

STOPTRAFFICK.IE

Immigrant Council
of Ireland

STOP TRAFFICK!

TACKLING DEMAND FOR SEXUAL SERVICES
OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN AND GIRLS

The Immigrant Council of Ireland

in partnership with:

Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation

Klaipeda Social and Psychological Services Centre

Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies

Multicultural Women's Association in Finland



With the financial support of the Prevention of and Fight against Crime Programme
European Commission - Directorate-General Home Affairs



Immigrant Council of Ireland

“We need to discourage the demand that lies behind all forms of exploitation, through all means available: legislative, administrative, educational, social and cultural!”

“The figures point to a very clear trend and links between prostitution markets, and exploitation, trafficking and organized crime.”

“Sexual exploitation is present only because there is a demand for it”

*Ms Cecilia Malmstrom,
European Commissioner for Home Affairs*

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Published by: Immigrant Council of Ireland
2 St. Andrew Street
Dublin 2, Ireland
Information Help Line: +353 1 6740200
Admin: +353 1 6740202
Email: admin@immigrantcouncil.ie
Website: www.immigrantcouncil.ie

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Tackling demand for sexual services of trafficked women and girls



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Written by: Nusha Yonkova, Edward Keegan

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About the authors

Nusha Yonkova is the anti-trafficking coordinator at the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI). She joined the ICI in 2004, firstly in the Communications Department, then as an Information officer consulting and supporting migrants. Originally from Bulgaria, Nusha is a qualified engineer and holds a Masters of Arts Degree in Intercultural Studies from Dublin City University. Since 2007, Nusha coordinates the diverse anti-trafficking work at the ICI and has significant expertise in producing and coordinating research and policy documents in this area. In 2008, Nusha became the first migrant woman elected to the National Women's Council of Ireland's board. Since 2013, Nusha is the elected Chair of the Board of the European Network of Migrant Women, a pan European network. Nusha has been recently awarded scholarship under the Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Employment Based Postgraduate Programme and will be embarking on research in the area of human trafficking.

Edward Keegan is currently completing doctoral studies at University College Dublin (UCD). His PhD thesis focuses on the role of transnational and national monitoring mechanisms in the protection of trafficking victims. He is a current recipient of the Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship. Edward previously completed an anti-trafficking internship with the Immigrant Council of Ireland. He was also previously employed as a teaching assistant in the School of Law, UCD. In addition he has carried out research for the Irish Penal Reform Trust and was a contributor to the Wiley Blackwell run socio-legal commentary website, Legal Focus. He has a Bachelors of Arts in History and Politics from UCD, a Bachelors of Law from Griffith College Dublin, and a Masters of Law from UCD, in which he specialised in human rights law.

About the national researchers

Genoveva Tisheva is the Managing Director of the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation (BGRF), as well as directing the Women's Human Rights Training Institute. Genoveva is a qualified lawyer with practicing especially in civil law, human rights law and women's rights law. She has specialised in the fields of violence against women, women's economic empowerment, trafficking in women and girls; involved in protection of women's rights under the CEDAW OP, EU law, and the ECtHR.

Diana Videva is a psychologist and social worker, both a practitioner and lecturer, and is a member of "Demetra Association" Burgas, member of the BGRF, which provides support for women and children who are victims of violence and sexual exploitation. Diana is an expert also in working with perpetrators of violence. She is currently Vice- Chair of the Alliance for Protection against Domestic Violence, and is Director of the Alliance's Training Centre for Prevention of Gender- Based Violence.

Dr. Dalia Puidokiene is one of the founders of Klaipeda Social and Psychological Services Centre. Since its opening in 2003 she has led a team of professionals who provide complex psychosocial help for victims of violence against women, including prostitution and trafficking. During her Masters studies in Social Work Dalia became deeply interested in violence against women, particularly, domestic violence. Her PhD focused on the phenomenon of prostitution and personal experiences of women in prostitution (Covert Codes of Women in Prostitution: Pathways for Recovering Roots after Trauma Interface). In 2012, Dr. D. Puidokiene received the qualification of an existential psychotherapist.

Susana Elisa Pavlou is currently Director at the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (MIGS). She holds a BA in Political Science from the State University of New York at Stony Brook and an MSc in International Politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London University. Susana has extensive experience in the coordination and management of projects, in gender equality training and education, and in gender research and analysis. Susana is a Member of the Advisory Committee for the Prevention and Combating of Family Violence, National Expert for the European Network of Experts in Gender Equality, and Expert and Board Member at the EWL Observatory on Violence against Women.

Josie Christodoulou is currently the policy coordinator at MIGS as well as coordinator of various projects related to gender and migration, integration, and trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual and labour exploitation. Josie served as a member of the Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA) of the Council of Europe from 2009- May 2011, and is currently a member of the of the Group of Experts on Trafficking in Human Beings of the European Commission.

Pirjo Sohlo, holds a Master's Degree in Social and Public Policy from University of Jyväskylä. She joined MONIKA- Multicultural Women's Association of Finland- in 2013 and works in a double-role of communications and STOP Traffick! Project coordinator. She is currently working as a trainer in the STOP Traffick! Outreach Programme.

Natalie Gerbert is expert in violence against women, particularly violence against migrant women and its specific forms of human-trafficking and honour-related violence. She is director of Resource Centre MONIKA, which provides crisis services to migrant women who have experienced violence. She has been working in MONIKA since 2001. Gerbert holds degrees in Diakonia Polytechnic Helsinki Unit, The Degree Programme in Social Services; and Tartu University (Estonia), Master's Degree in Philosophy and Art History.

Research Advisory Committee

Denise Charlton, CEO of the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), has over 25 years' experience in the field of equality, human rights and anti-discrimination and integration issues, with 20 years at senior management level. Denise has represented the ICI at local, national and international levels on social justice issues and has led on research projects nationally and internationally on immigration, integration, gender and migration, gender based violence, access to justice and human trafficking. Furthermore, she has led several European Commission projects specifically in the area of integration, immigration and human trafficking. Denise is the Country Coordinator for the EU's European Web Site on Integration and she is a member of the EC Expert Group on Trafficking in Human Beings. Denise has provided expertise to different anti-discrimination bodies and has worked on various governmental and non-governmental committees and commissions.

Sr Stanislaus Kennedy, founder and board member of the Immigrant Council of Ireland: For more than 50 years, Sr. Stan Kennedy has pioneered, campaigned, explored and developed a range of inspiring social innovations to benefit thousands of people. In 1974, Sr. Stan was appointed the first Chair of Combat Poverty and in 1985, she established Focus Ireland – the country's biggest NGO dealing with homelessness. In 2000, Sr Stan founded The Sanctuary, a meditation and spirituality centre and in 2001 she established Social Innovations Ireland, parent organisation of the ICI and Young Social Innovators. She has received numerous awards and tributes, including the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Award in 1996.

Dr. Monica O'Connor has worked in the area of violence against women for over twenty seven years. She worked as a front line practitioner in the Women's Refuge Dublin for seven years and went on to manage policy, training and research in Women's Aid, Dublin for a further eight years. As an independent researcher Monica has been the author and co-author of numerous publications on violence against women including 'Globalisation, Sex Trafficking and Prostitution: The Experiences of Migrant Women in Ireland' with Kelleher Associates and Dr. Jane Pillinger, which was commissioned by the Immigrant Council of Ireland and published in 2009. She has recently completed doctoral research on prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation in Ireland which was funded by the Irish Research Council

Grainne Healy is a founder member and Chairwoman of the board of Marriage Equality in Ireland. She is a former Chairwoman of the National Women's Council of Ireland (NWCi), former Vice President of European Women's Lobby (EWL), and former President of European Women's Lobby (EWL) Observatory on Violence against Women. Grainne was a Ministerial appointee to the Equality Authority of Ireland and the Women's Health Council. She has managed large projects such as EU transnational Daphne funded Equal project which developed inter-agency structures to deliver services to trafficking victims. Grainne was awarded the Dublin City University(DCU) President's Special Award for Social Engagement in 2012. She is a Government of Ireland Scholarship recipient (2013) and is currently completing a PhD at DCU.

Project Partners

The Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) is an organisation where migrant and Irish people work together to provide information, support and legal advice to immigrants and their families. The ICI's Information and Referral Service deals with more than 10,000 enquiries from migrants and Irish people each year. The ICI is a licensed Independent Law Centre, which allows the ICI to provide legal representation to clients as well as doing important legal policy and lobbying work. Cases are taken on when they are of strategic importance and may result in legislative or procedural change, or when the client is particularly vulnerable, for example, a victim of human rights abuses in Ireland such as exploitation as a victim of trafficking. The scope of the ICI's work has expanded over the past decade. The organisations' expertise has been sought for a number of European-projects; ground-breaking research in a number of crucial fields has been undertaken and has helped shape public policies and discourse. The ICI is very active in lobbying for legislative and policy reforms and has contributed to some very significant reforms, as well as to attitudinal change and improved understanding of issues facing migrants in Ireland.

The Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation works since its inception in 1998 on research, awareness raising, education, monitoring and proposing legislation and policy in the field of gender equality and protection of women against violence in all its forms – domestic violence, trafficking in women, sexual harassment at the workplace, etc. The BGRF has participated in the elaboration of the Anti-Trafficking law in Bulgaria in 2003-2004 and in the elaboration of the National Coordination mechanism for protection of trafficking victims within the National Commission for combating trafficking in Human Beings in the period 2007-2009. The BGRF is member of the Steering Group with consultative functions to the Commission. Currently the BGRF is the partner of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee for the project of FRA and EIGE on Legal and social research on human rights and gender equality in Bulgaria. The BGRF implements research on selected gender topics required by EIGE/ FRA since 2012.

Klaipeda Social and Psychological Services Centre, Lithuania has a vision where women, children, and families are socially and psychologically safe in a spiritually harmonious society. In order to meet the social security and mental health needs of children, youth, women, and families we provide professional staff and volunteers. In addition, we raise civil responsibility and encourage communal life habits. We work in cooperation with National and international NGO's, along with the Department of Social Support at Klaipeda Municipality.

The Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, Cyprus is a non-profit organisation which promotes and contributes to projects of social, political, and economic themes relating to gender with an emphasis on the Mediterranean region. The Institute recognises the multi-layered levels of discrimination against women and accepts that this discrimination takes different forms. It is committed to the elimination of this discrimination using a combination of research, advocacy and lobbying, as well as trainings, conferences, and other activities. Thus, MIGS aims to act as a main contributor to the intellectual, political, and socio-political life of the region as this relates to issues of gender and to do so using a multidisciplinary approach and in collaboration with other institutions. MIGS is closely affiliated to the University of Nicosia, the largest academic institution in Cyprus.

MONIKA, the Multicultural Women's Association in Finland operates as the umbrella organization for several associations for women of ethnic minorities. We support efforts to enhance cultural tolerance and promote a safe everyday life for everyone. We support the well-being of migrant women in different forms. We encourage migrant women to participate actively in social issues and we provide services and guidance to victims of domestic violence. Further, we actively lobby decision makers and provide training to social and health professionals. The Association has an expert role in addressing issues around multiculturalism, ethnic relations, empowerment, social integration as well as violence towards migrant women. Monika – Multicultural Women's Association in Finland was established in 1998. The headquarters are located in Sörnäinen, Helsinki. Two other units of the Association, the Multicultural Women's House (MoniNaisten Talo) and the Resource Centre (Voimavarakeskus) for victims of violence are both located at the same address. www.monikanaiset.fi

Messages from Partners

Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation:

Stop Traffick! Is a very innovative, focused and timely project which is needed now more than ever. The project has been carried out under the wonderful leadership of the Immigrant Council of Ireland , in close collaboration with a partnership of active NGOs from Europe. We hope that this partnership will be further developed in the near future.

We'd like to express gratitude to the following people involved in the data collection and the running of the project's pilot training: Prof. Pavlina Petkova, Ognyan Fortunoff, Vanya Zanetova, Petya Petkova, Miroslav Naumov

Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies

The research that took place within the framework of the project made an important contribution to the knowledge base on the demand side of sex trafficking. The research results proved to be extremely useful in developing a general profile of the male buyer of sexual services, and in debunking many myths surrounding those involved in buying sex. Furthermore, the research results will contribute to the design of a European awareness campaign targeting potential buyers of sexual services.

Klaipeda Psychological and Social Services Centre Message

This research critically examines approaches to addressing and reducing demand in the context of sexual exploitation for prostitution and trafficking of persons and in the increasingly globalised context in which this occurs. It explores the conceptualisation of demand and to what extent this can and does inform strategies aimed at tackling and reducing demand within the economic, cultural and legal context in Lithuania. This research does not only seek to examine the effectiveness of existing and potential strategies and interventions to tackle demand for sexual services, but also explores the extent of sexual exploitation to which it is transferable across the different forms and domains of trafficking and whether it is scaled-up to an EU-wide level.

MONIKA – Multicultural Women's Association, Finland

The STOP Traffick! research has provided invaluable insights on attitudes and characteristics of sex buyers. The results will help us greatly in understanding the reality of migrant women who come to seek help at MONIKA for reasons related to sexual exploitation for prostitution and trafficking in persons. The information gained on sex buyers is also relevant in MONIKA's advocacy work. The STOP Traffick! research was an extremely interesting process as sex buyers in Finland have not been the subject of much research in Finland. The number of respondents in a very short time was a positive surprise and promising for future research. We want to thank project coordinator Immigrant Council of Ireland for the great work in leading the project and creating a partnership that will hopefully continue after the project.

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Foreward

By Denise Charlton, CEO of the Immigrant Council of Ireland

Addressing and discouraging the demand that fosters all forms of human trafficking, especially of women and children, is recognised as an efficient prevention strategy in all major international treaties dealing with trafficking in human beings. I am particularly encouraged by the latest European Union law and programmes that have a special focus on demand reduction, which is very important in the area of trafficking for sexual exploitation, and as Commissioner Malmstrom said “Addressing Demand is a key point, both in the directive on human trafficking and in our (EC) strategy”

This is by far the prevalent form of exploitation in the European Union (EU) and other parts of the world. Women and girls are disproportionately affected, with the relevant Eurostat report from last year indicating that their proportion among all the victims of trafficking is as high as 80 per cent. Equally, the distinct gender approach visible in the EU documents as of late is welcome.

My involvement in an organisation that provides legal aid to migrant women who are victims of sex trafficking, allows me to have direct observations on the dynamics of victim identification and assistance in Ireland. Notwithstanding the range of positive developments, we continue to have serious concerns about the level of protection of victims of trafficking, the quality and adequacy of the referral mechanism, and the prosecution of trafficking offences in the State. These difficulties have provoked our interest in the alternative ways to respond to human trafficking, that will have indirect but significant effect on the levels of exploitation in the sex industry, namely the reduction of demand for sexual services of trafficked women and girls.

We have been very privileged to obtain funding through the EC DG Home Affairs Programme for Prevention Of and Fight Against Crime, which has allowed us to broaden our knowledge on what constitutes an efficient deterrent for the users of sexual services for victims of trafficking. This in turn allows us to fine tune our campaign messages and to create efficient training as well as a toolkit of activities and services that will be used to inform the general public, private and statutory sector of the problems created by the demand for sex trafficking.

Acknowledgements

The synchronised work and mutual learning of the partners in StopTraffick! has expanded and enriched our understanding and has made the conclusions of our work evidence based and widely applicable. I would like to thank all partners, and in particular our partner colleagues Genoveva Tisheva, Josie Christodolou, Dalia Puidokiene and Pirjo Sohlo for their dedication and professionalism.

My gratitude goes to the exemplary academic research advisory committee – Dr Monica O’Connor and Ms Grainne Healy as well as to our patron Sr Stan Kennedy, a renowned social justice activist and social innovator in Ireland, for their wise guidance and support extended pro bono to this project.

I would also like to thank my colleagues from the Immigrant Council of Ireland who have contributed and still contribute to the successful running of the project – Geraldine Hegarty, Gwen Roddy, Jerry O’Connor, Aibhelín O’Leary, former colleague Diane Kelly. A special thanks goes of course to Edward Keegan, who volunteered a lot of his time and expertise to the collation of literature review and data, and to the ICI

anti-trafficking coordinator Nusha Yonkova who pulled together the extremely rich research material, and brought this study into the present publication.

On behalf of all the partners involved in the Stop Traffick project, I would like to express our deep appreciation to the European Commission – Directorate General Home Affairs for their avant-garde funding programmes that allow emerging problems to be addressed timely and in an innovative manner.

Denise Charlton is a member of the EC Expert Group on Trafficking in Human Beings and a Manager of the Stop Traffick! Tackling the Demand for Sexual Services from Trafficked Women and Girls.

Executive Summary

Brief introduction to the aims and objectives of the research

This study, funded under the European Commission's Prevention and Fight against Crime (ISEC) initiative, has been carried out as part of the project 'Stop Traffick: Tackling demand for sexual services of trafficked women and girls'. The research will inform strategies to reduce demand for the services of trafficked women and girls in the five participating countries (Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Bulgaria and Lithuania). This evidence base will influence the production of a toolkit of products and activities to:

- Raise awareness among buyers and potential buyers of services delivered by victims of human trafficking in the sex industry
- Reduce the demand for purchase of sexual services

The initiating partner, the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), led this project in collaboration with the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation (BGRF), Klaipeda Social and Psychological Service Centre (KSPSC) in Lithuania, the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies (MIGS) in Cyprus and the Multicultural Women's Association of Finland (MONIKA).

This report analyses and assesses efficient approaches to discourage demand for the services provided by victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, based on a greater understanding of experiences, attitudes and motivations of the people who purchase sex. We wanted to gather sufficient knowledge to inform interventions linked with the decision to purchase sex and, in particular, to purchase sex from a vulnerable individual who could be a victim of human trafficking.

The objectives of the research are to:

1. Explore the international legal provisions and the national legal and policy context in the participating countries, taking into account the various obligations that exist to combat human trafficking, with a focus on discouraging the demand that fosters human trafficking.
2. Explore the characteristics of the buyers and their attitudes towards the purchase of sex in general and from victims of trafficking in particular.
3. Explore the awareness level of buyers of sex of the circumstances of the people they are buying, as well as their knowledge and considerations on the issue of human trafficking.
4. Establish the most efficient measures to deter the purchasing of sex from trafficked individuals, as identified by the respondents in the study.
5. Make recommendations on measures to discourage demand for the services of trafficked women and girls that would be relevant and efficient in the participating countries.
6. Inform the production of an effective awareness-raising toolkit.

Brief overview of the methodology

The report is based on mixed research methods. This approach was required to better understand this private and relatively difficult issue to research, particularly the purchase of sexual services from another individual. The methods include a review of relevant international research, a review of the legal and policy context in the partner countries, an online survey and face-to-face interviews with buyers of sex.

The data collection combined quantitative and qualitative methods. A total of 763 respondents who have purchased sex engaged with the study following extensive recruitment and advertising campaigns across the five participating countries. In selecting the appropriate method of research in each national context, the five national research teams opted for either a quantitative or qualitative approach to data collection.

In-depth face-to-face interviews with men who purchase sex were carried out in Bulgaria and Lithuania. Cyprus, Finland and Ireland launched online surveys and advertised them through various internet and social media platforms. Although a wide age range of buyers of sex participated in the on-line survey and interviews, in Lithuania a younger population was targeted, which is reflected in the data that was collected.

The research comprised:

- Seventy-one in-depth interviews with male buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania (37 in Bulgaria and 34 in Lithuania)
- Some 2,004 responses to an online survey carried out in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland, of which 1,050 were completed in Cyprus, 544 in Finland and 410 in Ireland. Of these, 426 respondents in Cyprus identified themselves as buyers of sex, 208 respondents in Finland identified themselves as buyers of sex and 58 respondents in Ireland identified themselves as buyers of sex
- In total, 763 buyers of sex participated in the in-depth interviews and online survey in the five project countries (692 in the online survey and 71 in the interviews)

Research findings

Characteristics of buyers

The first part of the research identified characteristics of buyers who responded to the online survey in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland, and participated in the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania. The data shows that:

- Buyers were overwhelmingly male
- The majority of buyers were over 25 years of age, except in Lithuania where the majority were under 25
- The majority of buyers were in a relationship, with the exception of Lithuania where the majority were single
- The vast majority of buyers had incomes of more than €20,000
- Buyers predominantly lived in cities

The experience of buyers

The second part of the research looked at the experiences of buyers when purchasing sex. The findings cover the gender of sellers, first experiences of purchasing sex, the most recent encounter, experiences of purchasing sex abroad and the frequency with which buyers purchase sex. Overall, the findings show that the overwhelming majority of the sellers who were purchased for sex were female. First-time experiences of purchasing sex tended to take place at a relatively young age and in a spontaneous and unplanned way, often with a group of friends and, in some cases, under the influence of alcohol and drugs.

Data was also collected on the types of locations that first-time buyers contacted sellers and purchased sex. The research also documents the most recent experiences of purchasing sex and shows that, in most cases, the buyers have different patterns of buying compared to the first encounter. It reveals mixed patterns of indoor, outdoor and online purchasing of sex across the five countries, with buyers in Ireland and Finland making much greater use of the internet to make contact with sellers, compared with the other countries surveyed. In addition, the vast majority of buyers purchased sex in indoor settings. The in-depth interviews also show that purchasing of sex had largely become a planned activity, compared to first-time experiences.

Finally, the survey found that a large proportion of buyers purchased sex abroad, in addition to purchasing sex in their home countries. The popular locations for purchasing sex abroad tended to be in countries where highly visible sex industries exist and/or in locations with close proximity to the buyers' home countries.

Views, attitudes and motivations of buyers

The third part of the research explored the views, attitudes and motivations of buyers towards the purchasing of sex and the sellers of sex as well as their motivations for purchasing sex. This draws on the findings from the in-depth interviews with buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania. Buyers interviewed were seen to have a complex view of the act of purchasing sex and those involved in the sale of sex. On the one hand, they overwhelmingly believed that the sale of sex is a transaction between two consenting adults. However, it is not something they would want any close friend or family member to become involved in. Most buyers reported viewing sellers as being different from other women.

Moreover, our research findings show there are a multitude of motivations driving the purchase of sex, many buyers are motivated by 'control' – in particular, the control over a sexual encounter arising from its purchase. Other motivations include having variety, both in terms of the seller and the acts purchased.

Witnessing exploitation and vulnerability

The fourth part of the research examined the experiences of buyers in witnessing exploitation and vulnerability. Research on buyers' perceptions and understanding of exploitation and their encounters with exploitation shows that it is not uncommon for buyers to encounter sellers they believe are being exploited. In our research, 222 buyers reported that they had encountered sellers they believed were being exploited, representing nearly one-third of buyers who took part in this research. Amongst the buyers responding to the online survey, a significant number of indicators were identified that led the buyer to believe a seller was being exploited.

In the data, a noticeable gap emerged between the number of buyers who reported encountering sellers they believed were being exploited and buyers who considered contacting the authorities to report such fears. Overall, a large proportion of respondents avoided answering the question of whether they had reported suspicions of trafficking to the authorities or they answered that they had not considered reporting suspicions to the police.

Human trafficking

The findings from the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania suggest that, irrespective of a buyers' knowledge of human trafficking as a crime and as a phenomenon, it is unlikely they will consider the possibility that a seller may be a victim of trafficking when purchasing sex. Similarly, knowledge of existing laws specifically targeting buyers of sexual services from trafficking victims appear to have no impact on buyers' consideration of human trafficking in the act of purchasing of sex.

The role of deterrents to purchasing sex

Finally, the research examined buyers' views about what would act as efficient deterrents to the purchasing of sex. These views varied from individual to individual and from country to country. However, there are some identifiable trends that are primarily valid for each of the five countries in our study. Apart from fears about their personal safety, which appears very important, other strong deterrents identified by the buyers in all countries were publicity in the local media and/or on the internet, letters of disclosure sent to the family and imprisonment. At the same time, educational classes and community service are deterrents with least significance for buyers.

Conclusions and recommendations

Targeting demand reduction on men

- Strategies to reduce demand should target the general population of men as the research indicates that buyers of sex are overwhelmingly male, with a diverse range of characteristics.

Addressing demand by taking into account buyers' age and other characteristics

- Evidence that emerged in the data indicates a number of factors that should inform the development of effective campaigns to deter demand, including the age profile, which is primarily among the middle range age group (25-44 years) and the older age group (over 45 years of age).
- It should also take into account the presence and absence of relationships, the relatively high social standing and the middle to high-income levels of buyers, and the high levels of education and employment amongst buyers.
- Awareness-raising and education initiatives, which specifically target younger men and potential future buyers, should be urgently developed as the data indicates that purchasing sex becomes more entrenched over time, with more frequent buyers exhibiting an increased sense of entitlement and desire for control.
- The Lithuanian study also shows that younger buyers may recognise the negative effect for sellers, both in terms of their physical and emotional wellbeing. This finding provides a useful starting point for campaigns aimed at younger people.

A focus on male buyers of female sellers

- Male buyers purchasing sex from female sellers should remain the primary focus of any demand reduction strategies, based on the statistics in this and other research in the past. Specific campaigns targeting the buying of male sellers could be developed to address the minority of buyers who purchase sex from males, provided this does not take away from the resources aimed at the reduction within the prevalent scenario (namely where male buyers purchase from female sellers).

- Gender considerations should be applied to the design of any intervention strategies, taking into account the defined gendered nature of the phenomenon.

Addressing demand in relation to the visibility and availability with first-time buyers

- Strategies addressing demand need to recognise that visibility and availability has a strong influence on the decision to purchase sex for the first time.
- Campaigns also need to address peer influence and the motivations of young men in first buying sex, including the demand for sexual variety, tests of bravery (willing to take risks) and curiosity.
- Demand strategies should address the role of alcohol and the group settings in which young men first purchase sex. The role of alcohol was not found to be a causal factor in the purchase of sex, but it is seen as boosting courage and lessening inhibitions. Therefore, information/awareness raising could effectively target venues selling alcohol.

The need to focus demand reduction strategies in diverse locations and to take account of the shift into indoor prostitution and the use of the internet

- As the findings indicate a major shift into indoor prostitution and the increasing use of the internet, particularly in Finland and Ireland, demand reduction measures should place significant focus on the role of the internet in accessing paid sex. The prevalence of private apartments as a location suggests the need to target the use of private premises for prostitution.
- Despite the move indoors, the findings indicate the need to continue to address on-street buying and demand reduction strategies, as well as the need to target particular venues, such as cabarets and clubs, which are primary locations for accessing paid sex in several countries.

The need to address demand reduction as a transnational issue

- The extent to which buyers purchase sex abroad, where it is perceived as more private and anonymous for the buyer, confirms that demand is an international and transnational issue.
- Measures to address demand should involve cross-border cooperation and coordination at European and global levels.

Addressing perceptions of women in prostitution as ‘other’

- The research demonstrates the need for demand strategies to address sexual objectification and the perception of women in prostitution as different from other women.
- Buyers’ views that they would not want to see a relative or close friend engage in selling sex provides some evidence of recognition in relation to the harm of prostitution, which could be utilised in education campaigns.

Witnessing exploitation

- The research demonstrates that serious exploitation, including exploitation of minors, is witnessed by buyers within the sex industry. Demand reduction strategies need to highlight all forms of exploitation within the sex industry and how the purchase of sex is a causal factor in that exploitation.
- The perception of buyers that the majority of women are consenting, and by implication not exploited, needs to be addressed.

