually led to him paying for sex as well, although alcohol is not a pre-requisite for him visiting a sex provider: 'I drink because of my problems, it is not for the prostitutes,' (ibid.).

After some discussion, Leonard revealed that long shifts at work were not the only, or even the major, cause of stress in his life. He disclosed to me that his wife was suffering from a serious health issue, but the prognosis was that she would recover. As a result, they were no longer intimate in their relationship. Leonard stated that, 'sex is a stress relief for me, I need to have sex and she doesn't want to,' (Leonard 2019).

When I asked about what prostitution did to ease his stress, he replied, 'I want to feel a buzz, but it usually doesn't work, it just brings more problems ... It doesn't help. I still feel stressed,' (Leonard 2019). When I enquired if he was perhaps looking for something other than a physical connection, he strongly refuted this, repeating his claim that prostitution was not about emotional connections.

I asked Leonard if he had tried to talk to his wife about his concerns and the stress, he believed he was suffering. He answered, 'I can't. I can't talk about my problems because hers are bigger. She is not well, and her problems always take priority,' (Leonard 2019). He stated that there was no-one else he could talk to, his relationship with work colleagues did not facilitate such a discussion.

It appeared to me that Leonard was deeply concerned for his wife and frightened about the potential consequences of her condition. Despite his assertion that he needed sex to relieve his stress, paying a sex provider was not achieving this. Both his drinking and engaging with prostitution appeared to be a form of escapism from his situation and he lacked the emotional maturity to address the issues directly with his wife.

Grunberg *et al.* (1999) examined situations similar to Leonard's and concluded that stress in work or relationships did not necessarily drive people to behaviour such as drinking or prostitution, but 'it is specifically those workers who endorse primarily escapist reasons who are at greatest risk,' (ibid., p35). In essence, the results showed that the individual also had to believe that this type of behaviour would address their issues. This is a type of learned behaviour that is probably built upon Leonard's early development in his home country where both alcohol consumption and prostitution are widespread and accepted as normal behaviour (Uzarczyk 2016).

Holohan *et al.* (2003) examined patients with bipolar depression who drank alcohol to cope with stress or distress and concluded that this coping strategy actually made the depression symptoms worse, which in turn led to a cycle of more drinking. Bancroft (1999) demonstrated that depression and stress can be associated with increased promiscuity. Leonard had no medical diagnosis of depression (Leonard 2019), but his behaviour did mirror many of the participants in these studies. As his comments above demonstrated, he did not find that paying for sex, or drinking alcohol, alleviated his stress. His comments seem to suggest that it made his stress greater, but the only coping mechanism he understood was to pay for more sex and to drink more alcohol. He appeared to be trapped in this cycle.

Without a professional assessment, whether Leonard is clinically depressed or not cannot be assumed, but the findings of the above, and other, studies may well apply regardless. There are psychological and emotional causes of depression, but the coping strategies are learned behaviour.

Leonard was offered appropriate counselling services through the police and the Change Course.

Potential Abstinence and Deterrents

Despite the narrative Leonard offered as above, he was fully aware of the potential consequences of his actions if his wife or family found out what he had been doing. When I asked how his wife would react, he answered:

‘She would kill me. She would demand to know why I had done it. I think she would leave me and take my son to (*redacted*) to live with her family. She would leave me.’ (Leonard 2019) (home nation redacted for anonymity).

Once confronted with this potential, he concluded, ‘I am stupid,’ (*ibid.*). Despite this, however, this did not appear to be a preventative factor for him. He was reliant on the fact that she would not find out, rather than taking steps to change his behaviour.

When we discussed the lives of the women providing sex on the streets, he stated, ‘I don’t know about drugs, but there are sometimes pimps in cars or in the woods,’ (Leonard 2019). To some extent, he did not want to confront the possible issues they may face and repeatedly answered, ‘I don’t know,’ to most questions on this subject (*ibid.*). Again, this was not a preventative factor for him.

I asked Leonard if the legislative model in the UK was the right approach for on-street prostitution, to which he answered, ‘I don’t know. I think maybe I shouldn’t be arrested,’ (Leonard 2019). He focussed on the impact on himself rather than anyone else involved. When I asked if he thought he would ever pay for sex again, he conceded that this was linked to his relationship and stated, ‘If I talk to my wife, I maybe won’t need it. I don’t know.’ (*ibid.*). It was clear that, if Leonard did not change anything in his life, then his sex buying would continue.

Summary

Leonard learned his sexual behaviour in his home country in Eastern Europe that operated a policy of largely ignoring prostitution and any enforcement activity was focussed on the women providing sex through anti-social behaviour legislation, with the

sex buyers effectively tolerated. This reinforced Leonard's belief that paying for sex was a normal aspect of male adult life.

Leonard made claims of stress due to his wife having a serious illness and the pressures of his work, which involved an intense workload and long hours in the hospitality trade. He used alcohol and prostitution as coping mechanisms. Whilst his mental health issues cannot be assessed without professional help, it appeared that his response was largely based on his learned behaviour. This is further evidenced by the neutralisation techniques that Leonard deployed to create a narrative to explain and excuse his behaviour.

Chapter Nine - Perceptions of Sex Buyers' Reasons and Motivations

Having considered the case studies over the previous three chapters, this chapter presents the findings of the second phase of interviews. Chapter Five introduced the concept of triangulation of data as defined by Carter (2014, p545) as 'the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena.' This was expanded upon by consideration of Hammersley's (2008) definitions of three 'meanings' of triangulation:

1. triangulation as validity-checking,
2. indefinite triangulation, or
3. triangulation as seeking complementary information.

Whilst all three had some relevance to this research, triangulation was primarily used here to seek complementary information to the phenomenon of sex buying, rather than further developing the individual case studies. This formed the basis of a second phase of interviews for this research whereby I identified three groups of participants who had direct involvement in street prostitution in Nottingham. These groups were:

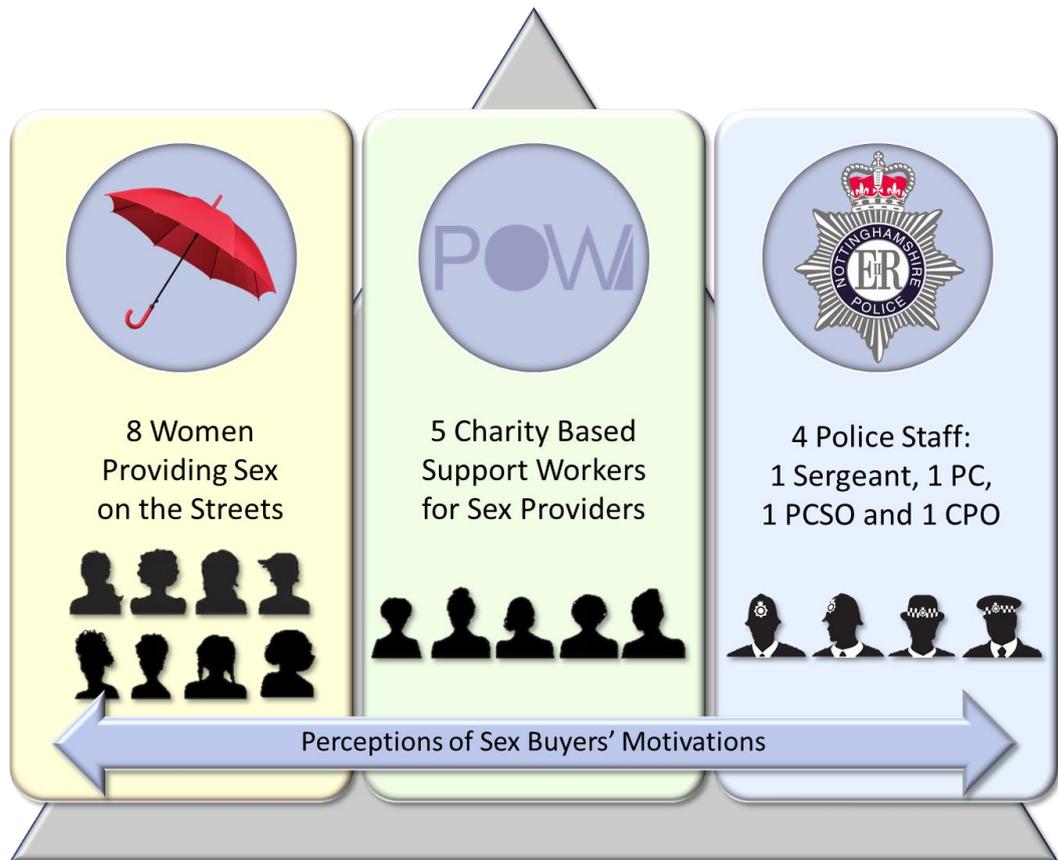
1. Street sex providers,
2. Support workers for sex providers, and
3. Police officers and staff policing street prostitution.

As with the case studies, the findings of these interviews were examined through the lens of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying model derived in Chapter One. The findings of this phase of interviews are presented thematically below.

Overview of Participants

Figure 9.1 below summarises the numbers and category of interviewees who participated in the second phase of interviews conducted in this research.

Figure 9.1: Triangulation Interview Participants



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I interviewed eight women providing sex on the streets regarding their views and opinions as to why men purchase sex from them. Apparent in all of these interviews was the fact that no-one had ever asked them this question before, and these women had not considered this for themselves. The over-riding impression was that they simply did not care. The sex buyers were a source of money, and the women wanted no interaction with them beyond this. Once they did consider the men's motivations, all shared very similar views. All eight women were open and frank in their responses, sometimes bluntly so. The women acknowledged addictions to Class A drugs, including heroin, crack cocaine and psychoactive substances. In all cases, a need to satisfy these addictions, together with the associated marginalisation and poverty this precipitated, was the primary motivator for providing sex on the streets. Several of the women used terms to describe the sex buyers such as 'dirty bastards,' (Tina, sex provider, 2020; Isabel, sex provider, 2020) or as 'perverts' (Lynne, sex provider, 2020; Jodie, sex provider, 2020). These terms appeared to me to be used as insults rather than any reference to an actual

perversion. What these comments illustrated was an open dislike of the men paying them for sex, giving me the impression that providing sex for them was a necessity, not a service they believed they were offering.

I interviewed five key workers in a local charity whose work involved support for persons providing sex. In describing their roles, none of them had any contact with sex buyers as part of their occupation. Their sole focus was on the sex providers and, in relation to street prostitution, these were almost exclusively female. All five interviewees reported that the subject of sex buyers rarely, if ever, arose when dealing with sex providers other than to report suspicious or violent incidents. Whilst having expert knowledge of many elements of prostitution, it struck me that their knowledge and opinions of sex buyers was probably little more than that of the general public.

I interviewed four members of Nottinghamshire Police's Prostitution Task Force (PTF) across different ranks and roles. These included a Police Sergeant (PS Owen) who had direct leadership to the team, a Police Constable (PC Michael) who interviewed many of the sex buyers caught over a fifteen year period, a Police Community Support Officer (PCSO Sara) who caught many of these sex buyers and offered a front-line link to the women providing sex on the streets, and a Community Protection Officer (CPO Andrew) employed by Nottingham City Council and attached to the PTF to provide a visible presence to deal with anti-social behaviour and environmental issues.

Sex Buying Behaviours

The interviews with the sex providers, support workers and police revealed views that reflected the Mating System and Masculinity pillars of the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying presented in Chapter One. Key amongst these were bounded intimacy and qualified monogamy, risk and excitement, and power and control.

Qualified Monogamy and Bounded Intimacy

Qualified monogamy is a term used here to describe the claim that paying for sex does not constitute being unfaithful to a partner in the same way that having an affair would. This is usually based on a strict limitation of emotion in the former, a phenomenon described as bounded intimacy by Bernstein (2007). Whilst not specifically referred to, the topics of qualified monogamy and bounded intimacy regarding sex buyers were raised in interviews with all three participant groups. Emma (support worker, 2020) raised the issue of qualified monogamy, commenting, 'they might think it's better than having an affair maybe ... it's more transactional in that way.' Several of the sex buyers in the case studies made almost the same argument, suggesting that the perception of paying for sex as being somehow more faithful to a wife or partner than having an affair, is not restricted to the sex buyers alone.

Tina (sex provider, 2020) made specific reference to a lack of an emotional connection and described how paying for sex for some men consisted of, 'no strings attached, there's no feelings. They can get what they want with no emotions.' Karen (support worker, 2020) agreed with this assessment, commenting, 'they just pay, get what they need and go without any commitment, any other involvement.' Emma (support worker, 2020) expanded on this and believed that anonymity was a factor for some men: 'people who are mainly married or have families that they don't want to find out would go on-street, because then it can't be traced back to them.'

This theme was developed further by some interviewees who described how some men would blame a problem or argument in their marriages as the cause for their sex buying, effectively absolving the sex buyer of any responsibility. Michael (police officer, 2020) commented, 'the amount of guys I've had who, when you really start talking to them, can be, "yeah, I've had a barney with my missus. ... I felt down, I felt really bad, so I've come there to make myself feel better."' Sara (PCSO, 2020) agreed with this assessment describing similar circumstances and concluding that, 'if they've had a bad day or an argument, they might need something to relieve the stress, so they pay a prostitute.' Heather (support worker, 2020) continued this theme and raised the topics of men being in unsatisfactory relationships and other men who have some form of 'need' for sex. She

commented that 'A lot of men will say that their wife is at an age where she's most probably going through her hormones etc. and she doesn't want to have sex anymore,' and that 'when they need it, or they get the urge for it' they will pay for sex. Owen (police officer, 2020) however, described this behaviour as an excuse, stating 'quite regularly we've got the excuse of "we've just had a barney or a domestic incident of some description or we've fell out over X or Y, it's made me really mad and then for some reasons I've come up here and now this is what's happened."'"

Taking this a step further, Valerie (sex provider, 2020) believed that the presence of prostitution saved marriages in that: 'Well, it's not like having an affair, is it? The men come to us instead of having an affair. It's better for their marriages.' When I asked if she thought the men's wives would see this in the same light, she answered, 'What they don't know can't hurt them,' (ibid.). She offered no further thoughts on how paying for sex actually saved marriages.

This reflected much of the discussion in the case studies of sex buyers claiming to seek sex without emotion or intimacy and transferring any perceived blame for their actions to their partner as a denial of responsibility.

Risk and Excitement

A desire to seek out risk or excitement was raised by the support workers and the police. The sex providers did not make reference to this, primarily because they did not seem to give too much thought as to the motives of the sex buyers, focussing more on getting paid.

Christine (support worker, 2020) described how risk and thrill seeking were potential reasons for paying for sex and Emma (support worker, 2020) expanded on this commenting, 'I think it's the kind of the danger of knowing they can do it and knowing they shouldn't be doing it.'

The police put far more emphasis on risk and excitement as motivations for paying for sex as the following quotes illustrate:

'it's a bit of excitement because I'm up here. I don't know if they'll say yes or no, or whether they'll get in the car, or where they're going to take me, or what sexual act they might perform on me for whatever price,' (Owen, police officer, 2020, - paraphrasing sex buyers).

'They know it's wrong ... if you're told you can't do something, people tend to actually go and say, "let's go and try it because it's wrong," People do it, it's like drinking underage,' (Andrew, CPO, 2020).

'And it's very seedy on the beat. It's dirty and dangerous. It's something that is wrong. That's an attraction for some of the men, they are looking for the seediness, it's exciting for them,' (Sara, PCSO, 2020).

Michael (police officer, 2020) expanded on this theme and described how the need for risk and excitement escalated over time as behaviour that once seemed risky to sex buyers could become routine and demanded ever increasingly risky behaviour to satisfy this need. He described this as: 'there's hurdles to their behaviour and they're knocking this hurdle down and then they do something a little bit more dangerous,' (ibid.). Michael discussed how this might start with simply stopping to speak to a sex provider or offering her a cigarette which could later escalate to ever more risky sexual behaviour. A key point raised here with the hurdle analogy is that once an obstacle is surpassed, it does not need to be crossed again. In this, the sex buyer will not return to the earlier casual contact. His interactions with sex providers will continue at riskier, and potentially more dangerous, levels for both of them.

Power and Control

The police highlighted the issue of power and control as factors in motivating sex buyers and regarded this as a conflict over the balance of power in their lives. Andrew (CPO, 2020) commented, 'Whether that's control over a woman or control over themselves, it's the only thing that they can control in their life,' and Sara (PCSO, 2020) similarly added, 'If they're being controlled at home, they use this opportunity to control a sex worker. They can tell her what to do.' This suggests that the power is less about wanting

to dominate women in general and more about transferring their lack of power in one situation to exercising control in another. In this case, an erosion of power in their home lives is compensated for by exerting control over a sex provider. This was reflected in several of the case studies.

All five of the support worker interviewees raised the topic of men exerting control over the women they were paying for sex. This was an area that they felt very passionate about using phrases such as 'property' to describe the women and a lack of respect in the interactions. Yvonne (support worker, 2020) observed that 'particularly on the street it's perceived that the male, the purchasers, the men, are the ones in control.' The interviewees made a direct connection between the vulnerability of the women providing sex and the need for control in the men purchasing it. Emma (support worker, 2020) described her perceptions of the sex buyers approaching vulnerable women as: 'some of [the women] are in pure despair on the night, so to then go to them for sex and be okay with that when they're clearly in distress, I don't know how I feel about that.' Christine (support worker, 2020) similarly expressed disbelief with some sex buyers: 'most of the street working women are in such poor physical health, what drives a man to look at a woman who's malnourished, can barely walk, clearly in a desperate state?' Christine went on to speak at length about the physical condition of many of the women providing sex on the streets, describing them as frail and under-developed to the extent that 'I've seen girls naked that, when they've been beaten, and their bodies are like children. They don't menstruate, they don't have pubic hair, because of they're so under-nourished.' Christine expressed a view that this vulnerability and child-like appearance may be what attracts some of the sex buyers. Heather (support worker, 2020) linked the vulnerability in the sex providers to drug addictions describing how some men, 'know they can go up there with five pounds and they'll do it because they're so vulnerable, you know, on drugs.' Heather considered this behaviour as a form of exploitation, a view that Emma (2020) shared due to the sex providers being desperate for drugs.

The opinions of the support workers were much stronger in this area than the other interviewees and possibly reflected the fact that they were the ones who invariably had to pick up the pieces of a sex provider's life after suffering from control and

manipulation. Whilst the sex buyers in the case studies regarded this control as largely harmless, it was clear that the support workers were all too familiar with the potentially damaging effects.

Cultural Influences

Two key elements came out of the interviews with the support workers and police regarding cultural influences. These focussed on cultural norms and a perceived inferiority of sex providers and women in general. The only impact that cultural differences in the sex buyers had on the sex providers was that: 'the foreign ones, they want it as cheap as they can get it,' (Naomi sex provider, 2020). The women gave no thought to the impact of sex buying in the men's home countries or within their cultures. The only factor that had any importance for them was that they perceived that some ethnic groups wanted to pay less than others.

Cultural Norms

The influence of non-British cultural and national attitudes towards prostitution was raised by the police interviewees as being significant. Michael (police officer, 2020) was specific, stating, 'we have these cultural issues as well where Eastern European guys or Pakistani males, where we had massive influx, for them, they don't see that it's illegal. To them, they think, "well, it's accepted in our country, so we can do that here."' Yvonne (support worker, 2020) agreed with this and described the acceptability of prostitution in some cultures as being a key factor. Sara (PCSO, 2020) likewise focussed on acceptance of prostitution sometimes being cultural and this affecting their behaviour on migrating to the UK: 'There are some men from other cultures who are used to seeing prostitutes and they don't seem to care about anyone knowing. There is an acceptance in some cultures. ... If it's okay in their home country, then they think it's okay here.'

Andrew (CPO, 2020) took a more practical operational view discussing how accession to the EU and open borders for some Eastern European countries had a significant impact

on the operational approach of the PTF: 'The Polish men would come, you would deal with them, because obviously you were educating them, and then the Romanian men would come and you'd have to educate them, because of the way that sex is sold and seen in their own countries.' He went on to describe how many male migrants to Nottingham 'had a different idea on purchasing sex, [it] was just the norm.'

Karen (support worker, 2020) highlighted the fact that many migrant sex providers avoid sex buyers from their own culture or country as 'they are afraid they are going to be recognised in the community.'

These opinions suggest that cultural influences are not uniform and are dependent on the attitudes towards prostitution in particular countries or cultures.

Perceived Inferiority of Sex Providers

Another key theme discussed concerned the influence of a sex buyer's nationality or culture on their attitude towards the sex providers and women in general.

Heather (support worker, 2020) described how some men have a lack of respect for the women providing sex: 'a lot of women, they complain more about the migrant sex buyers, they say that they've got no respect for them and they treat them like shit, basically. A lot of the women prefer to see the English men.' Emma (support worker, 2020) highlighted a similar issue, 'sex work is probably frowned upon in a lot of different cultures, so I think a lack of respect might be there.' Michael (police officer, 2020) expanded upon this, saying, 'I think their view, the guys who pick up the women have an inferior look on females in general, not just the sex workers, but as females. I think they hold them a little bit lower, well quite a bit lower than they do themselves.' (ibid.).

Owen (police officer, 2020) similarly focussed on the role and position in society of women within different cultures as having a significant impact on their sex buying in the UK, particularly focussing on certain nationalities that are more prevalent amongst migrant sex buyers in Nottingham: 'I think country of origin seems to play a part ... Eastern European countries, Romanian males, not just Eastern Europeans, Eritrean

males.' Owen discussed some potential reasons for these attitudes as, 'whether it's either religious or just sort of morality from the country of origin seems to be one of entitlement ... where their view of women is a lot different to the UK,' (ibid.). Owen expanded on this role of women in different cultures as, 'their views on women and the fact that women should do this, women should do that, you know, almost servitude type, misogynistic type opinions and behaviours.' Owen also highlighted the impact that different legislative models in other countries can lead to misunderstandings in the UK, although he also suggested that some men might 'use that as an excuse,' when caught.

Constructed Narratives

During the initial part of the interviews with all three participant groups, the topics tended to focus on areas such as cost, convenience, availability, anonymity, an unsatisfactory relationship, loneliness, or some other form of male 'sex need'. In many ways, these topics appeared to describe the choice between on-street prostitution and other forms, rather than the motivations to purchase sex in the first place. Likewise, these discussions reflected the narratives that the sex buyers constructed to 'excuse' or 'justify' their behaviour. This was very similar to the initial discussions I had with most of the sex buyers and illustrated a form of surface rationale, in that it offered little depth of insight and focussed more on justification.

This was particularly evident amongst the support workers and may be a result of them having no direct contact with sex buyers and having given little thought to their motivations. Cost was one of the first topics raised in terms of men accessing street prostitution as it was 'cheap'. For example, Heather (support worker, 2020) commented, 'they can get it cheaper on-street rather than off-street,' and Karen (support worker, 2020) remarked, 'it's something that they can have straight away and on a low price.' Emma (support worker, 2020) went beyond this and described practices of men using the low cost to their advantage and trying to drive it lower still, 'I know stories of when people have tried to get full sex for under a fiver.' Other interviewees stated that it seemed as if men with more available money would go to off-street premises, suggesting that finances, and possibly an associated social status, effect the sex buyers'

decisions as to whether to engage with on-street or other forms of prostitution.

Another factor that the support worker interviewees raised was that an interaction with someone providing sex on the street was quick, convenient, and readily available at short notice. As Heather (support worker, 2020) noted, 'It might be more of a convenience, just being able to nip out quickly get somebody in the car, do what they need to do, push them on their way.' Karen (support worker, 2020) expanded on this by commenting that sex with a sex provider on the streets was, 'something that they can have immediately, whenever they want, very quick, without going on websites, without looking too much, without being very fussy.'

A key area discussed by the sex providers was a perceived 'need' in men for sex. Isabel (sex provider, 2020) described this as 'they're desperate, they need sex, so they come to us.' Valerie (sex provider, 2020) made a similar comment and Naomi (sex provider, 2020) viewed it as, 'some men have high sex drives.' The women generally accepted that men 'needed' to have sex and that sometimes paying for it was the only means to satisfying this. Gail (sex provider, 2020) summed this up bluntly as, 'They just want some pussy.' Many of the interviewees developed this topic further by stating that this 'need' for sex was not being satisfied within their relationships with partners or wives with very similar comments such as: 'They're probably getting nothing from their wives,' (Isabel, sex provider, 2020), 'They might not be getting it at home,' (Naomi, sex provider, 2020) and 'Because they can't get it at home. Their wife's not giving them any,' (Alice, sex provider, 2020). This was a common theme amongst the sex provider interviewees and was offered as a rational explanation as to why men were compelled to seek out paid-for sex. They believed that prostitution offered a ready outlet for this 'need' and, as Alice (sex provider, 2020) described it, 'It's quick and easy, they don't have to put any effort in.' This claimed 'need' was present in several of the case studies and shows a general acceptance of this beyond sex buyers' claims.

Loneliness and Companionship

A theme that was discussed at length by the interviewee groups was loneliness and seeking companionship. Both Yvonne (support worker, 2020) and Emma (support worker, 2020) remarked that loneliness was a key factor. Jodie (sex provider, 2020) went into more detail stating that the reason some men paid for sex was 'because, they're lonely. They haven't got anyone else.' In discussing this further, Jodie conceded that they always paid for a sexual act, regardless of claiming that a desire for companionship was the main factor. When I asked if she spent any time with the men beyond providing a sexual act or if she felt that she addressed their claimed loneliness in any way, she responded, 'No, I want to get away as soon as I can,' (ibid.). In considering these comments alongside the case study for William, it appears that any claimed desire for companionship is likely to remain unfulfilled in the street sex market. Several of the police interviewees supported this view: 'some guys are actually coming up to the vice area because they're lonely,' (Michael, police officer, 2020), 'some men are just basically lonely and have no contact with women, so they just go out and buy it,' (Andrew, CPO, 2020), and 'some men might just be lonely and need some companionship,' (Sara, PCSO, 2020).

Karen (support worker, 2020) expanded on this by commenting, 'they pay more money, they want to spend more time and it's not all about sex ... they just want to be there and talking and some comfort.' She also made specific reference to older men who felt isolated from family and society, mirroring comments made by the police and some elements of the case study with William. This was something that Michael (police officer, 2020) discussed at length suggesting that a need for sex linked to companionship was a key factor for some men engaging in street prostitution, particularly older men who are 'the stereotypical kerb crawler who's seventy-eight years old, never had relationships in their life, and they actually come up for their outlet, for any sexual contact.' Michael expanded on this by describing these men as 'probably old school' and unlikely to meet anyone socially or through dating websites. He linked this to bounded intimacy by discussing how 'all the connection or any sort of interaction they have to do is give this female twenty pound and then just tell them what they actually want,' (ibid.). Michael described at length circumstances of several elderly men he had dealt with as sex buyers

who lived alone and had allowed street sex providers to move in with them in situations similar to that described in the case study for William. Michael discussed one recent situation where an elderly male had 'got a sex worker going visiting him, and she's took about ten thousand pounds off him and sold his laptop, pawned it,' (ibid.). Michael described the male as 'vulnerable by age and by age only, there's nothing else, he knows exactly what he's doing,' (ibid.), suggesting that the male was fully cognisant of his situation. The male refused to make any complaint, that Michael paraphrased as: 'I fully knew what I was doing, I gave her my bank card and stuff,' (ibid.). The sex provider in question was present on Michael's visit and disclosed to him that 'when I'm sitting, he'll sit next to me, he touches me, makes me give him blow jobs and all the rest of it,' (ibid.). There was a considerable age difference in the male and female. Michael suggested that both were exploiting each other to some extent, but both were also benefitting from the relationship. She profited in that, 'It's a warm house, a nice house, she's got comfort, she's got a TV, she's got a kitchen there, she's got a bed there if she wants it,' whereas the male was receiving sex and companionship.

There appeared to be a belief that loneliness was a driving factor amongst the interviewees, but none offered any explanation as to why other lonely men did not engage in this behaviour, nor why the men who did, saw paying for anonymous sex as a solution to loneliness.

In Search of a Different Sexual Act or a Different Type of Sexual Partner

The search for a different sexual act or a different type of woman as a sexual partner was raised by the interviewee groups. Emma (support worker, 2020) discussed how some men may be looking for a different kind of sexual experience and Yvonne (support worker, 2020) described how other men may be looking for a different type of person, someone different from their wife. Heather (support worker, 2020) linked these and discussed how some men fantasised about sex outside of their regular relationships and how this often involved new experiences with more exotic women that they may seek to fulfil through prostitution. She expanded upon this by describing how certain sexual

acts have become more prevalent in street prostitution through the influx of migrant sex providers, citing examples such as not using condoms. Naomi (sex provider, 2020) stated that, 'they might be looking for something a little bit different, so they come to us.' In probing as to what these different acts might be, Jodie (sex provider, 2020) replied by saying, 'They want to do things with me that their girlfriend won't do. Sometimes it's no more than a blow job. Sometimes they want something else, like anal, but I don't do anal.' This reflects some of the reasons provided by the sex buyers in the case studies. Owen (police officer, 2020) suggested that some men were looking for 'a certain kind of woman,' and Sara (PCSO, 2020) believed that 'if their wife or girlfriend won't do a particular act, they will pay a prostitute to do it.'

Tina (sex provider, 2020) bluntly described how men sexually objectified and dehumanised her, commenting, 'For men, every hole's a goal.' She discussed how the sex buyers did not see her as a whole person or even a human being, but as an object to satisfy their desires. She continued on this point by stating, 'They don't see us, they just see us as a mouth or a fanny that they want to stick their dick in,' (ibid.). Tina appeared to be under no illusions as to her role in the encounter and that she was seen as little more than a sex object. Gail (sex provider, 2020) described a similar view in that, 'they probably have an aching wrist, so they look for a real woman.' It is clear from this discussion that the dehumanisation and objectification of women highlighted in the literature review as well as in the case studies is well known to the sex providers and treated with a sense of fatalism.

These comments suggest that looking for a different type of woman or a different sexual act are seen as motivators for some sex buyers, which was also reflected in the interviews with the sex buyers in the case studies.

Constructed Narratives

The two police officers interviewed as part of the triangulation interviews both identified the existence of constructed narratives in sex buyer accounts of their actions and behaviour. Michael (police officer, 2020) described how:

'a lot of guys they say they're on the way to the petrol station. Well, the petrol station's from A to B, you've actually took the direction of C, D and E to get there. So, you've took a massive diversion all the way to get here, but again it's that justification for themselves, isn't it?' He went on to identify that, 'They're creating that opportunity for themselves.'

Michael (police officer, 2020) used the phrase 'self-justification' several times to explain how sex buyers explained their behaviour to themselves and to the police when caught. He also noted that a lot of the men 'turn a blind eye' to the situation of the sex provider with comments such as: 'I don't know she was a Class A drug user, or she might have been in the care system.' Michael concluded this topic by commenting, 'it's just so it makes them feel better as oppose to the female,' (ibid.).

Owen (police officer, 2020) commented that the explanations offered by sex buyers often 'don't ring true'. He went on to discuss a dual reason for this, being to excuse their behaviour to the police: 'there's certainly a bit of kidology is to try and ... pull the wool over our eyes, because they think that it might help them if the matter went to court,' and also to themselves: 'but also, I think that they're also kidding themselves, perhaps guilt should somebody else find out, they're already starting to prepare an excuse.'

Much of the description of constructed narratives described by the police officers Owen and Michael was evident in the interviews with the sex buyers in the case studies, although the sex buyers themselves do not necessarily recognise them as such.

Policy and Practice

The discussions around practice, procedure, policy, and legislation meant very different things to each of the interviewee groups. In discussing these topics with the sex buyers in the case studies, the focus was around them and any potential desistance from sex buying. For the sex providers, the discussions tended to focus on any risk assessment they undertook with potential sex buyers. The support workers echoed this focus on risk assessment for the sex providers. When I asked this group how their perceptions of sex

buyers and their motivations affected their work in supporting sex providers, they answered that they believed it had no effect at all, their support would be the same regardless of how well they understood the sex buyers. The police focussed more on policy and legislation.

Safety and Assessing Risk

With the sex providers, I discussed whether they engaged in any form of risk assessment with potential sex buyers before agreeing to a sexual act in a remote or hidden location. Naomi (sex provider, 2020) commented that, 'I go with my gut feeling. If a bloke looks bad, I won't go with him,' and Alice (sex provider, 2020) similarly commented that, 'I go on my instinct.' These were typical responses, although when I asked if Alice's instinct had ever let her down, she replied, 'Sometimes, but that's the way it is, isn't it?' (ibid.). Tina (sex provider, 2020) was equally matter-of-fact when she answered, 'No, it's just their money I want. I've been lucky, I've only been raped once. If their money is good, I'll do them.' The area of sexual violence and rape was something that the women were quite open and almost accepting of. Tina's matter-of-fact appraisal was common and chilling to listen to. Isabel (sex provider, 2020) commented, 'I've been raped loads of times. The first time was when I was fifteen and a virgin.'

Continuing from this theme, I asked the support workers if they believed that the sex providers responded any differently to sex buyers based on their perceptions of the men and their motivations. Karen (support worker, 2020) responded by saying that, 'I think it's all about money at the end of the day,' and that sex providers would respond differently if they thought that a potential sex buyer was wealthy and willing to pay more. Christine (support worker, 2020) agreed with this point, stating that, 'it's just money and for the street girls, it's money for drugs, it's not even money for living.' Yvonne (support worker, 2020) shared this view of a financial driver, but also believed it was partly based on experience and described it as a 'trauma approach'. She explained this as: 'so they had a bad experience and then they are therefore using that one bad experience to assume that other people won't be safe.' This view suggests that it only takes one 'bad punter' to traumatise the woman providing sex to the extent that she

regards all potential sex buyers as being dangerous.

Expanding on this discussion of risk assessing potential sex buyers, I discussed with both of these groups about the potential dangers of providing sex on the streets. Valerie (sex provider, 2020) went so far as to state that, 'I think prostitution prevents rapes. If they take out their needs on us, then they don't attack other women ... at least they're not raping anyone else.' When I asked if she believed that these men would sexually assault or rape other women if sex providers were not present on the streets, she simply answered, 'Yeah,' (ibid.). I then asked if she deserved to not be a victim of these offences as well, to which she shrugged and replied, 'That's the price of what we do,' (ibid.).

It struck me that these women had been the victims of repeated sexual offences and violence over many years forcing them to find a coping mechanism, often trying to become detached from their experiences, although the cold responses were often in contrast to the pained expressions they were accompanied by. I was left with the impression that any other viewpoint would have left them incapable of going back out onto the streets. The claims of some form of early-warning system through instinct or a 'gut reaction' did not appear genuine and certainly not effective. It was my view that these were also a part of the coping mechanism.

Education and Enforcement

The interviews with the police were more procedural and focussed on addressing street prostitution through key policies such as education or enforcement. Owen (police officer, 2020) spoke at length about the procedural approach of the PTF in dealing with sex buyers. As the team leader for the unit, he had a large degree of control over how the team worked and how they dealt with sex buyers. I asked Owen what his ultimate aim was when addressing men paying for sex. He replied, 'ultimately, it's one of education,' (Owen, police officer, 2020). He expanded upon this by saying:

'letting them know what the cause and effect is with regards to their behaviour, not just with ... giving them an insight about the females who are out on the street and their vulnerabilities and addictions, ... but then also

around the effect that their behaviour has on the community as a whole and people that use the community,' (ibid.).

Owen was clear in his view that he did not view all of the sex buyers as being motivated by a desire to exploit or be violent to the sex providers, stating, 'I don't purport to the idea that these men, or the men that purchase sex on the street, are there to abuse the women outright or to cause them any stress, anxiety, pain, [or] exploitation,' (Owen, police officer, 2020), although he did not rule this out for a minority of men.

Owen discussed the role of educating his colleagues within the police and partner agencies. He described how his understanding and opinions of prostitution and sex buying had evolved over time through experience and research from a robust enforcement approach to one of support and diversion. This was something he was keen to pass on to ensure a consistent and effective approach to prostitution, regardless of whether this came from the PTF or from the wider police family.

Michael (police officer, 2020) also raised the topic of education with regard to the sex buyers and discussed the Change Course. He described it as 'a great tool' and how it 'made them think, not just about Nottingham vice area and not picking up prostitutes, [but also] about offending in general and their outlook on women.' He discussed how the course was more than a 'prostitution rehabilitation course' and addressed broader issues in their lives, particularly around relationships and misogyny. In this conversation, Michael was looking at the broader issues surrounding a sex buyer's life and recognising that their behaviour is more complex than a simple desire to pay for sex.

Given the different ranks and roles of the interviewees, their views of procedural issues when dealing with sex buyers varied according to the level of interaction with these men. Andrew and Sara were front line officers whose daily activities involved being on the streets dealing with prostitution. As a CPO with primary responsibilities for anti-social behaviour and environmental issues, Andrew's focus was on the tasks at hand. When I asked if his understanding of sex buyers affected how he worked, he answered, 'No, treat everyone as you come across them, treat everyone with respect,' (Andrew, CPO, 2020). Sara's operational focus was more on the sex providers, commenting, 'There

needs to be more help for the girls. They're stuck with taking drugs, selling sex, going to prison and on release, they go straight back to where they were. We need to sort out support and housing,' (Sara, PCSO, 2020).

In broadening the conversation to look at national policy and legislation, both Michael (police officer, 2020) and Owen (police officer, 2020) advocated maintaining the status quo where both the sale and purchase of sex on-street are criminal offences, but neither are offences in other forms of prostitution. Owen summed this up as:

'With the current law as it stands in relation to street prostitution, [it] actually does still fit some of the issues that we're trying to make better in society. Whereas some of the off-street, more professionalised work within that industry, I think, perhaps, doesn't need as much of a police input apart from what we already have in place,' (Owen, police officer, 2020).

Michael (police officer, 2020) expanded upon this by stating that the current legislative model provides the police with 'control' of both the sex buyers and sex providers, which he believed was necessary to protect both the women providing sex and the wider community. He discussed how the policy had changed in Nottingham over a number of years from a situation where 'we were doing a lot more enforcement on both the males and females,' to a position where 'I think we had one ESO in 2019 on one female,' (ibid.). He stated that the level of enforcement taken against women providing sex on the streets has reduced to a very low level. Despite this, the police felt that they still required this as an option as: 'I think we have a duty to the women, because they're not making informed choices all of the time ... [and] if they're not able to make that decision themselves then I think we have to try to help that decision process in terms of ESOs and stuff,' (Michael, police officer, 2020). An ESO is an Engagement and Support Order which is a requirement on conviction at court for an offence of loitering or soliciting for the purposes of prostitution.

Sara (PCSO, 2020) advocated 'there needs to be tougher sentences on punters ... bigger fines maybe,' and stated that 'I understand why we use ASBOs and CBOs, but the emphasis should be on support. There are other ways to manage the prolific girls.' She

concluded by commenting, 'I quite like the Nordic Model with tougher sentences on punters,' (ibid.). Sara's role within the team involves more on-street interaction with sex providers, so she sees the effect of court orders and enforcement more directly. The fact that Sara was the only female interviewed in this group may also be a factor in her empathising more with the female sex providers. This would require further study to establish if this is a factor in policing prostitution.

Summary

This chapter has looked at the views, opinions and understanding of the phenomenon of sex buying amongst three groups of interviewees with experience of street level prostitution. These were sex providers, sex provider support workers, and police officers and staff. This was examined thematically.

The discussions considering the sex buying behaviours of the men paying for sex focussed on three key areas: bounded intimacy and qualified monogamy, risk and excitement, and power and control. The first of these considered how the sex buyers did not view paying for sex as being unfaithful to their partners or wives, linked to quick and easy sex that did not involve an emotional connection. A desire for risk and excitement were offered as reasons for sex buying by most of the interviewees. One police officer expanded on this by describing how behaviour that initially satisfies the need for risk can become normalised and no longer achieves that need. To address this, behaviour can become increasingly more risky and potentially dangerous in an analogy described as knocking over hurdles. The support workers were particularly passionate about the power and control that sex buyers exerted over sex providers, often exploiting the vulnerability of these women due to drug addictions, marginalisation, and poverty.

Cultural influences were identified as key factors in the approach and attitudes of sex buyers. Two primary issues were raised, these being cultural norms and a cultural perception of the inferiority of women in society, particularly sex providers. This manifested in a range of behaviours from demanding lower prices for sexual acts to treating the encounter as one of servitude. The interviewees highlighted the different

levels of social acceptance and legislative control in different cultures or nations and how men would bring these views with them to the UK, although some of the police interviewees suggested that this was occasionally used as an excuse for their behaviour.

The presence of constructed narratives was apparent in the discussions with the interviewees. In the early part of many of the interviews, this primarily involved a form of surface rationale that described the cost, convenience, availability, anonymity, an unsatisfactory relationship, loneliness, or some other form of male 'sex need'. On reflection, these comments generally addressed the choice between on-street prostitution and other forms, rather than considering the motivation to pay for sex, regardless of the presentation. These discussions developed with the interviewees regarding sex as some form of biological imperative for men, often linked to unsatisfactory sex in their relationships with partners or wives leading to them having to satisfy this need elsewhere. A topic raised by most of the interviewees was an emotional need in response to loneliness and seeking companionship. This was generally offered as an accepted truth with no further consideration as to how paying for a brief sexual encounter on the streets actually addressed loneliness. The two police officers interviewed were the interviewees who spent the most amount of time speaking with sex buyers. They both made reference to many of these reasons offered being excuses or attempts at self-justification. One officer described narratives designed to influence any prosecution or to offer justification should their partner or family find out about their behaviour.

The final theme arising from these interviews concerned the practice, procedure, policy, and legislation around prostitution and sex buying. The discussions with the sex providers and support workers centred on any risk assessment mechanisms that the former group may employ with potential sex buyers. These discussions were brutally frank and chilling to listen to as the sex providers described sexual assault and rapes committed against them. Their words had a degree of fatalism to them, but their pained expressions invariably belied this. It was my view that this was a form of coping mechanism to enable them to continue to provide sex. The police focussed more on police policy and national legislation. The police officers advocated maintaining a status quo of making the sale and purchase of sex on-street offences to allow them to maintain

a degree of control. The PCSO on the team wanted to see more support for sex providers and less enforcement.

The findings of these interviews will be brought together with those of the case studies in the following chapter through a thematic cross-comparison.