- The fact that many buyers exhibited reluctance to engage with the question in the survey about exploitation or to report exploitation to the authorities raises questions in relation to the efficacy of relying on buyers to report to the authorities. The research does suggest that some buyers will consider reporting, but further research is needed to identify the numbers of buyers who actually report to the authorities as well as strategies to encourage more reporting.

The role of laws criminalising the purchase of a victim of trafficking

- The research reveals that laws criminalising the purchase of a victim of trafficking are not having a deterrent effect on current buyers. The vast majority of buyers in Lithuania and Bulgaria said they did not consider human trafficking when purchasing sex, despite awareness of the law.
- Strategies need to consider the effectiveness in reducing demand of laws solely addressing the purchase of sex from victims of trafficking, in particular those that involve knowledge on the part of the buyer.

The role of the media

- The role of the media needs to be better utilised as this is the most important source of information for buyers in relation to human trafficking

The implementation of effective deterrents

- The findings provide strong evidence of the buyers' assessments of what constitute effective deterrents.
- Public exposure in the local media and/or internet, letters of disclosure sent to a buyer's family and imprisonment are all identified by buyers as having a strong deterrent quality.
- Considering that having educational classes has been found to have no deterrent quality by almost all buyers, it is unlikely that an approach based on such classes will help deter demand.
- National strategies should also be informed by the specific deterrents identified in national contexts.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction to and overview of the research

Research objectives

Structure of the report

Research methodology

Chapter 1: Introduction and research methodology

1.1 Introduction to and overview of the research

This study is part of a European Commission (EC) Prevention and Fight against Crime (ISEC)-funded project ‘Stop Traffick: Tackling demand for sexual services of trafficked women and girls’, which explores efficient strategies to reduce demand for the services of trafficked women and girls in five participating countries (Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Bulgaria and Lithuania).

The overall project is to develop a strategy that will lead to the production of a toolkit of products and activities to:

- Raise awareness among buyers and potential buyers of services delivered by victims of human trafficking in the sex industry
- Reduce demand for the purchase of sexual services

This research on men’s attitudes to buying sex in the five participating countries, as well as case studies documenting the experience of women and girls who are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation, will be instrumental in producing the toolkit of products and activities.

We will specifically target private and public sector employers and trade unions in the development and implementation of the programme to ensure its credibility, authenticity, engagement by civil society and, ultimately, its success. The initiating partner, the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), led this project in collaboration with the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation (BGRF), Klaipeda Social and Psychological Service Centre (KSPSC) in Lithuania, the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies (MIGS) in Cyprus and MONIKA (the multicultural organisation of women migrants) in Finland.¹

The purpose of the study was to generate information about and gain a greater understanding of the people who purchase sex. We wanted to gather sufficient knowledge to inform interventions linked with the decision to purchase sex and, in particular, to purchase sex from a vulnerable individual who could be a victim of human trafficking. This report analyses and assesses efficient approaches to discourage demand for the services provided by victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

1.1.1 Research objectives

The objectives of the research are to:

1. Explore the international legal provisions and the national legal and policy context in the participating countries, taking into account the various obligations that exist in the area of combatting human trafficking, with a focus on discouraging the demand that fosters human trafficking.
2. Explore the characteristics of the buyers and their attitudes towards the purchase of sex in general and from victims of trafficking in particular.
3. Explore the awareness level of buyers of sex of the circumstances of the people they are buying, as well as their knowledge and considerations on the issue of human trafficking.
4. Establish the most efficient measures to deter the purchasing of sex from trafficked individuals, as identified by the respondents in the study.

¹ More information on this on-going EC ISEC-funded project can be obtained at www.stoptraffick.ie

5. Make recommendations on measures to discourage demand for the services of trafficked women and girls that would be relevant and efficient in the participating countries.
6. Inform the production of an effective awareness-raising toolkit.

1.1.2 Structure of the report

Chapter two outlines the ‘concept of demand’ and its interpretation in the context of this research. As this concept was central to the research, an extensive review was carried out of relevant research produced in the area, as well as relevant international policy and legislation. In the absence of a clear definition of ‘demand’ that fosters all forms of human trafficking, especially of women and children, the research partners considered the various academic interpretations that have emerged over the years and narrowed them down according to the project’s focus. For the purposes of this project, ‘demand’ refers to the demand from end users in the transaction of sexual services in the sex industry, which determines the environment for trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Chapter three explores the existing legal and policy contexts pertaining to human trafficking and demand reduction in the participating countries – Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Bulgaria and Lithuania. It also summarises information collected through research templates used by the research teams in each country. These examined existing or previously implemented demand reduction strategies as well as any attempts to engage the buyers of sex in these efforts (such as awareness measures or referral mechanisms for reporting exploitation and instances of human trafficking).

Chapter four presents the findings of the research and analyses the data collected in the study. This is grouped and presented in the following thematic sections:

- Characteristics of the buyers
- Experiences in purchasing sex
- Views, attitudes and motivations
- Witnessing exploitation and vulnerability
- Knowledge and considerations in relation to human trafficking
- Deterrents to demand for paid sex as identified by the respondents

The report builds on the learning from the research process, the extensive literature review and the conclusions emerging from the extensive data analysis. Chapter five offers recommendations for potentially more effective demand reduction strategies that target buyers and potential buyers of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. These evidence-based recommendations have informed the production of a draft toolkit for training as another component of the Stop Traffick project.

1.2 Research methodology

The report is based on mixed research methodologies. This was necessary to build a good level of understanding of this private and relatively difficult issue to research, notably the purchase of sexual services from another individual. The methods included a review of relevant international research, a review of the legal and policy context in the partner countries, an online survey and face-to-face interviews with buyers of sex.

The data collection combined quantitative and qualitative methods. A total of 765 respondents engaged with the study following extensive recruitment and advertising campaigns across the five participating countries. In selecting the appropriate method of research in each national context, the five research teams opted for either a quantitative or qualitative approach to collecting data. For example, Bulgaria was able to recruit respondents and conducted in-depth interviews. In addition to this, Lithuania also recruited and interviewed men who buy sex, which enriched the qualitative component of the research. At the same time, Cyprus, Finland and Ireland launched online surveys and advertised them through various internet and social media platforms.

This comprised:

- Seventy-one in-depth interviews with male buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania (37 in Bulgaria and 34 in Lithuania)
- Some 2,004 responses to an online survey carried out in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland, of which 1,050 were completed in Cyprus, 544 in Finland and 410 in Ireland. Of these, 426 respondents in Cyprus identified themselves as buyers of sex, 208 respondents in Finland identified themselves as buyers of sex and 58 respondents in Ireland identified themselves as buyers of sex
- In total, 763 buyers of sex participated in the in-depth interviews and online survey in the five project countries (692 in the online survey and 71 in the interviews)

To ensure the quality of the study, an advisory committee of experts was formed to oversee and advise the research teams. At all times, the research teams were aware of the ethical sensitivity of the issues being looked at. A researcher with prior experience in a similar study was consulted on the guidelines and training for the interviewers of male buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania. An information-handling protocol was adopted and used by the partner organisations carrying out the research.

Appendix one provides a detailed overview of the methods used in the face-to-face interviews and appendix two contains a copy of the questionnaire used. Information about the methodology used for conducting the online survey can be found in appendix three, while appendix four provides a copy of the online survey. It is important to note that, in completing this quantitative component, the researchers adopted a non-probability approach to sampling and focused on collecting information on the characteristics and subjective experiences of buyers. The surveys were not intended to determine the percentage of the respective populations who had purchased sex.

Using web-based and traditional research techniques, this project communicated with 763 buyers across the five participating countries. This allowed for the collection of a significant amount of data, which will be presented and analysed in chapter four. The willingness of buyers to participate in the research appears to have been influenced by the ease with which they could do it and the degree of anonymity. The varying levels of engagement also support the use of web-based tools in the research of difficult-to-reach populations.

In conclusion, the overall level of engagement with the project has provided rich data for informing the present study as well as the production of toolkits aimed at reducing the demand for services from victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPT OF DEMAND

‘Demand’ in international and European law

Trafficking Protocol

Trafficking Convention

Trafficking Directive

Unpacking ‘demand’

Negotiations leading to the Trafficking Convention

Negotiations leading to the Trafficking Directive

‘Demand’ in research and academic literature

End users

Specific demand

General demand

Demand in this project

Chapter 2: Concept of demand

Over the course of the past decade, human trafficking has been increasingly understood through the lens of supply and demand. While much of the early literature focused on the supply of trafficking victims, in recent years there has been a shift towards explaining the demand for trafficking victims. Certainly, targeting demand has become increasingly important in successive international and European legal documents on human trafficking.

However, as it stands, there is no common understanding of the term ‘demand’. It has not been afforded a definition in the international or European legal framework, while conflicting definitions have emerged from academic research. In particular, there is controversy and uncertainty surrounding whether – in the context of human trafficking for sexual exploitation – the term should encompass all buyers or only those who knowingly use the services of trafficked sellers.

Considering the centrality of demand to this project, this chapter will elaborate on its meaning. Through a consideration of the international and European legal framework, as well as academic research, we will present the understanding of demand that informs this project.

2.1 ‘Demand’ in international and European law

This section will elaborate on the meanings given to the term ‘demand’ within the international and European legal framework and – where possible – their bases.

2.1.1 Trafficking Protocol

The obligation to target demand was first included under the United Nation’s (UN’s) *Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 2000* (Trafficking Protocol). According to Article 9 (5) of the Protocol:

States Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking.

Within the text of the Protocol, there is no guidance on the meaning of demand. The legislative guide for the Protocol suggests that the Article 9 (5) obligation could be satisfied ‘through legislative or other measures targeting those who knowingly use or take advantage of the services of victims of exploitation’ (UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004: 297).

To some extent, the term ‘demand’ – under the Protocol – can be understood as emerging from end users or, in the case of trafficking for sexual exploitation, buyers. Aimed only at end users who ‘knowingly’ use the service of trafficking victims, this understanding of the term demand is contained to a specific demand for trafficked persons. In respect of trafficking for sexual exploitation, this approach suggests that a specific demand for trafficked sellers can be distinguished from a general demand for sellers. There is no evidence that this approach to demand reduction was based on research or that it was either appropriate or efficient.

2.1.2 Trafficking Convention

A similar provision on demand was included in the Council of Europe's *Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, 2005* (Trafficking Convention). Article 6 of the Convention states:

To discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking, each Party shall adopt or strengthen legislative, administrative, educational, social, cultural or other measures including:

- A.** Research on best practices, methods and strategies;
- B.** Raising awareness of the responsibility and important role of media and civil society in identifying the demand as one of the root causes of trafficking in human beings;
- C.** Target information campaigns involving, as appropriate, inter alia, public authorities and policy makers;
- D.** Preventive measures, including educational programmes for boys and girls during their schooling, which stress the unacceptable nature of discrimination based on sex, and its disastrous consequences, the importance of gender equality and the dignity and integrity of every human being.

Article 6 of the Trafficking Convention goes further than its corresponding article in the Trafficking Protocol, elaborating on the measures required by states to tackle demand. On the other hand, and similar to the approach found in Article 9 (5) of the Protocol, Article 6 of the Convention does not contain any definition of the term 'demand'. However, this is not the only provision of the Convention concerning demand. According to Article 19:

Each Party shall consider adopting such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offences under its internal law, the use of services which are the object of exploitation as referred to in Article 4 paragraph a of this Convention, with the knowledge that the person is a victim of trafficking in human beings.

According to the explanatory notes attached to the Trafficking Convention, the main consideration underlying the inclusion of Article 19 was to discourage demand. The understanding of demand in Article 19 of the Convention is identical to that contained in the legislative guide to the Trafficking Protocol. In the case of trafficking for sexual exploitation, this means buyers who knowingly use the services of trafficked persons.

The inclusion of the phrase 'shall consider' means that Article 19 is non-obligatory. State parties are only obliged to consider targeting this form of demand. Why this particular approach to demand was adopted will be returned to below.

2.1.3 Trafficking Directive

Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Protecting its Victims, and Replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA (Trafficking Directive) has adopted an identical approach to the Trafficking Convention. It includes an obligation to discourage an undefined demand as well as a non-binding recommendation to penalise those who knowingly use the services of trafficked persons. According to Articles 18 (1) and (4) of the Trafficking Directive:

- (1) *Member States shall take appropriate measures, such as education and training, to discourage and reduce the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation related to trafficking in human beings.*
- (4) *In order to make the preventing and combating of trafficking in human beings more effective by discouraging demand, Member States shall consider taking measures to establish as a criminal offence the use of services which are the objects of exploitation as referred to in Article 2, with the knowledge that the person is a victim of an offence referred to in Article 2.*

To better understand the term ‘demand’, the basis for this approach will now be explored in greater detail.

2.2 Unpacking ‘demand’

Looking at the three main legal instruments in force throughout Europe, the only understanding of the term ‘demand’ - in the context of trafficking for sexual exploitation that has emerged is the demand from buyers who knowingly use the services of trafficking victims. An explanation as to why this specific understanding has emerged will be suggested below through an exploration of the preparatory documents for the Trafficking Convention and Trafficking Directive. What will be seen is that the positions of state parties during negotiations shaped this approach to demand, rather than its perceived efficacy. This is no more obvious than in the negotiations leading to the Trafficking Convention.

2.2.1 Negotiations leading to the Trafficking Convention

During the negotiations leading to the Trafficking Convention, a number of issues arose regarding Articles 6 and 19. In respect of Article 6, most submissions to the Ad-Hoc Committee on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings (CAHTEH) – the body tasked with drafting the Convention – concerned the measures required to discourage demand, rather than the meaning of the term. An amendment submitted by the United Kingdom had suggested the inclusion of the term ‘consumer demand’ under Article 6 (CAHTEH, 2004a). While this would have partially explained the meaning of demand in respect of Article 6, it was never adopted by the CAHTEH.

A controversy arose in respect of how Article 6 related to the regulation of prostitution. A submission from the Dutch Government criticised an early draft of Article 6 on the basis that it was ‘abolitionist’. In its submission, the Dutch Government argued that the term ‘demand’ could be construed to encompass voluntary and involuntary prostitution (CAHTEH, 2004b). This resulted from the interaction between Article 6 and Article 4(a) of the Trafficking Convention.

Article 6 targeted the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation, while the types of exploitation covered by Article 4(a) included the ‘exploitation of the prostitution of others’. To counteract this, the Dutch submission asked that the term ‘forced’ be placed in front of ‘prostitution’ under Article 4(a). While this suggested amendment was not accepted by the CAHTEH, the explanatory notes attached to the Convention explain that Article 4(a) is only concerned with exploitation in the context of human trafficking.

At the same time, a number of concerns were raised over Article 19. Both the Dutch and Norwegian delegations questioned whether such a measure could work or would it just act as ‘token’ legislation (CAHTEH, 2003). It was further questioned whether such a measure would only drive prostitution underground (CAHTEH, 2003). While these concerns did not lead to the CAHTEH removing Article 19 from the Convention, it changed from a mandatory to an optional provision.

2.2.2 Negotiations leading to the Trafficking Directive

Prior to the expansion of European Union (EU) competences under the Treaty of Lisbon, the content of the Trafficking Directive had been proposed in the form of a Framework Decision. The content of the Framework Decision was based on an impact assessment report compiled by the EC (2009). This assessment report was informed by meetings held with interested stakeholders.

Using this assessment to understand ‘demand’ in the Trafficking Directive, it can be established that it is only concerned with a specific demand for victims of trafficking. Without evidence supporting the success of a particular approach to prostitution and levels of trafficking, the impact assessment recommended leaving this sensitive issue to member states (EC, 2009: 21).

At the same time, fears were expressed that the criminalisation of buyers would be counter-productive, increase the illegality and stigmatization of prostitution, and deprive trafficking victims of the potential help of their clients (EC, 2009: 39). Such concerns likely had an impact on the eventual form of Article 18 (4). Certainly, throughout the drafting process, efforts to make the punishment of the use of the services of trafficking victims a mandatory obligation were resisted (Bauer and Hedh, 2010).

The above shows that defining and finding an appropriate response to demand has been a contentious area. The understanding that has emerged under the international and European legal framework on human trafficking is most likely the result of political concerns, rather than an evidence-based search for an appropriate response to reducing demand. As a result, in shaping the approach to demand contained in this project, it was necessary to look beyond the legal framework to academic research.

2.3 ‘Demand’ in research and academic literature

A more complex understanding of ‘demand’ has emerged from academic research. Within this, ‘demand’ has come to be seen as a multifaceted phenomenon, driven by both actors and contexts. Actors and contexts identified include end-users or buyers, third-party organisers, state policies and societal norms.

In the context of trafficking for sexual exploitation, the first actor identified as creating demand is the buyer. According to Hughes (2004), buyers are responsible for what has been termed primary demand. Anderson and O’Connell Davidson (2002) adopt a similar, yet distinct, understanding of the role of the buyer in creating demand. Hughes (2004) attributes the role of buyers in creating demand to their

decision-making process, which she suggests does not consider the status of the seller. As a result, it is *all* buyers who generate demand for trafficked sellers.

This approach is challenged by Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, who have formulated an understanding of customer demand that focuses on particular markets within the sex industry. This distinction will be explored in greater detail below.

The second group of actors identified as generating demand for trafficking victims are those profiting from the sex industry. These include ‘traffickers, pimps, brothel owners, and supporting corrupt officials’ (Hughes, 2004: 2). The involvement of such actors in the ‘demand’ for victims has been agreed upon by the growing body of economic literature on human trafficking (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2005; Wheaton *et al*, 2010). While Anderson and O’Connell Davidson (2002: 37-39) have agreed with the involvement of third-party organisers of prostitution in driving demand for trafficking victims, they believe that only a minority of such actors are involved.

In addition, Hughes has included a number of governments in her understanding of demand. These include those governments who have legalised or regulated the selling of sex (Hughes, 2005: 8). Anderson and O’Connell Davidson have adopted a different understanding of the role played by government policies in creating demand. They have accused policies that effectively tie migrant sellers to their employers or fail to extend labour laws to their particular situation as creating a *carte blanche* for employers to treat sellers as they wish (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002: 40-41).

The final factor identified as influencing demand is the culture that has normalised the purchasing of sex (Hughes, 2004: 2-3).

Owing to the limited scope of this project, it is only primary demand – that which emerges from end users or buyers – that will be considered in greater detail.

2.4 End users

In the context of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, there has been divergence on the role of end users or buyers in creating ‘demand’ for victims of trafficking. The question that has been raised is whether *all* buyers of sexual services create this demand or is it only specific subsets of buyers. Furthermore, it is questioned whether it is buyers or organisers who create demand for trafficking victims.

2.4.1 Specific demand

Specific demand refers to approaches that focus on particular markets or demands within the sex industry, as well as the role of third-party organisers in creating a particular demand for trafficked sellers. Markets identified as creating demand for trafficking victims include those for specific racial or ethnic groups, for women with specific language capabilities, catering to migrant workers, and for virgins or adolescent girls, amongst others (Hughes, 2004: 21-27).

In respect of the market for the racial or ethnic ‘other’, there is not a straightforward link between the demands of buyers and the supply of trafficking victims. It will likely only arise where there is a significant amount of persons from a specific racial or ethnic background already present within the market, which in turn creates a demand, which may lead to persons being trafficked (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002: 33-34).

Additional factors identified as having the potential to create demand for trafficked persons are where there is a demand for cheap sex and where third parties are involved. Where prices are low, it is likely that there will be criminal elements and exploited persons (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002: 31). The potential involvement of third-party organisers in the demand for trafficked persons will likely stem from economic considerations – their profit will increase with the use of trafficked persons (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002: 37-40).

According to Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, those involved in this area of the sex industry are not a homogenous group in regards their practices. As a result, it will not be the involvement of any third party, but only some that may drive demand for trafficking victims (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002: 38-39).

Danailova-Trainor and Belser have presented a similar, third-party driven understanding of 'demand'. Within this, the market for trafficking victims is based on transactions between traffickers and third-party organisers (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006: 2-3). According to Danailova-Trainor and Belser (2006: 3), any specific demand for trafficking victims emerges from these third-party organisers. Wheaton *et al* (2010) produced a similar model of the economics of human trafficking. In this, the trade that occurs in the human trafficking 'market' is based on a 'business-to-business' model:

In the human trafficking market, traffickers act as intermediaries to provide employers, who use trafficked labour, with workers (Wheaton et al, 2010: 123).

The role of buyers or end users in creating demand for trafficked persons is uncertain in these economic models. While they may not explicitly request trafficked sellers, their considerations over price may be responsible for the decisions of third-party organisers to use trafficked sellers (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006: 3). It is here where the overlaps between a general demand for sellers and the demand for trafficking victims can be seen.

2.4.2 General demand

General demand refers to an approach that does not attempt to distinguish or separate the demands for trafficked and non-trafficked sellers. This approach recognises that buyers are most often uninterested in the status of sellers. According to Hughes (2004: 3), it is not something they consider or take into account when purchasing sex.

Similarly, the economic models of human trafficking discussed above do not consider a specific 'demand' for trafficking victims (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006: 3; Wheaton *et al*, 2010). According to these models, the status of a seller is not a concern for the buyer. This approach, which can be termed the inseparability of demand has been followed in recent years by international agencies, including the US Agency for International Development (USAID, 2011). It has gained much traction as a result of research that shows a correlation between increased demand and levels of human trafficking (Cho *et al*, 2012). According to the findings of Cho *et al* (2012), based on quantitative and qualitative evidence, a state's regulation of prostitution has an impact on levels of human trafficking:

On average, countries with legalized prostitution experience a large degree of reported human trafficking inflows. We have corroborated this quantitative evidence with three brief case studies of Sweden, Denmark, and Germany (Cho et al, 2012: 75-76).

2.5 Demand in this project

Considering the above, particularly the role played by buyers within each understanding of 'demand', this project adopts on a customer driven approach to the term 'demand'. It places the demand for victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation within the wider demand for sellers. Therefore, any effort to reduce the demand for victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation will need to target buyers.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXT IN THE PARTNER COUNTRIES

Policy measures to reduce demand

Referral mechanisms for buyers

Legal measures to address demand

Demand in prostitution regulations

Chapter 3: Context in the partner countries

This chapter presents the national context in the participating research countries – Bulgaria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland and Lithuania. It sets out the legal, policy and awareness-raising measures that have been introduced to tackle demand in the context of trafficking for sexual exploitation. It draws on official reports as well as a survey of the five countries that was carried out using a template agreed by the project partners at the start of the project. It aims to describe how demand reduction has been approached, dealt with and implemented in the five partner countries.

Although there are certain similarities between the partner countries, they are quite distinct in geo-political terms.

Ireland is a republic, EU and euro zone country. Its population of 4.6 million (UN, 2012) is 87.4 per cent Irish and 88 per cent Catholic.

Bulgaria, situated in the Balkan Peninsula in southern Europe, transitioned to democracy and a market economy after the collapse of communism in 1989. It is a republic and EU member since 2007, but is not part of the euro zone. Its population of 7.4 million (National Statistical Institute Bulgaria, 2012) is 87.8 per cent Bulgarian, and the main religion is Bulgarian Christian Orthodox (85%).

Cyprus was partitioned in 1974, with the northern third inhabited by Turkish Cypriots and the southern two-thirds by Greek Cypriots. The status of Northern Cyprus as a separate entity is recognised only by Turkey. The Republic of Cyprus joined the EU in 2004 as a divided island. Its combined population of 1.1 million (UN, 2012) are 77 per cent Greek, 18 per cent Turkish and 5 per cent other (2001). Major religions are Greek Orthodox (78 per cent), Muslim (18 per cent) and other (4 per cent).

Finland is in the far north of Europe. Its population of 5.2 million (Population Register Centre, 2012 est.) are Finn (93.4 per cent) and Swede (5.6 per cent). The major religion is Lutheran Church of Finland (82.5 per cent). Finland is a euro zone country with a highly industrialized, largely free-market economy.

Lithuania is situated in north-east Europe, on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Annexed by the USSR in 1940, Lithuania became the first of the Soviet republics to declare its independence in 1990. It joined the EU in 2004. Its population of 3.3 million (UN, 2012) are Lithuanian (83.5 per cent), Polish (6.7 per cent), Russian (6.3 per cent), Byelorussian (1.2 per cent) other (2.3 per cent). Major religions include Catholic (79 per cent) and Orthodox (4.1 per cent). Lithuania aims to enter the euro zone by 2015.

3.1 Policy measures to reduce demand

In reviewing policies to reduce demand, Council of Europe GRETA (Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings)² reports and US State Department annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP)³ reports are presented in addition to feedback from the Stop Traffick project partners.

² The GRETA are the technical monitoring body attached to the Trafficking Convention. They are responsible for monitoring States parties implementation of the Convention. In carrying out this function, the GRETA prepares State reports based on information from a number of different sources.

³ The U.S. State Department has prepared annual reports on anti-trafficking efforts throughout the world since 2001. These reports consider the measures taken by States to prevent human trafficking, protect victims of the practice, and prosecute traffickers. Countries are ranked according to the measures they have taken.

As of the time of writing, the GRETA has issued reports for just three partner countries: Cyprus, Bulgaria and Ireland.

The 2011 report for Cyprus recommends the Government to take specific measures to discourage demand for the services of trafficked persons (GRETA, 2011: 22). While GRETA notes a planned information campaign concerning demand in the National Action Plan 2010-2012, the campaign was implemented under the National Action Plan 2013-2015. The campaign targeted the demand for sexual and labour exploitation and was coordinated by the Ministry of Interior with the support of the Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman) and the National Machinery for Women's Rights. The campaign was implemented on a national level during November and December 2013 and consisted of a series of messages broadcast on national radio and targeted at the general public.

The GRETA (2011: 32) report for Bulgaria outlines a series of measures taken by Bulgarian authorities to reduce demand for victims of trafficking. These include the enactment of a law penalising the use of services of trafficking victims (GRETA, 2011:32). In addition, an information campaign was conducted, and brochures were produced with information on the criminalisation of the use of the services of trafficking victims (GRETA, 2011: 32). The GRETA (2011: 32) invited the Bulgarian authorities to take further measures to discourage demand for trafficking victims.

In reviewing the Irish efforts to reduce demand as a root cause of human trafficking in 2013, the GRETA (2013: 15) noted the existence of a wide civil society campaign, led by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and unions, calling for an unconditional approach to demand for prostitution. In addition, the GRETA commended the public consultation process launched by the State, which resulted in the publication of the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality report in June 2013. This recommended the introduction of a summary offence penalising the purchase of sexual services of another person by means of prostitution (Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality, 2013).

Under the most recent U.S. State Departments Trafficking in Persons, Finland and Ireland are classified as tier one, indicating that anti-trafficking efforts meet the minimum standards required by the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act. Bulgaria is tier two, indicating that, while efforts are being made, it does not comply with those minimum standards. Cyprus has been upgraded to tier two, while Lithuania was downgraded to tier two in the 2013 report for lessening the efforts in combatting human trafficking in terms of law enforcement, new investigations and prosecutions.⁴

Since 2008, demand reduction strategies are monitored and reported on in the TIP reports.

In Ireland, a number of demand reduction initiatives target the buyers of sex. The 2009 TIP report refers to a short film and advertisement that highlight the dangers of human trafficking and criminal liability for using the services of trafficked persons (U.S. State Department, 2009: 165). The 2011 report notes an informative website (U.S. State Department, 2010: 184) and the Blue Blindfold initiative (U.S. State Department, 2012: 193), both partly aimed at demand reduction and potential clients of trafficked persons. There have not been any new State initiatives since then. The 2013 TIP report notes a review of the National Action Plan Against Trafficking and consultations on amending prostitution law to criminalise purchasers of commercial sex acts, but also notes the lack of 'additional efforts to reduce the demand for commercial sex acts or forced labour' (U.S. State Department, 2013: 206).