Chapter Ten – Thematic Cross-Comparison of Findings

This chapter will look at common themes across all nine case studies and the triangulation interviews through the lens of the five pillars of the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying derived in Chapter One.

Mating Systems: Qualified Monogamy and Bounded Intimacy

Chapter Two looked at the historical context of prostitution. A significant contributory factor in ancient civilisations was found to be the decline of promiscuity and the corresponding rise of monogamy. This was linked to a move away from nomadic lifestyles to settled communities, which in turn appeared to be matched by a corresponding rise in prostitution (Scott 1996). These competing phenomena of promiscuity and monogamy gave rise to the Mating Systems pillar in the model of the social construction of prostitution presented in Chapter One. This pillar still has some relevance in the modern world through qualified monogamy, a term used here to denote a belief that paying for sex does not equate to being unfaithful to a regular partner, and bounded intimacy (Bernstein 2007) whereby sex is viewed as a physical act with emotions absent or placed firmly within restricted boundaries as discussed in Chapter Three.

Perhaps not surprisingly, it was the married sex buyers who had the strongest views on qualified monogamy. Frank, Brian, Joseph, and Leonard (sex buyers) all admitted to paying for sex whilst married and keeping this from their wives. All claimed that their actions did not constitute being unfaithful. Frank (sex buyer) also had a love affair, as defined by Levine (2008), at the same time as he was paying other women for sex. He drew a clear distinction between these two acts with the affair being unfaithful, but the paid-for sex not being. In Joseph's (sex buyer) case, he disclosed that his wife had engaged in an affair with another man concurrently with him paying for sex. He saw his wife's actions as being unfaithful and a betrayal, but his own actions as acceptable and not a breach of a perceived marriage contract, as described by Kort (2018). Brian (sex buyer) acknowledged that his wife's views of his actions in paying for sex would not be

the same as his own and that she would consider paying for sex as being unfaithful. This same view on qualified monogamy was echoed by both sex providers and their support workers, with Valerie (sex provider) going as far as stating that paying for sex could even save marriages as this was a better option than being unfaithful through an affair.

As Levine (2008) and Kort (2018) illustrate, the concepts of 'monogamy' and 'being unfaithful' are loosely defined and often based on beliefs that are not discussed or shared within a marriage. This can lead to conflicting views as Brian (sex buyer) conceded. This lack of agreed boundaries to 'faithfulness' leaves the men free to interpret this in ways that are favourable to them, effectively giving themselves permission to pay for sex.

Several of the sex buyers drew clear distinctions between the lack of emotion and intimacy in paid-for sex with other forms of sexual encounters. The sex buyers used terms such as 'mechanical' or 'artificial' (Frank, sex buyer) and 'contract' (Brian, sex buyer) to describe sex with a sex provider. This view was shared by some of the sex providers who also described how men could obtain sex without attaching 'feelings' to it (Tina, sex provider). These words appeared designed to reinforce their belief in a lack of emotion involved in prostitution.

Contradictorily, these same men conceded that the sex they paid for was unsatisfying due to the lack of emotion involved. Peter (sex buyer) went as far as admitting that he might be substituting paid-for sex for an emotional connection. Despite their assertions that they were looking for emotionless sex, the buyers appeared conflicted in their desires. On deeper probing in interview, several accepted that a lack of an emotional connection in their lives was one of the contributory factors in their engagement with prostitution.

Leonard (sex buyer) drew a link between qualified monogamy and bounded intimacy by connecting an emotional connection in sex with having an affair. He claimed that the reason that paying for sex was not being unfaithful to his wife was because there was no emotion involved. Whilst not stated in these clear terms by the other buyers, the inference appeared the same.

This research has demonstrated that the linked concepts of qualified monogamy and bounded intimacy are a constructed narrative on the part of the sex buyers. These appear to be based on the men interpreting unspoken relationship or marriage agreements to permit themselves to engage with prostitution. When pressed, several of the men understood that their wives or partners would not see these agreements in the same way. These views appear to have been accepted beyond the sex buyers with the sex providers and their support workers also sharing these beliefs, particularly around the concepts of 'unfaithfulness' and 'having an affair'. In this way, these elements of Mating Systems still contribute to the social construction of prostitution in modern societies.

Masculinity: Situational Sexual Behaviour, Power Imbalances and Sexual Objectification

In considering the themes associated with the Masculinity pillar, three key sub-themes emerged from the case studies that have a major impact on the sex buyers' behaviour. The first of these is Situational Sexual Behaviour. This is discussed in Chapter Three and is taken as the phenomenon that a person's sexual behaviour changes in different situations (Jones *et al.* 2015). Two significant forms of Situational Sexual Behaviour were identified in this study. These relate to sex tourism (Ryan and Kinder 1996) and work-based travel (Gibbens and Silberman 1960).

Three of the sex buyers disclosed that their first experience of paying for sex took place whilst on a stag party in Amsterdam (Robert, Frank, and Brian). Other sex buyers additionally described paying for sex whilst abroad in all-male groups. It is clear from the interviews that a significant, if not the only, reason for choosing a particular city for these gatherings was the availability of brothels and prostitution. Peer pressure (Potard *et al.* 2008) played a significant role with sex buyers describing paying for sex in these situations as a 'ritual' (Frank, sex buyer) or a 'rite of passage' (Brian, sex buyer). It appears that both opportunity as regards location, and motivation in terms of male bonding and peer pressure, are necessary components for this form of sex tourism.

Occupation and work-based opportunity played a significant role for several of the sex buyers. Brian (sex buyer) served in the navy and regularly engaged with prostitution on shore leave around the world. On leaving the navy he obtained a job as a driver across Europe, which offered further opportunities for paying for sex. The former of these had an element of peer pressure in that several of the sailors in the same crew would visit brothels together. The driving job involved a solitary experience of paying for sex. Brian's purchase of sex whilst in the navy also included elements of sex tourism in these circumstances. Leonard (sex buyer) had a similar experience as a driver.

Frank (sex buyer) would only pay for sex when working away from home and staying in a hotel, whereas William (sex buyer) used the opportunities available to him by being a late-night taxi driver to pick up sex providers. These examples are also solitary experiences. The link between all of these scenarios is the opportunity offered by their work. This allowed easy access to prostitution whilst providing an explanation for their absence to their partners or wives.

The sex tourism form of Situational Sexual Behaviour relating to prostitution is a group activity, whereas the work-based opportunities are largely a solitary pursuit. Additionally, the sex tourism tends to pre-date the work placed purchasing of sex for the sex buyers in this study. The transition from the former to the latter was explored in the interviews and was, perhaps, best summed up by Frank (sex buyer) who described fantasising about the earlier prostitution encounters, describing them as easy and uncomplicated. In essence, he was discussing a learned behaviour. The experience with a male group whilst abroad had taught him that paid-for sex was the norm amongst his peers and something that he could keep secret from his wife. All he required was to create further opportunity, which he achieved through working away from home.

Several authors have identified the role that power and control play in men purchasing sex from women (for example, O'Neill 2001). What this research has added to this discussion is that the power that a sex buyer is seeking to exert over a sex provider is often the result of a power imbalance in other areas of their lives. In several cases, these men lacked any degree of control in their relationships with family or partners and were attempting to balance this by taking control in the situation of paying for sex. Frank (sex

buyer) had all power removed from his personal relationships with his wife and mistress by both finding out about the other, ending their relationships with him, and using the family courts to restrict access to his children as well as requiring financial reparation. In these circumstances, he accessed street prostitution as a means of taking control of this small portion of his life where he could exercise power over a woman. Brian (sex buyer) and Leonard (sex buyer) both lived with wives experiencing medical or hormonal transitions in their lives, whereas Simon (sex buyer) lived with his terminally ill mother. In all these circumstances, it was their family member's condition that took control of their relationships and the men lacked any power in the situation. All three paid for sex as a means of exerting some control over the situation and the relationship with the sex provider. Peter (sex buyer) had no power in his relationship with his family, and mother in particular, whereas Joseph (sex buyer) felt he had no power in his marital relationship following discovering that his wife had an affair with another man.

The sex provider support workers all identified the requirement for power and control over a sex provider as a major motivation in sex buyers. Some of the police officers went beyond this and identified this power imbalance in other aspects of their lives, Andrew (CPO) and Sara (PCSO) both commenting that paying for sex can sometimes be the only thing in their lives that they have any control over.

From personal experience, I recall dealing with a sex buyer several years ago who suffered from chronic and debilitating Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD) (NHS 2019b) to the extent that he would not touch door handles or handle money. Despite this, we caught him twice paying a street-based sex provider. On interview, he described how his disorder controlled every aspect of his life. In engaging with prostitution, he would pay a woman to perform certain acts on herself whilst he watched. He stated that this was the only time that he felt like he had any control over a situation.

Evidence shows that power and control are significant aspects of sex buying for many sex buyers. In considering why these men seek to exert this control, it appears that a major contributory factor is a lack of power in other aspects of their lives.

Sexual objectification of women was demonstrated by several of the sex buyers. Joseph (sex buyer), Robert (sex buyer), and Peter (sex buyer) accepted regularly watching online pornography and webcams. Each of these men could only describe the woman they attempted to buy sex from in terms of individual body parts, such as breast size. None of them could give an overall description of what the women looked like nor any aspect of her personality. Several of the sex buyers drew a clear distinction between women providing sex and other women in their lives. David (sex buyer) only recognised two types of women: mothers and sex providers. The former's role was to raise children and the latter to provide sex to men.

Some of the sex providers described this objectification in blunt detail. In most cases, this entailed their bodies being seen solely as a receptacle for the sex buyers' desires. In extreme cases, that appeared to be far too regular an occurrence for these women, they described how this could lead to violence and rape. It was by dehumanising the women that these men were able to inflict such violence against them.

Chapter Three presented Nussbaum's (1995) definition of the notions involved in the concept of objectification with additions from Marshall (1999) and Coy (2008) to make the model relevant to prostitution. Having considered the findings of this research, the following is proposed as a description of the sexual objectification of sex providers by the sex buyers, based on this study and adapted from Nussbaum (1995, p257) and Coy (2008, p187):

- *Instrumentality*: Sex buyers treat the sex providers as a tool for their own purposes.
- *Denial of autonomy*: Sex buyers treat sex providers as lacking in autonomy and self-determination.
- *Inertness*: Sex buyers treat sex providers as lacking in agency.
- *Fungibility*: Sex buyers treat sex providers as interchangeable with other sex providers.
- *Violability*: Sex buyers treat sex providers as lacking in boundary-integrity, as something that it is permissible to assault or rape.

- *Ownership*: Sex buyers treat sex providers as something that is owned for the period they are together.
- *Denial of subjectivity*: Sex buyers treat sex providers as someone whose experiences and feelings need not be considered.
- *Instrumentality*: Sex buyers perceive the function of a woman is simply to facilitate their sexual gratification.

Not all elements of this model will apply to every sex buyer, but some combination of these appear to apply in most cases.

Cultural Influences: Insularity, Norms and Perceived Female Inferiority

The previous two sections have primarily focussed on issues that can be considered as having elements of local cultural phenomena due to the setting of the research within one city. To continue this discussion, Chapter One introduced the term ‘hook-up culture’ (Garcia *et al.* 2012) to examine western cultural sexual behavioural changes with sexual encounters becoming more transactional with less emotional involvement. This reflects a shift towards greater entrenchment of bounded intimacy (Bernstein 2007) in society and sexual encounters. What the cases have shown, is that most of the participants have some expectations learned through the ubiquitous nature of hook-up culture around them in areas such as media, magazines, books, films, and online (Garcia *et al.* 2012). Several of the sex buyers identified being excluded from this behavioural environment as a reason as to why they paid for sex. Frank (sex buyer) and Peter (sex buyer) summed this up best when they both discussed that they were not the kind of men who could go out to clubs or bars and ‘pick up’ women. The implication was that if they were allowed to enter the hook-up cultural environment in order to access casual sex, then they would not have to pay for it. Robert (sex buyer) expanded on this, however, to suggest that trying to obtain casual sex through the hook-up culture was too much effort with no guarantee of sex at the end of it. It is apparent that the emergence of a hook-up culture is significant in that it builds an expectation in men that, when denied to them, reinforces

the belief that they must obtain sex from somewhere and that paying for it is a viable alternative.

Having examined the impact of western cultural influences, this section is developed to look at some of the criteria arising for the non-British sex buyers engaging in prostitution, both in the UK and in their home countries.

The first consideration is insularity within closed communities. In some instances, this may be due to basic barriers such as not speaking the same language as the majority of the surrounding population. As no non-English speaking sex buyers agreed to take part in this study, this was not able to be explored here. Similarly, the three non-British sex buyer participants were all legally in the UK by right of free movement within Europe, refugee status or immigration.

What was apparent in this study, however, was that even when language is not a barrier, some cultures remain insular within their own group. This was particularly apparent for Joseph (sex buyer) who moved to the UK with his family and a small community of people from his home village in sub-Saharan Africa. This community remained insular within themselves, socialised together, lived close together, and were expected to marry within their small group. This restricted Joseph's experiences of relationships and saw him enter into a marriage that he felt obligated to commit to, despite reservations. Ultimately, this led him to pornography and a distorted view of sex and relationships, which further damaged his marriage and saw him engaging with prostitution.

A second significant cultural influence identified in this study surrounds cultural norms. David (sex buyer), also from a sub-Saharan African culture, grew up in an environment where transactional sex was a survival mechanism for many women and girls. David had a clear understanding of this situation, but still believed that it was his right as a man to expect sex in return for money or gifts. It was the norm for him to expect women to have to engage in sex for any support or advancement. Leonard (sex buyer) originated from an Eastern European nation with a loosely defined and utilised prostitution policy that targeted the women providing sex as being the problem. Within this culture, the men buying the sex were largely given free rein to continue their behaviour whilst

women were prosecuted and penalised. Leonard saw this as normal and failed to understand the unequal nature of this situation.

These two examples illustrate how cultural norms arise out of either accepted practices or poor policy frameworks. These sex buyers have lived their formative years surrounded by men and women who subscribe to these norms until they accept them as incontrovertible.

Several of the police officers identified cultural norms as an issue for migrant sex buyers. This particularly focussed on different legislative models causing confusion and a general acceptance of prostitution in their home country.

The third aspect of cultural influences found in this study was the perceived inferiority of women in general. This is best evidence by David's (sex buyer) use of the word 'materialistic' to describe all women. The sex worker support workers reinforced this by observing that a common complaint from sex providers was that migrant males had no respect for them as women. The police were more explicit in describing some migrant sex buyers as viewing all women as inferior to men and viewing them lower in the social structure of their culture. One officer (Owen, police sergeant) described this as 'misogynistic type opinions and behaviours.'

The only consideration to culture that the sex providers gave was that some of the migrant males wanted to pay as little as possible for sex. This may be due to cultural norms or a view of the women as inferior but may also be a result of the poverty of the man.

Chapter Three introduced the concept of sexual script theory in relation to cultural aspects of prostitution and sex buying (Simon and Gagnon 2007, Wiederman 2015). This theory proposes three levels of scripting as follows:

- *Cultural scenarios* – how individuals construct, interpret, and make sense of cultural experiences and behaviours.
- *Interpersonal scripts* – how individuals adapt and create their own understanding of situations from their experiences within a given culture.

- *Intrapsychic scripts* – specific plans or strategies for making the interpersonal scripts a reality, including fantasy, memory, and mental rehearsal.

The above discussion particularly identifies cultural and interpersonal scripts in the narratives of the migrant sex buyers. These narratives are constructed through the influence of their individual cultures, but also on their personal interpretation of this culture and views of women in general, and those providing sex in particular.

Female Marginalisation

The discussions on the historical context of prostitution in Chapter Two and the feminist theories of prostitution in Chapter Three clearly highlight the role that female marginalisation plays in women providing sex and the social construction of prostitution. The interviews with the sex providers and their support workers supported this conclusion, particularly relating to street-based prostitution. The effect of female marginalisation on the sex buyers was less obvious.

One of the sex buyers (Simon, sex buyer) claimed an ignorance of the impact of female marginalisation, but the general impression was that the other sex buyers all had some understanding of the role that marginalisation and poverty play in women providing sex. Frank (sex buyer), Brian (sex buyer), Leonard (sex buyer) and William (sex buyer) all described pimps controlling the women, restricting their financial gain, and class A drug addictions, particularly for women providing sex on the streets. These men understood that these factors contribute to the marginalisation of the women and effectively trap them in prostitution.

Several of the men were adamant that if they encountered a woman who was exploited or trafficked, or potentially a child being sexually exploited, that they would immediately know this. None of them could offer any explanation as to how they would know and presented it as an almost superhuman power to detect exploitation and coercion. All of them claimed never to have encountered an exploited sex provider, despite many years of sex buying between them over many countries. It was my view that this was a

constructed narrative that the men were telling themselves to excuse their behaviour and to enable them to avoid confronting the reality of the women's situations.

The over-riding impression I got from the interviews was that, despite knowledge of marginalisation, poverty and potential exploitation, the sex buyers simply did not care. Their own needs and desires were more important to them, and the situation of the women was regrettable, but ultimately, not important.

These findings are similar to those found by Triviño (2020) who found that sex buyers in her study could be divided into two groups, those who recognised the existence of exploitation but felt unrelated to it through some perceived ability to differentiate victims from non-victims, and those who simply did not believe that trafficking exists. Either way, the sex buyers believed that the form of prostitution they accessed was unrelated to any form of exploitation, although this belief appears to be based on denial rather than reason or evidence.

Policy and Procedure

At the conclusion of the interviews with the sex buyers, each was asked for his views on the current policy approach in the UK and what, if anything, they felt need to change. Overwhelmingly, all of them replied along the lines of claiming that the law should not impede their behaviour and activities relating to prostitution. None of them expressed any desire to improve the situation for the women. The responses focussed entirely on themselves and making it easier for them to purchase sex without interference from the state or the police.

The sex providers had little interest in policy or legislation. As one of the support workers summed it up, 'it's all about the money,' (Karen, support worker). Similarly, the support workers showed little concern for the sex buyers but offered a view that women should not be criminalised for providing sex, particularly if the underlying causes were due to marginalisation, poverty, or coercion.

Interestingly, the opinions of the police officers and staff differed with their role. The two police officers both advocated maintaining the status quo with the current policy model and legal framework. Their reasoning for this was that the current law allowed them some degree of control and options for enforcement if required, both for the sex buyers and the sex providers. Both stressed, however, that enforcement against sex providers was a last resort. The PCSO interviewed believed that the focus for sex providers should shift away from occasional enforcement and more towards support and housing.

All the police officers and staff supported the use of the Change Course to tackle the purchase of sex. To some extent this reflected an understanding of the impact of learned behaviours and a desire to address these through education rather than enforcement.

Having considered the data gathered through individual case studies, triangulation interviews, and a thematic cross-comparison, the findings have been situated within the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying presented in Chapter One and derived through Chapters Two to Four. In the following chapter, the findings are discussed to identify what this study has found through and beyond this model with a sixth pillar being presented, together with a model of male learned sex buying behaviours.

PART THREE: REFLECTIONS

‘Researchers, in order to be not mere technicians but competent practitioners of research, should be able to reflect in a deep way. That means they should reflect not only on the practical acts of research but also on the mental experience which constructs the meaning about practice,’ (Mortari 2015, p1).

Chapter Eleven - Discussion

Validity of the Five-Pillar Model of the Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying

The model presented in Chapter One is my original interpretation and initial contribution to the discussion and understanding of sex buying by males. This was developed through a literature review presented in three parts derived from a historical context, theoretical understanding, and policy agendas in Chapters Two to Four. This model was then used as a lens through which to view the findings of the case studies and triangulation interviews in Part Two of this thesis.

Chapter Ten presented a thematic analysis of these findings based on the five pillars of the initial model. The model was shown to be effective in understanding the findings and providing insights into male sex buying. The discussion of the findings has illustrated, however, that there are other elements present beyond the initial five pillars. These represent constructed narratives and male learned sex buying behaviours. I expand upon these below and provide them as a further original interpretation and contribution to knowledge and debate around male sex buying behaviours.

Constructed Narratives: The Sixth Pillar

Throughout the case studies and triangulation interviews, the concept of Constructed Narratives has repeatedly been shown to be central to understanding the motivations of the sex buyers and of sex buying within wider society. Whilst the existence of constructed narratives amongst sex buyers regarding their behaviour has been identified previously (for example, Huysamen and Boonzaier (2014)) this research has gone beyond existing literature to place this as one of the key underlying pillars of sex buying. The importance of this is such that the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying presented in Chapter One requires amending to reflect this new finding. As such, I propose a sixth pillar based on Constructed Narratives as discussed below.

Constructing Sex Buying Narratives

The concept of constructed narratives is summed up in the following quote from *La Nausée* (Nausea) by Jean-Paul Sartre (1938, translated from the French original):

‘A man, he’s always a storyteller, he lives surrounded by his stories and the stories of others, he sees everything that happens to him through [the stories]; and he tries to live his life like he was telling it.’

Sartre captures the essence of constructed narratives in that these ‘stories’ may be based on inaccuracies, or even untruths, and that they become an integral part of the individual to the extent that they adopt these narratives as fact and live their lives according to this new truth.

For the purposes of developing this model of the social construction of prostitution, I have regarded constructed narratives in this research as:

- a representation of the history, understanding and presentation of sex buying and prostitution for the individual, and within wider society, and
- based on perceptions created through internal or external processes to the individual or group, such as rationalising moral challenges or shared myths, and
- becoming established ‘truths’ regardless of the validity of this.

Such narratives may, in many cases, be subconscious or at least, unacknowledged. As this discussion will illustrate, constructed narratives often take the form of a justification or excuse for sex buying behaviour and will become normalised for some men.

There are different elements that contribute to society’s understanding of prostitution. Key amongst these are media representations through the press, films, or TV. Hallgrímsdóttir (2008) and Gallagher-Cohoon (2013) looked at how media narratives historically created stigmas around prostitution in Canada and America, respectively. Both reached similar conclusions in that they revealed that reporting on prostitution in the press was often a response to broader social phenomena such as gender or race inequality, sexuality, or social status. In creating stigmatisation associated with prostitution they were formulating a commentary on middle-class sexual norms and

perpetuating an assumption of female weakness. Farvid and Glass (2014) discussed the debates surrounding prostitution in New Zealand prior to the introduction of the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) in 2003 that brought in a decriminalisation prostitution policy model. They described how interested parties used popular media to promote their various views and positions on the phenomena that left a lasting public perception of prostitution in that, 'although New Zealand has decriminalised prostitution, visible sex worker activity on the street continues to be deplored, due to its violation of various codes of traditional femininity and female sexuality,' (ibid., p47). Easterbrook-Smith (2020) develops this argument further and discusses how media and advertising after the introduction of the PRA has constructed prostitution to frame indoor prostitution or sex work as acceptable but perpetuates the stigma attached to outdoor prostitution. He further argues that this advertising depicts the sex buyer as desirable and the sex provider as experiencing pleasure from the encounter, describing how 'these narratives obscure the sexual and emotional labour involved in low-volume sex work,' (ibid., p1). In this way, Easterbrook-Smith states that the media and advertising campaigns have shaped prostitution in New Zealand and created a hierarchy that shifts the stigma previously attached to all prostitution to apply only to 'those who charge less for their services or who are perceived to see more clients.' (ibid., p1). In many cases, this will be the more vulnerable women providing sex, potentially exposing them to further marginalisation, stigma, poverty, and abuse. Lasting perceptions are created through popular media outlets that, once established, become accepted as the norm and are difficult to challenge.

Blasdell (2015) examined the representation of prostitution in successful box-office films. She concluded that, 'the films in this study did not accurately portray female street prostitutes; while not necessarily misrepresented, movies tended to provide an incomplete picture of the reality of prostitution,' (ibid., pvii). Two key conclusions from this work were that the portrayal of prostitution 'failed to mobilize moral outrage and did not encourage viewers to care about the issue of prostitution,' (ibid., pviii). Blasdell argues that this has a knock-on effect in policy approaches towards prostitution and the people involved. On a personal note, whilst working as a police officer, I recall sitting on a park bench late at night with a street sex provider who had been assaulted by a man

claiming to be a sex buyer. Her words stick with me to this day in that she said, 'I wanted to be a prostitute ever since I saw *Pretty Woman* when I was seven.' It appeared to me that what she was really saying is that she wanted a Prince Charming character to rescue her from this life and offer her a better future. The perception of prostitution she gained through this popular film was that the way to achieve her goal was to sell her body on the streets. The black-eye and broken nose, together with the words spoken through her tears, suggested that this dream had been truly shattered for her.

Having briefly discussed some of the ways that society's perceptions of prostitution can be formed by collective myths or misrepresentations, the following will look at how this affects the individual sex buyers. MacIntyre (1981) stated that enacted narratives formed the basis of moral character. In making this link, he illustrated how a person can take actions or have beliefs that they might otherwise find morally questionable by creating a narrative around the situation that 'makes it okay'. In considering the messages surrounding themselves within society, they choose to adopt the ones that effectively excuse their behaviour. A man watching a film involving prostitution may retain only that information which reinforces his position on the subject and may ignore or possibly even fail to notice, evidence that is contradictory. In this way, he creates his own narrative within the wider social narratives regarding prostitution.

Gergen and Gergen (1988, 1997) developed a model of how these narratives are created for the individual self.

1. *The establishment of a valued endpoint* – the start of the process paradoxically begins with the endpoint. A desired outcome is considered, and the narrative must make this seem natural, logical, and inevitable.
2. *Selection of events relevant to the goal state* – only those events that support the desired endpoint are adopted. Anything that contradicts this position is discarded.
3. *The ordering of events* – once the necessary events are established, these are then ordered to form a plausible narrative. This need not necessarily be a chronological or deductive order, fitting the narrative is more important than reason.

4. *Establishing causal linkages* – for the narrative to be logical and justifiable, the events must link to form a chain that flows naturally from one point to the next.
5. *Demarcation signs* – the narrative must have a clear beginning and an end.

Relating this process to the phenomenon of paying for sex, the sex buyer begins from a position of wanting the narrative to make this behaviour 'okay' for him. This need not necessarily be a conscious process and it will be influenced by the collective narratives of those around him and society in general. Having established the endpoint, evidence to support this goal will be gathered, ordered, and linked to form a narrative that flows, appears logical and evidenced. Any events or information that contradict this viewpoint are ignored or discarded.

If this process is established within society, then we might reasonably ask why the constructed narrative used to explain or justify sex buying is not present in all members of that society. Gergen and Gergen (ibid.) explain this by defining three types of narrative that are created:

- *Stability narrative* – this links events in a way that leaves the individual largely unchanged. This might be used to reinforce a viewpoint, either positive or negative.
- *Progressive narrative* – where the individual is generally trying to improve their outlook and moral standpoint. This is equally value laden but is regarded as an attempt to improve the individual and society.
- *Regressive narrative* – in this form of narrative, the individual has effectively accepted that they have no control over their own lives and will allow events to dictate their behaviour.

Sex buying may arise from any of these forms of narrative dependent on the starting position of the person and of those around them. However, this does explain why some individuals in seemingly similar circumstances create very different narratives of themselves and act upon these with varying behaviours.

Huysamen and Boonzaier (2014) looked at how men construct masculinity and male sexuality through talking about paying for sex in South Africa. They found parallels

between sex buying and 'dominant discourses of gender and heterosexuality,' (ibid., p541) indicating that the language used in discussing these topics are designed to assert their dominant masculinity and heteronormative sexual behaviour. They conclude by stating that 'men are simultaneously able to construct and enact a particular idealised version of masculinity and male sexuality through their talk on paying for sex,' (ibid., p541). In this, the authors identify that the 'truth' of an experience is almost irrelevant to how it is represented in a narrative. Reinforcing the individual's image amongst his peers and forming a collective understanding of prostitution as desirable to reinforce this are more important and likely to be pursued.

This discussion has illustrated how constructed narratives around prostitution and sex buying enable the sex buyers to achieve a normative viewpoint and moral stance to the effect that paying for sex is both natural and acceptable. It is once this is achieved that the individual goes on to engage with prostitution and to repeat the activity on subsequent occasions.

A Model of Constructed Sex Buying Narratives

The narratives evident in my research follow a three-step process. This is illustrated in Figure 11.1 below and expanded upon in the following sections. Note that steps 1 and 3 offer alternatives whereas step 2 requires all elements to be present.

This model is derived here and is a further original contribution to the understanding of sex buying by men.

Figure 11.1: A Model of Constructed Sex Buying Narratives



Identifying a Need

The first step in this model requires the identification of a perceived 'need'. These needs can be broken down into three broad groups: emotional, biological, or psychological needs. Examples of these identified in this research include loneliness (emotional), an imperative (biological), or sexual addiction (psychological). A full discussion of these factors is presented in Chapter Three. Briefly, there is no literature or evidence to suggest that paying someone for a sexual act on the streets has any positive impact on loneliness and the participants in this study identified that the experience did nothing to address their needs. There appears to be little evidence that sex is either a necessity or a right for men (Jackson 1984; O'Connell Davidson 2002). The concept of sexual addiction is greatly disputed with much academic debate concluding that this is a 'complete myth,' (Griffiths, 2017). A key conclusion of the earlier discussion is that most, if not all, of these 'needs' are either constructed or learned behaviours.

Creating an Opportunity

Having identified a 'need', the sex buyers then seek to create an opportunity to engage with prostitution. There appear to be three basic requirements involved in this process: spatial, temporal, and fiscal. In simple terms, the sex buyer needs to be in the right place, at the right time, with money available to pay the sex provider. In terms of creating a narrative around their sex buying, the sex buyer needs to be able to explain why he was in a certain location at that particular time, why he remained at that location, and why he spent the money involved in purchasing a sex act. For a suitable narrative to be created, all three elements need to be present.

Sex buyers in this study went to great lengths to describe why they were in the area due to reasons beyond their control. They created narratives to explain their presence to suggest that they were the victims of circumstances. On close inspection, very few of these narratives had any degree of sophistication and most could not be sustained under challenge in the interviews. It was my view that these narratives appeared rehearsed when they were offered in interviews and that the men had given some consideration as to how they would explain their absence, journey, or expenditure.

Justifying the Behaviour

The final step of the constructed narratives process is to provide justification for their behaviour. This can be understood through an adaptation of Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralisation techniques as discussed in Chapter Three:

- Denial of responsibility – the circumstances or situation were beyond the control of the sex buyer, and they had 'no choice'.
- Denial of injury – the sex buyer's actions did not result in harm or damage, thereby minimising the behaviour.
- Reconfiguration of the victim – the sex buyer positions themselves as the victim in their current circumstances.

The third point above is an adaptation of Sykes and Matza's techniques, but better fits the narratives provided by the sex buyers in this research.

Common themes in this research included a lack of sex in the sex buyer's relationships with wives or partners. This justification was offered by several sex buyers, but also echoed by sex providers, support workers and police interviewees. A further common theme for the sex buyers was to assert that the women they had paid for sex were not coerced or exploited. When I asked how they could be sure of this, they claimed that they 'would have known,' but none of them could explain how this was possible. It seemed that they expected any woman in such a situation would be visibly upset, crying, or showing physical signs of injury. In the absence of these obvious indicators, they made an assumption that the woman had complete agency in her circumstances.

These justification techniques allow the sex buyer to absolve themselves of any responsibility for their behaviour and complete the constructed narrative.

Implementing the Model

Having derived a definition of a constructed narratives model in relation to sex buying, Table 11.1 below provides a summary of the nine case studies and how the three steps were completed for each of the sex buyers central to these studies. The case studies are grouped based on the same criteria as used for the presentation of Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight.

Table 11.1: Summary of the Steps to a Constructed Narrative in Each Case Study.

<u>Sex Buyer</u>	<u>Identify a Need</u>	<u>Create an Opportunity</u>	<u>Justify the Behaviour</u>
Robert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biological Imperative • Different Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specifically Intended 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Everyone Does It • Partner Not Providing
Frank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biological Imperative • Sexual Frustration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usual Route Home • Staying Away From Home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unable to 'Chat Up' Women • Away from Home
Brian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biological Imperative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Route Due to Roadworks • Has Mattress in Van 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner Not Providing
Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Companionship • Biological Imperative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Associated With Drug Taking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unable to 'Chat Up' Women
Simon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Companionship • Stress at Home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Route Home from Club 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has No Other Contact With Women • Women Doing it for Rent
William	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Companionship • Biological Imperative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taxi Fare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age Restricts Contact with Women
David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Companionship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only Route into Town 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are Materialistic • Everyone Does It
Joseph	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional Insecurity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Going to the Shop • Went for a Walk in the Area • Stopped to See if She Was Alright 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blames His Wife's Infidelity • The Women are 'Happy Enough'
Leonard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stress at Work / Home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specifically Intended 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner Not Providing • Not Aware of the Women's Problems

From this table, it can be seen that the 'need' that is identified is consistent within each of the three groups of three sex buyers. The men grouped as influenced by British cultural learned behaviours (Robert, Frank, and Brian) all cited a biological imperative

that led them to pay for sex. The three men identified as influenced by learned behaviours derived through familial circumstances (Peter, Simon, and William) all identified companionship as their key 'need'. The non-British sex buyers (David, Joseph, and Leonard) described a number of different 'needs', suggesting that there is no consistent explanation based on simply being a migrant. Conversely, all three of these men justified their behaviour by blaming other women in their lives.

Male Learned Sex Buying Behaviours

The Learning Process

Having thematically discussed the pillars on Mating Systems, Masculinity, Culture, and Constructed Narratives, it is apparent that these four pillars all contribute to learned behaviours around sex buying in men. This is explored further here.

Kinsey *et al.* (1948) were amongst the first sociologists to describe how the male sex drive is a learned behaviour with dependencies on early sexual growth, adolescent sexual activity, social level, rural/urban upbringing, and religious background, in their study of adolescent boys in America. Kinsey argues that there are two cultural myths form this learning, firstly that the male sex drive must be fulfilled because it cannot be contained, and secondly that males have an implicit right to use girls and women to fulfil that drive. Barry (1979) develops this into the modern era by arguing that the media and pornography reinforce these myths. Based on this argument, D'Cunha (1992, p36) states that both the male sex drive and perceived female passivity are not a 'physiological response of the sex organs dictated by hormones ... [but] ... it is learned behaviour conditioned by patriarchal societies.' This particular aspect of male sex buying is not explicitly explored in literature, but it is a natural extension of the discussion presented here.

Many studies have examined the socio-demographic distribution of male sex buyers and not found anything to suggest that these men are anything out of the ordinary for the general population (for example Monto and Milrod 2014). In societies where sex buying

has been deemed to be against the law, then this behaviour must be considered deviant to that social norm, and some process must take place whereby this 'ordinary' group of men pay for sex.

Bridges *et al.* (2016) used sexual script theory to analyse the sexual behaviour of men and women. They found significant differences between the sexes in how they learnt from experiences such as pornography and how they then implemented this learning in the real world, with men much more likely to be aggressors or to engage in experimental sexual behaviour. The authors also reported that when comparing this learning process through either direct experience or vicariously through observation of other people's actions, particularly when examining the consequences of these actions, it was the latter process that was dominant. In essence, this study found that men are more likely than women to develop sexual behaviours that may be considered deviant within a particular society, which could include paying for sex through prostitution. The study also found that this behaviour was learnt through external factors, which would include environment, peer pressure and culture.

A Model of Male Learned Sex Buying Behaviours

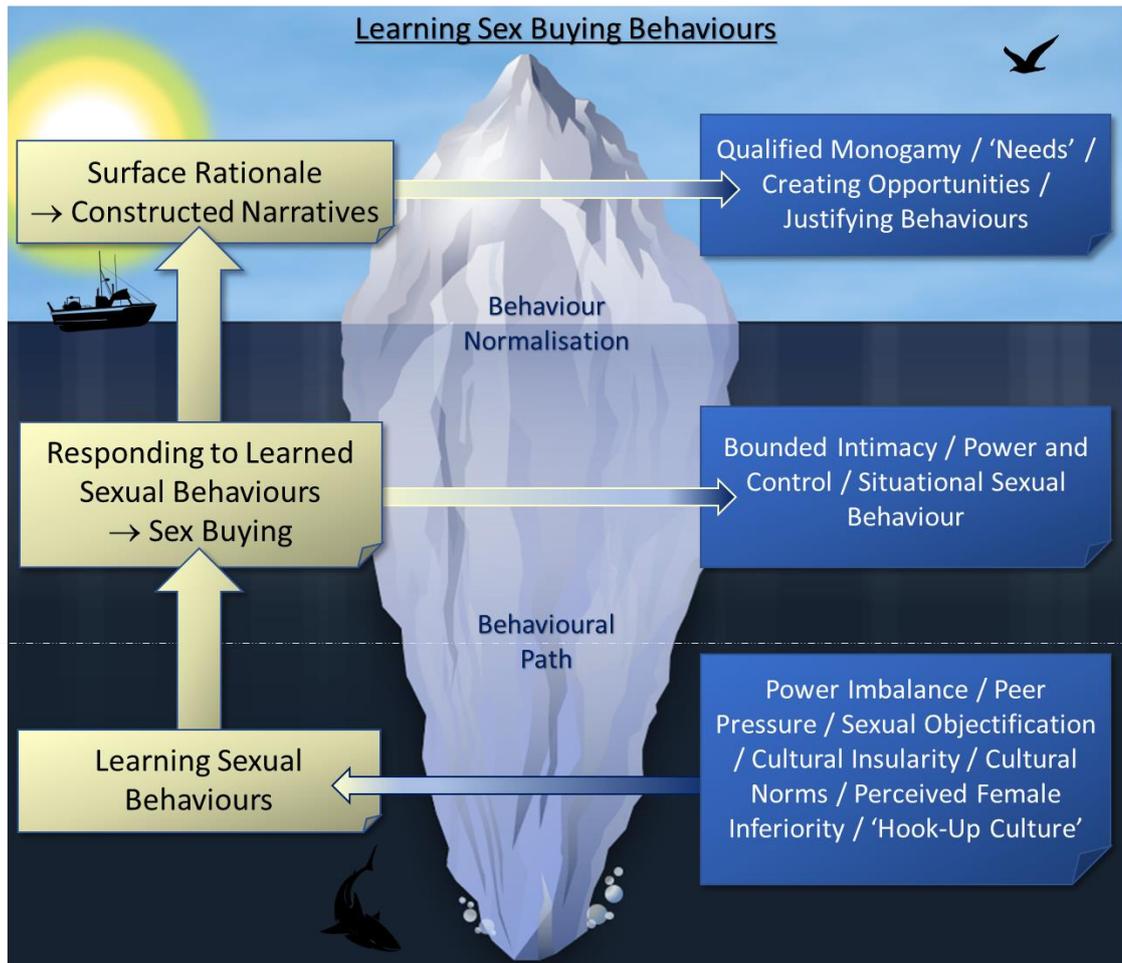
Figure 11.2 below brings together the pillars of Mating Systems, Masculinity, Culture, and Constructed Narratives. This illustrates how the themes from all four pillars combine to facilitate the process of learning sex buying behaviours.

I present this model as a further original contribution to the debate and understanding of sex buying by men.

This learning process has three levels. The deepest level is where the behaviour is initially learned. Building upon this, the next level shows how individuals respond to these learned behaviours. This can lead to sex buying. The surface level is where the constructed narratives take place to provide justification for the behaviour. The barrier between the lower two levels is regarded as a 'behavioural path' (Knott, Muers and Aldridge 2008) from the drivers of behavioural learning to responding to, and acting

upon, these learned behaviours. The barrier between the upper two levels is regarded as ‘behaviour normalisation’ (ibid.) whereupon the sex buying behaviour has become a routine part of a sex buyer’s activities.

Figure 11.2: The Process of Learning Sex Buying Behaviours



This model is useful to analyse the understanding of the various participants and interviewees in this study. The sex providers only related to the uppermost level and had no interest in what takes place beneath the surface. The support workers also largely focussed on the surface level with a few references to the responding level. The police officers and staff had more understanding of the responding level and some awareness of the lowest level without fully understanding the learning involved.

The sex buyers all initially provided explanations for their behaviour based on the surface rationale, with a particular focus on their constructed narratives, and some explanations that included the responding level. The sex buyers disclosed situations and experiences that demonstrated the lowest level and how the behaviours were learned, but all failed to appreciate the influence that these circumstances had on their sex buying and how these contributed to their learned behaviours.

As the following section will illustrate, progression through this model of learned sex buying behaviours is a continuous process. The drivers in the lowest level are repeatedly reinforced, learned anew, or altered in some form to continually drive the learning process.

The Significance and Escalation of Learned Sex Buying Behaviours

Wood (2011) examined the escalation of sexually compulsive behaviour in men who used the Internet to access pornography, live sex acts, and other sexual material. She found a pattern of escalation in some men that followed a model based on the transition from one stage to the next:

1. from casual to compulsive behaviour,
2. from compulsive to illegal behaviour, and
3. from illegal behaviour to contact offending.

Wood highlights various mechanisms that facilitate these transitions. Key amongst these appears to be, what she terms as, 'the collapse of repression' (ibid., p136). In essence, this represents overcoming a hurdle that previously inhibited a particular behaviour. This is very similar to the behaviour described on interview by Michael (police officer) when discussing how behaviours that once seemed 'risky' become normalised, requiring ever increasingly riskier behaviours to satisfy a 'need' for risk and excitement. This could relate to accessing pornography of a graphic nature or demanding certain sexual acts from a partner. What is important to recognise is that once a man progresses from one stage to the next, he will not have to cross this transition again. Without intervention,

once a man reaches the level of compulsive behaviour, he will not return to casual behaviour and so on through the levels.

An examination of the biographies of serial killers such as Peter Sutcliffe (Bilton 2006), Steve Wright (Harrison and Wilson 2008, Root 2008), and Stephen Griffiths (Dixon 2011) in the UK, or Jack Unterweger (Leake 2007), Gary Ridgway (Rule 2005) and Robert Pickton (Cameron 2010) in North America reveal that all of these men started out as sex buyers. These men's 'needs' were complicated and dangerous, but it appears that their initial sex buying only satisfied these needs for a limited period of time before they escalated their behaviour to ever more dangerous and fatal extremes. It would be wrong to suggest that all men who engage in sex buying will follow this continuum through to violence or homicide, but it appears evident that men who commit these extreme offences against sex providers likely began with sex buying and sexual objectification.