⁴ Information provided by partner countries

In Bulgaria, a 2007 awareness campaign (U.S. State Department, 2008: 78) aimed at potential clients of trafficked persons (U.S. State Department, 2009: 102) targeted consumers of commercial sex with information to prevent trafficking. The 2011 TIP report notes the conviction of several offenders for exploiting sex trafficking victims. The 2012 report notes a Government campaign highlighting penalties for offenders (U.S. State Department, 2012: 101). The 2013 TIP report notes efforts to reduce the demand for commercial sex via advertisements emphasising punishments for offenders (U.S. State Department, 2013: 206).

The Cypriot authorities have been criticised for failing to implement measures to reduce demand (U.S. State Department, 2011: 104). The 2011 TIP report notes this failure was driving sex trafficking on the island (U.S. State Department, 2011: 140). However, the 2012 report notes recent action such as an interagency/NGO group that included demand for trafficked persons within the commercial sex industry in training at universities and military installations (U.S. State Department, 2012: 137). The National Action Plan 2013-15 includes provisions for a demand reduction strategy.

The 2008 TIP report refers to strategies in Lithuania to reduce demand through posters aimed primarily at the commercial sex industry (U.S. State Department, 2008: 166). The 2009 report refers to an educational campaign for young people, targeting both potential victims of human trafficking and potential future clients of trafficked persons (U.S. State Department, 2009: 190). The 2012 TIP report refers to efforts to reduce demand through fines, which penalise purchasing sexual services from these persons (U.S. State Department, 2012: 227).

In several TIP reports, Finland is commended for efforts to reduce child sex tourism via leaflets distributed at a major travel show (U.S. State Department, 2008: 158). The 2010 report notes that Finnish authorities prosecuted 35 men for purchasing sexual services from trafficked persons (U.S. State Department, 2010: 149), however a subsequent evaluation of the law carried out by the Department of Justice in 2013 concluded that the law remains difficult to implement (Niemi 2013). The 2013 report notes that the Government 'demonstrated efforts to reduce demand for commercial sex acts by issuing fines to individuals attempting to purchase commercial sex' (U.S. State Department, 2013: 107).

3.2 Referral mechanisms for buyers

None of the partner countries were aware of a *specific* referral mechanism targeted at buyers that facilitated the reporting of instances of human trafficking or other types of exploitation, provided either by the government/police or an NGO. A number of referral mechanisms in partner countries target the public rather than specifically targeting buyers.

In Ireland, the Blue Blindfold campaign provides an online referral facility for the public. There is advertising, leaflets and information for frontline service providers, and posters are displayed in airports. Several NGOs potentially provide referral mechanisms for buyers as members of the general public. The Turn Off the Red Light campaign encourages and responds to online referrals.

In Bulgaria, no specific mechanism exists for buyers to make referrals and there are no referral mechanisms provided by NGOs. Buyers can make a referral to the National Anti-Trafficking Commission, but this provision is new and has not been evaluated. No information was provided about referral mechanisms in Cyprus that might apply to buyers.

In Lithuania, where there is suspicion of trafficking and prostitution, members of the public can make reports online, over a national hotline or to NGOs.

In Finland, several NGOs providing services to victims can be referral points. The public can also report anonymously to police or to a national referral system for assistance to victims. A 2012 widely publicised video aimed at reducing demand included referral details for potential victims.

3.3 Legal measures to address demand

Laws dealing with human trafficking have been enacted in all five partner countries. According to information provided by the partner organisations, the issue of consent of trafficking victims to enter prostitution is not generally seen as an impediment to the identification of such an individual as a suspected victim of trafficking, with the exception of Finland and Ireland where the identification criteria are more complex.⁵ Four of the five partner countries have enacted laws aimed at reducing demand.

In Ireland, trafficking in human beings is an offence under the Criminal Law (Human Trafficking) Act 2008, as amended, and the Child Trafficking and Pornography Act 1998.⁶ In the 2008 Act, the definition of trafficking aligns with international law. Trafficking for the purpose of sexual and labour exploitation and the removal of organs are all proscribed under the 2008 Act, with a maximum penalty of life imprisonment for trafficking of both children and adults.⁷ Under Section 5 of the Act, it is an offence to knowingly purchase sex from a trafficked person, punishable by up to 12 months in prison and/or a fine not exceeding €5,000. For an offender convicted on indictment, the maximum penalty is five years in prison and/or a fine of any amount. It is a defence to have been unaware of the trafficked person's status. To date, no cases have been brought under Section 5 of the 2008 Act.

Trafficking in human beings was included as a criminal offence in Bulgaria in 2002 and a 2009 amendment introduced harsher penalties. The definition of trafficking is in line with international standards.⁸ In conformity with the Council of Europe Trafficking Convention, a 'victim' is every person who has been subjected to human trafficking.⁹ In 2009, the Criminal Code was amended to create a new offence of using the services of a trafficked person,¹⁰ punishable by between three and 10 years imprisonment and a fine of up to €10,000. From the available information, it is not clear what level of knowledge is required or whether there have been any legal proceedings in relation to this.

Human trafficking is a criminal offence in Cyprus.¹¹ The legislation aligns with international standards and all forms of trafficking are prohibited. Penalties differ depending on the form of trafficking.¹² The Cypriot definition, whereby harm is a necessary prerequisite to identification as a trafficking victim,¹³ has been criticised by the GRETA as not conforming to the Trafficking Convention. There are no legal measures aimed at tackling demand and, in the law, purchasing a 'sex service' from a trafficked person is never

⁵ Information provided by partner countries

⁶ As amended by the 2008 Act

⁷ Under the Act, a trafficked person is defined as: either 'a person in respect of whom an offence under subsection (1) or (3) of section 4 has been committed' or 'a child who has been trafficked for the purpose of his or her exploitation'

⁸ Trafficking for sexual exploitation, forced labour, removal of organs, and holding in subjugation and trafficking of pregnant women for the purpose of selling their babies

⁹ In Paragraph 1, subparagraph 5, of the Additional Provisions of the Anti-Trafficking Law Bulgaria

¹⁰ S. 159 (c) for 'debauched activities, forceful labor or the removal of bodily organs'

¹¹ Law for Combating Human Trafficking, Exploitation of Human Beings and the Protection of Victims (2007), which came into force on 13 July 2007

¹² Trafficking for forced labour is punishable by up to six years' imprisonment where the trafficked person is an adult and 10 years for children. Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is punishable by up to 10 years' imprisonment where the trafficked person is an adult and 20 years for children. Trafficking for the removal of organs is punishable by up to 25 years imprisonment

¹³ Article 2 of Law 87 a 'victim' of human trafficking is 'a natural person who has sustained damage, including physical and psychological damage or financial loss which is directly caused by the commission of the offences established in this Law'

referred to as being a crime.¹⁴ Cyprus is in the process of transposing the EU Trafficking Directive, which includes an article on the criminalisation of the use of services from victims of trafficking. The deadline for this transposition is March 2014. In the event of a delay, there could be penalties against the State.

In Lithuania, human trafficking was included in the Criminal Code in 2000, with amendments between 2005 and 2009 to implement international requirements.¹⁵ All forms of human trafficking are prohibited and aggravating factors are considered.¹⁶ The definition of a victim is no different to that under the Palermo Protocol. Under the Criminal Code, penalties for human trafficking¹⁷ range from two to 12 years' imprisonment, and three to 15 years if the trafficked person is a minor.¹⁸ Under the Administrative Violations Code,¹⁹ as one of several measures to reduce demand for prostitution services, a fine of 300 to 1,000 LTL (€87 to €290 approx.) may apply for purchasing sexual services. The Code covers persons earning by prostitution and persons who pay for prostitution services. It excludes persons involved in prostitution on evidence of physical or psychological violence or deception, or by any means if a minor or/and a victim of human trafficking, when this status is recognised in criminal proceedings.

In Finland, the Finnish Criminal Code²⁰ includes specific offences of trafficking in human beings and aggravated trafficking in human beings. Penalties differ; trafficking in human beings has a maximum sentence of six years and aggravated trafficking²¹ in human beings can have a penalty of 10 years. The penalty for knowingly using the services of a trafficked person is a fine or up to six months' imprisonment. Similarly to Ireland, it is a defence to have been unaware of the trafficked person's status.

The 2010 report of the Finnish National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings states this provision has resulted in a number of cases in which the courts have accepted constructive knowledge as sufficient for prosecution (Finnish National Rapporteur, 2010: 156-159) and have on occasion used sweeping generalisations – such as that all persons in prostitution from the Baltic are procured – as sufficient evidence to impute subjective knowledge (Finnish National Rapporteur, 2010: 156-159). There is currently a debate in Finland about the introduction of blanket criminalisation of the buying of sex.

More recently, the Finnish Ministry for Justice published a report recommending the Government to consider revising the laws on prostitution to completely ban the purchase of sex. The report adds that the current legislation, which conditionally criminalises the buyers, is too difficult to understand and not doing enough to protect victims of human trafficking and procurement (Niemi 2013).

¹⁴ Information provided by partner country

¹⁵ Under Articles 147 and 157

¹⁶ Including two or more victims, trafficking for the removal of organs and the participation of organised groups in the offence

¹⁷ Including complicity in a crime where a legal entity uses the services of a trafficked person

¹⁸ Article 147 and Article 157 respectively

¹⁹ Articles 182-1 amended in 2005

²⁰ Law no. 1889-39 of 2004

²¹ The term aggravated has been defined to include 'violence, threats or deceitfulness'; 'grievous bodily harm, a serious illness or a state of mortal danger or comparable particularly grave suffering is intentionally or through gross negligence inflicted on another person'; 'the offence has been committed against a child younger than 18 years of age or against a person whose capacity to defend himself or herself has been substantially diminished'; 'the offence has been committed within the framework of a criminal organisation'; or when a 'person...enslaves or keeps another person in servitude, transports or trades in slaves'

3.4 Demand in prostitution regulations

The current legislation covering prostitution in Ireland does not criminalise the purchasing or selling of sex indoors, but covers a host of activities connected to prostitution.²² It is illegal to run a brothel and to solicit for prostitution in public places. Protecting the public from the more visible manifestation of prostitution is provided for under the Criminal Justice Public Order Act, which outlaws the advertising in print and broadcast media. Promotion of prostitution on the internet falls outside of the scope of this law if the website is registered outside of the jurisdiction. It is an offence to purchase sexual services from a trafficked person with the knowledge that the person is trafficked, but this has not been used yet. Prostitution is not recognised as a job and there are no migrant provisions in place.

There is no specific legislation on prostitution in Bulgaria. It is not illegal to solicit on the street, kerb crawl or buy sex indoors. However, it is illegal to own or operate a brothel. It is not explicitly illegal to live off the earnings of prostitution or advertise prostitution in the media, but such advertisements are prohibited. The prohibition explicitly encompasses advertisements on radio and television that have pornographic content and are addressed towards children. Such communication is also prohibited when it incites violence, and violates public order and commonly accepted moral norms. It is not illegal to purchase sex from a controlled person, but it is illegal to buy sex from a minor or a victim of trafficking. It is not a regulated job and there are no migrant visas for those involved.²³

In Cyprus, it is legal for Cypriot women to engage in prostitution and indoor solicitation. Strictly speaking, the system provides visas²⁴ for migrant women in prostitution. Migrant women involved in prostitution are not treated equally to their Cypriot counterparts, face penalisation and their work is not regulated as a job. There are no references in the law to on-street solicitation or kerb crawling. Advertising prostitution in the media is not prohibited. There are several criminal offences relating to prostitution; running a brothel is illegal. Cypriot women involved in prostitution may live off their earnings, but another person (a pimp, for example) may not.

Under Finnish law, soliciting outdoors and kerb crawling are illegal, although indoor solicitation is legal. Advertising prostitution in the media is not permitted. Purchasing sexual services from either a controlled or trafficked person is illegal, as is running a brothel. Living off the earnings of prostitution is not illegal, although prostitution is not regulated as a job. It is not common for women involved in prostitution to be penalised.²⁵ There are no types of visas for migrant women to become involved in prostitution.

Under Lithuanian law prostitution is illegal. Solicitation on or off street, kerb crawling, brothel keeping, living off the earnings of prostitution and advertising prostitution in the media are all illegal. Prostitution is not regulated as a job and women involved in it can be penalised. It is illegal to purchase sexual services from those forced into prostitution, whether they are trafficked or controlled. While there are no visas for women to go to Lithuania to work in prostitution, visas for 'household' workers or 'waitresses' are commonly used to traffic women and minors into the country.²⁶

²² Under the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act 1993, it is illegal to solicit or importune for the purpose of prostitution; to loiter for the purpose of prostitution; to organise prostitution; to live off the earnings of prostitution; or to keep brothels. Under the Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act 1994, it is also illegal to advertise brothels and/or prostitution

²³ Information provided by partner country

²⁴ For 'performing artists', 'creative artists' and 'barmaids'

²⁵ Information provided by partner country

²⁶ Information provided by partner country

As outlined above, the possibility to reduce demand for the services of trafficked people through legislation is addressed differently in each country. Four of the countries have adopted legislation to penalise the purchase of services from a trafficking victim with the knowledge that the individual is trafficked. This is in line with the optional provision of the Trafficking Directive, which Cyprus is on its way to transpose by March 2014. This measure delivers results with various degrees of success. In Ireland, for example, no conviction has been obtained. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the law in the overall anti-trafficking measures has to date only been carried out in Finland, while in Ireland the issue has been addressed under the recent prostitution regulation review due to the overwhelming presence of migrant women in the domestic sex industry.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY ON BUYERS OF SEX

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Chapter 4: Findings of the survey on buyers of sex

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research carried out on buyers of sex. This is based on 2,004 responses to an online survey carried out in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland. Some 1,050 were completed in Cyprus, 544 in Finland and 410 in Ireland. Of these respondents, 426 in Cyprus identified themselves as buyers of sex, as did 208 in Finland and 58 in Ireland. In-depth interviews were carried out with 71 buyers of sex in Bulgaria and Lithuania (37 in Bulgaria and 34 in Lithuania). The mix of qualitative and quantitative research provides evidence about the characteristics and experiences of buyers; their views, attitudes and motivation; witnessing of exploitation and vulnerability; knowledge of human trafficking; and what would deter buyers of sex.

4.2 Characteristics of buyers

4.2.1 Overview

This part of the research looked at the characteristics of buyers who responded to the online survey in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland, and those who participated in the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania. The buyers are overwhelmingly male, but there are differences across the five countries in terms of relationship status, age, education levels and income. A summary and overview of the main characteristics of buyers across the five countries surveyed can be found below.

Gender of buyers

The overwhelming majority of buyers who participated in the survey were male. The results from the online survey show that 98 per cent of respondents in Ireland were male, 93 per cent were male in Cyprus and 92 per cent in Finland. All of the interviewees in Bulgaria and Lithuania were male buyers.

Relationship status

The majority of buyers participating in the online survey were in a relationship. Overall, 64 per cent of buyers were in a relationship, ranging from 70 per cent of buyers in Cyprus to just over a half in Finland and Ireland. Just over three-fifths of the participants in the in-depth interviews were in a relationship in Bulgaria, whereas the majority of buyers in Lithuania were single, reflecting the younger age of interviewees in Lithuania. The interviews carried out in Bulgaria provided additional information about the types of relationship buyers are in and their familial situations, where just over half of respondents reported that they were married and 62 per cent reported having at least one child.

Age of buyers

The age of buyers responding to the online survey and in-depth interviews varied across the five countries. The age of buyers in each country can be found in table one. This shows that the majority of buyers in Cyprus, Finland, Ireland and Bulgaria were either in the 25-44 age range or were over 45 years. However, compared with Ireland, where the largest group of buyers were over 45, buyers responding to the online survey in Cyprus and Finland were predominantly in the 25-44 age range. Overall, in Bulgaria, Cyprus, Ireland and Finland, 89 per cent of buyers were over the age of 25. Ireland had the largest proportion of buyers over the age of 45.

A contrasting age profile of participants can be seen in the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania, where the overwhelming majority of Lithuanian participants were under the age of 25 years.

Table 1: Age of buyers (per cent of respondents)

| Age of buyers | Cyprus | Finland | Ireland | Bulgaria | Lithuania |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| Under 25 years | 6 | 20 | 15 | 3 | 68 |
| 25-44 years | 62 | 45 | 40 | 66 | 29 |
| Over 45 years | 32 | 35 | 45 | 31 | 3 |

Education level of buyers

The education level of buyers was covered in the countries participating in the online survey and shows that buyers were typically well educated. Nearly three-fifths of respondents had third-level education (ranging from 77 per cent in Cyprus, to 50 per cent in Finland and 48 per cent in Ireland). One-third of respondents had education up to second level (42 per cent of respondents in Finland, 30 per cent in Ireland and 21 per cent in Cyprus).

Income levels of buyers

The vast majority of buyers had income levels over €20,000. Based on Eurostat data on average incomes, the data shows that, in each country, a significant proportion of buyers earned incomes at or exceeding the national average. In Cyprus, 41 per cent earned incomes above €30,000, while in Finland 47 per cent earned more than €40,000 and in Ireland 26 per cent had incomes of over €40,000.

Location where buyers live

The location of buyers (in terms of whether they lived in a rural area, a town or a city) shows that the vast majority of buyers live in cities.

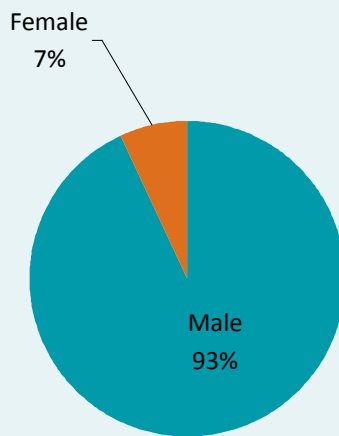
4.2.2 Characteristics of buyers by country

The next part of this chapter gives a more detailed breakdown of the findings from the online survey in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland. This is followed by the findings from the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania.

Characteristics of buyers in Cyprus

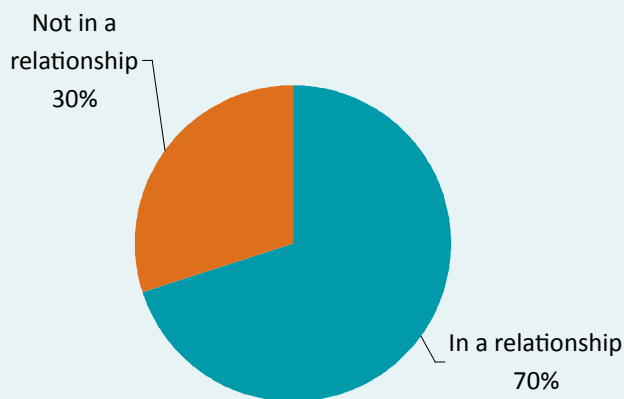
A total of 426 respondents to the online survey in Cyprus reported that they had purchased sex. As chart one shows, the majority – a total of 398 respondents (93 per cent) – were male.

Chart 1: Gender of buyers (Cyprus)



A large percentage of Cypriot buyers were in a relationship. Chart two shows that 70 per cent of buyers reported being in a relationship, while 30 per cent said they were not in a relationship.

Chart 2: Relationship status of buyers (Cyprus)



Buyers from all age groups were present in the Cypriot sample. As chart three shows, respondents between the ages of 25 and 44 represented the largest proportion of buyers (62 per cent), followed by those above 45 years (32 per cent), with those under 25 the least represented (6 per cent).

Chart 3: Age of buyers (Cyprus)

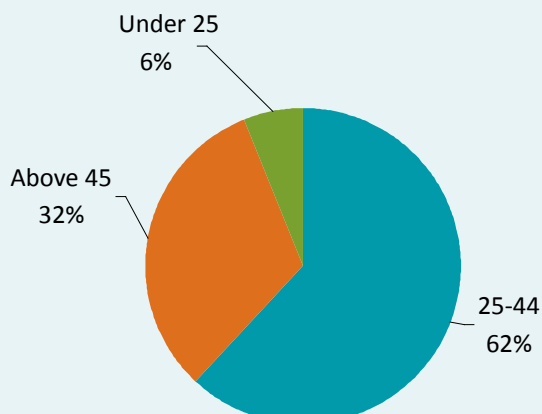


Chart four illustrates education levels of buyers, with the vast majority (77 per cent) achieving third-level education, followed by 21 per cent who had achieved secondary-level education. Buyers who had only completed primary education were the least represented.

Chart 4: Education level of buyers (Cyprus)

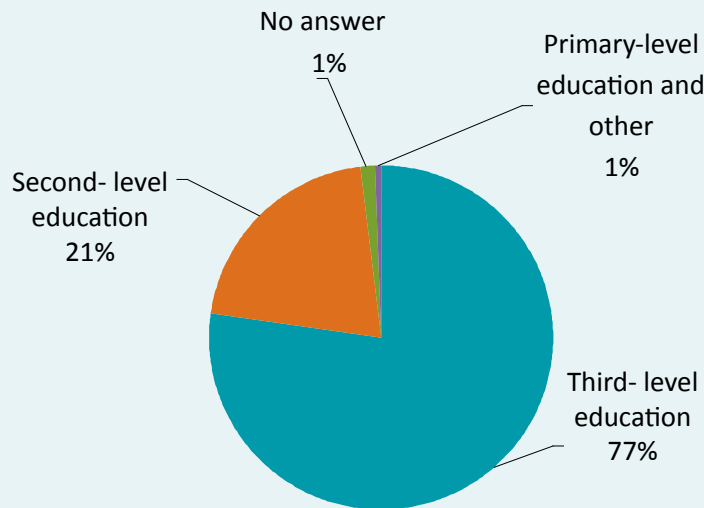


Chart five shows that the largest proportion of buyers, representing one-quarter of buyers responding to the survey, had earnings between €12,001 and €20,000. However, overall, 62 per cent of buyers reported annual earnings exceeding €20,000. The largest proportion of buyers (22 per cent) earning more than €20,000 reported that their earnings were between €30,001 and €50,000. This was followed by 21 per cent of buyers with reported earnings between €20,001 and €30,000 and 19 per cent with earnings above €50,000. The smallest proportion of buyers (13 per cent) had earnings below €12,000.

Chart 5: Income levels of buyers (Cyprus)

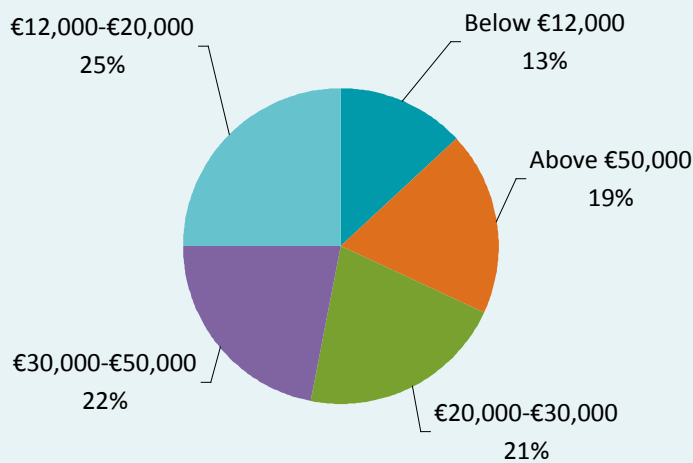
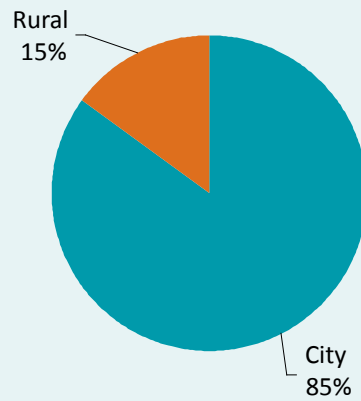


Chart six illustrates the areas in which respondents live. The vast majority of respondents to the online survey stated that they lived in a city, while 15 per cent lived in a rural area.

Chart 6: Location of where respondents live (Cyprus)

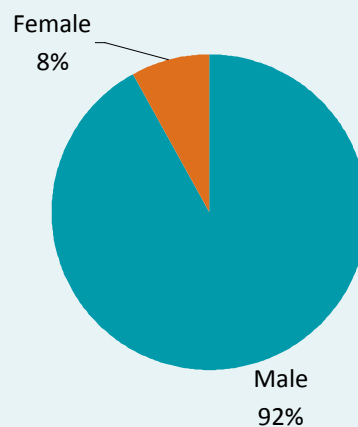


In summary, the results from Cyprus indicate that the average Cypriot buyers are well-educated men, in a relationship, over the age of 25 years, living in a city and earning above €20,000.

Characteristics of buyers in Finland

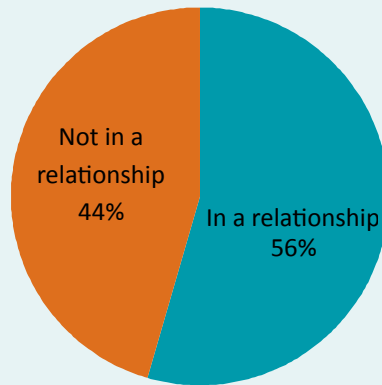
Of the 544 respondents to the online survey in Finland, 208 reported that they had purchased sex. As chart seven shows, the overwhelming majority of Finnish buyers (92 per cent) were male.

Chart 7: Gender of buyers (Finland)



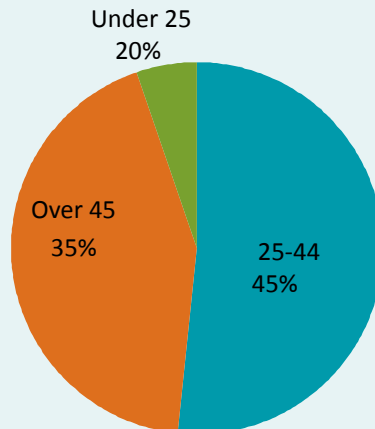
Just over half of Finnish buyers (56 per cent) were in a relationship, as illustrated in chart eight.

Chart 8: Relationship status of buyers (Finland)



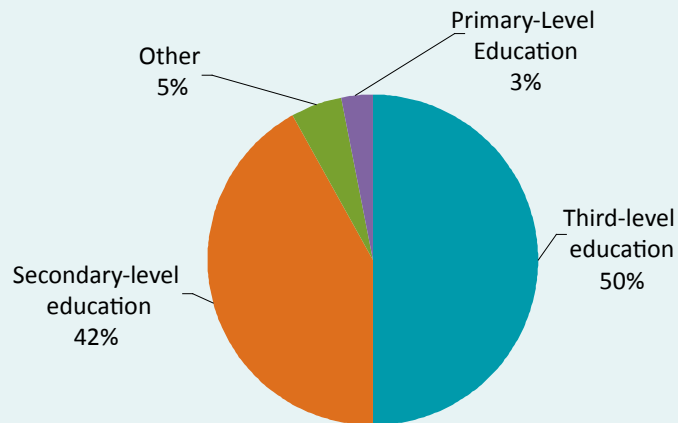
Finnish buyers were represented in all age brackets. Chart nine shows that the largest proportion of buyers responding to the online survey were between the ages of 25 and 44 (45 per cent), followed by just over one-third who were over the age of 45. The lowest proportion was in the under-25 age group.