An example of the danger of male learned sexual behaviours can be seen in the defence of 'rough sex' used in many trials for murder over recent years. The campaign, 'We Can't Consent To This' (2020) reports that sixty women have been killed by men in the UK since 1972 where this defence was claimed in court. Many of these consisted of fatal strangulation. The campaign reports that all the offenders had a history of violence that was often directed at their intimate partners that escalated until the final act where the victim was killed. Almost half of the offenders in these cases were convicted of manslaughter, rather than murder. There appear to be many more cases where the victim did not die, but the same defence is used (ibid.). Yardley (2020) found that the advent of such cases in court has been increasing over several decades and identifies cultural normalisation as the primary cause, particularly around violent sex or BDSM. She states that this 'has enabled abusers to justify and excuse fatal violence against women,' (ibid., p20). It is likely that this defence will be outlawed in a forthcoming *Domestic Violence Bill* (BBC News 2020).

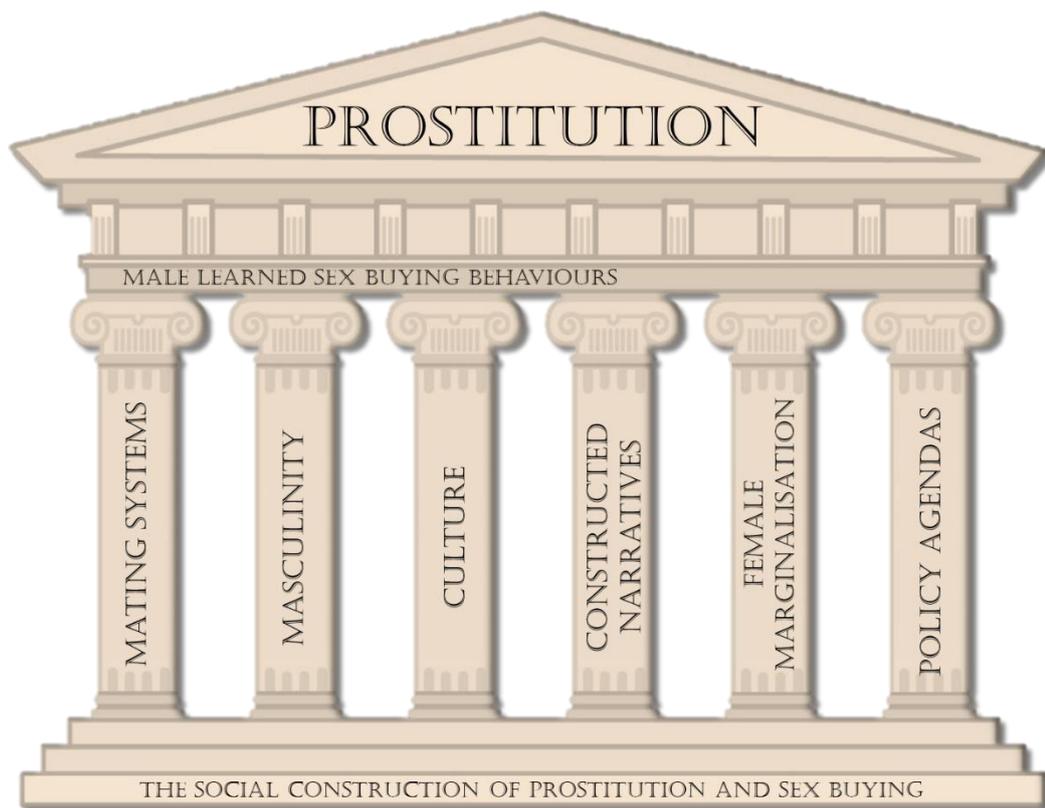
As the above example illustrates, the male offenders in these cases have learned over time and repetition that violent sexual behaviour is normalised, and this is reinforced through popular media. The defence is sometimes referred to as the '*Fifty Shades of Grey*' defence (Yardley 2020) showing how a popular book and film can make such

behaviour acceptable and desirable to the offender. What is equally clear is that the learned behaviour escalates with the violence becoming ever more extreme, occasionally resulting in the death of the victim.

This discussion has illustrated the potential for learned sex buying behaviours to escalate in both their seriousness and their frequency. The impact of these behaviours has a long-term and wide-reaching effect on all of society.

The Six Pillars of the Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying: A Revised Model

Figure 11.3: A Revised Model of the Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying



Chapter One introduced the model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, initially based on five pillars. In this discussion, I have shown how the introduction of a sixth pillar, constructed narratives, is necessary to understand the

motivations for sex buying. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that four of these pillars collectively contribute to male learned sex buying behaviours.

This new knowledge is introduced into the social construction model of prostitution and sex buying in Figure 11.3 above.

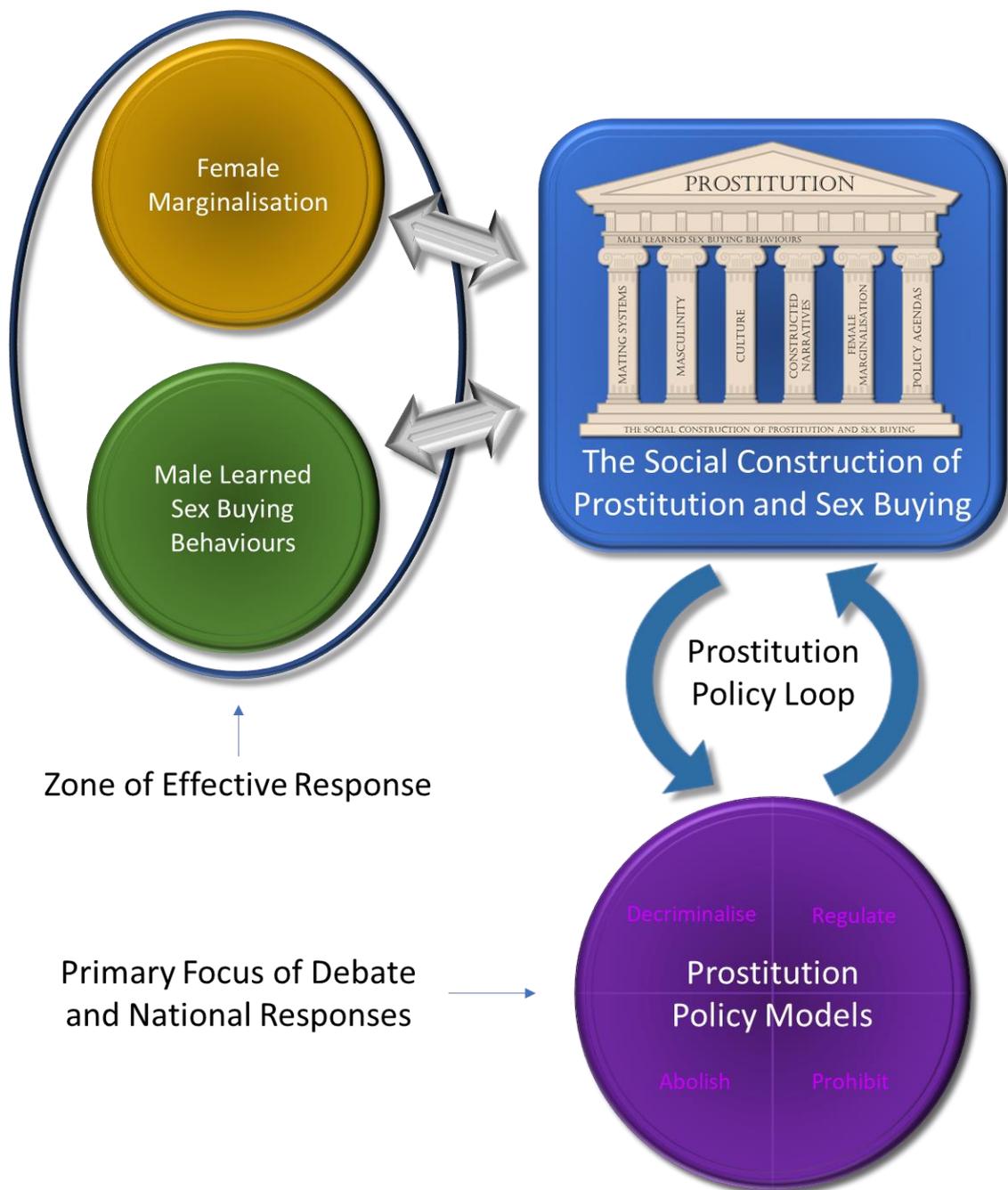
The Impact of Male Learned Sex Buying Behaviours on Prostitution Policy

Having defined a model of male learned street sex buying behaviours and discussed the significance and escalation potentials of this, the next stage is to consider the role that this model could play in debates over prostitution policy. The majority of the debate in England and Wales, and internationally, tends to focus on policy agendas, often divided on radical or liberal feminist ideologies. To use a medical analogy, I would argue that these prostitution policy debates invariably result in policies that address symptoms rather than causes. These policies tend to spark further debate and the procedure gets trapped into a 'policy loop' of debate/response/debate that furthers the social construction of prostitution and does little to address the underlying issues of female marginalisation, exploitation, and male learned behaviours.

It is unlikely that any prostitution policy model will ever completely abolish prostitution or make the provision of sex entirely safe for the women involved whilst the driving causes of prostitution still exist. If female marginalisation and exploitation were tackled, this would have a great reduction on the provision of prostitution. If the learned behaviours of men paying for sex was addressed, this would impact the demand for paid-for sex. If either of these factors is addressed effectively, then the other must receive equal attention. Reducing the demand for prostitution will have a negative impact on the lives of sex providers if marginalisation, and particularly poverty, is still a key driver for them. Taken together, these changes could provide a positive and long-lasting impact on the lives of all of those involved. This will be discussed further in the recommendations section of Chapter Twelve with some suggestions as to how this could be achieved in relation to male learned sex buying behaviours and policy.

Figure 11.4 below illustrates this argument by separating the four male learned sex buying behaviour pillars from the female marginalisation and policy agendas pillars and shows their influence and contribution to the on-going social construction of prostitution and sex buying.

Figure 11.4: The Contributions of Male Learned Sex Buying Behaviours, Female Marginalisation, and Policy Agendas on the Social Construction of Prostitution and Sex Buying



The prostitution policy debates over the last twelve years in the Republic of Ireland (hereafter Ireland) offers an example of this situation. Debates and reviews regarding prostitution policy largely became divided along the radical feminist ideologies of a group of partners known as 'Turn off the Red Light' (TORL) (NWCi 2020) and the apparent lone voice of an organisation known as Sex Workers Alliance of Ireland (SWAI) promoting a liberal feminist ideology on the other (Beegan and Moran 2017). Taking the TORL view, the Irish government introduced a neo-abolitionist legislative approach with a sex buyer law (Ward 2020). The two opposing ideologies are further apart now than when this process began resulting in campaigns to repeal the law by SWAI and its supporters (SWAI 2009) on one side and calls for enforcement through this act to be stepped up on the other (O'Connor and Breslin 2020). The debate in Ireland is far from resolved and only promises further revolutions around this 'prostitution policy loop'.

I would argue that, as this discussion illustrates, prostitution policy is often based on politics and entrenched moral views, rather than a broad spectrum of evidence. The impact and motivations of the sex buyers were assessed in this process through sex providers as interpreted by support agencies. As such, the legislation has been passed without understanding the key group that it is intended to target.

This discussion illustrates the processes shown in Figure 11.4 above. The Irish situation is stuck in a 'policy loop' that only serves to fuel heated debate whilst leaving sex providers exposed to continued marginalisation and abuse, whilst sex buyers appear to be largely unchallenged in their behaviour (SWAI 2009). An approach that addresses the marginalisation, poverty and exploitation of sex providers whilst simultaneously redressing the learned behaviours of potential sex buyers in society, would have long-term and sustainable benefits.

Generalisability of The Model

A criticism of qualitative research, and case studies in particular, is that they are not generalisable (Steinmetz 2004). Flyvbjerg (2006) contends that this is a

misunderstanding, whereas Guenther and Falk (2019) go as far as describing this view as a myth.

Sharp (1988) discusses the difference between empirical and theoretical generalisation. He describes empirical generalisation being typical of quantitative research and is designed to demonstrate that a measured characteristic is representative of the general population. However, where this type of generalisation fails, is in describing the relationship between variables. Theoretical generalisation, on the other hand, is more common in qualitative research and allows for comparisons of themes to provide for a better understanding of the relationships between them. Sharp (1988, p785) observes:

‘It is suggested that once it is accepted that theoretical generalizations do not depend upon representativeness for their validity, the full value of case study, and other small-scale qualitative research ... can be appreciated.’

Yin (2018, p21) uses the term ‘analytical generalisation’ rather than theoretical and argues that the ‘goal will be to expand and generalize theories (analytical generalizations) and not to extrapolate probabilities (statistical generalizations).’

What Sharp and Yin’s quotes illustrate is that generalisation need not be based on statistical probabilities in a large sample and that theoretical generalisation can be achieved, and even desirable, from a small sample.

Several authors state that the method and approach to case study research can be structured to improve the generalisation of the findings. Wikfeldt (2016) argues that a comprehensive literature review can add validity to generalisation by using secondary sources to describe a theoretical framework to support the findings of case study research. A thorough literature review has been included in my research that provides a context and theoretical background to this study. Other researchers focus on the analysis method chosen with Tsang (2014) focussing on grounded theory, and Mookherji and LaFond (2013) developed a ‘theory of change’. The mechanics of this theory are not of concern here, rather this illustrates the importance of a methodological and transparent analysis to strengthen the generalisation of the findings. The thematic

analysis used in my research provides the same function and strengthens the generalisability of the findings (Braun and Clarke 2019).

Based on the above discussion, I argue that the models proposed in this study have some generalisability. However, the question arises as to how far the models described above can be applied to other forms of prostitution or beyond. This study focusses exclusively on street-level prostitution in one city in England. To generalise the model throughout on-street prostitution in England, and the rest of the UK, appears reasonable. It is less clear if this model can be generalised to other forms of prostitution or to other countries and, if so, to what extent. Most of the sex buyers in this study had purchased sex in both on-street and off-street situations and are, therefore, as representative of other forms of prostitution as much as they are of sex buying on the streets. Several of the sex buyers also had experience of purchasing sex in other countries outside of the UK, either as natives of those countries or as visitors. Additionally, this research draws on the cultural differences between and within different nations and peoples to develop the sex buying model presented here. I suggest that the model has some transferability across different forms of prostitution and in different locations as discussed above, but the full extent of this would require further research to make any firm claims.

Having presented this amended model for the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, as well as examining the role of sex buyers within this, the following chapter will provide conclusions and recommendations as to how this should shape policy in the future, together with potential lines of inquiry for further study.

Chapter Twelve – Conclusions

Framing the Research

The primary aim in this research was stated in the introduction to be to develop an in-depth understanding of the reasons and motivations that lead men to paying women for sex on the streets through a qualitative approach consisting of a multi-case study design.

To support this aim, a number of objectives were addressed:

1. To formulate a series of themes based on a review of available literature regarding the historical context of prostitution and sex buying, theoretical understanding of sex buying, and current policy models around prostitution.
2. To use these themes developed from the literature to frame analyses of the case studies to identify each participant's reasons and motivations for engaging with street prostitution.
3. To compare case studies and themes emerging from them to identify generalities and patterns in their reasons and motivations.
4. To critically compare previous prostitution studies and paradigms to the findings of this study.
5. To examine the practical implications of these findings in relation to prostitution policy models and future research.

To address this aim and these objectives, in Chapter One I developed a model of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying based on five pillars. These were identified through a literature review of the historical context of prostitution and sex buying, theoretical understanding of sex buying, and prostitution policy approaches. With this model, I provided an original contribution to the discussion around sex buying and framed this phenomenon in a novel conceptual manner.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight detailed analyses of each of the nine case studies undertaken and, together with a series of triangulation interviews analysed in Chapter Nine, these provide a rich source of findings. The model derived in Chapter One was used to apply a reflexive thematic cross-comparison of these findings in Chapter Ten.

Answering the Research Question

The research question was provided in the introduction to this thesis as:

Why do men pay for sex in the adult female heterosexual street sex market?

As a result of the thematic cross-comparison of the findings, a sixth pillar was identified as a significant contributor to the social construction of prostitution and sex buying. Of these six pillars, in a revision to the model derived in Chapter One, four of these pillars were identified as the result of male learned sex buying behaviours. The answer to the research question is complex, nuanced, and varied dependent on the individual sex buyer. Despite this limitation, some broad understanding has been reached in this study to show that male sex buying in the on-street sex market can be described through a varying combination of the following four themes: Mating Systems, Masculinity, Culture, and Constructed Narratives. These are not separate or isolated and show a significant degree of interaction. In bringing these four themes together to describe male sex buying, I have further proposed a model to describe male learned sex buying behaviours based on an iceberg visualisation. The deepest level is where the behaviour is initially learned, the middle level represents how these learned behaviours are responded to and acted upon, and the uppermost level, above the surface, is the visible representation of these learned sex buying behaviours. This model demonstrates how the four sex buying pillars relate to each other.

In addition to these four pillars, the literature review also identified two further themes that contributed to the overall social construction of prostitution. These demonstrated how female marginalisation and exploitation are key drivers for women entering

prostitution and providing sex, and that policy agendas around prostitution continuously shape and reshape prostitution in society.

In answering the research question, I have developed models of the social construction of prostitution and sex buying, constructed sex buying narratives, and male learned sex buying behaviours. These are my original contributions to the discussion and understanding of male sex buying behaviours.

Implications for Theory and Research

In this thesis I have offered a model for male learned sex buying behaviours that was derived from a very limited setting of a small population, in one city in England, and in only one context of the wider aspects of prostitution.

As Sharp (1988) argues, where theoretical generalisation is the desired goal, the correlation and causation between themes are more important than the number of participants. Yin (2018) supports this view, arguing that the aim should be to expand and generalise theories, not to extrapolate probabilities. Given this argument, there would be no value in simply expanding the number of participants in the same situation. Testing this model in countries with a different approach to prostitution policy to assess its general applicability would be beneficial.

Further, this model should be tested in different prostitution settings to assess if the same drivers that effect on-street sex buyers are present in off-street or online environments. Most of the participants in this study have purchased sex in multiple settings, including on-street, off-street, and whilst on trips to other countries, which provides some insight into these different aspects of prostitution, but it cannot be assumed that this model is simply transferable without further research.

This research and the associated literature review focussed entirely on men purchasing sex from women in a heterosexual sex market. The numbers of people involved in sex provision are difficult to assess, but most research concludes that the vast majority are women (Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher 2018). Despite this, male or trans sex providers are

a significant population and further research should consider if this model is applicable in other sex markets such as male homosexual sex buying. Similarly, female sex buyers may be rare, but they do exist (Caldas-Coulthard 2003). The model presented here is based on male learned behaviours and is unlikely to relate to female sex buyers, but this should be tested to look for parallels and contrasts.

In Chapter Four I discussed the potential future of prostitution through sex robots and technosexuality. This argument concerning learned sexual behaviours is an important consideration when discussing sex robots. An argument is made by some authors that the use of robots can be an outlet for dangerous or illegal sexual behaviours without harming a human being (Levy 2009). Given the high number of robots designed to look like children (Maras and Shapiro 2017) or celebrities without their permission (Charlton 2016), the escalation of learned sexual behaviours described here must be considered as a factor. The behaviours of the sex doll user will become normalised over time and the 'needs' of the user will cease to be addressed, potentially leading to these extreme behaviours being transferred to real people. Richardson (2015) discusses the parallels between the development of sex robots and prostitution, highlighting the same factors in terms of behaviours and 'needs' in both phenomena. The use of sex robots, either at home or in a brothel, appears to be a step on the continuum of dehumanisation and follows the same process of learned sexual behaviours as described in the model above for sex buying. Rather than being a 'safe' alternative, this appears to be simply an additional step in the continuum and the learning process. The model presented here should be tested on men purchasing the use of a sex doll, particularly in a sex doll brothel, to examine the validity of the model in this setting. This would facilitate examination of the potential development of learned sexual behaviours in this setting together with their transferability to interactions with humans.

This research was not intended to examine the drivers for women to become sex providers. However, female marginalisation has repeatedly arisen from the literature review and interviews as key amongst these. The potential impact on sex providers from the policy recommendations above should be studied further with a particular focus on safeguarding, reducing stigma, and challenging marginalisation and poverty.

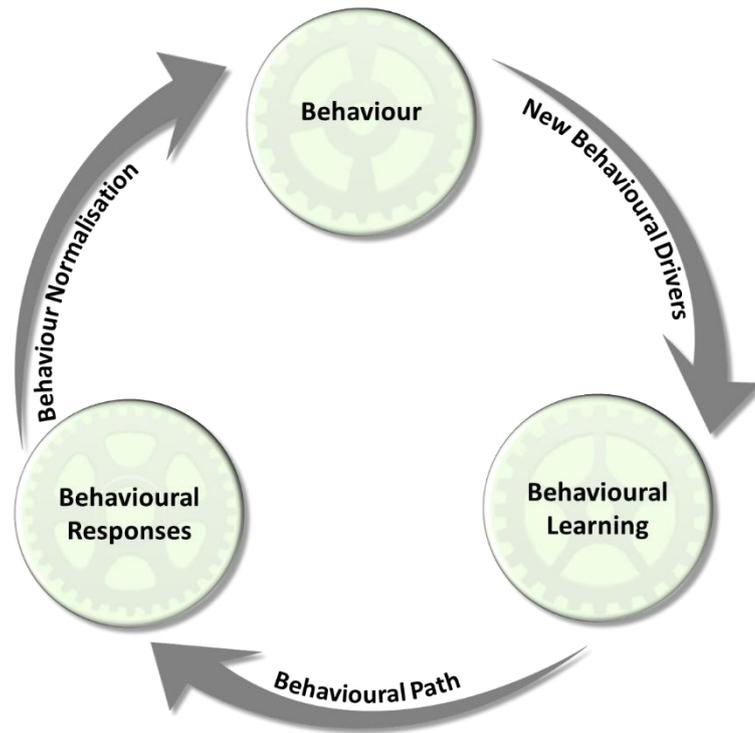
The model of male learned sex buying behaviours presented in this thesis has identified several aspects of masculinity, objectification of women, and power imbalances between men and women that lead to dehumanisation of women, misogyny, and unhealthy male peer bonding rituals. Many of these go far beyond prostitution and have a major impact on many aspects of the lives of the participants in this study. Further research should examine the applicability of this model on other sexual behavioural traits in men and the learning processes involved.

Recommendations for Policy and Practice

The impact of male learned sex buying behaviours and female marginalisation on the social construction of prostitution and sex buying was illustrated in the previous chapter in Figure 11.4. As discussed, addressing these two key drivers together would have a greater impact on the negative aspects of prostitution than the current policy debates that focus entirely on the provision or purchase of sex. Any attempt to address male sex buying behaviours whilst not simultaneously tackling the marginalisation and poverty that act as drivers for many women involved in street prostitution has been shown many times to leave sex providers vulnerable (for example Campbell *et al.* 2020). This is generally regarded as a product of reduced numbers of sex buyers, poverty driven desperation, and less opportunities for risk assessment leaving the women more vulnerable to violence and exploitation (*ibid.*). This is the main criticism levelled at neo-abolitionist sex buyer laws. Any policy that reduces the demand for street prostitution must, therefore, begin with extensive support for sex providers.

Chapter Eleven presented a model of male learned sex buying behaviours (see Figure 11.2). This is based on a process that begins with behavioural drivers leading to behavioural learning. This in turn, follows a behavioural path to a process of responding to these learned behaviours. Finally, a normalisation of the learned behaviours results in sex buying. New behavioural drivers can begin this process again with new learning. Figure 12.1 below illustrates this cycle.

Figure 12.1: The Process of Learning New Behaviours



To address male learned sex buying behaviours, this cycle must focus on pro-social behaviours that address the four pillars of mating systems, masculinity, culture, and constructed narratives.

Knott, Muers and Aldridge (2008) offer a strategy that can be applied to this situation based on changing the 'cultural capital' of a society. They take the definition of this from Bourdieu (1973), as being the attitudes, values, aspirations, and self-efficacy of a culture. Knott, Muers and Aldridge (2008) present four key environments that contribute to cultural capital:

- Family, friends, and associates,
- Community and Neighbourhood,
- Organisation, school, or workplace,
- Society.

Building on this definition, the authors further developed a model based on four 'E's – enable, encourage, engage, and exemplify to change cultural capital (ibid., p12-13).

Adapting this to learned sex buying behaviours, I suggest that this could be achieved by the following:

- *Enable* – providing capacity and alternatives for different courses of action, removing any barriers to choice, providing support to help those most in need, and developing the skills and capabilities to make informed choices. This should focus on challenging hegemonic masculinity within the family unit, schools, and society. Support to address female marginalisation is essential to this stage.
- *Encourage* – regulation to sanction certain actions or behaviour, and contracts to establish or frame expectations about behaviour. This should involve behavioural contracts within schools, youth provisions, and workplaces.
- *Engage* – putting citizen engagement at the heart of service delivery, creating dialogue, and use of social marketing techniques to promote new or adaptive forms of behaviour. It is important that everyone has a voice in debate over policy. This must include sex providers, communities, and regulators.
- *Exemplify* - ensuring visible figures lead by example and establish compelling and consistent messages. A universally agreed and evidenced message should challenge negative stereotypes and stigmas surrounding prostitution, whilst reinforcing pro-social behaviours.

William Sumner's quotation of 'legislation cannot change mores,' (Sumner 1907, p81) is often misquoted as 'stateways cannot change folkways,' to suggest that national policy and interventions cannot significantly change cultural norms and behaviours (Eller, Abrams and Koschate 2017). However, many sociologists and psychologists no longer believe this is the case (for example Aronson 1999) and examples such as smoking bans are often quoted as evidence to the contrary (Eller, Abrams and Koschate 2017). Male learned sexual behaviours, including sex buying, can and should be challenged from an early age and continuously through life within the environments listed above (Knott, Muers and Aldridge 2008). This could be widened to address the broader issues of masculinity and attitudes towards women, particularly focussing on objectification, dehumanisation, and violence.

If female marginalisation were to be addressed along with a development of positive attitudes amongst males towards sex and sexual relationships, prostitution would naturally reduce without the necessity of legislative intervention.

Final Thoughts

In the introduction to this thesis, I provided my personal context and motivations for researching the underlying causes as to why men pay for sex. Following two decades of policing all aspects of prostitution and interacting with all persons involved including those indirectly impacted such as community representatives, housing agencies, hotel managers, and public transport operators; those directly involved, including sex providers and their families, sex buyers, controllers, and brothel managers; to those providing support such as charitable agencies, public health, local authority, and other policing bodies. Of all these persons and agencies, the least visible and the least understood were always the sex buyers. Generally, it was only the sex providers and the police who had any contact with sex buyers and the former of these had little interest in the sex buyer's reasons or motivations beyond their ability to pay. As the police officer responsible for a policing response to prostitution in Nottingham, it fell to me to provide working practices designed to achieve the contradictory aims of safeguarding sex providers whilst also preserving the public peace. I will not claim to have always got this right and I learned a lot over twenty years. My approach on retirement was very different to that I undertook in the 1990s with the focus shifting firmly towards the safeguarding side of this equation. Over this period, I spoke to around two thousand men found paying for sex in all aspects of prostitution. I had a thorough working knowledge of sex buying and had probably heard all of the 'excuses' that these men could offer. In most cases, this was enough at the time. It did not seem particularly important to fully understand their reasons and motivations. There is generally a misconception regarding the majority of police investigations that the officers are seeking for a motive. It is my experience that this is rarely the case. The police have a series of 'points to prove' that cover actions and intent, they do not include motive. The question is usually, 'did they do it?' rather than 'why did they do it?' As my years of

policing prostitution advanced, I became increasingly frustrated with this gap in my knowledge and unsatisfied with the literature I read that seemed to only offer insights that failed to go much further than the sex buyer 'excuses' I had spent years listening to. It was in this frame of mind that I set out to conduct this research. I wanted to understand the deceptively complicated question of 'why did they do it?' and examine whether, as a society, we have the correct approach to dealing with these men to address the safeguarding issues and the wider demands of that society. Put simply, could I have done things better?

In my experience, there are numerous competing demands placed on police officers and policing prostitution is no exception from this. Community groups often demand firmer enforcement to drive sex providers from the streets, whilst support agencies advocate no enforcement at all to enhance safeguarding. Performance based policing will focus on quantifiable outcomes, which are much easier to evidence with the exercise of police powers than they are in tackling marginalisation, poverty, or misogyny. These competing demands invariably change over time with the emphasis swinging first one way and then in the other. This does not allow for a long-term and consistent approach to addressing the issues associated with prostitution in a way that promotes safety and sex equality.

A quick internet search of the phrase 'What type of feminist am I?' will reveal multiple on-line 'quizzes' and several academic articles trying to answer this very question. Friedman, Metelerkamp and Posel (1987, p3) argue that:

'Even for those women who identify themselves as feminists or with feminist issues, there is confusion over the debates that rage within feminism, over the different kinds of feminism and the relationship between women's struggles and struggles against other forms of oppression and exploitation.'

There is no reason not to extend this argument to men when researching feminist issues. This thesis has largely focussed on the conflicting academic debates put forward by liberal and radical feminists. Although these are by no means the only feminist debates on this subject, they are the two most dominant. In challenging myself with the question, 'What type of feminist am I?', I find myself agreeing to some extent with

O'Connell Davidson (2002, p84), when she states that she finds herself 'in sympathy with elements of both "sides" of the debate'. The implicit link between prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation in radical arguments is too simplistic, whereas denying the effects of restricted agency in entering prostitution by liberal feminists ignores the entrapment that occurs when choice is restricted. As Moran (2013, p161) argues, 'if a woman has no viable choice, then she may as well have no choice at all'. Similarly, the liberal argument to put safeguarding of sex providers above all other considerations is a compelling and necessary one. Any policy or procedural intervention must place this at the heart of all considerations. However, the radical argument that policies favouring decriminalisation or legalisation of prostitution provide little opportunity to exit prostitution if a woman so desires and do nothing to challenge the negative learned sexual behaviours identified in men in this study, suggest that this safeguarding may be focussed too much on the short-term protection, rather than long-term life changes.

Ultimately, my experiences in both policing and researching prostitution have led me to a position where I take an abolitionist stance, I would want to see male sex buying behaviours challenged and society as a whole develop less misogynistic tendencies. Through this, prostitution would naturally reduce. However, I think this is a change that needs to come about through developments in relationships in families, communities, and societies rather than through enforcement and legislation.

I now have a much clearer understanding of the motivations and reasons that drive men to pay for sex, particularly in the on-street sex market. With this knowledge has come the realisation that the police cannot ever hope to provide a service to everyone involved or affected by prostitution. This is not a phenomenon that we can enforce our way out of. Sex buying has been shown here to be based on a series of learned behaviours in men where the underlying causes arise from families, peer groups, cultures, and societies. Sex buying is also representative of wider issues in these environments based on sex inequality, misogyny, and power imbalances. It is only by addressing these that prostitution will change with women no longer driven into sex providing by marginalisation and exploitation, and men no longer develop and act upon

these negative learned behaviours. The police have a part to play in this, particularly around safeguarding, but overall, theirs is a small part. If prostitution is to change, then society must change first.

Index of Observations Conducted During This Research

Observation Log 001. Observation of Police Patrol 09/08/2019

Observation Log 002. Observation of Police Patrol 23/08/2019

Observation Log 003. Observation of Change Course 21/09/2019

Observation Log 004. Observation of Police Patrol 21/09/2019

Observation Log 005. Observation of Magistrates Court Proceedings 03/10/2019

Observation Log 006. Observation of Change Course 19/10/2019

Observation Log 007. Observation of Change Course 25/01/2020

Observation Log 008. Observation of Police Patrol 12/08/2020

Observation Log 009. Observation of Police Patrol 06/09/2020

Observation Log 010. Observation of Police Patrol 16/09/2020

Index of Interviews Conducted During This Research

Alice 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 16/09/2020

Andrew 2020. Interview with CPO specialist re triangulation, 16/06/2020

Brian 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 01/10/2019

Christine 2020. Interview with support worker re triangulation, 19/06/2020

David 2019a. Interview with sex buyer participant, 22/08/2019

David 2019b. Interview with sex buyer participant, 21/09/2019

Emma 2020. Interview with support worker re triangulation, 16/06/2020

Frank 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 31/10/2019

Gail 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 12/08/2020

Heather 2020. Interview with support worker re triangulation, 11/06/2020

Isabel 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 06/09/2020

Jodie 2019a. Interview with sex provider re sex buyer Brian, 20/10/2019

Jodie 2019b. Interview with sex provider re sex buyer Simon, 20/10/2019

Jodie 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 16/09/2020

Joseph 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 07/11/2019

Karen 2020. Interview with support worker re triangulation, 09/06/2020

Leonard 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 24/10/2019

Lynne 2019. Interview with sex provider re sex buyer David, 21/09/2019

Lynne 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 06/09/2020

Michael 2019a. Interview with PC specialist re sex buyer Frank, 20/10/2019

Michael 2019b. Interview with PC specialist re sex buyer Joseph, 20/10/2019

Michael 2019c. Interview with PC specialist re sex buyer Leonard, 20/10/2019

Michael 2019d. Interview with PC specialist re sex buyer William, 08/12/2019

Michael 2020. Interview with PC specialist re triangulation, 16/06/2020

Naomi 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 12/08/2020

Owen 2020. Interview with PS specialist re triangulation, 11/03/2020

Peter 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 07/12/2019

Robert 2020. Interview with sex buyer participant, 25/01/2020

Sara 2019a. Interview with PCSO specialist re sex buyer David, 23/08/2019

Sara 2019b. Interview with PCSO specialist re sex buyer Brian, 21/09/2019

Sara 2019c. Interview with PCSO specialist re sex buyer Simon, 21/09/2019

Sara 2019d. Interview with PCSO specialist re sex buyer Peter, 08/12/2019

Sara 2019e. Interview with PCSO specialist re sex buyer Robert, 08/12/2019

Sara 2020. Interview with PSCO specialist re triangulation, 11/08/2020

Simon 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 26/09/2019

Tina 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 12/08/2020

Valerie 2020. Interview with sex provider re triangulation, 06/09/2020

William 2019. Interview with sex buyer participant, 30/12/2019

Yvonne 2020. Interview with support worker re triangulation, 11/06/2020

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NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY
Participant Information Sheet

Research Title

Purchasing Sex on the Streets: A Study of Male Buyers in the Heterosexual Street Sex Market

Principal Investigator

Neil Radford

What is the purpose of this study?

This study is designed to allow us to better understand the reasons and experiences of men purchasing sex from women on the streets. This will improve understanding, help inform policy and provide training opportunities when addressing the concepts and issues arising from prostitution.

What are we asking you?

You will be asked to partake in an interview with a researcher to explore your understanding and views on why some men pay for sex, about women involved in providing sex and prostitution in general.

How we would like to use the information provided

Any information used that you provide will be protected by use of a pseudonym. All information will be securely stored at Nottingham Trent University with access limited to the above investigator and others within the university with just cause.

Compliance with the Research Data Management Policy

Nottingham Trent University is committed to respecting the ethical codes of conduct of the United Kingdom Research Councils. Thus, in accordance with procedures for transparency and scientific verification, the University will conserve all information and data collected during your interview in line with the University Policy and RCUK Common Principles on Data Policy (<http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/research/datapolicy/>) and the relevant legislative frameworks. The final data will be retained in accordance with the Retention Policy. All data will be anonymised or pseudonymised and made available to be re-used in this form where appropriate and under appropriate safeguards.

What are the possible risks or discomforts?

Your participation does not involve any risks other than those you typically encounter in daily life. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions and topics, you are free to not answer.

What are my rights as a research participant?

You have the right to withdraw your consent and participation before, during, or after the interview up to a period of one month of signing the informed consent form. If you do wish to withdraw your consent please contact me as below.

You have the right to remain anonymous in any write-up (published or not) of the information generated during this interview.

You have the right to refuse to answer any or all of the questions you will be asked.

You also have the right to specify the terms and limits of use (i.e. full or partial) of the information generated during the interview.

You have the opportunity to ask questions about this research and these

should be answered to your satisfaction.

This research is approved by the Business, Law and Social Sciences (BLSS) College Research Ethics Committee (CREC) at Nottingham Trent University. Should you have any concerns or queries regarding the ethical approach of this study, the researcher will pass these to the Chair of the Committee.

What about my Confidentiality and Privacy Rights?

Any personal information regarding you will be protected by a pseudonym. Unless required by law, only the study investigator and members of NTU research staff have the authority to review your records. They are required by law to maintain confidentiality regarding your identity.

Pseudonymised results of this study may be used for teaching, research, publications and presentations at professional meetings.

Audio recordings

Any recorded data will be kept confidential and in a secure place in line with the Research Data Management Policy and destroyed in line with the current RCUK/University Guidelines.

Disclosure to the police

This research is designed to understand why men pay for sex and will discuss current, past and future knowledge or involvement with prostitution and women providing sex. Any discussion of these subjects will **not** be disclosed to the police and will be kept in confidence. Should any information be disclosed that would suggest any person has been subjected to injury, harm or threat of harm, or of any serious criminal offence, then this **will** be disclosed to the police.

Who should I call if I have questions or concerns about this research study?

These are my contact details:

Neil Radford
Doctorate School, Nottingham Trent University

Alternatively, you are welcome to contact my supervisor who will also be happy to answer any questions you have:

Professor Di Bailey
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University

NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY
Informed Consent Form

Dear Research Participant

Thank you for considering being a participant in this research. This study is designed to provide a better understanding of the reasons and experiences of men purchasing sex from women on the streets. This will improve understanding, help inform policy, and provide training opportunities when addressing the concepts and issues arising from prostitution.

There are a number of questions I would like to discuss with you. However, you only need to respond to those you want to. There is no time limit on this interview, it may be as long or as short as you wish. Most interviews last around an hour. All interviews may be recorded and transcribed into text form with identifying features removed (e.g., names and places). Relevant quotations may then be included in the final report. All recordings will be stored securely and will remain confidential.

All participation in the project is voluntary. If do you agree to be part of the project, results may be used for teaching, research, publications and presentations at professional meetings, but your name and identity will remain anonymous. If you decide that you no longer want to be part of the project, just let me know within one month of signing this form and I will make sure any information you have provided is destroyed. This project has been reviewed by, and received ethical clearance through, the Nottingham Trent University BLSS College Research Ethics Committee (CREC).

As above, this study is designed to provide a better understanding of the reasons and experiences of men purchasing sex from women on the streets. Any discussion of these subjects will **not** be disclosed to the police and will be kept in strict confidence. Should any information be disclosed that would suggest any person has been subjected to injury, harm or threat of harm, or of any serious criminal offence, then this **will** be disclosed to the police.

Please check and sign the rear of this form to agree your consent to participation in this research. Once signed, this form will be stored under the strictest confidentiality in line with the agreed data management plan.

Many thanks,

Neil Radford

RESTRICTED ONCE COMPLETED

Please read the following statements and tick each box to confirm agreement:

I have read the project description, had an opportunity to ask questions about the research, been provided with a participant information sheet and received satisfactory answers to any questions.	
I have had sufficient information on which to decide whether or not I wish to take part in the study.	
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research by informing the researcher of this decision within one month of signing this form.	
I understand that the information I give will be treated in the strictest confidence, with the exceptions of safeguarding others and serious criminal offences.	
I agree to take part in the study and to participate in an interview as part of this research project	
I agree that this interview can be digitally recorded and understand that this recording will be securely stored.	
I understand that quotations from this interview, which will be made anonymous, may be included in material published from this research.	
I understand that collective anonymized data from this research may be used in other studies in line with the University Research Data Management Policy	

I confirm that data obtained from the study can be used in the final research report. I understand that the data will be used anonymously: names, places and identifying details will be changed. In the advent that the interviewee speaks English, but cannot read it, then oral consent should be obtained and digitally recorded prior to the interview commencing.

Print Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

In line with the Research Data Management Policy, requests may be made to use data from this study for other projects. If you do not wish your anonymized data to be used for future studies, please tick here:

RESTRICTED ONCE COMPLETED

RESTRICTED ONCE COMPLETED

This page to be used in the advent that the interviewee cannot speak English.

Interviewee Name: _____

Language Spoken: _____

Interpreter to tick the following statements and sign to confirm agreement:

- I have interpreted the information pertaining to the research project 'Purchasing Sex on the Streets: A Study of Male Buyers in the Heterosexual Street Sex Market' led by Neil Radford to the best of my ability in order that the interviewee is able to make an informed decision whether or not they wish to participate.
- I confirm that I have witnessed that oral consent has been given by the interviewee to participate in the study.
- I can confirm that the interviewee agrees to take part in the study and to participate in an interview as part of this research project.

Interpreter Name: _____

Interpreter Signature: _____

Date: _____

Restricted Once Completed

Socio-Demographic Profile

(To be completed by interviewer)

Chosen Pseudonym:

<p>Q1 <u>Year of Birth / Age</u></p>	<p>Q6 <u>Language</u> Is English the first language? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If not, what is the first language? If not, do they speak English conversationally? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Is an Interpreter required for Interview? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>																																																						
<p>Q2 <u>Self-disclosed ethnicity</u></p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 15%;">White</td><td style="width: 60%;">British</td><td style="width: 25%; text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Irish</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Gypsy or Irish Traveller</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Other</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Black</td><td>African</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Caribbean</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Other</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Asian</td><td>Indian</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Pakistani</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Bangladeshi</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Chinese</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Other</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Mixed / Multiple</td><td>White & Black African</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>White & Black Caribbean</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>White & Asian</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Other</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Other</td><td>Arab</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>Other</td><td style="text-align: right;"><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> </table> <p>.....</p>	White	British	<input type="checkbox"/>		Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>		Gypsy or Irish Traveller	<input type="checkbox"/>		Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Black	African	<input type="checkbox"/>		Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/>		Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Asian	Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>		Pakistani	<input type="checkbox"/>		Bangladeshi	<input type="checkbox"/>		Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>		Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mixed / Multiple	White & Black African	<input type="checkbox"/>		White & Black Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/>		White & Asian	<input type="checkbox"/>		Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	Arab	<input type="checkbox"/>		Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<p>Q7 <u>Home Town or City</u></p>
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Restricted Once Completed

Q11 Economic Activity

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Active | Employed full-time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Employed part-time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Self-Employed | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Unemployed | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Inactive | Student (full-time) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Retired | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Carer | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Health reasons | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Other | <input type="checkbox"/> |

.....