Chart 9: Age of buyers (Finland)



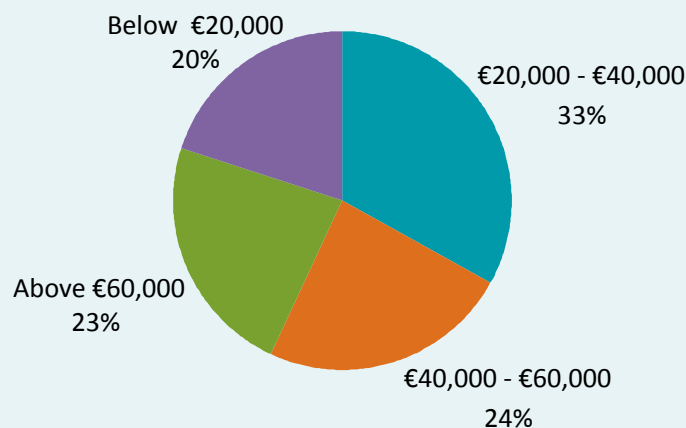
As chart 10 shows, Finnish buyers are relatively well educated. Half of Finnish buyers had achieved third-level education, closely followed by 42 per cent who had achieved second-level education. Those who had only completed primary education were the least represented, only slightly below those who reported an education level of 'other'.

Chart 10: Educational levels of buyers (Finland)



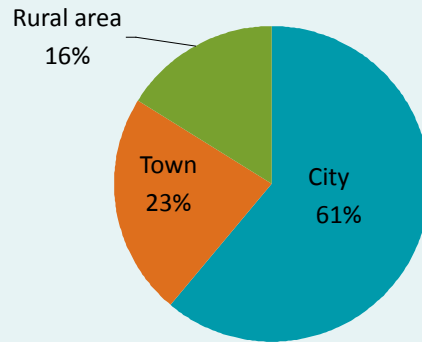
The income level of Finnish buyers responding to the survey is illustrated in chart 11. This shows that, overall, 80 per cent of buyers reported earnings above €20,000. The highest proportions of buyers, representing one-third of respondents, earned between €20,000 and €40,000. This was followed by nearly a quarter with earnings of €40,000 to €60,000, and just under a quarter with earnings above €60,000.

Chart 11: Income levels of buyers (Finland)



With regards to location, chart 12 shows that the majority of buyers were from a city (61 per cent), followed by nearly a quarter who lived in a town and just 16 per cent who lived in a rural area.

Chart 12: Location of where buyers live (Finland)



Overall, there were a number of similarities between Cypriot and Finnish buyers. They were primarily well-educated, male, over the age of 25, with earnings at or exceeding national average incomes, in a relationship and living in a city.

Characteristics of buyers in Ireland

In total, there were 410 respondents to the Irish online survey. Of these, 58 reported that they had purchased sex. Similar to their Cypriot and Finnish counterparts, chart 13 shows the overwhelming majority of Irish buyers were male (98 per cent).

Chart 13: Gender of buyers (Ireland)

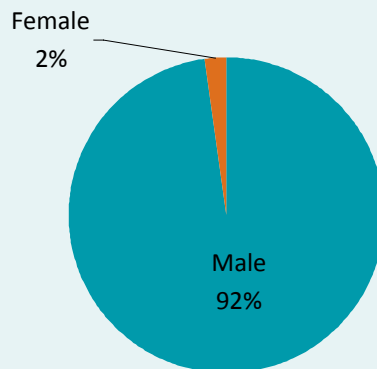
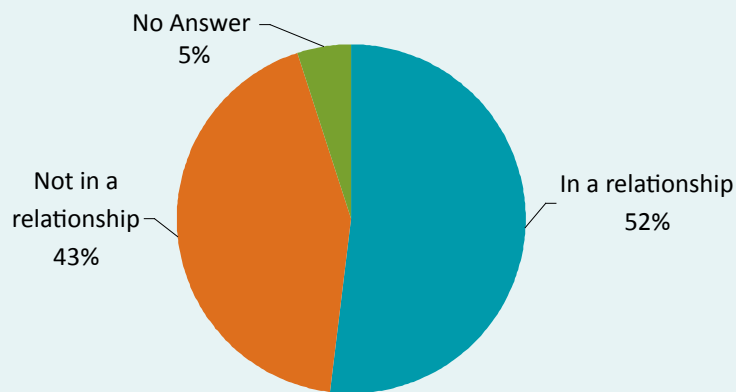


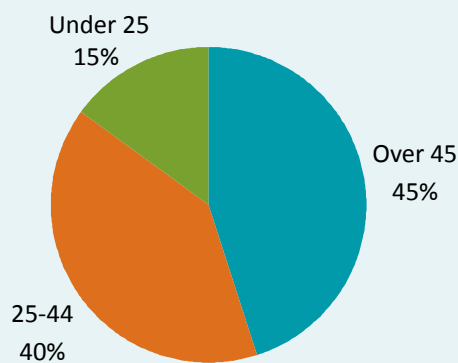
Chart 14 shows that just over half of Irish buyers were in a relationship, with a further 43 per cent reporting that they were not in a relationship.

Chart 14: Relationship status of buyers (Ireland)



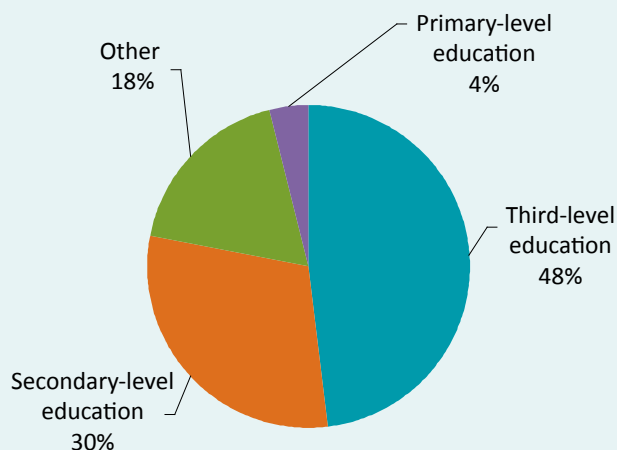
Irish buyers were represented in all age groups. As chart 15 shows, the largest proportion of buyers (45 per cent) were over 45 years of age, followed by 40 per cent in the 25-44 age group, while those under 25 years of age were the least represented. This is in contrast to the age range of Cypriot and Finnish buyers who predominated in the 25-44 age group.

Chart 15: Age of buyers (Ireland)



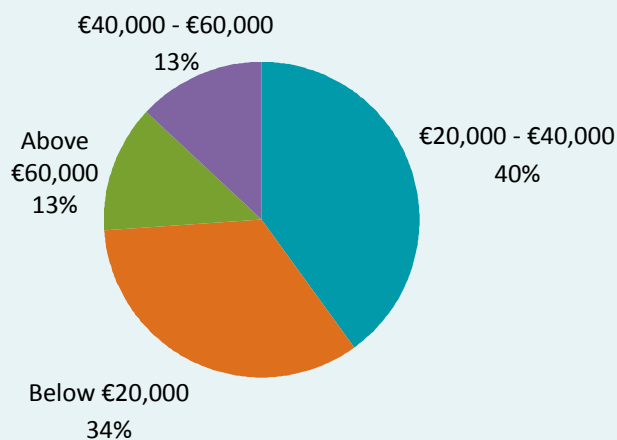
With regards to education levels, chart 16 shows that Irish buyers with third-level education were the largest group, representing nearly half of all buyers. This was followed by nearly one-third who had achieved a second-level education. Just under a quarter of Irish buyers reported their education level as 'other'. Those who had only completed primary education were the least represented.

Chart 16: Educational level of buyers (Ireland)



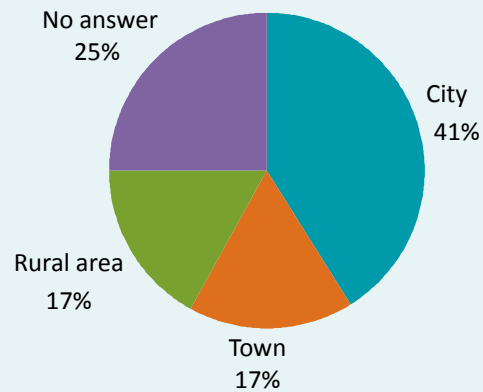
The earnings of buyers are shown in chart 17. The largest proportion of Irish buyers reported earnings between €20,000 and €40,000 (40 per cent). Those who reported earnings below €20,000 were the second most represented group (34 per cent). Buyers with earnings between €40,000 and €60,000, and earnings above €60,000 represented the smallest proportion of buyers. As with the Finnish and Cypriot buyers, around two-thirds of Irish buyers reported annual earnings in excess of €20,000. This would indicate that the majority of buyers are in some form of employment.

Chart 17: Income levels of buyers (Ireland)



In terms of location, chart 18 shows that the majority of buyers were from a city. This was followed equally by buyers from a town or rural area. A number of buyers failed to report the area in which they lived.

Chart 18: Location of where buyers live (Ireland)



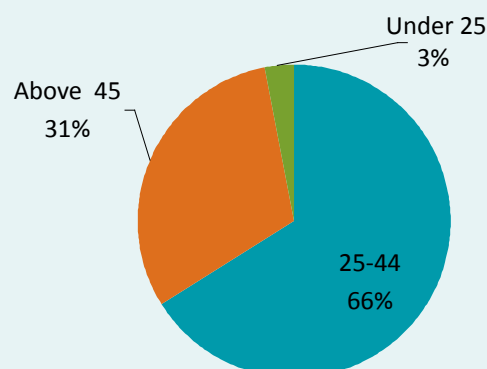
Similar to the results from Cyprus and Finland, the findings from the Irish online survey found that buyers were overwhelmingly male, most likely to be in a relationship, above the age of 25, with good education levels, with good earnings and living in a city. However, in contrast to their Finnish and Cypriot counterparts, Irish buyers were more likely to be over 45 years of age.

Characteristics of buyers in Bulgaria

A total of 37 buyers were interviewed in Bulgaria, all of whom were male. In addition to the profile of buyers based on gender, age, education, income and location, the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania provided information on nationality, ethnicity, relationship status, familial situation, employment status and religious affiliation.

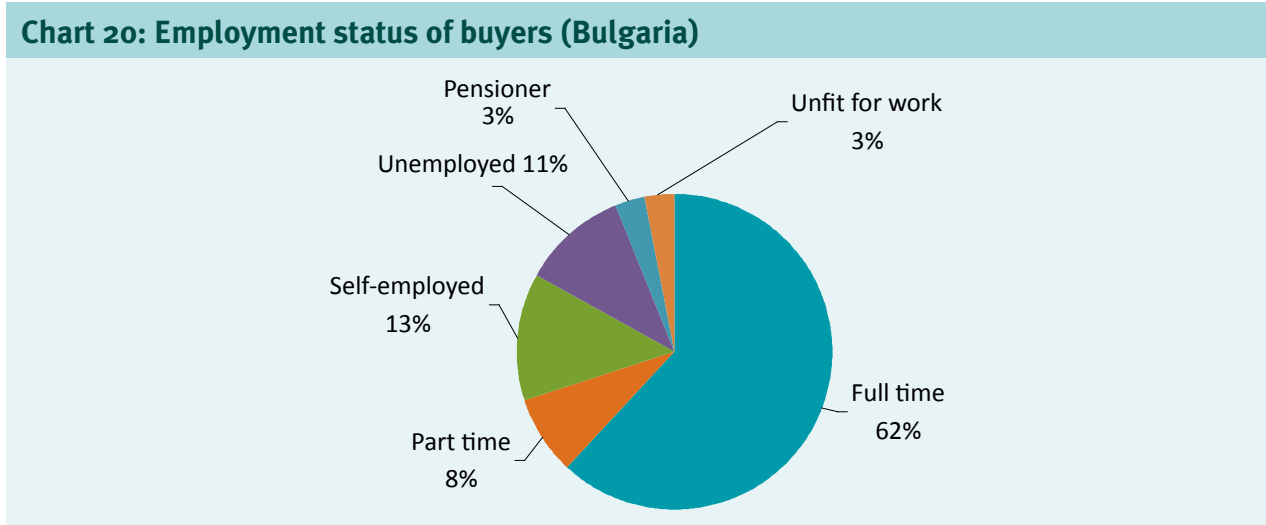
As chart 19 shows, Bulgarian buyers ranged from 24 to 63 years, with the majority reporting that they were between the ages of 25 and 44. Buyers in this age bracket accounted for just over three-fifths of all buyers. Only one buyer reported that they were below the age of 25, while 11 reported that they were above the age of 45 years.

Chart 19: Age of buyers (Bulgaria)

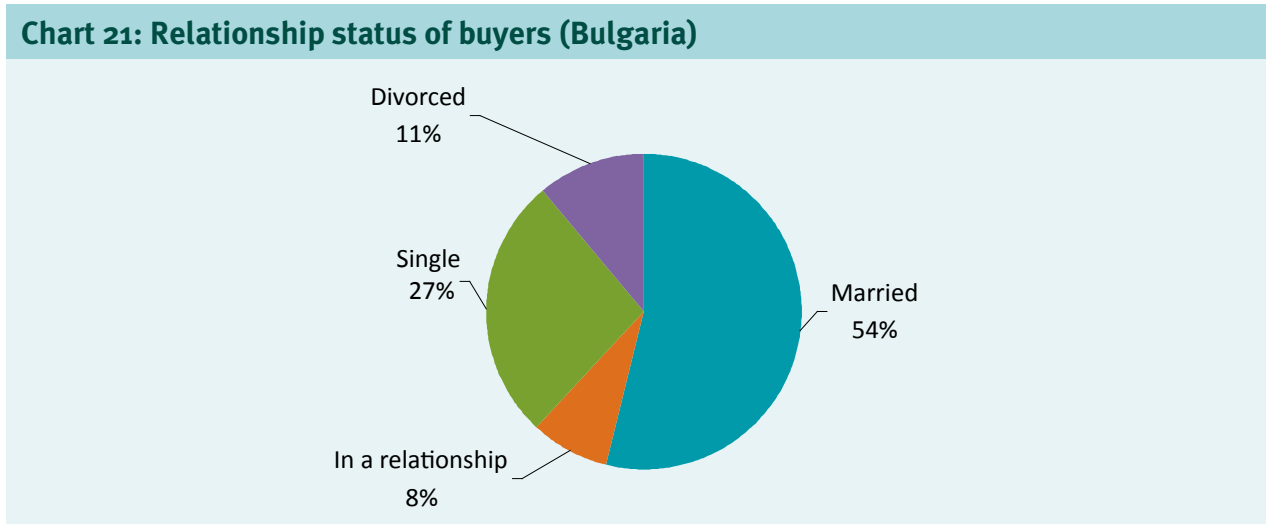


In terms of nationality and ethnicity, the Bulgarian buyers were a homogenous group. Just below 92 per cent of buyers reported their nationality as Bulgarian and their ethnicity as white.

Just over four-fifths of buyers interviewed were in some form of employment. As chart 20 shows, the majority were in full-time employment (62 per cent), followed by 13 per cent who were self-employed. The industries in which buyers reported being employed included the legal, construction, service and hospitality sectors.

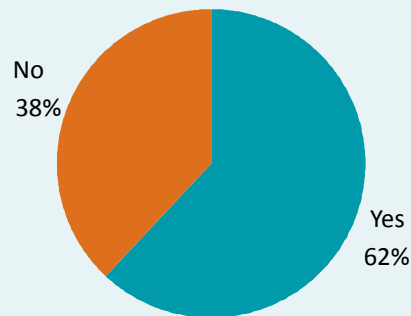


Just over three-fifths of buyers were in a relationship, the overwhelming majority of who were married. Chart 21 shows that just over half were married and 8 per cent reported that they were in a relationship. Just over a quarter were single and 11 per cent were divorced.



Just over three-fifths of Bulgarian buyers stated that they had children. Chart 22 shows that there were a total of 36 children reported by buyers with children, 19 of who were female and 17 were male, with ages ranging from two months to 36 years. However, the largest proportion of children were 12 years or under.

Chart 22: Buyers who have children (Bulgaria)



The majority of buyers reported that they were practicing members of a religion. A total of 19 buyers identified as Christian (Orthodox Church), three buyers identified as Eastern Orthodox and one buyer identified as Muslim. Of the remaining 14 buyers, 11 stated that they were not practicing members of any religion and three did not answer the question.

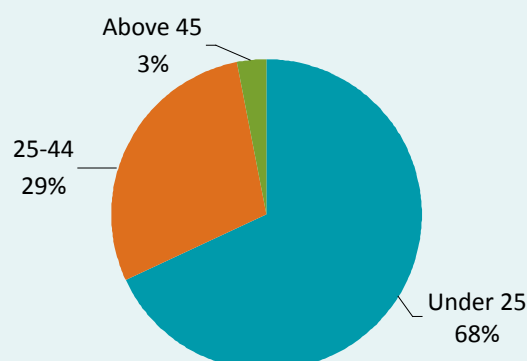
Overall – and similar to buyers in Ireland, Finland and Cyprus – the majority of the male buyers in Bulgaria were aged above 25, in employment and in some form of relationship. The additional information from these interviews revealed that the overwhelming majority of buyers were ethnically Bulgarian, Christian and had children.

Characteristics of buyers in Lithuania

As outlined in the methodology section, the particular approach to the targeted recruitment of buyers in Lithuania led to an over representation of buyers below 25 years of age. As a result, the data from Lithuania is not necessarily comparable to the other countries surveyed, but nonetheless presents a valuable picture of characteristics and experiences of this younger cohort.

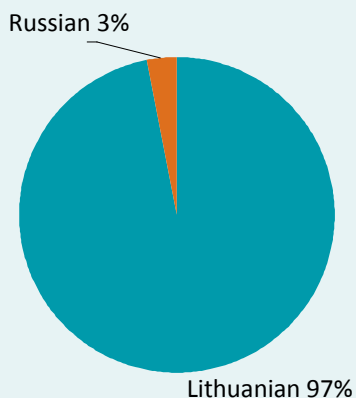
A total of 34 buyers were interviewed in Lithuania, all of which were male. Chart 23 shows that just over two-thirds of Lithuanian buyers were below 25 years of age. In total, just over four-fifths of buyers were 30 years of age or younger. Of the small number of buyers who stated that they were over 25, a minority were above the age of 30.

Chart 23: Age of buyers (Lithuania)



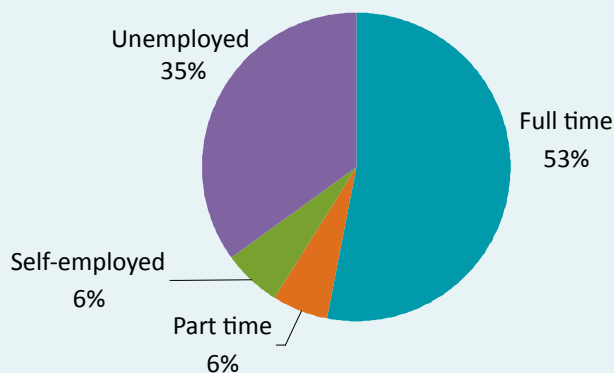
The overwhelming majority of buyers in Lithuania reported their nationality as Lithuanian, as illustrated in chart 24. Similarly, their ethnicity was predominantly white. This shows that the interviewees represented an ethnically homogenous group, as was the case with Bulgarian buyers.

Chart 24: Nationality of buyers (Lithuania)



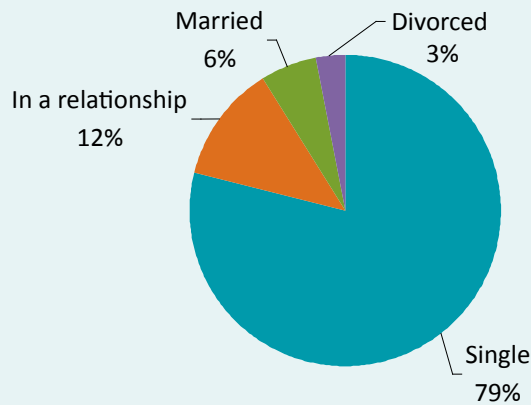
The largest proportion of buyers responding to the online survey was in full-time employment and, as chart 25 shows, they represented just over half of all buyers. The second-largest group was unemployed, representing just over one-third of buyers. A small number of buyers were in either part-time employment or were self-employed. The industries in which buyers reported being employed included fishing, construction and IT.

Chart 25: Employment status of buyers (Lithuania)



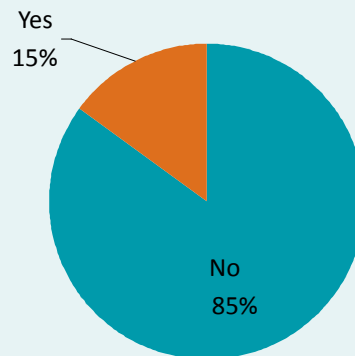
The majority, representing nearly four-fifths of buyers in Lithuania, reported that they were single, as illustrated in chart 26. This is in contrast to the characteristics of buyers in the other countries surveyed and can most likely be attributed to the younger age profile of the Lithuanian buyers interviewed.

Chart 26: Relationship status of buyers (Lithuania)



Only a small proportion (15 per cent) of Lithuanian buyers reported having children, as seen in chart 27. Between these five buyers, there were a total of seven children, four of whom were male and three female, with ages ranging between one year to 23 years. Of the five buyers who reported having children, three were 30 years of age or above, while the remaining two were 24 and 21 years.

Chart 27: Buyers who have children (Lithuania)



The majority of buyers reported that they were not practicing members of any religion. This accounted for 24, or just over 70 per cent of buyers. Amongst the remaining 10 buyers, almost all reported that they were either Catholic or Christian.

In contrast to the findings from the other countries, the majority of male buyers interviewed were of a younger age profile and single. As with Bulgaria, the majority were in employment. The additional information collected from the in-depth interviews found that the majority were ethnically Lithuanian and without children.

4.3 The experiences of buyers

4.3.1 Overview

The second part of the online survey and in-depth interviews looked at the experiences of buyers when purchasing sex. The findings cover the gender of sellers, first experiences of purchasing sex, the most recent encounter, experiences of purchasing sex abroad and the frequency with which buyers purchase sex.

This element of the survey draws on the findings of the 692 respondents who identified as buyers in the online survey (based on 426 buyers in Cyprus, 208 buyers in Finland and 58 buyers in Ireland), as well as findings from the 71 in-depth interviews carried out with buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania.

Overall, the findings show that the overwhelming majority of sellers purchased for sex were female and that first experiences tended to take place at a relatively young age. First-time experiences of purchasing sex tended to take place in a spontaneous and unplanned way, often with a group of friends and, in some cases, under the influence of alcohol and drugs.

Data was also collected on the experiences of buyers regarding their first-time encounters, revealing the types of locations in which first-time buyers contacted sellers and purchased sex.

The research also documents the most recent experiences of purchasing sex and shows that there are, in most cases, different patterns of buying compared with the first encounter. It reveals mixed patterns of indoor, outdoor and online purchasing of sex across all of the five countries. Buyers in Ireland and Finland make much greater use of the internet to contact sellers compared with the other countries surveyed. In addition, the vast majority of buyers purchased sex in indoor settings. The in-depth interviews also show that, in Bulgaria and Lithuania, purchasing sex had largely become a planned activity, compared with first-time experiences.

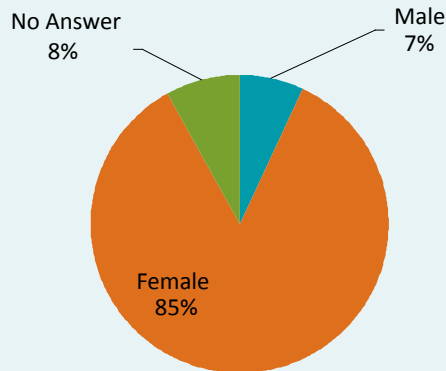
Finally, this section draws on data on the purchase of sex abroad. It shows that a very large proportion of buyers had purchased sex abroad, in addition to purchasing sex in their home countries. The data shows that the most popular locations for purchasing sex abroad tended to be in countries where highly visible sex industries exist and/or in locations in close proximity to the buyers' home countries.

4.3.2 Gender of the seller

Buying sex is a highly gendered practice and, as the previous section showed, men are the overwhelming majority of those who purchase sex. It is principally characterised by men purchasing sex from women – with smaller numbers of males purchasing sex from males, females purchasing sex from males, and females purchasing sex from females (Sanders *et al*, 2009: 75-78).

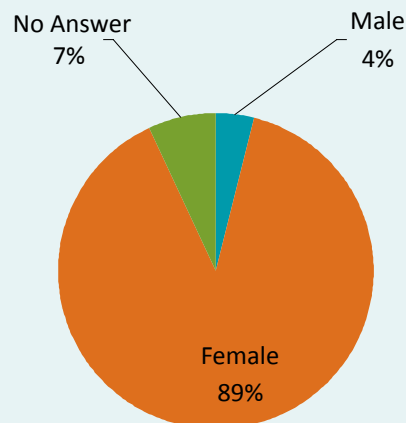
Our research has revealed a similar trend to international research in this area. In total, the online survey showed that in Cyprus, Ireland and Finland, the 692 buyers responding to the survey principally purchased sex from females. As chart 28 shows, 85 per cent of responses from buyers in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland reported purchasing sex from female sellers, compared with 7 per cent who reported purchasing sex from male sellers. In the in-depth interviews in Lithuania and Bulgaria, buyers were not directly asked the gender of sellers they ordinarily visited. However, in describing their experiences, they principally described experiences with female sellers.

Chart 28: Gender of sellers (Cyprus, Finland and Ireland)



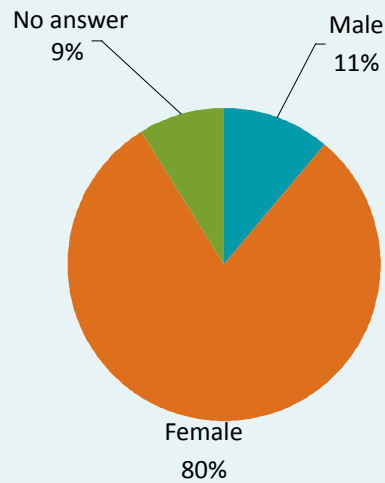
In Cyprus, as chart 29 illustrates, the majority (89 per cent) of buyers reported purchasing sex from females, compared with 4.2 per cent who reported that they purchased sex from males. No response was given to this question by 7 per cent of buyers.

Chart 29: Gender of sellers (Cyprus)



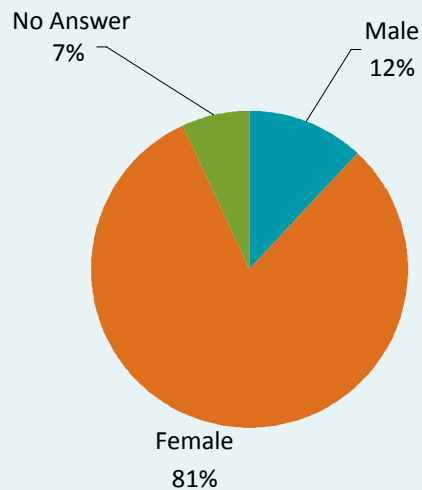
This was a similar finding to Finland, where chart 30 shows that 80 per cent of buyers purchased sex from females, compared with 11 per cent who purchased sex from males. No answer was given to this question by 9 per cent of buyers.

Chart 30: Gender of sellers (Finland)



In Ireland, chart 31 shows the majority of buyers (81 per cent) reported purchasing sex from females, compared with 12 per cent who purchased sex from males. No response was given by 7 per cent to this question.