Q12 Occupation Group

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Managers, directors and senior officials | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Professional occupations | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Associate professional and technical | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Administrative and secretarial occupations | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Skilled trades occupations | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Caring, leisure and other service occs | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sales and customer service occupations | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Process, plant and machine operatives | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Elementary occupations | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q13 Annual Income

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Below £15,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £15,000 to £25,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £25,001 to £35,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £35,001 to £50,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £50,001 to £100,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Over £100,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q14 Vehicle Use

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| Owns a Vehicle | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Has Use of a Vehicle | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

.....

Interview Pack

Interview Schedules

Neil Radford

Introduction

Please refer to research thesis methodology for descriptions of interviewees and circumstances where appropriate schedule will be relevant.

Interviewer Guidance

The style of the interviews should be conversational. The intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

Some questions and topics in these schedules have comments in italics associated with them. These are to advise the interviewer and are not intended as part of the interview. This is particularly relevant for questions of an especially sensitive nature where an increased level of tact is required.

Some questions in the schedules have suggested alternatives in brackets to assist where necessary. These are not intended to be posed as alternatives to the interviewee but can be used as a guide if the interviewee is struggling to provide an answer or understand the question.

Topic Ordering

The ordering of the topics in these schedules has been designed to balance the natural flow of a conversation with ensuring that the core topics are addressed early in the interview in the eventuality that the interview is cut short, either by time or at the participant's request. As such, the interviewer should follow the order as given. Despite this structure, it is still possible for the interviewer to be flexible in the ordering of topics if the interviewee wants to discuss a given topic out of order. Any topics not covered in a first interview could be addressed in a subsequent or follow-up interview should the opportunity arise. It is, therefore, crucial that the interviewer reviews earlier interviews before carrying out a further one.

Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form

Both of these documents have been designed in such a way that they are suitable for all types of interviewee.

In the advent that an interpreter is required, then the interpreter will sign to confirm that the necessary requirements were explained in the interviewee's own language and that they gave informed consent orally which will be digitally recorded. If the interviewee can speak English, but cannot read it, then the interviewer will explain the contents of the Participant Information and Informed Consent forms. Again, consent will be oral and digitally recorded. All oral consents will be retained as part of the digitally recorded interviews.

Interview Schedule – Sex Buyer

Important Note

The style of the interviews should be conversational. The intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

If this interview is as a result of a second sex buying incident or as a follow-up, then several sections may be omitted or abbreviated as appropriate.

Introduction

This section is intended to set the scene, agree on the conduct of the interview and to establish trust between the interviewer and participant.

Interviewer to introduce themselves and to explain the nature and purpose of the research.

Discuss informed consent and participant information sheet. Obtain signature on informed consent form and explain the data management of this document.

Discuss and seek permission for audio recording of the interview. Explain the data management of this recording and any subsequent transcript.

Discuss appropriate language and terminology for the interview.

Disclosure on past experience of interviewer as a police officer previously addressing issues around prostitution. Stress that this role entailed ascertaining what had happened (including any intent), whereas the current research is to understand why men access prostitution.

Current incident

This section will probe the circumstances surrounding the latest engagement with prostitution as identified by the police.

What happened? (*Intended as an opening question to develop rapport and dialogue.*)

Describe the scene.

Where was the sex provider standing / waiting?

What were the conditions? (*weather, lighting etc.*)

Were there many people about and, if so, who?

How did you know where to go? (*recommendation, Internet, prior knowledge etc.*)

Initial approach.

Who approached who?

Were you on foot or using a vehicle?

If using a vehicle, what type? (*pedal cycle, motorcycle, car, van, taxi etc.*)

Have you seen this person before, either as a sex provider or otherwise?

If yes, in what circumstances?

Did you risk assess the person and the situation?

If yes, probe the following:

What did you consider?

What did you base this on? (*experience, intuition etc.*)

What action or decision did you make based on this?

If no, why not?

What were you looking for in terms of the following?

- Sexual partner

- Sexual acts
- Price
- Location

Had you planned or fantasised these in advance?

Contact

How did the initial contact take place? (*who said what?*)

What negotiations took place and who led these?

What acts were requested, offered or agreed?

What price was requested, offered or agreed?

What location was requested, offered or agreed?

Sex location

Where did you go to engage in a sexual act?

Who chose this location?

Describe this location.

What visibility is there from the street or other public or private place?

What risk assessment did you take with this location?

Is this a location that you have used before and, if so, is this a regular location for you? (reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report)

What were the conditions? (cleanliness, lighting etc.)

Were there many people about and, if so, who?

If the location was to their home address or other private indoor venue (*hotel room etc.*) probe the following:

Do you live or stay there alone?

If no, who else lives or stays there? (*partner, children, parents, friend etc.*)

Were they present on your arrival?

What happened at the address (*other than a sexual act*)?

Were any police avoidance tactics used by either of them and, if so, what and by whom? (*reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report*)

Did you use a condom?

If yes, who provided it?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

Conclusion of the contact

Did you make any arrangements to meet again?

If yes, what arrangements were made?

If yes, did you exchange telephone numbers or other contact details?

On the arrival of the police, did any conversation take place between you and the sex provider outside of the hearing of the officers? (*reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report*)

If yes, what was the nature of this?

If yes, were any further police avoidance tactics discussed and, if so, what and by whom?

If yes, was a fabricated cover story discussed and, if so, what and by whom?

Why did you engage in street level prostitution?

Why did you need or want sex at that time?

Why on-street and not any other form of prostitution?

Were there any other options rather than paying for sex?

Was this a natural route for whatever journey you were on?

If they claim the encounter was opportunistic, probe (*tactfully*) if this was truly by chance or did they engineer it?

- Prior knowledge
- Available money
- Alone
- Possession of a condom
- Choice of route

Were you alone?

If not, then probe the following:

Who were you with (*friend, colleague, partner etc.*)? (*Avoid using real names – if the other person is also a participant, they can be linked later by pseudonym if necessary*)

Were both (or more) of you intending to engage in a sexual act?

Whose idea was it to engage in prostitution?

Was this discussed or planned in advance?

Is this other person a regular joint participant in prostitution?

Who had prior knowledge of prostitution, the area and the practices?

If a vehicle was used, who drove?

Is this other person a sexual partner (male or female)?

First engagement with prostitution

This section will probe the participant's first incidence of paying for sex.

What were the circumstances that led to you paying for sex the first time?

Age at first encounter

Location of first encounter

UK or abroad

Nottingham or other city

On-street, brothel, club etc.

Reason for first encounter? (*curiosity, experimentation, rebelling against parental or societal boundaries, peer pressure etc.*)

What hurdles did you have to overcome to go through with it the first time?

Once overcome, was this ever an issue again?

What was your understanding of prostitution prior to this encounter?

Lifelong prostitution experiences

This section will explore the journey from the first encounter to the most recent engagement with prostitution. A slightly different approach will be required for participants brought up in the UK and those who weren't when discussing international experiences of paying for sex.

What interactions with other forms of the sex industry have you experienced?

(brothels, massage parlours, hotel rooms or private homes, escorts, telephone sex, internet sex, lap dancing / strip clubs, pornography)

How do you usually locate and contact women providing sex in each of these forms?

How regularly do you pay for sex?

Is this different for different types of prostitution?

Sobriety – how have drink or drugs been a factor in leading to paying for sex?

How has the engagement with prostitution changed over time in relation to the following?

- Your understanding of the practice and nature of prostitution
- The form of prostitution you have accessed (on-street, brothel etc.)
- The nature of the sexual acts you have paid for

- Preference in women (ethnicity, age etc.)
- Regularity of paying for sex
- Cost of paying for sex
- The methodology of selecting, approaching and negotiating with women

Have you disclosed to anyone that you pay for sex?

Does partner (current or previous) know of prostitution use?

Does anyone else know of prostitution use?

If yes to either: who, how and why?

At what point in their prostitution history did this occur and why?

If no to both, why not?

How do you feel after engaging in prostitution? (*satisfied, embarrassed, ashamed etc.*)

Do you currently live, or have you previously, lived, in Nottingham?

If yes, probe the following:

What is your understanding of the following in Nottingham:

- the prostitution market
- the policing of prostitution
- support mechanisms in place regarding prostitution

Have you paid for sex in Nottingham before and, if so, in what circumstances?

How has the prostitution market in Nottingham changed over time?

Have you engaged in prostitution in UK cities other than Nottingham?

If yes, what forms of prostitution?

If yes, how does prostitution in Nottingham compare to these other cities in terms of the following:

- Safety
- The number of sex buyers and providers
- Policing
- Policy

If no, what is your understanding of prostitution in Nottingham?

Why did you choose to pay for sex in Nottingham? (*resident, in city for work or leisure, visited specifically for prostitution etc.*)

UK Nationals only:

International experiences of prostitution

Why were you abroad? (*sex tourism, stag-do, holiday, work, etc.*)

Who were you with? (*alone, all-male group, family, partner etc.*)

What led to paying for sex? (*peer pressure, alcohol, experimentation etc.*)

What comparisons or contrasts can you draw between prostitution in other countries and the UK?

In your view, how does paying for sex abroad differ to in the UK in terms of:

- Your attitude towards prostitution in the relevant country
- The culture of prostitution
- The practices involved in prostitution

Non-UK Nationals only:

International experiences of prostitution

How do the following differ between your home country and the UK?

- legislation
- policy
- enforcement

- social acceptance

Did these influence your decision to pay for sex in the UK?

Have you paid for sex in your home country?

If yes, how did the experience differ from paying for sex in the UK?

Have you engaged with prostitution in any other countries (other than home and UK) and, if so, under what circumstances?

If you have paid for sex in a country that is not your home country or the UK, probe the following:

Why were you abroad? (*sex tourism, stag-do, holiday, work, etc.*)

Who were you with? (*alone, all-male group, family, partner etc.*)

What led to paying for sex? (*peer pressure, alcohol, experimentation etc.*)

What comparisons or contrasts can you draw between prostitution in your home country, other countries and the UK?

Is paying for sex abroad different to in the UK in terms of:

- Your attitude towards prostitution
- The culture of prostitution
- The practices involved in prostitution

Views and attitudes on the risks involved

This section will probe the participant's views and understanding of risk involved in prostitution, both to themselves and to the women providing sex.

Risks to self

What do you understand by the potential risks or dangers to yourself by engaging in on-street prostitution?

How do you feel about these potential risks?

Is that part of the attraction and are you seeking the thrill of risk or danger as well as, or instead of, a sexual act?

Do you risk assess at any stage of engaging in prostitution?

If yes, what form does this take?

If yes, how does this change their approach to prostitution?

If not, why not?

Have you had any previous contact with the police or other enforcement agency (such as the local authority) over their engagement in prostitution?

If yes, what was the nature and circumstances of this?

If yes, what effect did this have on your engagement with prostitution?

If yes, has this always been consistent?

If not, what consideration do you give to the potential of this?

Do you engage in police avoidance techniques and, if so, what are these? (*reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report*)

Have you ever been a victim of crime whilst engaging in prostitution? (robbery, theft, assault etc.)

If yes, what was the nature and circumstances of this?

Did you report this to the police or any other agency and why did you take this course of action?

If yes, how did this change your approach to paying for sex?

If no, what consideration do you give to the possibility of being a victim of crime, if any?

Do you always use a condom when engaging in prostitution? (*tactful approach*)

If yes, why do you do this?

If yes, who provides the condom, and do you carry one in case the woman does not have one?

If no, why not?

If no, what considerations do you give to the potential for sexually transmitted diseases?

Have you ever contracted a sexually transmitted disease through your engagement with prostitution? (*tactful approach*)

If yes, did you disclose this to your regular partner and why?

If yes, did you disclose this to a medical practitioner and why?

If not, what consideration do you give to the possibility of this?

Risks to the woman providing sex

What do you understand about the risks and dangers to the women providing sex?

How does this differ for all types of prostitution?

What risks and dangers have you witnessed or suspected regarding the women providing sex?

What did you do about these?

If none, why do they think this is?

What risk assessment do you think that the women carry out before engaging with a potential sex buyer?

Risks to the community

Describe the area of Nottingham affected by street prostitution. (*social, geographical etc.*)

What do you understand about the nuisance, risks and dangers to the community as a result of prostitution?

In your view, are particular sections of the community more vulnerable or susceptible than others? (*elderly, schools, parks etc.*)

In your view, what effect does street prostitution have on the environment? (streets, parks, schools etc.)

In your view, what effect does the level of street prostitution have on crime in general in an area?

Future involvement in prostitution

This section will probe as the participant's likelihood to continue engaging with prostitution.

Will you pay for sex again?

If yes, in what circumstances?

- Location – *UK, international or both; Nottingham or other city*
- Type – *on-street, brothel etc.*

If not, why not? (*morality, educated, deterrents, risk too great etc.*)

What will you do differently in the future regarding accessing prostitution?

Should there be deterrents to paying for sex?

If yes, what form should these take?

If not, why not?

Would certain types of deterrents prevent you from paying for sex again?

- Education (kerb crawler rehabilitation courses)
- Media campaigns
- Increased visible police presence / patrols

- Increased covert police presence / patrols
- Arrest / detention by the police
- Naming and shaming

What do you see as the consequences of your actions in paying for sex?

Does this depend on whether you are caught paying for sex?

Social stigma

Family awareness

Views and attitudes towards women

This section is intended to probe into the participant's views and opinions on women both engaged in prostitution and otherwise. Comparisons between women providing sex and partners outside of prostitution will be explored.

Views / attitudes regarding women providing sex

What do men look for in a someone providing sex? (*girlfriend experience, lack of commitment or responsibility, something different (variety or exploration) etc.*)

Why do you think that women provide sex? (*money, drugs, boredom, pleasure etc.*)

Relationships outside of prostitution

Early sexual experiences (contrast with prostitution)

Current regular partner

How compatible are you with your regular partner, particularly sexually? Do you want the same things?

Number of partners outside of prostitution

Would you consider any of your relationships long-term?

How confident are you with women generally?

Have you experienced rejection?

Comparing views and attitudes between these 2 groups

Sexual acts – compare sex with prostitute and non-prostitute

Is it about sex or about power and control? (*tactful approach*)

Under what circumstances could a woman providing sex be sexually assaulted or raped?

Is this different to women not involved in prostitution?

Views and attitudes on aspects of prostitution

This section will probe the participant's understanding and views on social and legal control of prostitution through policing, policy and legislation.

In your view, is prostitution inevitable in modern societies and will it always be present?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

Should the state be involved in prostitution?

If yes, what form should this take? (*These terms will need explaining in lay terms*)

- Prohibition
- Abolition / Neo-Abolition
- Regulation (Legalisation)
- Decriminalisation

If not, why not?

What might be the consequences of no state involvement?

Legislation

Do you understand what the current legislation in England and Wales is?
Do you think that this is fit for purpose?

If not, how do you think laws should be formed to address prostitution?

In your view, do we need legislation at all to control prostitution?

Policing

In your view, should the police be involved in the control of prostitution?

If yes, what form should this take?

- Prevention
- Protection
- Prosecution

To what extent do you believe that these already exist?

In your view, should the approach be different for different types of prostitution?

If no involvement, why not?

What do you think might be the consequences of no police involvement?

Policy and procedure

Do you believe that prostitution is a commercial contract?

Do you think that there are specific tactics that would improve the management of prostitution? (*These terms will need explaining in lay terms*)

- Tolerance / Managed Zone
- Licensed Premises
- Sex Buyer Law
- Exit Programmes

What is your understanding of control, coercion, incitement, exploitation and trafficking in prostitution?

Have you ever witnessed any of these?

If yes, was this in the UK or abroad?

If yes, what were the circumstances of this?

If no, is this because you don't believe it exists or you believe every woman they have encountered was there by choice?

If yes, what did you do about it?

- Direct intervention
- Report it to the police or any other agency
- Report it on-line in a forum or Ugly Mugs
- Took no action

What is your view of the media portrayal of prostitution and sex buying?

Does this effect your view of prostitution?

Concluding the Interview

Do you wish to make any final comments?

Summarise the main points of the interview.

Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution.

Interview Schedule – Sex Provider - Incident

Important Note

The style of the interviews should be conversational. The intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

Introduction

This section is intended to set the scene, agree on the conduct of the interview and to establish trust between the interviewer and participant.

Interviewer to introduce themselves and to explain the nature and purpose of the research.

Discuss informed consent and participant information sheet. Obtain signature on informed consent form and explain the data management of this document.

Discuss and seek permission for audio recording of the interview. Explain the data management of this recording and any subsequent transcript.

Discuss appropriate language and terminology for the interview.

Disclosure on past experience of interviewer as a police officer, previously addressing issues around prostitution. Stress that this role entailed ascertaining what had happened (including any intent), whereas the current research is to understand why men access prostitution.

Note – this interview is primarily about the sex buyer, who is the focus of the case study, and the sex provider’s perspective on the latest incident of him purchasing, or attempting to purchase, sex from her. It may be necessary to refocus the interviewee on this aspect.

Current incident

This section will probe the circumstances surrounding the sex buyer purchasing, or attempting to purchase, sex from the interviewee.

What happened? (*Intended as an opening question to develop rapport and dialogue.*)

Describe the scene.

Where you standing / waiting?

What were the conditions? (*weather, lighting etc.*)

Were there many people about and, if so, who?

Initial approach.

Who approached who?

Was the male on foot or in (or on) a vehicle?

If in a vehicle, what type? (*pedal cycle, motorcycle, car, van, taxi etc.*)

How did the male appear in his manner? (*nervous, confident etc.*)

In your opinion, how experienced in engaging in prostitution did the male seem?

Have you seen this male before, either as a sex buyer or in the area as a cruiser?

If yes, in what circumstances?

Did you risk assess the male and the situation?

If yes, probe the following:

What did you consider?

What did you base this on? (*experience, intuition etc.*)

What action or decision did you make based on this?

If no, why not?

Contact

How did the initial contact take place? (*who said what?*)

What negotiations took place and who led these?

What acts were requested, offered or agreed?

What price was requested, offered or agreed?

What location was requested, offered or agreed?

What language did the male use?

In your view, was he confident in his negotiation?

In your view, did it appear as if he had done this before?

Was the male with another person?

If yes, then probe the following:

Who were they with? (*male, female, friend etc.*)

What additional risk assessment did you engage?

Were both (or more) of them requesting to engage in a sexual act?

If yes, was this agreed and for what acts, price and location?

In your view, whose idea was it to approach you?

Of the sex buyers, who did most of the negotiation or discussion?

If a vehicle was used, who drove?

Sex location

Where did you go to engage in a sexual act?

Who chose this location?

Describe this location.

What visibility is there from the street or other public or private place?

What risk assessment did you take with this location?

Is this a location that you have used before and, if so, is this a regular location for you? (*reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report*)

What were the conditions? (*cleanliness, lighting etc.*)

Were there many people about and, if so, who?

If the location was to the sex buyer's home address or other private indoor venue (*hotel room etc.*) probe the following:

Was there any evidence or disclosure regarding anyone else residing at the address?

If yes, in your view, who did she think lived there? (*partner, children, parents, friend etc.*)

If yes, were they present on your arrival?

What happened at the address (other than a sexual act)?

Were any police avoidance tactics used by either of you and, if so, what and by whom? (*reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report*)

Did you use a condom?

If yes, who provided it?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

Conclusion

Did you make any arrangements to meet again?

If yes, what arrangements were made?

If yes, did you exchange telephone numbers or other contact details?

On the arrival of the police, did any conversation take place between the sex buyer and you outside of the hearing of the officers? (*reinforce anonymous disclosure in final report*)

If yes, what was the nature of this?

If yes, were any further police avoidance tactics discussed and, if so, what and by whom?

If yes, was a fabricated cover story discussed and, if so, what and by whom?

Concluding the Interview

Do you wish to make any final comments?

Summarise the main points of the interview.

The interviewee should be made aware of the services offered by POW (Prostitute Outreach Workers) and the Jericho Road Project with an offer of an appropriate referral or introduction if required.

Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution.

Interview Schedule – Sex Provider – Triangulation

This schedule is intended to probe the interviewee's understanding and beliefs regarding men paying for sex on the streets and how this affects their approach to prostitution. This will be based on the interviewee's experience of providing sex on the streets.

Important Note

The style of the interviews should be conversational. Following introductions and explanations, the intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

Introduction

This section is intended to set the scene, agree on the conduct of the interview and to establish trust between the interviewer and participant.

Interviewer to introduce themselves and to explain the nature and purpose of the research.

Discuss informed consent and participant information sheet. Obtain signature on informed consent form and explain the data management of this document or obtain verbal consent if interviewed by telephone and not possible to obtain written signature.

Discuss and seek permission for audio recording of the interview. Explain the data management of this recording and any subsequent transcript.

Discuss appropriate language and terminology for the interview.

Disclosure on past experience of interviewer as a police officer, previously addressing issues around prostitution. Stress that this role entailed ascertaining what had happened (including any intent), whereas the current research is to understand why men access prostitution.

Experiences of providing sex

This section will provide a very brief overview of their experiences of providing sex for context.

How long have you been providing sex?

What forms of prostitution have you been involved in (i.e., on-street etc.)?

Why do you think that men pay for sex?

This section will probe the participant's views and understanding of sex buyer's motivations.