Chart 31: Gender of sellers (Ireland)



4.3.3 First time purchasing sex

To determine the circumstances surrounding the buyers' first experiences of purchasing sex, a number of questions were asked of buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania in the in-depth interviews. This looked at the age of the buyer when they first purchased sex, whether they were alone or with friends, the location where sex was purchased, the motivation for purchasing sex on this occasion, and any role played by alcohol and/or drugs.

Although previous research has looked at buyers' first experiences of purchasing sex, this has generally been concerned with establishing the age of buyers when they first purchase sex, rather than the circumstances surrounding this first experience. In one study, the age that a buyer first purchased sex

varied from 10 to 52 years of age (Durchslag 2008), while other studies have found that buyers were generally in their early or mid-20s when they first purchased sex (Mantilla 2003; Farley, Bindel and Golding 2009; Farley, Macleod, Anderson and Golding 2011). Recent research launched by the MIGS, based on qualitative interviews in Cyprus, reported that many buyers have their first experience while they are in a group with friends or accompanied by a family member (MIGS, 2014).

The findings from the 71 in-depth interviews carried out in this research study found that buyers were likely to be under the age of 25 when they first purchased sex. The interviews also showed that purchasing sex on the first occasion was likely to be a spontaneous decision, often carried out as part of a group and under the influence of alcohol, which tends to act as a facilitator rather than a catalyst. It also appears that decisions to purchase sex on the first occasion tend to be spontaneous, with only a short time between the decision to purchase sex, finding the seller and the act itself taking place. More detailed information on first-time experiences of purchasing sex was collected in the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania.

First time purchasing sex in Bulgaria

The interviews showed the age of Bulgarian buyers when first purchasing sex in Bulgaria ranged from 16 to 43 years of age. Of the 20 buyers aged between 25 and 44, around three-quarters were 30 years or below on the first occasion they purchased sex. Sixteen buyers reported that they were below 25 on the first occasion. This is in contrast to the data from Lithuania, where the overwhelming majority were below the age of 25 years, reflecting the younger age profile of interviewees in Lithuania.

Twenty buyers reported that they were in a relationship when purchasing sex on the first occasion.

On this first encounter, the majority of buyers reported that they were 'with friends', either on a weekend away, stag night/weekend or following an ordinary night out. Of the eight buyers who reported they were 'alone' when purchasing sex for the first time, four said it was following an ordinary night out. Considering the circumstances in which buyers reported purchasing sex on their first occasion, it is perhaps unsurprising that, for the majority (27 buyers), it was an unplanned encounter, principally part of a night out with friends.

Twenty-five buyers reported that they had consumed alcohol and four had consumed drugs, of which three had also consumed alcohol. One buyer had consumed hash, one heroin and two had consumed amphetamines. In respect of how this affected their decision to purchase sex, 18 buyers reported that it had played a determinative role. The explanations provided by buyers to explain the role alcohol or drugs played in the decision-making process included that it had led to a 'loss of self-control', made them 'more willing to take risks', freed them from 'scruples', put them in a 'careless mood' and sexually aroused them. While this appears to have been the role played by alcohol for the majority of buyers, one buyer reported that it had led to a need to assert his identity as a member of the 'strong gender', and another buyer reported that alcohol played a role in pressurising him to purchase sex. Of the 25 buyers who reported consuming alcohol on this first occasion, only four had planned to purchase sex. Of the 12 buyers who had not consumed alcohol, only five had planned to purchase sex on that occasion.

This suggests that the first occasion appears to be an unplanned, spontaneous encounter, possibly influenced by alcohol consumption. The spontaneity of the decision to purchase sex on the first occasion can also be seen in the locations where the buyers reported locating the seller. The seller was most likely located and contacted 'in person' or through word of mouth. 'Word of mouth' included information passed

on from friends and taxi drivers. The locations where sex was purchased included in a private flat, on the street, in a sauna, at a strip club and at a sex club.

The motivations most frequently reported by buyers for purchasing sex on the first occasion were for a 'variety of partners' and 'uncomplicated sex'. Others reported that it was an opportunity to have sex for the first time or it reflected difficulties socialising with other women, boredom or as a 'joke'. None of the respondents reported that loneliness was a motivating factor in purchasing sex on the first occasion.

First time purchasing sex in Lithuania

In Lithuania nearly two-thirds of buyers who responded to this question in the interviews stated that they purchased sex for the first time when they were aged between 18 and 21. The young age reflects the sample of younger interviewees in Lithuania. Just over half of buyers reported that they were in a group, either on a stag night/weekend, as part of celebrations of a friend's birthday, as part of a group of soldiers on leave from services or when travelling with friends. However, for the majority of those who had purchased sex in a group the first time, the circumstances were not out of the ordinary; rather, it was seen as part of an average night out.

Less than one-third of buyers reported purchasing sex alone on the first occasion. Of these buyers, one buyer reported that this was carried out as part of a 16th birthday, another stated that it was on a stag night in Lithuania, another that it was an ordinary weekend and another reported he was at home alone at the time. Nine buyers who reported purchasing sex alone, failed to provide any information.

A small number of buyers reported that they were not in Lithuania the first time they purchased sex, reporting locations in the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Poland and Ireland.

Almost all buyers – whether they were alone or part of a group – reported that their first encounter was spontaneous. At the same time, 28 buyers reported that they had consumed alcohol on their first occasion, suggesting that alcohol may have played a role in their decision to purchase sex.

To measure the accuracy of this, buyers were asked whether they felt that alcohol was a causative factor in their decision to purchase sex. Just over 65 per cent identified alcohol as a contributory factor. A number of different explanations were given for how alcohol influenced their decision to buy sex on this occasion. For some, it increased their courage; others said it increased their sexual appetite. A number of buyers claimed it had lowered their inhibitions. However, only a fraction of buyers reported that alcohol had motivated them to purchase sex. Other motivations identified included curiosity, sexual frustration, sexual diversity and visibility.

The unplanned nature of this first encounter was also evident in how buyers reported that they had made contact with the seller on the first occasion they purchased sex. Of the 34 buyers, 18 reported that they made contact directly with the seller, with the majority having done so at the locations where they met the person, whether this was on the street, in a strip/lap dancing club or at a bar. This would suggest a level of immediacy or spontaneity and a lack of planning in the purchasing sex for the first time. However, this was not the case for all buyers. A small number of buyers reported sourcing sellers through advertisements/classifieds or online, followed by purchasing sex in a private apartment.

4.3.4 Current habits and most recent experience of purchasing sex

To get a better idea of the current habits of buyers when purchasing sex, the respondents to the online survey and in-depth interviews were asked about their most recent encounter. This enabled the research to examine whether buyers had changed their patterns and circumstances when purchasing sex since their first encounter. In particular, the research examined how buyers had contacted sellers on the last occasion that they reported purchasing sex.

The research also looked at whether patterns had changed in relation to purchasing sex through online and indoor prostitution. This has been documented in research in Ireland commissioned by the ICI, which showed a significant shift to online and indoor prostitution in Ireland since the 1990s (Kelleher *et al*, 2009). Other studies have confirmed this shift to buyers overwhelmingly purchasing sex indoors (Kelly *et al*, 2007; Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Farley *et al*, 2009 and 2011). Nevertheless, these studies also show that a large percentage of buyers purchase sex both indoors and outdoors, or exclusively outdoors (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Farley *et al*, 2011).

Our research confirms that there are still mixed patterns of indoor, outdoor and online purchasing of sex across all five countries participating in the research. In Ireland and Finland, the internet was reported as the main way in which sellers were contacted. However, Cypriot buyers rarely purchase sex online.

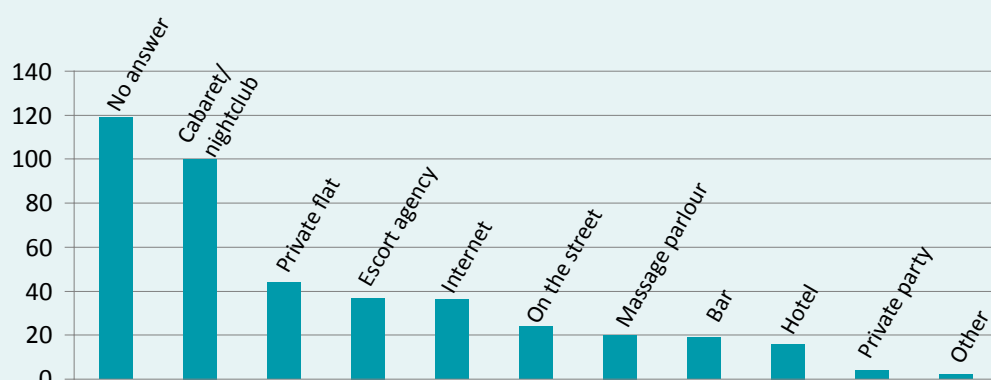
When examining the locations where buyers reported purchasing sex, the vast majority used indoor locations in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland. In Bulgaria and Lithuania, purchasing of sex had become a planned activity, although it remained sporadic and unplanned for some buyers.

Contacting the seller and purchasing sex in Cyprus

The largest proportion of the 426 Cypriot buyers responding to the online survey reported that they contacted sellers via a cabaret or nightclub. As chart 32 shows, this was the case for 100 respondents, followed by 44 buyers who contacted a seller at a private apartment, 37 via an escort agency and 36 via the internet. A minority of buyers (24) reported contacting sellers on the street. Other locations included through a ‘massage parlour’ (20 buyers), in a ‘bar’ (19), in a hotel (16) and at a ‘private party’ (seven). A large number of buyers (119) did not respond to this question.

In contrast to Finland and Ireland (discussed below), in Cyprus contacting the seller does not tend to be carried out online. However, locations where contact is made with sellers is primarily indoors, based on a diverse set of locations.

Chart 32: Contacting the seller (Cyprus)

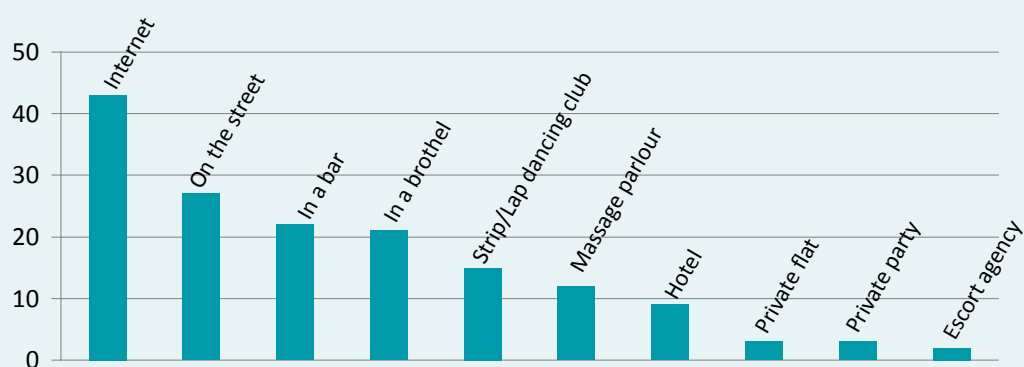


Contacting the seller and purchasing sex in Finland

The largest proportion of the 208 Finnish buyers responding to the online survey reported that they contacted sellers via the internet. Chart 33 shows that this was the case for 43 buyers, followed by 27 buyers who reported purchasing sex on the street. Some 22 buyers stated that they contacted sellers in a 'bar', 21 in a 'brothel', 15 in a 'strip/lap dancing club', 12 in a 'massage parlour' and nine in a 'hotel'.

Like the findings from Ireland, this shows a pattern among Finnish buyers of purchasing sex in indoor locations. The number of locations where buyers found sellers on the last occasion suggests that the Finnish sex industry is diverse, although it has largely moved online and indoors.

Chart 33: Contacting the seller (Finland)

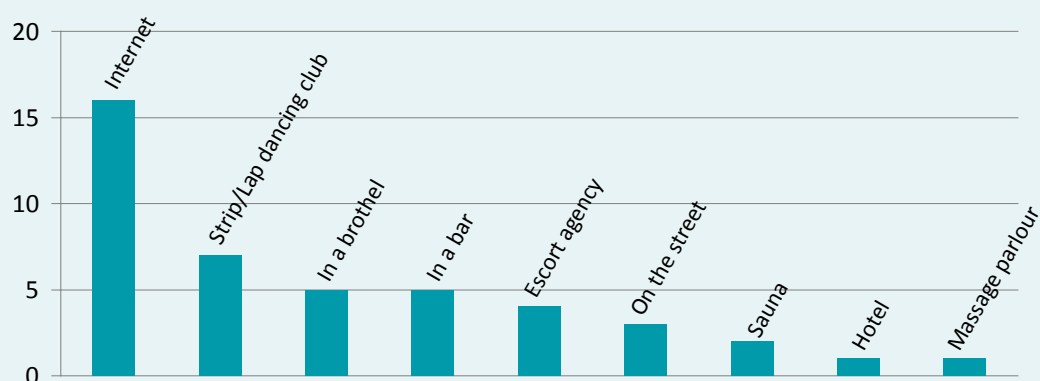


With regards to where sex was actually purchased on the last occasion, the most frequently reported location was in a 'private flat' (52 buyers), followed by 40 respondents who said in 'a hotel', 19 said 'on the street' and 15 said 'in a brothel'. The locations reported least were 'in a strip/lap dancing club' and 'in a massage parlour'. The number of locations where sex was purchased on this last occasion provides further evidence of a diverse sex industry in Finland, where the purchasing of sex principally takes place indoors.

Contacting the seller and purchasing sex in Ireland

The largest proportion of the 58 Irish buyers responding to the online survey stated that they had most recently purchased sex in indoor locations. Chart 34 shows that sellers were principally located through the internet, with only three buyers reporting that they located the seller on the street. Of those who reported locating the seller in indoor locations, seven said it was in 'a strip/lap dancing club', five in 'a bar' and five in 'a brothel'.

Chart 34: Contacting the seller (Ireland)



With regards to the location where sex was purchased on this last occasion, the largest proportion (18 buyers) reported purchasing sex in a private flat, seven buyers reported that sex was purchased in ‘a brothel’, five in ‘a hotel’, three ‘a strip/lap dancing club’, one in their own house and one on the street. This finding appears to confirm the movement of the Irish sex industry online and indoors.

Contacting the seller and purchasing sex in Bulgaria

The in-depth interviews with buyers in Bulgaria show that, compared with the first point of contact, the majority had changed how they contacted sellers and purchased sex. Twenty-one Bulgarian buyers provided various explanations as to how these patterns had changed, with several referring to their search for more experienced and perverse sellers. One buyer reported that he had started using condoms.

Some buyers reported searching for variety and ‘newer’ experiences, explained by one buyer as ‘appetite comes with eating’. Buyers also reported being motivated by the desire to engage in sexual acts they were unable to perform with a partner, with a number of buyers being motivated by a desire for control or dominance. One buyer reported that he was motivated by a desire to dominate because ‘with the wives, the roles are reversed’.

The search for control was also evident in the statements to the effect that women in paid sex ‘obey’ wishes and fulfil sexual fantasies. For example, one buyer explained:

I am supplying myself, even these days, with different women twice a month. I realise my sexual fantasies – this is possible only with a prostitute. With every woman it is different and ever more exciting.

Another buyer stated:

Definitely, my habits changed and I attribute this to the change in sexual partners. With every new [one], I apply what I have learned from the previous encounter. As of today, I could consider I have tried it all, but I know this is not the case. There is always a surprise. For men this is important, especially for me. The more perverse the better. One cannot describe it. There are incredibly ‘dirty’ women who almost make you fly. For years already, my wife cannot sexually satisfy me. This is only possible with a ‘dirty’ woman. Only a dirty woman offers quality felacio (while my wife considers this a perversion and a humiliation for her). I would do with my wife ‘69’ too, but this is also off limit. With a prostitute I would not do 69. I would not lick her.

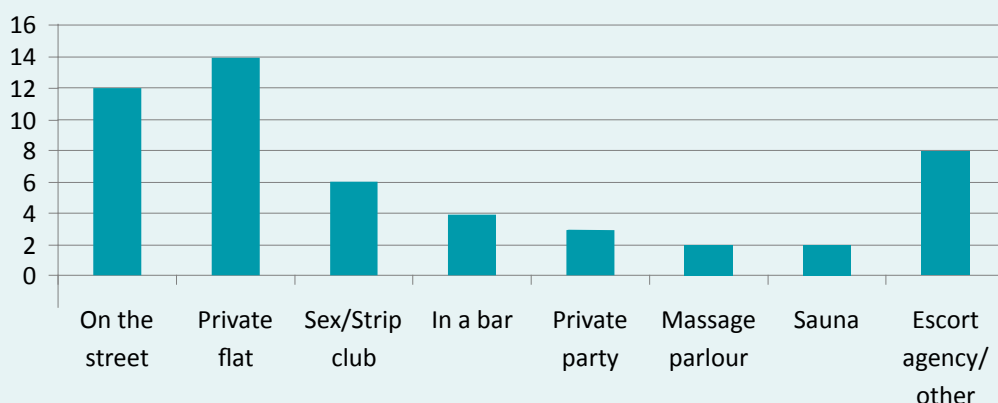
Buyers were also asked a series of questions relating to their most recent experience of paid sex. Of the 31 buyers who provided a response to these questions, seven reported that it was a spontaneous or unplanned encounter, six of who stated that it occurred mostly at a party with friends. Of the 17 remaining buyers, 13 reported that their last encounter had been planned, while the responses from a further four buyers implied that their encounters had been planned. The majority of buyers were hesitant to provide further details on this last encounter.

A trend that emerged in respect of the level of information provided by buyers was that those who had reported purchasing sex most frequently appeared more comfortable discussing their experiences. This included describing in some detail the sexual acts purchased.

From the overall information provided by buyers, a number of points emerge. For a small number of buyers, their last occasion mirrors the first experience reported by the majority of Bulgarian buyers, notably being with friends and consuming alcohol. Motivations to purchase sex included, according to one buyer, a result of a fight with his wife, which he argued ‘provoked’ him into purchasing sex. One buyer reported that he had purchased sex to ‘feel free’ and prove himself sexually, while another buyer reported needing ‘relaxation, something perverse’ after a ‘tough week at work’. Regarding their feelings after purchasing sex on this occasion, a small number of buyers reported feelings of guilt or remorse. For two buyers, this feeling of guilt came as a result of their familial situation, with one buyer reporting that he had feelings of guilt because his wife was pregnant at the time.

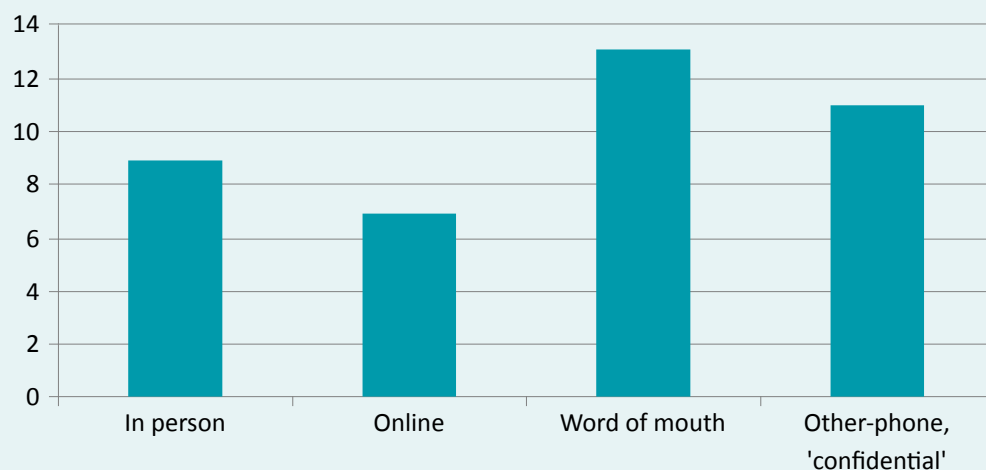
In terms of the location where sex is usually bought, the majority of buyers reported that they principally purchased sex in indoor locations, particularly escort agencies. This is illustrated in chart 35, which shows that the majority purchased sex indoors, or via an agency or other contact point. Less than one-third indicated that they purchased on the street, sometimes in addition to using indoor locations.

Chart 35: Location of purchase of sex (Bulgaria)



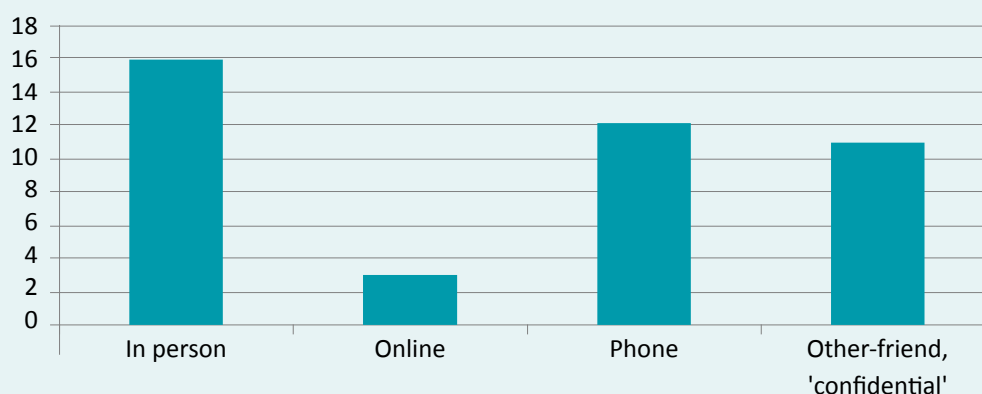
In terms of finding out where to obtain paid-for sexual services in Bulgaria, chart 36 shows that the majority found availability by ‘word of mouth’, followed by ‘other contacts’ (including by phone) and in person through personal contacts. Online contacts were the least used point of contact in finding availability.

Chart 36: How availability of sellers was found (Bulgaria)



In relation to contacting the seller, chart 37 shows that the preferred way to contact the seller was ‘in person’, followed by contact ‘by phone’. A number of other ways were also reported, including making contact through friends, while only three buyers reported contacting the seller online.

Chart 37: Contacting the seller (Bulgaria)



Contacting the seller and purchasing sex in Lithuania

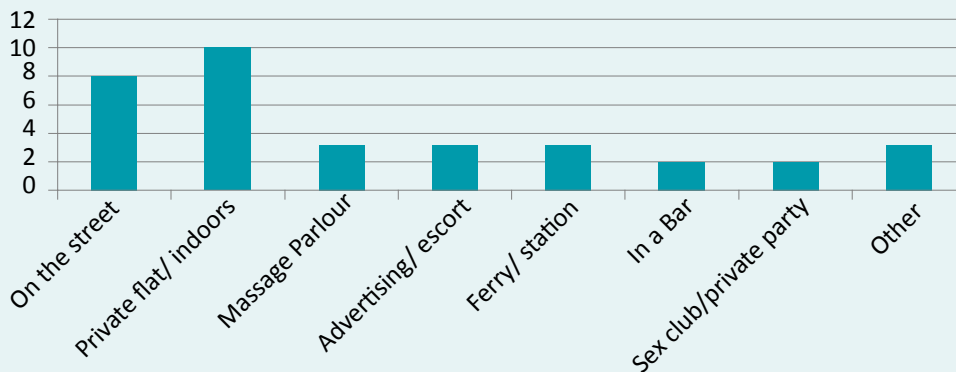
Compared with Bulgaria, a larger number of buyers in Lithuania reported that they have not changed their habits regarding how they purchased sex. Of the 21 buyers who answered, nine reported changing their patterns of purchasing sex. Two buyers reported that they have changed their preferences with regard to the women they buy, while another buyer reported going after ‘different races’. A further buyer reported that he had moved from ‘simple sex’ to ‘different’ sex. Two buyers reported that they had stopped purchasing sex, while another buyer reported that he had decreased the frequency with which he purchased sex: ‘I do not buy a lot. Last time was with friends – we bought three.’ One buyer reported that he no longer used the internet for purchasing sex; instead he used personal contact: ‘I do not need to use internet – I have individuals I can get in contact with quickly.’

Just under a third of Lithuanian buyers reported that their last encounter was a spontaneous and unplanned one, while the responses from a further seven buyers implied that it was spontaneous. At the same time, however, a significant number (11 buyers) reported that the encounter had been planned in advance.

Similarly to Bulgaria, the consumption of alcohol was associated with the purchase of sex. In addition, the availability of paid sex was a factor. According to one buyer: ‘You go to the bar, order champagne – women come and talk to you.’ Another stated: ‘Go to crossroad – you look at what you like and get the price – there are Russian and Italian girls.’

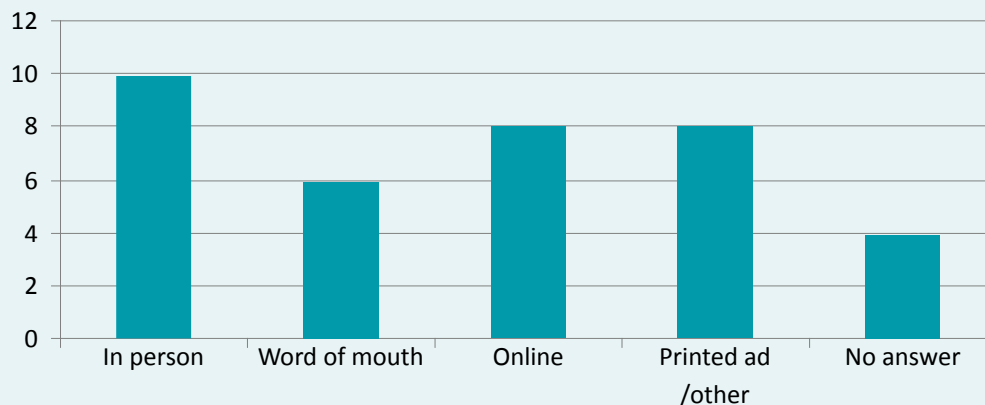
The interviews with the Lithuanian buyers showed that they primarily purchase sex indoors, as illustrated in chart 38. Less than a quarter reported purchasing on the street. Other locations where sex was reported to have been purchased included a transport station and a ferry.

Chart 38: Location of purchase of sex (Lithuania)



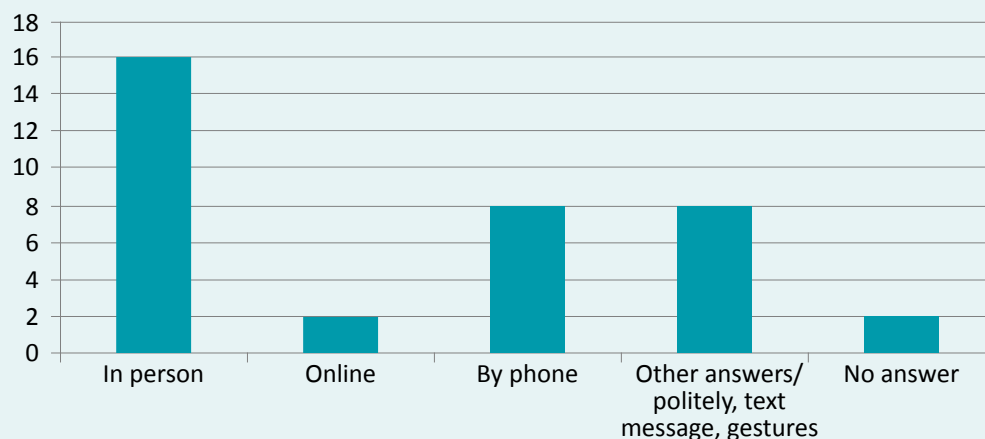
A number of methods were used to check on where to find available of sellers. As chart 39 shows, the most frequent method reported was through personal contacts 'in person', followed by contact online, contact from printed material and advertisements, and by word of mouth.

Chart 39: How availability of sellers was found (Lithuania)



Nearly half of all buyers contacted the seller directly 'in person', as shown in chart 40. Just under a quarter made contact by phone and, less frequently, contact was made online.

Chart 40: Contacting the seller (Lithuania)



4.3.5 Purchasing sex abroad

Previous research has found that a majority of buyers have purchased sex abroad and that the purchase of sex is a transnational practice (Mantilla, 2003; Kelly *et al*, 2007; Farley *et al*, 2009 and 2011). The most likely destinations were those with highly visible sex industries, such as the Netherlands (Kelly *et al*, 2007; Farley *et al*, 2011). These findings were replicated in our research.

In total, 289 buyers reported purchasing sex abroad, representing 38 per cent of the 763 buyers in the participating countries (Bulgaria, Lithuania, Cyprus, Finland and Ireland). The most popular locations where sex was purchased included the Netherlands, Germany and Thailand, all of which have highly visible sex industries. Furthermore, proximity played an important role in determining the locations where sex was purchased. For example, Irish buyers were most likely to have purchased sex in the United Kingdom, while Cypriot buyers were most likely to have purchased sex in Greece.

Purchasing sex abroad – Ireland

Forty-three buyers, representing 74 per cent of buyers in Ireland, reported that they had purchased sex abroad. The locations most commonly cited were the United Kingdom (35 per cent), the Netherlands (28 per cent), Thailand (24 per cent), Germany (20.5 per cent), Czech Republic (14 per cent) and Spain (14 per cent).

Purchasing sex abroad – Finland

In total, 143 buyers (69 per cent) in Finland reported that they had purchased sex abroad. The locations most commonly cited were Estonia (30 per cent), Russia (21 per cent) and Thailand (29 per cent).

Purchasing sex abroad – Cyprus

In Cyprus, 20 per cent of the buyers reported purchasing sex abroad. The most popular overseas location with Cypriot buyers was Greece (41 per cent). Other popular locations were the United Kingdom (18 per cent), the Netherlands (18 per cent) and Germany (11 per cent). A small number of Cypriot buyers had purchased sex in Russia (3 per cent) and Bulgaria (2 per cent).

Purchasing sex abroad – Lithuania

Only a minority of Lithuanian buyers reported purchasing sex abroad, with 12 of the 29 buyers (41 per cent) who provided an answer to this question indicating that they had purchased sex abroad. The most popular locations included the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom, Germany, Latvia and Italy.

Purchasing sex abroad – Bulgaria

Similar to their Lithuanian counterparts, only a minority of Bulgarian buyers reported that they had purchased sex abroad. In total, only six Bulgarian buyers said that they had purchased sex abroad. The locations included Belgium, England, Greece, France, Spain, Germany, Brazil and Japan.

4.3.6 Frequency of purchase

Research by Matthews (2012) finds that, for the majority of buyers, the purchase of sex is infrequent. This finding is mirrored in our research, which shows that, in the five countries studied, the largest proportion of buyers are those who report purchasing sex infrequently.

Frequency – Cyprus

The largest proportion of Cypriot buyers reported purchasing sex ‘a few times’ (40 per cent), followed by buyers who reported purchasing sex ‘once’ (25 per cent). Only a minority of buyers reported purchasing sex ‘often’ or ‘very often’. Just over a quarter of Cypriot buyers did not provide a response to this question.

Frequency – Finland

A larger proportion of Finnish buyers purchased sex ‘a few times’ (34 per cent), compared with those who reported purchasing sex ‘very often’ (16 per cent). A minority of buyers reported purchasing sex ‘just once’ (12.5 per cent), only slightly below those who reported purchasing sex ‘quite often’ (13 per cent). Forty-nine buyers did not provide a response to this question.

Frequency – Ireland

As is the case with Finnish buyers, the majority of Irish buyers reported purchasing sex ‘a few times’ (36 per cent), compared with those who purchased sex ‘very often’ (16 per cent). A smaller portion of buyers reported purchasing sex ‘just once’ (12 per cent), with an equal number of buyers saying they purchased sex ‘quite often’ (12 per cent). Fourteen buyers did not provide a response to this question.

Frequency – Bulgaria

More detailed responses to this question were received from the buyers who participated in interviews. More than half of Bulgarian buyers reported that they had purchased sex from 10 or fewer sellers (57 per cent). Of these, six had purchased sex from a single seller. Just over a quarter (27 per cent) had purchased sex from more than 20 sellers. The majority of buyers who fell into this category were unsure of the number of sellers they had purchased sex from. Estimates varied from 20 up to 100. Only two buyers reported purchasing sex from between 10 and 20 sellers.

At the same time, in the 12 months prior to the interviews taking place, one-third of Bulgarian buyers had not purchased sex (32 per cent), whereas just under a quarter (22 per cent) had purchased sex three times or less, followed by five who reported purchasing sex every one to three months, four who purchased sex twice a month, and one who purchased sex once a month. These findings suggest that the majority of buyers purchase sex infrequently.

Frequency – Lithuania

The data from Lithuania indicates that just over one-third of the buyers had not bought sex in the 12 months preceding the interview. Twelve buyers had purchased sex between one and three times in the last 12 months, compared with nine buyers who purchased sex regularly.

A similar pattern emerges when we look at the number of sellers from whom Lithuanian buyers reported purchasing sex. Only one person had purchased sex from more than 20 sellers, compared with six who had purchased sex from between 10 and 20 sellers, and 19 who had purchased sex from 10 sellers or less.

4.4 Views, attitudes and motivations of buyers

4.4.1 Overview

This section presents the findings on the views and attitudes of buyers towards the sellers and their motivations for purchasing sex. It draws on findings from the in-depth interviews with buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania.

Research shows buyers often view the purchasing of sex in consumerist terms (Mantilla, 2003; Kelly *et al*, 2007; USAID, 2011). Research also shows that this is an expression of power, where women are under the control of men (Mantilla, 2003) and where power arises from a sense of dominance (Farley *et al*, 2011). Related to this is research showing that buyers view the purchasing of sex as a construct of masculinity (Kelly *et al*, 2007), described as a ‘coming of manhood thing’ linked to a male imperative or privilege (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008). These studies show that a small number of buyers view the act of purchasing sex as a source of shame.

Regarding the views of buyers of the women who sell sex, research has found that buyers are judgemental and often fail to comprehend how sellers came to be involved in prostitution, despite the fact that they would not wish for a family member or close friend to become involved in the sale of sex (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008).

Research also shows that buyers recognise some of the reasons why sellers are involved in prostitution, such as childhood abuse and desperation (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008). However, their apprehension of such realities has not been found to be consistent with their actual occurrence (Farley *et al*, 2009). Thus, in one study, while a majority of buyers reported that relatively few sellers had suffered childhood abuse, the actual proportion could be as high as 90 per cent (Farley *et al*, 2009).

A more worrying lack of empathy for sellers emerges in the Bianchi *et al* (2008) study, which found a lack of sympathy for sellers trafficked into the sex industry, based on the belief that they had freely chosen to become involved in the industry. The lack of empathy was also captured in recent research launched by the MIGS (2014), which reported that buyers’ considerations around the payment they had made outweighed the concerns about the trafficking they had witnessed.

According to a 2011 study by USAID on the motivations driving the purchase of sex, views of buyers are typified by explanations of ‘dirty whore’ fantasies, seeking a sexual act a partner is unwilling to provide or looking for the ‘other’ in terms of mannerisms or ethnicity. Other motivations researched by Milrod and Monto (2012) on buyers who use the internet to contact sellers found that a large proportion of buyers reported seeking the ‘girlfriend experience’, with mannerisms and behaviours of a girlfriend, leading to a feeling of mutuality.

From the available research, it would appear that the most prevalent motivation is the desire for a sexual act a partner is unwilling to perform (Monto, 1999; Bianchi *et al*, 2007; Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Farley *et al*, 2011). The desire for the ‘other’ has also been identified as a possible motivation, which could be linked to the demand for victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002). The ‘other’ here is not based on ethnicity alone, but can often relate to a belief in ethno-stereotypes and the characteristics they believe women of that ethnicity possess – for example, that women of a particular ethnicity are submissive or ‘dirty’ (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002). This motivation is seen to interact with trafficking in that it could potentially lead to a demand for submissive, migrant sellers or children (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002).

Other observed motivations include the desire for sex without attachment or obligations (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Bianchi, 2007), sex with multiple partners (Milrod and Monto, 2012), the excitement of the illicit nature of the act of purchasing sex (Monto, 1999; Milrod and Monto, 2012) and the desire for a sexual experience focused solely on them (Monto, 1999).

As can be seen from the data from the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania (discussed below), buyers have a complex view of the act of purchasing sex and those involved in the sale of sex. On the one hand, they overwhelmingly believe that the sale of sex is a transaction between two consenting adults. However, it is not something they would want any close friend or family member to become involved in. Most buyers reported viewing sellers as being different from other women. At the same time, their reported views of sellers were predominantly as a sex object or businessperson. This helps to differentiate sellers from other women in the eyes of buyers.

Moreover, our research findings show that there are a multitude of motivations driving the purchase of sex. A motivation running throughout many of the answers received from Bulgaria and Lithuania was ‘control’ – in particular the control over a sexual encounter arising from its purchase. Another motivation included having variety, both in terms of the seller and the acts purchased.

4.4.2 Views, attitudes and motivations of buyers in Bulgaria and Lithuania

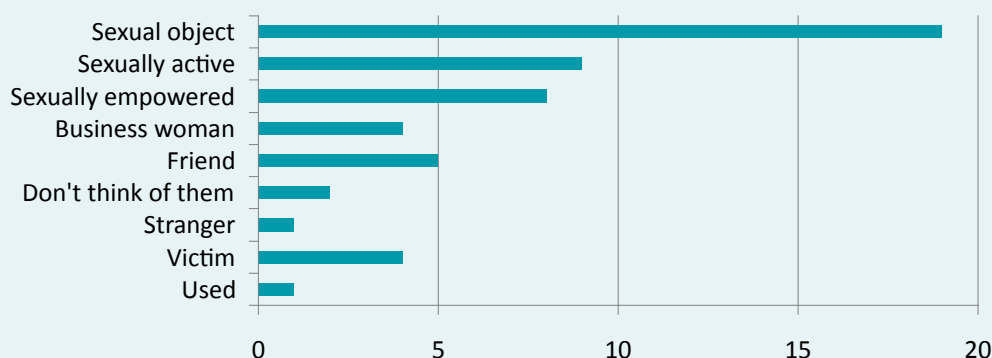
Views, attitudes and motivations of buyers – Bulgaria

In respect of whether buyers in Bulgaria believed prostitution was an act between consenting adults, only four buyers disagreed and one buyer strongly disagreed with this statement. The overwhelming majority (16 buyers) agreed and 11 strongly agreed with this statement. While these findings are perhaps unsurprising, they do indicate that buyers approach the act of purchasing sex with a presumption of consent. This could create problems in respect of the buyers’ role as a possible line of defence against human trafficking. This is further hampered by the buyers’ views on the seller.

As chart 41 shows, buyers predominantly view the seller as a ‘sex object’, followed by views that the seller was ‘sexually active’ and ‘sexually empowered’. The interviews revealed that the overwhelming majority of buyers believe that sellers were different from other women. When asked how they felt about the statement, ‘women in prostitution are different from other women’, 22 buyers agreed or strongly agreed, while seven buyers either disagreed or strongly disagreed.

This differentiation between sellers and other women also emerged in respect of how buyers reported they would feel if a relative or close friend started selling sex. The majority (23 buyers) stated that it would make them feel bad. This feeling was expressed in a number of ways. Words including horrible, disgusting and angry were regularly used to describe this. A small number (five buyers) said they would not mind, providing it was voluntary. These feelings suggest a more complex view of prostitution than it being an act between consenting adults.

Chart 41: How buyers view the sellers (Bulgaria)



In terms of how the purchasing of sex affected the seller, the majority of buyers reported that it had, to varying degrees, a positive effect. This was ordinarily in respect of the money they earned, reported by 11 buyers, whereas a small number (five buyers) felt that it left the seller feeling 'pleased'. This appeared to be a sexual reference. For one buyer, this stemmed from the belief that sellers 'were looking for pleasure outside the home'. Seven buyers stated that it was 'just work' or a job like any other job. In relation to it being 'like any other work', some buyers also stated that those involved would be deprived of emotions or the ability to love.

A loss of feelings/emotions was the most commonly referenced negative effect of selling sex, expressed by five buyers. Other negative affects identified by buyers included mental and physical exhaustion, stigmatisation and the contraction of diseases. One buyer reported that it had a negative effect on the seller as a result of them being compelled to sell sex out of financial necessity. Another buyer discussed the sexual abuse suffered by sellers, both when they were children and as adults selling sex. Finally, six buyers reported that they had not considered how it affected the seller.

Amongst Bulgarian buyers, variety emerged as an important motivating factor for purchasing sex. Just under a third of buyers who discussed their motivations for purchasing sex identified variety. The importance of variety also emerged in answers received to a later question, where only four buyers reported not varying those from whom they purchased sex, all of whom reported purchasing sex on a single occasion. The reasons provided for varying sellers were 'excitement' and to keep sex 'interesting'. Three buyers stated it was to ensure that no emotional bond formed between them and the seller.

A small number of Bulgarian buyers reported sex without restraint as their motivation for purchasing sex. Similarly, when asked whether sex with a seller was different than sex with a partner, a number of buyers pointed to the lack of restraint required with sellers as distinguishing the two acts. This point will be returned to in greater detail below.

A large number (21 buyers) identified alcohol as a motivation behind the purchase of sex, on the basis that it acts as a stimulator (or facilitator) more so than a motivator. Similar to the reasons given for consuming alcohol on the first occasion purchasing sex, buyers reported using it for relaxation and to lower their inhibitions. Other answers included 'versatility', 'simplicity', 'relaxation' and 'unconventional sex'. Finally, two buyers identified male entertainment and their standing amongst friends as their motivations for purchasing sex.

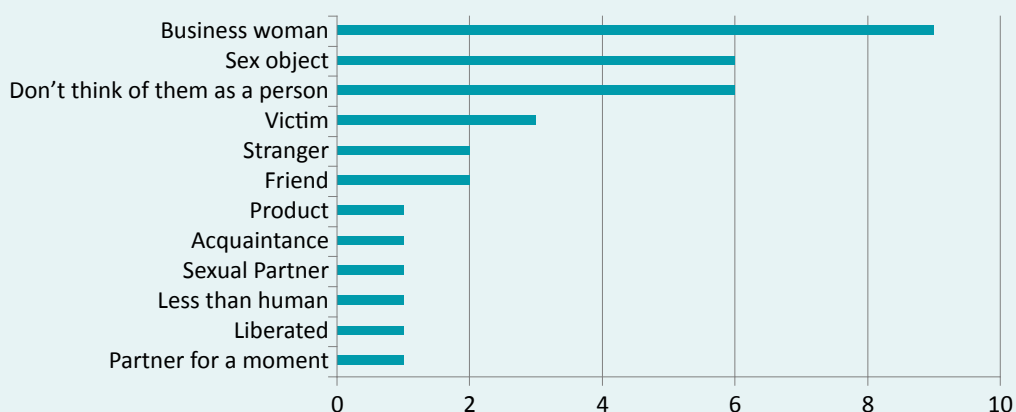
No Bulgarian buyers reported a desire for the 'other', either in terms of mannerisms or ethnicity, as motivating them to purchase sex. Very few buyers reported that the ethnicity of a seller was important. However, almost all buyers reported favouring certain characteristics in sellers, such as body type, age and demeanour.

Views, attitudes and motivations of buyers – Lithuania

In respect of whether Lithuanian buyers believed prostitution to be an act between two consenting adults, only a minority of buyers disagreed with the statement. No buyers strongly disagreed with it. Just over three-quarters of buyers either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Considering this view, it is perhaps unsurprising that the most commonly held view of sellers were as 'business women', as shown in chart 42.

However, this was followed by responses that would indicate a less-empowering view of sellers. Six buyers reported viewing sellers as ‘sex objects’, another six reported not seeing them as people, while three buyers reported viewing them as victims. This suggests a more complex view of sellers than business women engaged in an act between consenting adults.

Chart 42: How buyers view the sellers (Lithuania)



When buyers were asked whether they agreed with the statement that ‘sellers are different from other women’, just under one-sixth of buyers disagreed with this statement. The majority, just under three-fifths of buyers, either agreed or strongly agreed.

To better understand their views, buyers were asked how they would feel if someone close to them – whether a partner, family member or friend – started selling sex. The majority of buyers (23) indicated that it would not be good. A number of themes emerged in the answers to this question. In the first place, a number of buyers reported that they would feel ‘shame’, whereas other buyers stated that they would try to ‘help’ – meaning they would try to help them stop. For the small number of buyers who reported that they would not mind, the most common answer was that it would not be their business.

Additional proof of conflicted feelings emerged when buyers were asked how they felt prostitution affected the seller. The majority of buyers reported that it had a negative effect on the seller, such as poor physical and mental health, an inability to have a stable relationship, humiliation, anger and frustration. Only a small number of buyers reported that it affected the women positively, largely in regards to the money they received. Of these, however, a number of buyers also identified negative effects.

The buyers were also asked ‘what motivates them to purchase sex’. A number of buyers identified its availability as motivating them, with four buyers saying they viewed it as an available ‘service’ that you pay for when you need it. Another motivation was the lack of commitment attached to the act and the ease with which it can be purchased. Two buyers alluded to this stating: ‘I want it fast, so I pay to get it’, and ‘I pay, instead of asking [someone]’. A third buyer stated directly ‘no commitment’. Other motivations included curiosity and pleasure.

Only one buyer identified alcohol as motivating his purchase of sex: ‘Sexual instinct when you are drunk.’ Similarly, only one reported that he purchased sex because no unpaid partner would have sex with him. However, the same buyer answered another question with the response: ‘When you do not pay, they will not do anything you want.’ This implies that he had other sexual relationships, albeit they were not to his satisfaction.

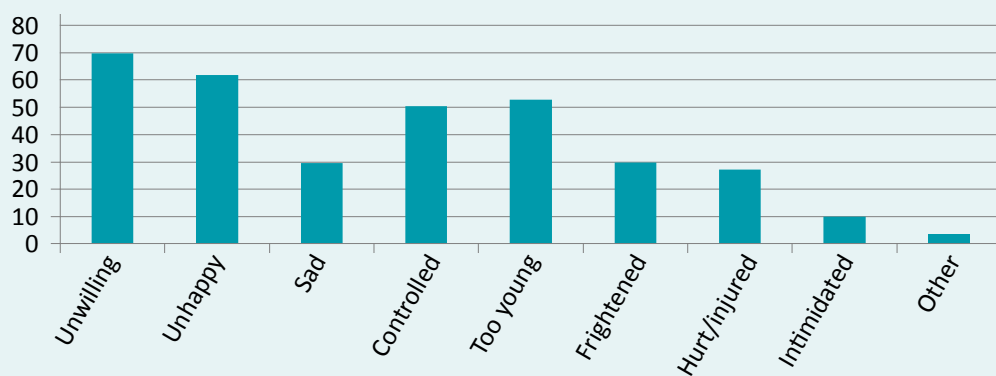
4.5 Witnessing exploitation and vulnerability

4.5.1 Overview

This section presents the findings from the online survey and in-depth interviews about witnessing exploitation and vulnerability. Research on buyers' perceptions and understanding of exploitation, and their encounters with exploitation when purchasing sex, shows that it is not uncommon for buyers to encounter sellers they believe are being exploited. For example, just over one-quarter of buyers in a Scottish study had encountered sellers under the control of a pimp (Farley *et al*, 2011). At the same time, only a handful of buyers in research conducted across Eastern Europe reported encountering buyers they believed were in situations of exploitation or trafficked. However, most of these buyers admitted that they would be unable to identify a trafficking victim as such, while those who claimed they could used indicators such as body-guarded women and women against whom violence had been committed (Bianchi *et al*, 2007).

In our research, 222 buyers reported that they had encountered sellers they believed were being exploited, representing nearly a third of buyers who took part in this research. Amongst the buyers responding to the online survey, a significant number of incidences of indicators were identified as leading the buyer to believe a seller was being exploited. This is illustrated in chart 43.

Chart 43: Perception and experiences of exploitation (Cyprus, Finland and Ireland)



Some interesting points arose during the interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania when this question was asked. In the first place, there was evidence that buyers were reluctant to discuss such encounters. Amongst the small number of buyers who reported that they had encountered exploitation, few details were provided. One buyer flatly refused to give any details. When asked the question he simply replied: 'Yes – once, but I do not want to get into details.' At the same time, rather than provide an answer, a small number of buyers skipped this question. Another group of answers to this question provided evidence that it is difficult for buyers to know whether they have encountered exploitation: 'Maybe, I did not ask them'; 'I don't know, I didn't ask'; and 'I don't know. I don't talk about life with them.'

In the data, a noticeable gap emerged between the number of buyers who reported encountering sellers they believed were being exploited and buyers who contacted authorities to report such fears. While 69 buyers in Finland and Ireland reported that they had encountered sellers they believed were being exploited, only 57 buyers in those countries said they had ever **considered** contacting authorities over

fears that a seller was trafficked/controlled.

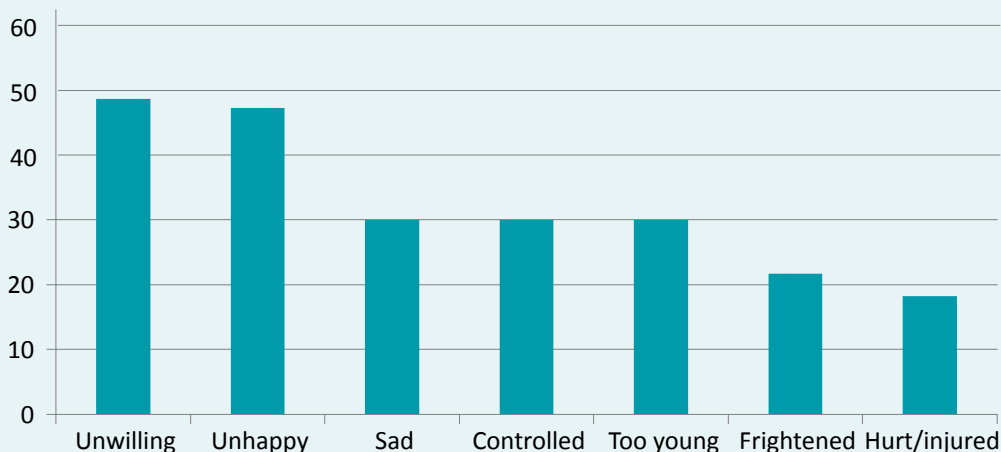
The gap is greater for those buyers who **actually contacted authorities**. In Bulgaria and Lithuania, of the eight buyers who had encountered sellers they believed were being exploited, only two reported this to the authorities. These buyers did not discuss their reluctance to contact authorities in detail. However, one buyer did state that it was out of fear of the seller’s pimp. In Cyprus, a higher number of buyers stated that they had considered contacting the police. Overall, a large proportion of respondents avoided answering this question or said they had not considered reporting to the police their suspicions that someone was trafficked or controlled.

4.5.2 Witnessing exploitation

Exploitation – Cyprus

Proportionally, it was Cypriot buyers who were most likely to have encountered sellers they believed were being exploited. Just over 34 per cent of Cypriot buyers reported such an encounter. The reasons buyers believed a seller was being exploited can be seen in chart 44.

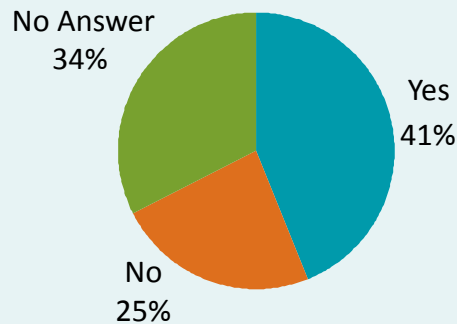
Chart 44: Perception and experiences of exploitation (Cyprus)



The possible reasons why a larger proportion of Cypriot buyers have encountered sellers they believed were being exploited is likely attributable to Cyprus being one of the countries reporting the highest number of identified and presumed victims per 100,000 inhabitants in the EU (Eurostat, 2013).

As chart 45 shows, 41 per cent of buyers responding to the question reported that they had considered contacting the police over fears for the status of a seller. Unfortunately, due to limitations in the data, it is not possible to say whether these buyers did, in fact, contact the police. Further, it is not possible to confirm whether these buyers are also some of the buyers who reported changing their minds. At the same time, 25 per cent of buyers reported that they would not report their suspicions to the authorities. A large number of Cypriot buyers (34 per cent) did not provide an answer to this question.

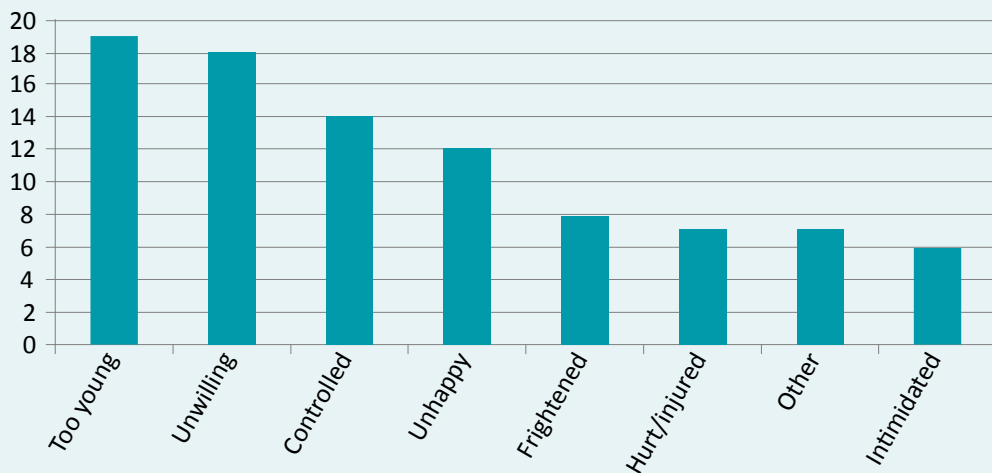
Chart 45: Buyers who consider reporting exploitation to the authorities (Cyprus)



Exploitation – Finland

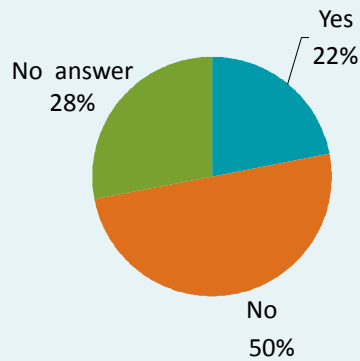
In total, 55 Finnish buyers identified 91 reasons they suspected a seller was being exploited. Chart 46 shows that the most frequently stated reason behind a buyer changing their mind to buy sex from a seller was that someone appeared ‘too young’ (identified by 19 buyers), followed by 18 buyers who believed that the seller appeared ‘unwilling’. Other common answers included that a person appeared controlled, scared, unhappy, frightened, hurt/injured or intimidated.

Chart 46: Perception and experiences of exploitation (Finland)



Buyers were asked whether they had ever **considered** contacting authorities over fears that a seller was trafficked/controlled. Only 45 buyers (22 per cent) reported that they had considered it, as shown in chart 47. It is not possible to say whether these buyers did, in fact, contact authorities. No answer was provided by 58 of the buyers.