Based on your own experience and opinions

Based on what you have heard from other women providing sex

Based on your awareness of views from national media / support workers / police etc.

Do you think it is the same for all groups of men?

This section will explore perceived differences based on the socio-demographics of the sex buyers.

Based on Age?

Based on Ethnicity / Nationality?

Based on Culture or Religion?

Based on socio-economic group?

Other

Is this the same for all forms of prostitution?

If relevant, this section will explore perceived differences based on the different forms of prostitution they have experience of.

- On-street
- Brothels
- Massage Parlours
- Escorting
- Telephone / Webcam
- Other

How do these views affect how you approach providing sex?

This section will probe how the interviewee's understanding and views on sex buying influence the impact and effect of their prostitution.

Do these views influence how you approach providing sex?

- In dealing with sex buyers
- In risk assessing for dealing with sex buyers
- In maintaining regular sex buyers
- Other

Would you do anything different in your work if your understanding of sex buyers and their motivations changed?

Concluding the Interview

Do you wish to make any final comments?

Summarise the main points of the interview.

Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution.

Interview Schedule – Police Officer or PCSO - Incident

Important Note

The style of the interviews should be conversational. The intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

Introduction

This section is intended to set the scene, agree on the conduct of the interview and to establish trust between the interviewer and participant.

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Discuss and seek permission for audio recording of the interview. Explain the data management of this recording and any subsequent transcript.

Discuss appropriate language and terminology for the interview.

Disclosure on past experience of interviewer as a police officer, previously addressing issues around prostitution. Stress that this role entailed ascertaining what had happened (including any intent), whereas the current research is to understand why men access prostitution.

Current incident

This section will probe the circumstances surrounding the participant witnessing or dealing with an incident involving prostitution.

What happened? (*Intended as an opening question to develop rapport and dialogue.*)

Describe the scene.

Where was the incident?

What were the conditions? (weather, lighting etc.)

Were there many people about and, if so, who?

Initial approach.

Who approached who?

Was the male on foot or in (or on) a vehicle?

If in a vehicle, what type? (pedal cycle, motorcycle, car, van, taxi etc.)

How did the male appear in his manner? (nervous, confident etc.)

In their opinion, how experienced in engaging in prostitution did the male seem?

Have they seen this male before, either as a sex buyer or in the area as a cruiser?

If yes, in what circumstances?

Contact

How did the initial contact take place? (who said or did what?)

Was the male with another person?

If yes, who were they with? (male, female, friend etc.)

Sex location

Where did they go to engage in a sexual act?

Describe this location.

What visibility is there from the street or other public or private place?

What were the conditions? (cleanliness, lighting etc.)
Were there many people about and, if so, who?
Were any police avoidance tactics used by either of them and, if so, what and by whom?

Post Incident Investigation

This section will probe the investigation and post incident actions following a case of buying sex.

Is the sex buyer already known to the police for prostitution related offences or intelligence?

If yes, what is the nature of this?

Socio-demographic data for the sex buyer

- Age
- Gender
- Nationality and, where applicable, how long they been in the UK
- Ethnicity
- Religious affiliation
- Economic activity and, where applicable, occupation
- Home address area (not specific)
- Marital status
- Children or dependants

Was the sex buyer arrested or dealt with as a voluntary attendee at a police station?

Why was he dealt with in this way?

Was the sex buyer interviewed under caution?

Was an interpreter required for interview and, if so, for what language?

Did the sex buyer have legal representation?

Did the sex buyer give an account of his actions on interview and, if so, did his version of events corroborate other witness accounts?

Were there any other lines of enquiry that required completion before this case was concluded?

If yes, what were the nature of these enquires and how did the results affect the outcome of the case?

How was the sex buyer dealt with at the conclusion of the investigation? (caution, Change Course, court etc.)

Why was this course of action taken?

Concluding the Interview

Does the interviewee wish to make any final comments?

Summarise the main points of the interview.

Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution.

Interview Schedule – Police or PCSO – Triangulation

This schedule is intended to probe the interviewee's understanding and beliefs regarding men paying for sex on the streets and how this affects their work. This will be based on the worker's experience supporting sex providers.

Important Note

The style of the interviews should be conversational. Following introductions and explanations, the intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

Introduction

This section is intended to set the scene, agree on the conduct of the interview and to establish trust between the interviewer and participant.

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Discuss and seek permission for audio recording of the interview. Explain the data management of this recording and any subsequent transcript.

Discuss appropriate language and terminology for the interview.

Disclosure on past experience of interviewer as a police officer, previously addressing issues around prostitution. Stress that this role entailed ascertaining what had happened (including any intent), whereas the current research is to understand why men access prostitution.

Experiences of policing prostitution

This section will clarify the interviewee's level of experience and provide a context for their opinions.

What is your role?

What forms of prostitution have you encountered within your role?

How long have you been performing this role?

Why do you think that men pay for sex?

This section will probe the participant's views and understanding of sex buyer's motivations.

Based on your own opinions

Based on your experience of policing prostitution

Based on research, policy or strategy

Do you think it is the same for all groups of men?

This section will explore perceived differences based on the socio-demographics of the sex buyers.

Based on Age?

Based on Ethnicity / Nationality?

Based on Culture or Religion?

Based on socio-economic group?

Other

Is this the same for all forms of prostitution?

This section will explore perceived differences based on the different forms of prostitution they have experience of working with.

- On-street
- Brothels
- Massage Parlours
- Escorting
- Telephone / Webcam
- Other

How do these views affect how you approach policing prostitution?

This section will probe how the interviewee's understanding and views on sex buying influence the impact and effect of their work.

Do these views influence how you do your work?

- In dealing with sex buyers
- In dealing with sex providers
- Other

Would you do anything different in your work if your understanding of sex buyers and their motivations changed?

Do you think that the current approach to policing prostitution in the UK is fit for purpose?

This section will explore the interviewee's views on the current legislation, policies and strategies to policing prostitution, both nationally and locally.

- Does legislation need to change?
- Does national policing policy or strategy need to change?
- Does local policing policy or strategy need to change?

Concluding the Interview

- Do you wish to make any final comments?
- Summarise the main points of the interview.
- Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution.

Interview Schedule – Support Worker – Triangulation

This schedule is intended to probe the interviewee's understanding and beliefs regarding men paying for sex on the streets and how this affects their work. This will be based on the worker's experience supporting sex providers.

Important Note

The style of the interviews should be conversational. Following introductions and explanations, the intention is to open each topic with a broad open question to allow the interviewee to tell their story. The detailed points under each topic area are intended as prompts should the need arise or if key aspects are not covered during the discussion. These should not be regarded as a list of questions that have to be asked or delivered in a rigid format.

Introduction

This section is intended to set the scene, agree on the conduct of the interview and to establish trust between the interviewer and participant.

Interviewer to introduce themselves and to explain the nature and purpose of the research.

Discuss informed consent and participant information sheet. Obtain signature on informed consent form and explain the data management of this document or obtain verbal consent if interviewed by telephone and not possible to obtain written signature.

Discuss and seek permission for audio recording of the interview. Explain the data management of this recording and any subsequent transcript.

Discuss appropriate language and terminology for the interview.

Disclosure on past experience of interviewer as a police officer, previously addressing issues around prostitution. Stress that this role entailed ascertaining what had happened (including any intent), whereas the current research is to understand why men access prostitution.

Experiences of supporting sex providers

This section will clarify the interviewee's level of experience and provide a context for their opinions.

What is your role?

What forms of prostitution have you encountered within your role?

How long have you been performing this role?

Why do you think that men pay for sex?

This section will probe the participant's views and understanding of sex buyer's motivations.

Based on your own opinions

Based on your experience of supporting sex providers

Based on feedback from sex providers

Do you think it is the same for all groups of men?

This section will explore perceived differences based on the socio-demographics of the sex buyers.

Based on Age?

Based on Ethnicity / Nationality?

Based on Culture or Religion?

Based on socio-economic group?

Other

Is this the same for all forms of prostitution?

This section will explore perceived differences based on the different forms of prostitution they have experience of working with.

On-street
Brothels
Massage Parlours
Escorting
Telephone / Webcam
Other

How do these views affect how you approach supporting women who provide sex?

This section will probe how the interviewee's understanding and views on sex buying influence the impact and effect of their work.

Do these views influence how you do your work?

In dealing with clients.
In risk assessing for dealing with clients or outreach etc.
Other

How do the sex providers respond to sex buyers based on these views?

In attracting sex buyers.
In maintaining regular sex buyers.
In risk assessing sex buyers.
Other

Would you do anything different in your work if your understanding of sex buyers and their motivations changed?

Concluding the Interview

Do you wish to make any final comments?
Summarise the main points of the interview.
Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution.

RESTRICTED WHEN COMPLETE

RESEARCH FIELD NOTES

Observation Log Number: ObLog 00x

Observation Type: Patrol / Change Course / Court Appearance / Other

Observer: Neil Radford, Nottingham Trent University

Date:

Times Between:

Length of Observation:

Location:

Participants:

Brief Summary: *(One paragraph summary of the observation session.)*

Observation Notes: *(Detailed narrative of observations.)*

Location description:

Observation narrative:

Reflective Analysis:

NTU PGR Data Management Plan

Full name:	Neil Radford	
Unique ID:		
Provisional project title:	Purchasing Sex on the Streets: A Study of Male Buyers in the Heterosexual Street Sex Market	
Project start: 01/10/2018	Project end: 30/09/2021	
Project context: This research will examine the male sex buyers in the female heterosexual street sex market in Nottingham through a case study approach to understand who these men are and what are their reasons and motivations for accessing prostitution. This project is a self-funded individual study as part of PhD research.		

Version Log		
Version	Reason for Update	Date
1	Initial agreed DMP.	05/11/2018
2	Update on storage and destruction of hard copy documents (Section 4(a)).	02/05/2019

1. Data Definition

a) Data Description and Analysis

Participant interviews will be recorded (with consent) on a PIN protected digital recording device. These will then be transcribed into text for analysis. Where consent is given for an interview, but not for audio recording, then the interview will be captured by contemporaneous written notes recorded by the interviewer and later transcribed.

b) Data Formats and Software Use

- Audio files will be saved as MP3 or WAV files.
- Transcripts will be created in and saved as Word documents.
- Other documents will be scanned and saved as PDF files.

c) Volume of Data Predicted to be Generated

An interview lasting one hour and saved as an MP3 file at a bit rate of 64kbps will require around 30 MB of storage space. Thirty such interviews would require 900 MB of storage space.

A ten-page word document will require around 10 KB of memory space. Thirty transcripts would require 300 KB of storage space.

A ten-page scanned PDF document will require around 3 MB of storage space. It is not anticipated that many of these will be generated in this research. Ten such scans would require 30 MB of storage space.

In total, the combined storage requirements should be less than 1 TB.

2. Compliance and Data Ownership

<p>a) Institutional, Legal, Ethical and Commercial Conditions Applied to the Data</p> <p>The following NTU policies will be adhered to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The NTU RDM Policy • Data Security- Portable Devices and Media Policy • Information Classification Policy • NTU Records Retention Policy • NTU Research Ethics Policy • NTU Confidential Waste Procedure
<p>b) Compliance with Obligations Regarding this Data</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Data Access Statement will be included in the final thesis and in any published papers. • The research data that underpins the final thesis and any published papers will be deposited in the NTU Data Archive at the conclusion of the research. • See sections 3, 4 and 5 below for details of appropriate safeguarding of personal or confidential data. • Data will be made openly accessible in an anonymised or pseudonymised form. • The data will be registered at NTU.
<p>c) Data Ownership</p> <p>In line with the NTU Student IP (Intellectual Property) Policy, the main researcher identified above will have ownership of the Intellectual Property.</p>

<p>3. Organising and Storing the Data</p>
<p>a) Data Storage</p> <p>The data gathered in this study will be sensitive.</p> <p>Data collection in the field will either be by means of an audio recording or contemporaneous written notes. Audio recordings will be held on a PIN protected digital recorder. This will remain securely in the possession of the researcher and uploaded to the NTU DataStore at the earliest opportunity, whereupon it will be deleted from the digital recorder. Written notes will remain securely in the possession of the researcher and scanned to the DataStore at the earliest opportunity. See Section 4a for a description of the destruction of the hard copy of the written notes.</p> <p>All data will be stored on the secure NTU DataStore with access restricted to the researcher and others with just cause. Initially this will be limited to the research supervisors, Professor Di Bailey and Dr Paul Hamilton, with the exception of a sub-folder containing the true identities of the participants, which will be restricted to the researcher only. The NTU DataStore splices the data and chunks of it are saved/replicated on different sites, so to gain access to the complete project data would require physically breaking into each campus server, on three sites, then identifying and piecing the data together. IS Security advises that there is no advantage to storing true identities on a separate drive as the security provisions would be the same. As such, only one drive is required, but a separate sub-folder</p>

with access restricted to the researcher would add further protection for the true identities.

The NTU DataStore copies the data onto three separate servers held at three different and independent NTU locations. As such, it is not necessary to back the data up anywhere else. The NTU DataStore will be the sole repository of the data.

To work on the data, it will be downloaded to either an NTU desktop or to a personal laptop. This latter will be password protected and have full-disk encryption. At the conclusion of each session of working on the data, it will be uploaded to the NTU DataStore and deleted from the computer, including emptying the recycle bin.

All data will be anonymised or pseudonymised to work with it and to report on the results of analysis. To comply with the requirements allowing a participant to withdraw from the study and to comply with GDPR data access requirements, it will be necessary to maintain a master key of pseudonyms and true identities. This will be stored on NTU DataStore and there should be no need to download this to any other device or computer.

b) Data Back-Up

As above, the data will be stored on the NTU DataStore. No further back-up is required.

c) Access to the Data During the Project

As below, the data will be organized into a sub-folder system. Each sub-folder will be capable of being individually restricted.

Only myself and my supervisory team should require access to the data during the course of this research. This includes Professor Di Bailey and Dr Paul Hamilton.

d) Data Folder Organisation

It will be necessary to organize the data into sub-folders to allow ease of access and to make the structure understandable to anyone not familiar with the research should access be required in the future.

Initially it is envisaged that sub-folders will be based on individual case studies named for the pseudonym agreed with the participant, with additional sub-folders for analysis and admin as follows:

- A sub-folder for each case study to contain:
 - Audio files of interviews
 - Scanned copies of contemporaneously written interviews
 - Transcripts of interviews
- Analysis of interviews
- Background and administration documents
- Master key of pseudonyms and true identities, and Scanned copies of Informed Consent forms (this will be the only folder to contain true identities allowing for increased protection). Access to this sub-folder will be restricted to the researcher only.

e) File Nomenclature

The following convention will be used when naming files:

[case study]_[YYYYMMDD]_[type of file]_[specimen number]_[version].[ext]

For example, an audio recording of an interview on the 1st of March 2019 with a participant using the pseudonym of Jim would be named as follows:

JIM_20190301_AudioJim_1_v1.mp3

And the transcript for this interview would be named as follows:

JIM_20190301_TransJim_1_v1.doc

The specimen number will be relevant if a person has been interviewed more than once and the version may be relevant if a correction was made to a transcript for example.

f) Managing Different Versions of Files

Should a situation arise where this occurs, given the above file nomenclature, the version number at the end of the file name will suffice to manage this.

Copies of all versions of a file will be retained.

g) Ensuring Data is Understandable to Others

A separate metadata spreadsheet will be developed to ensure a clear description of the data and filing structure is available to anyone unfamiliar with the research if access is required in the future. This will not include any sensitive or personal data, but will indicate which documents relate to each other, such as scanned consent forms, audio files of interviews and transcripts for example.

4. Archiving the Data

a) Archiving or Destroying Data

In line with NTU policies, anonymised or pseudonymised data supporting this study, thesis and associated publications will be securely stored and made openly available in a format that will not identify any persons involved in the project. Should any restrictions be placed by the participants at the Informed Consent stage, then these will be adhered to.

Storing physical copies of data is more vulnerable to a security breach than keeping scanned copies on the NTU DataStore. As such, any documentation generated that contains the true identity of the participants, or any other confidential items, will be destroyed according to the NTU Confidential Waste Procedure. It is anticipated that this will largely consist of signed Consent Forms and, as such, there will be no more than forty of fifty sheets of paper generated over the period of the field work. Destruction of these forms should take place as soon as practicable after it has been scanned and securely stored on the NTU DataStore. This may mean that as few as one sheet of paper will need destroying at a time. It is not practical, nor cost effective, to use the NTU contractor for destruction of these documents. In accordance with the above procedure, each sheet will be shredded at NTU using a shredder that conforms to DIN 32757 European standard and is of a minimum of Level 4 DIN. This will provide cross-cutting shredding with a maximum particle size of 2mm x 15mm and is the recommended standard for this type of data.

Any hard copy documentation such as written notes by the researcher will be converted to digital records as soon as practicable and stored as above. The original

hard copy will be destroyed in accordance with the NTU Confidential Waste Procedure by shredding as above. Any documentation compiled by a third party such as an interpreter will not include the participants true identity. If the documentation is not required to be kept, it will be converted to digital and destroyed as above, otherwise the third party will be required to demonstrate their secure storage capacity.

b) Where Data will be Archived

Due to legal and ethical reasons concerning the sensitivity of the data, it will be deposited in the NTU Data Archive.

The data repository will assign a DOI to the dataset for inclusion in the data access statement of my thesis and the metadata record for the dataset that will be added to NTU's IRep (see Section 5a).

c) When Data will be Archived

Data will be deposited in the repository prior to my thesis being submitted for examination.

d) Period Data will be Archived

In accordance with the NTU Information Retention Schedule, the research data will be retained for 10 years from the date of deposit.

5. Sharing the Data

a) Making Data Discoverable to Others

My thesis will include a data citation and data access statement, so readers will know where and how to access the underlying data.

After depositing my project data in NTU Data Archive, I will register my data with NTU by submitting a PGR Data Registry Form. A metadata record for my research data will be created in NTU IRep. This record will offer a full description of my data, as well as linking directly to the record of my thesis. The thesis record will also link to the dataset metadata record so that people who locate my thesis will also be directed to its underpinning data.

b) Which Data will be Accessible to Others?

Under the terms of this Data Management Plan, I will keep any identifiable participant data for 10 years under closed access; the anonymised or pseudonymized data will be openly available.

If any participants do not give informed consent for their anonymised or pseudonymized data to be shared, then this will be excluded from the final published dataset.

c) Data Sharing and Conditions

Bone fide researchers will be granted access to the anonymised or pseudonymised data in the NTU Data Archive upon request under a CC-BY-NC 4.0 licence.

d) Providing Access to the Data

To access the anonymised or pseudonymised data, users will email the NTU Library Research Team for access to the data in the NTU Data Archive.

6. Implementing this Data Management Plan (DMP)

a) Reviewing and Updating this DMP

This DMP will be reviewed and updated every six months with the supervisory team.

This DMP will also be reviewed with the Research Data Management Officer at key stages of the research including Project Approval and transfer from MPhil to PhD.

A version log will be maintained (on page 1) and a copy of each version retained.

b) Actions Identified from this DMP

1. Share DMP with supervisors and discuss any amendments before submitting it with the Project Approval / Ethical Approval
2. Share the DMP with the Research Data Management Officer for feedback and guidance before submitting it with the Project Approval / Ethical Approval
3. Arrange for the secure storage of personal, confidential data by completing and submitting the Active Research Data Storage request form
4. Request access to research team data storage
5. Write a participant information sheet and informed consent form using guidance provided by the College Ethics Committee and the UK Data Service
6. Learn how to anonymise my data so that it can be shared
7. Ask the PI of the research team for file naming and folder structure protocols
8. Contact the repository to find out if and how I can deposit my data with them

c) Support and Information Required to Complete these Actions

The following sources of information will be used to develop [Research Data Management](#) (RDM) best practice and implement this DMP effectively:

- [NTU Library RDM webpages](#)
- [UK Data Service \(https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/manage-data\)](https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/manage-data)
- NTU Research Data Management Officer
- Online tutorial: [MANTRA-Research Data Management Training \(https://mantra.edina.ac.uk/\)](https://mantra.edina.ac.uk/)

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Nottingham Trent University
Active Research Data Storage Request Form

Principal Investigator details

Name:	Neil Radford
School:	Social Sciences
Contact Tel:	
Contact email:	
ORCID ID:	0000-0003-1932-1982

Research Project details

Project Title: Purchasing Sex on the Streets: A Study of Male Buyers in the Heterosexual Street Sex Market	
Link to Data Management Plan:	See attached
Project timeframe	Start date: 01/10/2018
	Estimated end date: 30/09/2022
Is the project funded?	No (Self-funded)
<i>If 'Yes', please provide the following details</i>	
Name of funding body:	
Project reference:	
Do you have funding for data storage?	No If 'Yes', please state the amount:

Reason(s) for request

<i>Please tick as appropriate</i>	Yes	No
The project involves working with confidential/ sensitive data	✓	
The research data exceeds 5TB available on NTU OneDrive		✓
It is a collaborative research project		✓

Please specify the initial amount of storage required: 4TB**Additional access requirements**

Please provide the name and email address of any co-investigators employed at NTU that will require access to the project storage space. Professor Di Bailey di.bailey@ntu.ac.uk Dr Paul Hamilton paul.hamilton@ntu.ac.uk
If co-investigators outside of NTU require access to the project storage space, then please provide their name, organisation and contact email. Nil