Chart 47: Buyers who consider reporting exploitation to the authorities (Finland)



Exploitation – Ireland

Around one-quarter of Irish buyers said they had encountered sellers they believed were being exploited. The explanations provided for this can be found in chart 48.

Chart 48: Perception and experiences of exploitation (Ireland)

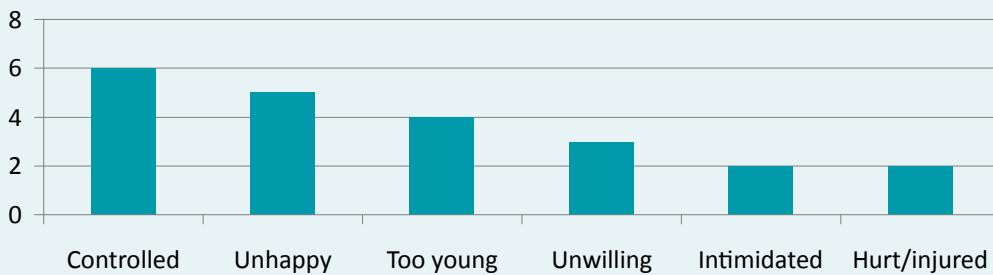


Chart 49 shows that 12 buyers, representing just over one-fifth of Irish buyers, reported that they had **considered** contacting authorities over suspicions that a seller was controlled or had been trafficked. However, it is not possible to say whether they actually contacted the police. However, nearly half (46 per cent) stated that they had not considered reporting to the police. One-third of buyers did not respond to this question.

Chart 49: Buyers who consider reporting exploitation to the authorities (Ireland)



Exploitation – Bulgaria

Only four Bulgarian buyers said they had encountered sellers they believed to be exploited. Of these, only one buyer reported encountering a minor. Out of fear of the girls' pimp, he did not contact the authorities. Another buyer said they had encountered someone who was there against their will; however, he did not contact the authorities. A third buyer reported encountering someone he believed was being exploited, but did not provide any further information and did not say whether he had contacted the authorities. The circumstances in which the fourth buyer encountered exploitation and reported it to the authorities were unclear.

Exploitation – Lithuania

As with the Bulgarian interviews, only a small number of Lithuanian buyers reported encountering sellers they believed were being exploited. Four buyers said they had encountered a seller they believed was being exploited and an additional three buyers were unsure if they had.

Amongst the four buyers who believed they had encountered sellers being exploited, only two were willing to discuss the circumstances. One reported that the seller was underage, while the second buyer believed the seller had been trafficked. Unfortunately, no further information was provided on why the buyer believed this to be the case. Only the buyer who believed the seller was underage said they had contacted the police.

4.6 Human trafficking

4.6.1 Overview

Previous research has found that buyers regularly disregard dangers associated with prostitution, including situations where sellers are either underage or may be a victim of human trafficking (USAID, 2011). Focusing on human trafficking, research has found that buyers would not 'knowingly' purchase sexual services from a trafficking victim, although this research did not establish the buyers' knowledge of human trafficking (Bianchi *et al*, 2007). In respect of laws specifically targeting buyers who 'knowingly' purchase sexual services from trafficking victims, it has been suggested that their declarative force alone can make them effective (Gallagher, 2009). It can be presumed that this will be dependent on buyers' knowledge of any such law and their own consideration of human trafficking. However, a recent official report from Finland suggests that, in practice, these laws have little or no impact on the demand for trafficked persons (Niemi and Aaltonen, 2013).

Criminalising the end users (the buyers) of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation remains a controversial issue. Under the applicable EU law, Article 18 (4) of the Trafficking Directive, knowledge of exploitation, on the part of the buyer, is required. This is how the law has been transposed into the laws of those EU member states that have accepted this optional position. As a result, in order to prosecute buyers who have purchased sex from a trafficking victim, it must be shown that they were aware of the status of the seller. However, this relies on non-material evidence that is difficult to prove. It is believed that knowledge of this provision will cause buyers to show greater concern for the status of the seller and the possibility that they may be a victim of trafficking.

Our findings suggest that, irrespective of a buyers' knowledge of human trafficking as a crime and as a phenomenon, it is unlikely that they will consider the possibility that a seller may be a victim of trafficking when purchasing sex. Similarly, knowledge of existing laws specifically targeting buyers of sexual services from trafficking victims appear to have no impact on buyers' consideration of human trafficking in the act

of purchasing sex. Our research in this area draws on the findings of the in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania.

4.6.2 Human trafficking in Bulgaria and Lithuania

Human trafficking – Bulgaria

In the interviews, Bulgarian buyers' knowledge of human trafficking varied. Fifteen buyers reported 'some' or a 'good' level of knowledge, nine said they had 'poor' or 'minimal' knowledge, and five reported no knowledge. Five buyers provided no answer. When asked about human trafficking, one buyer said: 'It is illegal for minors – the punishment is prison.'

Even amongst those with knowledge, there was a wide spectrum in how they understood the practice. At the lower end of the spectrum, buyers had no real understanding of the practice. At the higher end, they were aware of latest Trafficking Directive; they recognised that trafficking could involve deception over conditions of work, rather than types of work; and they recognised that women trafficked into the sex industry can be aware of the type of work they are to perform, but not the conditions in which they will have to work. As one buyer stated:

If a woman is a victim of sex trafficking, maybe she knew she'd be working in the sex industry. But she would not have known that she'd be deprived of her freedom, as well as from the money she earns.

It could be seen from a number of buyers' responses that the media plays an important role in shaping their understanding of human trafficking. Features of trafficking identified in the interviews included 'deception', mostly in respect of the type of work that victims would perform, and – similar to buyers in Lithuania – trafficking as a global or international problem. However, there was no mention of internal trafficking, but problems such as lack of political will and police corruption were mentioned by two of the respondents.

The vast majority of buyers (28) were aware that it was a criminal offence, under Bulgarian law, to purchase sex from a trafficked person. Yet, in spite of all the above, the overwhelming majority of Bulgarian buyers had never considered human trafficking when purchasing sex. Only one buyer who had not considered human trafficking when purchasing sex elaborated on his answer, expressing a belief that doing so could operate as a deterrent: 'Maybe If I have thought about this, I would not have used such services.'

Those who had considered human trafficking when purchasing sex were more likely to elaborate on their responses. One buyer answered that he was 'very careful' when purchasing sex as a result of considering human trafficking. However, there is no indication what was meant by this and whether he was careful who he purchased sex from. The two buyers who had considered human trafficking when purchasing sex expressed different opinions on whether it was actually possible to determine the status of the seller. According to one buyer, this is possible because they would be 'very sad'; the other buyer answered that there is no way to know for sure: 'I think about this, but you cannot know who is who.'

Human trafficking – Lithuania

The majority of Lithuanian buyers reported some knowledge of human trafficking. Fifteen buyers reported either 'good' or 'some' knowledge and a further nine buyers reported either minimal or 'poor' knowledge.

Eight reported no knowledge. The responses show that much of the knowledge of trafficking had been gained from reports in the media.

A number of trends emerged in the buyers' understanding of human trafficking. For many, human trafficking was an international rather than domestic problem. Interestingly, almost a quarter of buyers who had some knowledge of human trafficking reported that it did not occur in Lithuania. Treating human trafficking as an international problem alone could indicate an understanding of the issue, which revolves around 'transport' or crossing borders. If this were so, buyers could overlook instances of domestic trafficking.

Of those buyers who had either 'good' or 'some' knowledge of the practice, a number showed they understood many of the processes used by traffickers. According to one such buyer: 'It is common – trapped with offers of job to be a stripper and then become a prostitute.' Another buyer stated that 'it happens all over the world – in Lithuania, girls from the most disadvantaged families are seduced by promises of jobs etc'. Similarly, according to another buyer: 'Yes – [had] some knowledge – talked about false job offers, confiscation of official documents and forced work'. There were also some buyers who were uncomfortable discussing human trafficking. One buyer stated: 'I'm not interested in anything about it.'

In respect of their knowledge of laws specifically targeting buyers of sexual services from trafficking victims, 27 buyers said they were aware that it was an offence to purchase sex from a trafficking victim. Yet, despite their knowledge of this offence and the crime of human trafficking, only three buyers had ever considered human trafficking when purchasing sex:

No – you are just buying a service.

I will think about whether she is clean. I will not think about whether she has been trafficked. This is not my concern.

4.7 The role of deterrents to purchasing sex

4.7.1 Overview

The issue of deterrence to purchasing sex shows some variation in research findings, ranging from findings that the threat of arrest or shaming held little deterrent effect to the majority of studies that found otherwise (Kelly *et al*, 2007). In general, there is convergence over what could act as an effective deterrent.

The threat of being placed on the sex offenders register has been seen as the measure that would most likely deter buyers from purchasing sex (Farley *et al*, 2009 and 2011). Shaming campaigns are also seen as a particularly effective deterrent in many of the studies, with between 84 per cent and 86 per cent reporting a publicity or billboard campaigning would be an effective deterrent (Farley *et al*, 2011). Durchslag and Goswami (2008) found that 80 per cent of buyers believed a shaming campaign could deter them from purchasing sex. The threat of jail was also seen as an effective deterrent, with 79 per cent being the smallest amount of buyers who felt it would act as a deterrent across a number of studies (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Farley *et al*, 2009 and 2011). An increase in the level of fines is also seen as an effective deterrent amongst buyers, with 90 per cent of buyers in one study claiming that a fine of \$2,000 (€1,457 approx.) or above would act as a deterrent (Farley *et al*, (i) 2011). The deterrent quality of increased fines

was relevant to 68 per cent of the respondents in another study (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008).

While arrest was seen as a potential deterrent, some buyers reported that this was not a major concern, owing to the low level of enforcement in this area (Farley *et al*, 2011). Interventionist programmes, such as John Schools, were commonly referred to as being the least effective deterrent (Farley *et al*, 2009 and 2011).

The results from our findings suggest that, amongst buyers, opinions on what would act as efficient deterrents to the purchase of sex vary, from individual to individual and from country to country. However, there are some identifiable trends that are valid for each of the five countries in our study.

Apart from this, the results show that the possibility of contracting a disease or having a bad experience have been identified as deterrents with high importance for buyers. At the same time, educational classes and community service are deterrents with least significance for buyers.

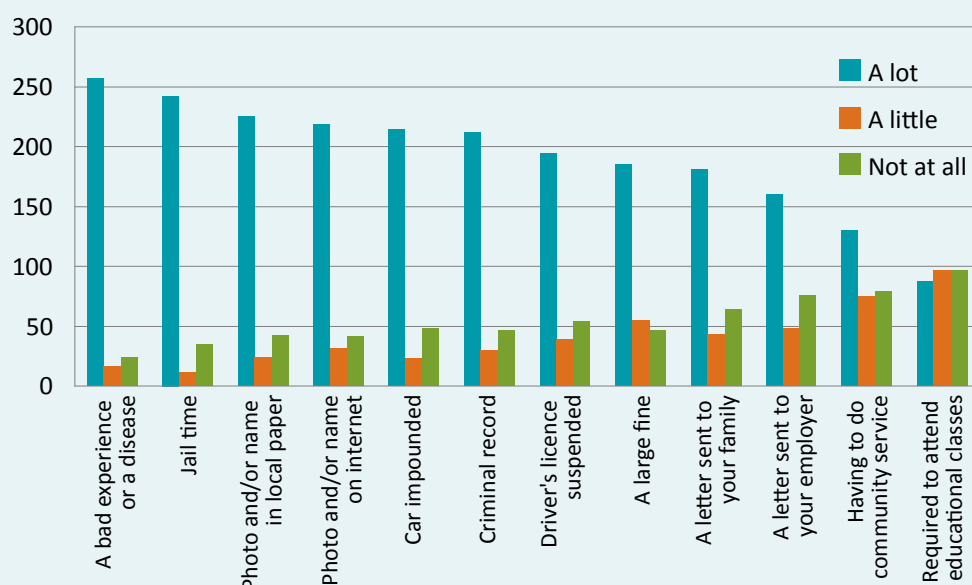
4.7.2 The role of deterrents

Deterrents – Cyprus

Amongst buyers in Cyprus, chart 50 shows that contracting a disease or having a bad experience was reported as having the greatest deterrent quality. This was followed by imprisonment, having their name or photo published in a local paper or on the internet, having their car impounded, or the possibility of getting a criminal record. Overall the results show that most of the measures would be taken seriously by the interviewees.

Unlike in Ireland and Finland (discussed below), having to do community service was also seen as a deterrent. The only measure that a large proportion of Cypriot buyers said would have no deterrent quality was having to attend an educational class.

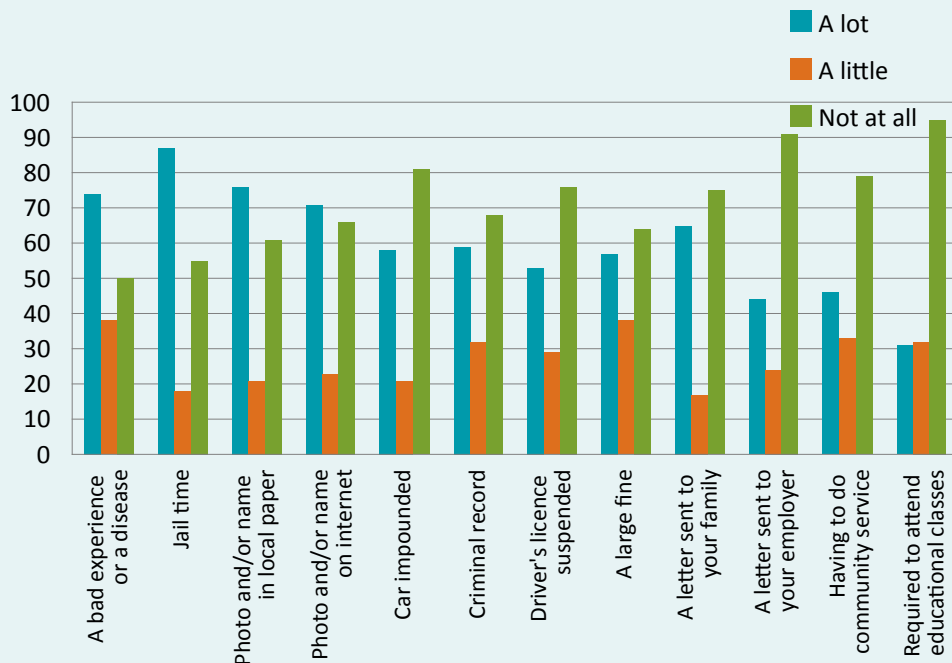
Chart 50: Deterrents to purchasing sex (Cyprus)



Deterrents – Finland

The deterrents referred to by Finnish buyers can be seen in chart 51. The most important deterrents were contracting a disease or having a bad experience, and imprisonment, followed by having their name or photo published in a local paper and having their name or photo published on the internet. In the case of the last two measures, a number of buyers stated that these would not deter them at all, although they represented a fewer number of respondents than those who would be deterred a lot. In respect of all the remaining deterrent measures, a larger number of buyers reported that these would not deter them at all, compared with those who reported them as an effective deterrent. As was the case in Ireland, the measure that Finnish buyers reported as having the least deterrent quality was the threat of having to attend an educational class.

Chart 51: Deterrents to purchasing sex (Finland)



Deterrents – Ireland

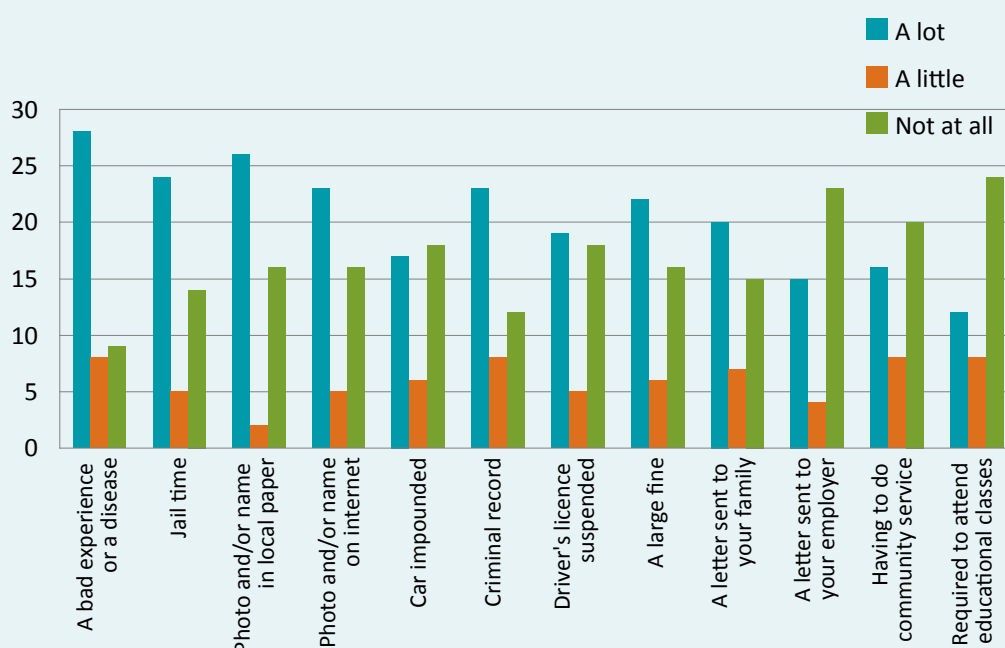
Buyers in Ireland participating in the online survey reported on a variety of deterrents, illustrated in chart 52. The most commonly reported deterrent was contracting a disease or having a bad experience. This was followed by having their name or photo published in a local paper. Similarly, a large number of Irish buyers reported that having their name or photo published on the internet could act as an effective deterrent. Conversely, a number of buyers reported that such shaming techniques would not deter them at all but this was the lesser number.

Other measures identified as an effective deterrent included imprisonment, a criminal record, a large fine or having a letter sent to their family. In the case of each of these, the number of buyers who reported that these measures would not deter them at all was markedly lower.

The results show that the overall attitude is unclear with regards to measures linked to the persons' vehicle, such as impounding their car or suspending their driving licence. Almost an equal amount of buyers reported this would deter them a lot and this would not deter them at all. The measures reported

by buyers to have the least deterrent qualities would be a letter to the employer, or the threat of having to do a community service or attend an education class.

Chart 52: Deterrents to purchasing sex (Ireland)



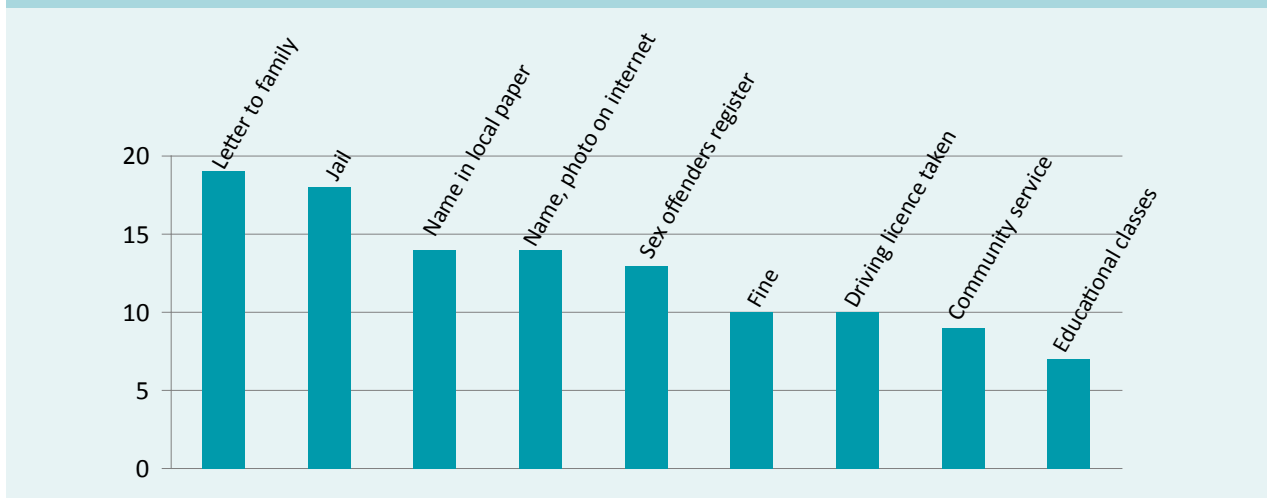
Deterrents – Bulgaria

In the interviews, Bulgarian buyers were encouraged to offer more than one answer to the question about deterrents. Chart 53 shows that having a letter sent to one's family informing them that you have been caught purchasing sex emerged as the strongest deterrent. Bearing in mind that the majority of the Bulgarian interviewees were married or in a relationship, the elaborations on the subject of family were not surprising: 'I want to keep my wife and I would not want to hurt her'; 'I value the anonymity for the sake of my family and my work'; and 'I do not want my wife to know in any case. She'd leave me and I would not be able to see my daughter.'

This finding was followed closely by imprisonment, having your photo and/or name in a local paper, or having your photo and/or name on the internet. Being placed on a sex offenders register came next, followed by being fined and having your driving licence taken away. Doing community service appeared to have less deterrent quality. Attendance of educational classes, as in other countries, was identified as the most inefficient approach to deter buyers.

Four buyers indicated that all of the measures would deter them, while two buyers selected all measures, with the exception of educational classes and local media respectively, as important deterrents. Only a minority of buyers reported that no measures would deter them. One of them stated: 'Nothing would stop me. I am a free man. There is nothing to hide from or be afraid of.' Another said: 'There is nothing that would stop me except fear of infection.'

Chart 53: Deterrents to purchasing sex (Bulgaria)

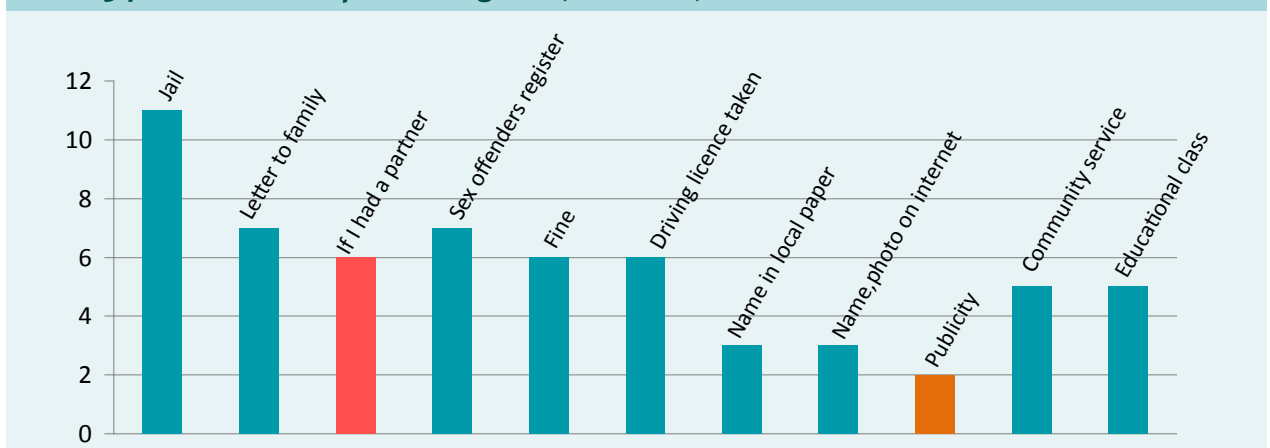


Deterrents – Lithuania

Chart 54 captures the results from the in-depth interviews in Lithuania and shows that buyers consider imprisonment to be the most significant deterrent. This was followed by being added to the sex offenders register and a letter to the family. Lithuanian buyers also volunteered additional comments, which could be linked to the consideration of having a family or a partner. Six deterrents based on having a family and/or being in a relationship were recorded, including statements such as ‘if I had a woman’, ‘if I had a girlfriend’, ‘if I had a family’ and ‘true love’. One buyer referred simply to the availability of free sex as a deterrent – ‘sex for which you do not have to pay’. This finding was interesting considering the large number of buyers throughout this study who reported being in a relationship.

Other measures that were identified as possible deterrents by a smaller number of buyers included a fine and having your driving licence suspended. A total of eight buyers identified publicity of some sort as a deterrent, including publication of one’s photo and name in a local paper or on the internet. These findings were reinforced by statements made by two further buyers with regard to any publicity – ‘certainly, if it [name and photo] was publicised’ and ‘if it came in public’. Having to do community service or attend educational classes were each identified by five buyers as deterrents. Three respondents said that all of the nine measures given as a prompt by the interviewer would be efficient deterrents for them, while two buyers reported that none of the measures would stop them.

Chart 54: Deterrents to purchasing sex (Lithuania)



Note: The blue columns are linked to the prompts given to buyers and the rest are added by the respondents during the interview.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter of the report has provided a detailed picture of the role of buyers in purchasing sex. Drawing on the findings of the online survey carried out in Cyprus, Finland and Ireland, and 71 in-depth interviews in Bulgaria and Lithuania, the findings present a picture of buyers across the five countries. This covers the characteristics and experiences of buyers; their views, attitudes and motivation in purchasing sex; their witnessing of exploitation and vulnerability; their knowledge of human trafficking and responses to it; and what would be main deterrents to the purchasing of sex in the future.

The final section of the report draws on this evidence to make recommendations for policy and practice to address the complex issue of demand for sex from the perspective of buyers.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

This final chapter draws on the findings presented in chapter four and makes recommendations for policy and practice in the five countries covered in the research, and in the wider European and international context.

Targeting demand reduction on men

- Strategies to reduce demand should target the general population of men, as the research indicates that buyers of sex are overwhelmingly male, with a diverse range of characteristics.

Addressing demand by taking into account buyers' age and other characteristics

- Evidence that emerged in the data indicates a number of factors that should inform the development of effective campaigns to deter demand, including the age profile, which is primarily among the middle range age group (25-44 years) and in the older age group (over 45 years of age).
- It should also take into account the presence and absence of relationships, the relatively high social standing and the middle to high-income levels of buyers, and the high levels of education and employment amongst buyers.
- Awareness raising and education initiatives, which specifically target younger men and potential future buyers, should be urgently developed as the data indicates that purchasing sex becomes more entrenched over time, with more frequent buyers exhibiting an increased sense of entitlement and desire for control.
- The Lithuanian study also shows that younger buyers may recognise the negative effect for sellers, both in terms of their physical and emotional wellbeing. This finding provides a useful starting point for campaigns aimed at younger people.

A focus on male buyers of female sellers

- Male buyers purchasing sex from female sellers should remain the primary focus of any demand reduction strategies, based on the statistics in this and other research in the past. In future, specific campaigns targeting the buying of male sellers could be developed to address the minority of buyers who purchase sex from males.
- Gender considerations should be applied to the design of any intervention strategies, taking into account the defined gendered nature of the phenomenon.

Addressing demand in relation to the visibility and availability with first-time buyers

- Strategies addressing demand need to recognise that visibility and availability has a strong influence on the decision to purchase sex for the first time.
- Campaigns also need to address peer influence and the motivations of young men in first buying sex, including the demand for sexual variety, tests of bravery (willing to take risks) and curiosity.
- Demand strategies should address the role of alcohol and the group settings in which young men first purchase sex. The role of alcohol was not found to be a causal factor in the purchase of sex, but it is seen as boosting courage and lessening inhibitions. Therefore, information/awareness raising could effectively target venues selling alcohol.

The need to focus demand reduction strategies in diverse locations and to take account of the shift into indoor prostitution and the use of the internet

- As the findings indicate a major shift into indoor prostitution and the increasing use of the internet, particularly in Finland and Ireland, demand reduction measures should place significant focus on the role of the internet in accessing paid sex. The prevalence of private apartments as a location suggests the need to target the use of private premises for prostitution.
- Despite the move indoors, the findings indicate the need to continue to address on-street buying and demand reduction strategies, as well as the need to target particular venues, such as cabarets and clubs, which are primary locations for accessing paid sex in several countries.

The need to address demand reduction as a transnational issue

- The extent to which buyers purchase sex abroad, where it is perceived as more private and anonymous for the buyer, confirms that demand is an international and transnational issue.
- Measures to address demand should involve cross-border cooperation and coordination at European and global levels.

Addressing perceptions of women in prostitution as ‘other’

- The research demonstrates the need for demand strategies to address sexual objectification and the perception of women in prostitution as different from other women.
- Buyers’ views that they would not want to see a relative or close friend engage in selling sex provides some evidence of recognition in relation to the harm of prostitution, which could be utilised in education campaigns.

Witnessing exploitation

- The research demonstrates that serious exploitation, including exploitation of minors, is witnessed by buyers within the sex industry. Demand reduction strategies need to highlight all forms of exploitation within the sex industry and how the purchase of sex is a causal factor in that exploitation.
- The perception of buyers that the majority of women are consenting, and by implication not exploited, needs to be addressed.
- The fact that many buyers exhibit reluctance to engage with the question in the survey about exploitation or to report exploitation to the authorities raises questions in relation to the efficacy of relying on buyers to report to the authorities. The research does suggest that some buyers will consider reporting, but further research is needed to identify the numbers of buyers who actually report to the authorities as well as strategies to encourage more reporting.

The role of laws criminalising the purchase of a victim of trafficking

- The research reveals that laws criminalising the purchase of a victim of trafficking are not having a deterrent effect in relation to current buyers. The vast majority of buyers in Lithuania and Bulgaria reported that they did not consider human trafficking when purchasing sex, despite awareness of the law.
- Strategies need to consider the effectiveness in reducing demand of laws solely addressing the purchase of sex from victims of trafficking, in particular those that involve knowledge on the part of the buyer.

The role of the media

- The role of the media needs to be better utilised as this is the most important source of information for buyers in relation to human trafficking.

The implementation of effective deterrents

- The findings provide strong evidence of buyers' assessment of what constitutes effective deterrents.
- Public exposure in the local media and/or internet, letters of disclosure sent to a buyer's family and imprisonment are all identified by buyers as having a strong deterrent quality.
- Considering that having educational classes has been found to have no deterrent quality by almost all buyers, it is unlikely that an approach based on such classes will help deter demand.
- National strategies should also be informed by the specific deterrents identified in national contexts.

Appendix 1

Face-to-face interviews and methods of recruitment

At the outset of the project it was decided that face-to-face interviews would be conducted in Ireland, Finland and Bulgaria. However, owing to a number of difficulties in recruiting buyers in Ireland and Finland, interviews were only conducted in Bulgaria and, in addition, Lithuania. Before discussing this in greater detail, the development of the questionnaire for the face-to-face interviews will be described.

Firstly, an extensive literature review of similar research projects was conducted (Bianchi *et al*, 2007; Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Farley *et al*, 2009; Farley *et al*, 2011; Farley *et al* (i), 2011; Kelly *et al*, 2007; Monto, 1999; Monto and Garcia, 1999; Monto and Milrod, 2012; Sawyer *et al*, 2001; Shivley *et al*, 2008; and USAID, 2011). The areas covered in these projects informed the production of our own questionnaire.

Following on from this, Professor Roger Matthews of Kent University drafted a semi-structured questionnaire that could be used for interviewing buyers. This was followed by input from several of the partner organisations involved in the research, which led to a number of small changes to the content and structure of the questionnaire. Once this was finalised, a training session was organised to prepare researchers for interviewing buyers.

The survey consisted of 57 questions. A copy of this questionnaire can be found in appendix two. The questionnaire was divided into a number of sections. The first section was concerned with the characteristics of buyers. This was followed by questions regarding the buyer's first experience of purchasing sex. Buyers were then asked about their most recent experience purchasing sex. Other areas included questions on buyers' general experiences when purchasing sex; their opinions and beliefs on the act of purchasing sex and those from whom they purchase sex; experiences of exploitation when purchasing sex; their use of internet pornography and how this affected their purchase of sex; their knowledge of human trafficking and how this has an impact on their purchase of sex; and measures they felt could act as a deterrent to their purchase of sex.

The selection of the categories above was informed by Professor Matthews' previous experience with similar research, the literature review conducted and the context of the project. In particular, it was important to have information on buyers' encounters with exploited sellers and their reactions, as well as their understanding and consideration of human trafficking when purchasing sex.

Prior to any interview taking place, the project was explained to participants. They were then handed a consent form, containing additional information, which they were asked to read and sign. The consent form can be found in appendix two. The participants were also informed of how their privacy and anonymity would be protected. In the first place, participants were not required to disclose their real names. All participants were informed of the protocols in place to protect their privacy and anonymity throughout the research and in the final report.

Different methods for recruiting buyers were used across the participating countries. These will be explored in greater detail below.

Methods of recruitment in Bulgaria

To recruit a wide and diverse sample and conduct information-rich interviews, the Bulgarian partner, the BGRF, used its network of NGOs throughout the country and recruited professional interviewers including

psychologists, social workers and a journalist. It was the deliberate decision of the partner not to implement the surveys through BGRF staff in order to keep the process more genuine, without any women's NGO label, more spontaneous and close to the communities from where the respondents were.

Diversity of respondents and covering more locations in Bulgaria was also within the strategy of the BGRF. Interviews were conducted in towns including Haskovo, Pernik, Sofia, Bourgas and Varna City.

Different methods for recruiting buyers were used in each city. Buyers in Haskovo were recruited by word of mouth; in Pernik interviews were advertised through a project supporting people recovering from addictions; a psycho therapist in Varna used her personal practice to advertise the research; while in Bourgas the research was advertised through a luxury car-hire service and an outreach programme working amongst the Roma population. In total, 36 buyers were interviewed throughout Bulgaria.

Once the interviews were conducted, the transcripts were translated and entered into excel sheets by the researchers in Ireland. This allowed for the data to be analysed and compared. The results can be found in chapter three of this report.

Methods of recruitment in Lithuania

The Lithuanian partner organisation, KSPSC, volunteered to carry out face-to-face interviews with buyers. This was not in the original plans but was most needed for the overall research component of the project.

KSPSC took a distinct approach to recruiting buyers for interviews. The director of KSPSC, who is also a lecturer in social studies at the University of Klaipeda and doctor of social sciences recruited final-year students to conduct interviews. Out of a number of applications to conduct the interviews, five students were chosen. These students received training in conducting the interviews and were equipped with the guidelines for interviewers developed by the project's research team. Furthermore, the students were required to familiarise themselves with the project and the questionnaire.

Of a number of methods attempted for recruiting buyers by the students, the only success came from advertising at a nightclub where one of the students worked. This also allowed for the research to be advertised via word of mouth. In total, 35 interviews were conducted. One of them was abandoned shortly after beginning. Therefore, the resulting number of interviews in Lithuania is 34.

Most of these interviews took place in cafes or places where the buyers could talk freely (it was the condition raised by them before interview). During the interviews a number of the students reported that buyers had flirted with and propositioned them. Looking at similar research, this appears to be a common occurrence when interviewing buyers.

Methods of recruitment in Ireland

In Ireland, a number of methods were used to recruit buyers for face-to-face interviews. Initially, the online survey was used as a means of recruiting buyers for in-depth interviews. The final question on the online survey asked buyers, interested in participating further in the research, to supply an email address. This was followed by an email inviting buyers who had expressed an interest to participate in a face-to-face to interview.

Information on the project and interview were provided in this mail, along with an offer of a relatively small financial consideration for the participant's time (€20 was offered to participants, mostly with a view to justify their involvement and as compensation for their time.) It was planned that this payment would be provided at the time of the interview, in order to protect the confidentiality of participants. The offer of consideration was based on a recommendation from Professor Matthews, who reported that this had acted as an incentive for buyers to participate in similar research in which he was involved. Additionally,

buyers were assured of confidentiality.

The initial plan was to use a snowballing approach to sampling, starting with those buyers who had provided their email address. However, only a small number of buyers supplied this information. Of these, only one buyer indicated in a subsequent exchange that they would be willing to participate in an interview. This resulted in the only interview carried out in Ireland.

Following on from this, an advertisement was placed on Boards.ie, a popular website containing forums for discussion. This advertisement contained similar information to that given to buyers who had provided their email addresses, described above. At the time of writing, this advertisement had been viewed 264 times. However, it did not result in any contact. Additionally, a Facebook page was set up for recruiting buyers. Similarly, this did not result in any contact from buyers.

Finally, contact was made with counsellors specialising in sexual addiction. This was based on evidence that those suffering from sexual addiction often engage in dangerous sexual behaviour, including purchasing sex. At the request of one centre, information leaflets were supplied that included information on the project, interviews and contact details. However, this did not result in any interviews.

As a result, a decision was made that the Irish component of the research would be based solely on the data collected from the online survey.

It is possible that the reluctance of buyers to participate in the research in Ireland may have resulted from the Irish political context. At the same time as the research was being conducted, there was an on-going, very public discussion on the future of prostitution legislation in Ireland. This could also have led to apprehension amongst buyers to participate in the research.

Methods of recruitment in Finland

Prior to recruiting buyers, the Finnish partner organisation, MONIKA, sought advice from researchers at the University of Helsinki. They were informed that it would be difficult for them, as a women's organisation, to recruit buyers to participate in face-to-face interviews. The Finnish researchers first posted online advertisements on Sexwork.net, a popular website used for advertising the sale of sex. While this advertisement did create discussion on the website, much of this was expressing doubts on the research and it did not result in any interviews.

Advertisements were then placed on a popular Finnish online forum, Suomiz4.fi. To engage with buyers, a thread was also started on this site. In spite of these, no buyers expressed interest in participating in a face-to-face interview, indicating that the concerns expressed by the Helsinki University research specialist were justified.

Following on from this, a decision was made to base the Finnish component of the research on the online survey, which was advertised in Facebook and Google AdWords for one week.

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for face-to-face interviews

Consent form

Information for participants

This research is an EU-funded initiative to explore the issue of paid sex.

You are invited to take part in an interview which will ask you several questions about your purchase of sexual services. The interview will take approximately one hour.

Your involvement in this research is entirely voluntary. Anything you say to us during the research will be completely anonymous and confidential (you will not be able to be identified and your name will not be attached to any of your information).

We would like to record some parts of this interview but for the most part we will note your answers to set questions on the questionnaire itself. You can stop the interview at any time and you don't have to answer a question if you don't want to.

Consent

I hereby give my consent to participate in the above study.

[Researcher to explain – Although we ask for your name it will not be stored with your responses to the questionnaire. If you would prefer not to provide your name just mark the signature box and date the consent form.]

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Participant name: | Researcher name: |
| Signed: | Signed: |
| Date: | Date: |

Questionnaire

About you

1. How old were you on your last birthday?

2. How would you describe your ethnicity?

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| White | |
| Mixed | |
| Asian | |
| Black | |
| Other | |
| Not known/ provided | |

3. What is your nationality?

4. What is your current employment status?

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Employed full time | |
| Employed part time | |
| Self-employed | |
| Unemployed | |
| Unable to work | |
| Other – please specify | |

5. If you are employed, what type of job do you do?

6. What is your marital status?

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Single | |
| In a relationship (less than a year) | |
| In a relationship (more than a year) | |
| Married | |
| Divorced | |
| Widowed | |

7. Are you a practicing member of any religion? If so, which religion?

8. Do you have any children?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

9. If yes, how many children do you have and what are their age/gender?

| Number | Age | Gender |
|--------|-----|--------|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

10. Where do you live? [Town and county or borough]

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

About the first time you bought sex

11. How old were you?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

12. Were you:

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Alone? | |
| With friends? | |
| Abroad? If so, where? | |

13. If you were with others was it:

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| A night out? | |
| A stag weekend? | |
| Other – please specify | |

14. Had you consumed alcohol?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

If so, how much?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

15. Had you consumed drugs?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

If so, which drugs?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

16. Had you planned to purchase sex on this occasion?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

17. Did your consumption of alcohol or drugs play a significant role in your decision to buy sex?

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, in what way?

18. Where did you purchase sex? [code one answer]

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| On street | <input type="checkbox"/> | Strip club/lap dance club | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Drug/crack house | <input type="checkbox"/> | Bar | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sauna/massage parlour | <input type="checkbox"/> | Private party/sex club | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Private flats | <input type="checkbox"/> | Escort agency | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. How did you make contact with the woman from whom you purchased sex?

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| In person | <input type="checkbox"/> | Online | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Phone | <input type="checkbox"/> | Classifieds | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other eg. word of mouth | <input type="checkbox"/> | Please provide details | <input type="checkbox"/> |

20. Why did you purchase sex on this occasion?

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Variety of partners | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Variety of sexual acts/acts that partner won't accommodate | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sexual frustration | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Uncomplicated contact/sex without commitment | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Availability/visibility | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Illicit/clandestine nature of the contact | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Shy/difficulty meeting women socially | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Curiosity | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Some kind of disability | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other – please provide detail | <input type="checkbox"/> |

21. Were you in a relationship at the time?

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, what sort of relationship?

Buying sex now?

22. In the last 12 months how often would you say you have bought sex?

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| More than once a week | |
| Once a week | |
| Twice a month | |
| Once a month | |
| Every one to three months | |
| Twice a year | |
| One/two occasions | |
| Never | |
| Missing/refused | |

23. Have your patterns of purchasing sex changed over the last few years?

[Researcher to prompt. In what way? For what reasons? Differences in types of sex acts? Women visited?]

24. Can you tell me in some detail about your last experience of paying for sex?

*[Researcher to **digitally record** response to this question. Researcher to prompt and explore this issue in detail by exploring the following: Was it a spontaneous visit? Was it planned? How did they feel before/during/after? Keep brief notes here]*

25. When you have purchased sex do you normally buy sex on street/off street or both? [Rank in order of frequency]

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| On street | |
| Drug/crack house | |
| Sauna/massage parlour | |
| Private flats | |
| Escort agency | |
| Strip club/lap dance club | |
| Bar | |
| Private party/sex club | |
| Other <i>[Please specify]</i> | |

26. How do you find out about the availability of people selling sex? [code main method only and provide details for each answer]

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| In person | | Online [<i>prompt which sites?</i>] | |
| Phone | | Classifieds | |
| Other eg. word of mouth | | Please provide details | |

27. How do you make contact with sellers from whom you purchase sex? [code main method only and provide details for each answer]

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| In person | | Online [<i>prompt which sites?</i>] | |
| Phone | | Classifieds | |
| Other eg. word of mouth | | Please provide details | |

28. How much do you usually pay for sex?

[Researcher to prompt to explore costs of types of sex acts]

29. Do you vary who you purchase sex from?

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Why or why not? *[Researcher to prompt]*

30. Do you normally consume drugs or alcohol at times when you are buying sex?

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, which substances and why? *[Researcher to prompt and explore whether drugs are used before, during or after sex]*

31. Have you purchased sex abroad? If so give details?

[Researcher to prompt: Where? When? Was it planned/spontaneous?]

32. What type of a seller do you prefer to buy sex from? Do you look for any of the following [tick all that apply and provide detail if needed]:

| | |
|---|--|
| A certain look on her face (What look?) | |
| A body type? (What body type?) | |
| Age (What age?) | |
| Ethnicity (What ethnicity?) | |
| Intoxicated? | |
| Friendly? | |
| Vulnerable? | |
| Confident or assertive? | |
| Other [<i>Researcher to gather detail</i>]: | |

33. What is your motivation for paying for sex?

[Researcher to explore and probe to gather details]

34. When you pay for sex what type of sex do you normally prefer?

| | |
|---|--|
| Oral sex/blow jobs | |
| Masturbation/hand relief | |
| Vaginal sex/straight sex | |
| Vaginal sex (variety of positions) | |
| Anal sex | |
| Role play/fantasy | |
| S&M/Bondage | |
| Other [<i>Researcher to gather detail</i>]: | |

35. When you pay for sex is it a different type of sex than you might engage in with your partner or girlfriend?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

If yes, please explain how it differs? [*Researcher to prompt*]

36. When you pay for sex do you prefer to use a condom?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

If yes, why? *[Researcher to prompt]*

37. How do you feel after paying for sex?

[Researcher to prompt and probe for detail]

38. What do you like most about paying for sex?

[Researcher to prompt and probe for detail]

39. What things do you like least about paying for sex?

[Researcher to prompt and probe for detail]

40. How do you view the women that you buy sex from? [Please order responses]

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Friends/confidantes | |
| Victims | |
| Sexually empowered/powerful | |
| Business women | |
| Stranger | |
| Sex object | |
| Don't think about them as a person | |
| Other <i>[Please detail]:</i> | |

41. In total, how many people have you purchased sex from?

Your views about prostitution

42. How much do you agree with the following statements?

A) 'Prostitution is an act between consenting adults'

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Strongly agree | |
| Agree | |
| Neither agree or disagree | |
| Disagree | |
| Strongly disagree | |

Please explain:

B) 'Women involved in prostitution are different from other women'

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Strongly agree | |
| Agree | |
| Neither agree or disagree | |
| Disagree | |
| Strongly disagree | |

In what way? Please explain:

43. How would you feel if any of your female family or friends became involved in prostitution?

[Researcher to prompt]

44. In general, how do you think selling sex affects the people you buy sex from?

[Researcher to prompt: Positive and negative effects?]

General

45. Do you use pornography?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

46. If yes, how often on average?

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| More than once a day | |
| Every day | |
| Every week | |
| Every month | |
| Less than once a month | |

47. How do you access pornography?

[Researcher to prompt]

48. What sort of images do you most enjoy looking at?

[Researcher to prompt]

49. Do you think your use of pornography is connected to your purchase of sex?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

If yes, in what way? *[Researcher to prompt]*

50. Do you use websites such as punternet?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

If yes, what sites do you use? And in what way? *[Researcher to prompt]*

51. Can you tell us in confidence, have you at any time found yourself feeling angry or violent when purchasing sex? If yes, why do you think this is?

[Researcher to prompt to explore – When, Why, Who? What happened?]

52. What would deter you from paying for sex? [Please order responses]

| | |
|--|--|
| Photo and/or name in local paper | |
| Imprisonment | |
| Photo and/or name on internet | |
| A letter sent to your family saying you have been purchasing sex | |
| Having your driver's licence suspended | |
| Being fined | |
| Doing community service | |
| Being required to attend educational classes | |
| Being placed on a sex offenders register | |
| Other <i>[Please detail]:</i> | |

53. In your experience of purchasing sex have you ever encountered a person who you think has been trafficked? Coerced? Is underage? If so, please give details?

[Researcher to prompt: Where? When? How did they know? What was different about the situation? Was a third party involved? Was it the behaviour of the woman?]

54. If you answered yes to the previous question, what did you do about? Did you report it to the police? Why or why not?

[Researcher to prompt]

55. Are you aware that it is an offence to purchase sex from a trafficked person?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

56. Overall, what is your knowledge of human trafficking?

[Researcher to prompt – Where in the sex industry does it occur? How prevalent is it?]

57. Do you consider the possibility of human trafficking when you are deciding from whom to buy sex and from where?

[Researcher to prompt – In what way would it influence your decision?]

Thank you for your participation in this research.

Appendix 3

Online survey methodology

The quantitative component of the research consisted of online surveys conducted in Ireland, Finland and Cyprus. The researchers adopted a non-probability approach to sampling.²⁷ The decision to adopt such an approach was influenced by the purpose of this component of the research. This was the collection of information on the characteristics and subjective experiences of buyers in Ireland, Finland and Cyprus. The surveys were not intended as a means of determining the percentage of the respective populations who had purchased sex, which could only be achieved using probability-based sampling.

Furthermore, while there have been a small number of similar studies conducted in Ireland and Finland, and none in Cyprus, there was not enough pre-existing information that would have allowed the research in each country to target a representative sample of buyers. As a result of this, it was not possible to weigh responses in order to correct for the under or over representation of any particular grouping of buyers. Taking all this into account, a non-probability-based approach was preferred as the appropriate means of gathering the required information.

The decision to use an online research tool for the quantitative component of the project was influenced by the knowledge that the commercial sex industry has largely moved online. Using an online research tool also offered a number of advantages.

Firstly, it increased our potential reach in that it allowed the researchers to communicate with a larger number of potential participants. Secondly, it is recognised that web-based research can assist in communicating with populations who are underrepresented in the general population and who are difficult to contact owing to their 'involvement in undesirable or deviant interests or activities' (Monette, Sullivan and DeJong, 2013: 187). In the context of research conducted on buyers in other countries, a similar conclusion has been reached. In the Canadian research project, John's Voice, it was reported that a web-based survey was the most effective method for collecting information on buyers (Kolar and Atchison, 2013).

A similar conclusion can be drawn from the research at hand. In both Ireland and Finland, in spite of extensive efforts, it was not possible to recruit buyers for face-to-face interviews. It is suggested here that this was a result of the anonymity online surveys offered to buyers. This problem did not arise in Cyprus, where previous research had been conducted using face-to-face interviews with buyers (MIGS, 2014).

In total, 692 buyers participated in the online surveys across Cyprus, Finland and Ireland. The survey, which consists of 19 questions, was produced by a third party, Fionnuala Boyle, in conjunction with the ICI. A copy of it can be found in appendix four.

While the survey was aimed at buyers, it was also open to non-buyers. All participants were asked about their gender, relationship status, education level, place of residency, and the age and income brackets into which they fell. The survey then asked participants whether they had ever purchased sex. For those who responded 'no', they were directed to a question on what had deterred them from doing so. The options available were 'it is too expensive', 'it is illegal', 'I am in a relationship', 'diseases', 'I would be too embarrassed', 'it is against my beliefs', 'there is nowhere I could buy sex' and 'getting caught and publically named'. This data has not been reviewed due to the specific focus of this research.

²⁷ Non-probability-based sampling means that the studied sample is not a representative sample of the general public

Participants who reported purchasing sex were guided to a number of questions on their experiences. These included from whom they had bought sex; whether they had ever purchased sex and, if so, where; how they had located the seller the last time they had purchased sex; where the transaction took place on that occasion; and the number of times they had purchased sex.

Buyers were then asked whether they had ever changed their mind because a seller appeared 'scared', 'unwilling', 'frightened', 'controlled', 'unhappy', 'intimidated', 'hurt or injured', or 'too young'. These possible responses were selected as not only are they physical manifestations of exploitation, but they are also recognised as indicators of trafficking in human beings. Buyers were also asked whether they had ever reported suspicions that someone was being exploited or controlled.

Finally, buyers were asked what measures they felt could act as an effective deterrent to the purchase of sex. The options available were 'contracting a disease or having a bad experience', 'being named and shamed in the local media', 'being named and shamed on the internet', 'being arrested', 'a large fine', 'having a letter sent to an employer', 'having a letter sent to family members' and 'having to attend educational classes'. Participants were asked whether these measures would deter them 'a little', 'a lot' or 'not at all'. The selection of these responses was informed by previous research that looked at measures identified as effective deterrents to the purchase of sex (Durchslag and Goswami, 2008; Farley *et al*, 2009; Farley *et al*, 2011; Farley *et al* (i), 2011; Kelly *et al*, 2007; and Shivley *et al*, 2008).

The surveys were then advertised online. This process will be described in greater detail below. To answer the surveys, all participants had to do was click on the advertisement, which would take them to the survey. As a result, the researchers had no control over who participated. Admittedly, this form of data collection can create difficulties.

Where researchers rely wholly on participants to decide whether or not to take part, this can lead to a self-selection bias (where a characteristic or experience of a potential participant drives their involvement). A classic example of this is a pre-existing interest in the research topic. This can lead to the under or over representation of particular segments of a target population. In turn, this can make it difficult to draw reliable inferences. However, the similarities between those who participated in this research and those who engaged in previous similar studies suggest that a detrimental self-selection bias was not in operation.

Those who decided to participate in the research did not have to go through any security measures. Rather, the data was 'cleaned' following receipt of all responses. This involved checking the IP addresses of participants for duplicate responses. This approach ensured that the perceived anonymity offered by the online survey would not be breached by a requirement to supply personal information such as an email address – a common security measure used in online surveys. Furthermore, as this security measure is most often used to protect against duplicate responses, a similar level of security was achieved using IP address checking.

The first survey was conducted in Ireland between November 2011 and January 2012. This was followed by the Finland survey in May 2012 and the Cypriot survey in November 2013.

To attract participants, advertisements were placed on a number of popular websites. Additionally, advertisement campaigns were run using Facebook.com. In both Ireland and Finland, advertising was managed by a third party with previous experience in marketing online research. In Ireland, advertisements placed online made 2,486,235 impressions. This number represents the total number of potential views of an advertisement. These resulted in 969 clicks, representing a click-through rate (CTR) of 0.04 per cent. The CTR is the proportion of those who potentially saw an advertisement who proceeded to click on it. The CTR was marginally higher for the advertising campaign on Facebook.com. These advertisements made 1,655,578 impressions, resulting in 818 clicks – representing a CTR of 0.05 per cent.

In Ireland, there were 1,557 clicks on all the advertisements placed online. Of those who clicked on the advertisement, 410 completed the survey. This represents a completion ratio of just above 26 per cent.

In Finland, advertisement campaigns were run using Google AdWords and Facebook.com. These advertisements were targeted at males over the age of 18, who were living in Finland. Overall, they resulted in 544 responses to the online survey. Of the 544 respondents, 208 reported that they had purchased sex. Interestingly, in spite of the targeted approach adopted in Finland, the proportions of male and female buyers who responded to the online survey does not differ significantly between Cyprus, Finland and Ireland.

The Facebook.com advertising campaign had a CTR of 0.5 per cent, representing 334 clicks. The Google AdWords campaign had a CTR of 0.6 per cent, representing 637 clicks. Of the 971 users who clicked on an advertisement, 544 completed the survey – a completion ratio of 56 per cent. The CTR for Finland was significantly higher than that for Ireland. It is not within the remit of this research to explain for this differentiation, but one possible explanation could be the effective use of Google AdWords for advertising the research in Finland, which was the most successful method for getting potential participants to click into the survey. However, this does not fully explain the differences in the completion ratios between the two countries.

The third survey was conducted in Cyprus and was managed remotely by the same specialist who worked previously with Ireland and Finland. The link went live on 7 November 2013 for 20 days. The survey was first launch on the MIGS Facebook page and was circulated to the MIGS mailing list (3,000 individuals and organisations). MIGS approached three of the most well-known online newspapers *Politis*, *Sigmalive* and *Elita.com* of Fileleftheros group, and obtained their agreement to display a banner with the link to the survey, in order to advertise and refer potential respondents.

In total, there were 1,050 respondents to the survey, of which 426 reported that they had bought sexual services. The relatively high number of participants in Cyprus must be noted, given that the population in Cyprus is less than a million and in the context of lively discourse concerning demand reduction, which recently started.

Following on from all of this, a preliminary analysis of the data was conducted. This allowed for it to be produced into excel sheets. It was also at this stage that the data was ‘cleaned’.²⁸ These excel sheets were used for the analysis contained in chapter four.

There are a number of possible limitations that must be taken into account when considering the results from the online survey. Most of these have already been considered above. In the first place, as the mode

²⁸ This involved checking results for duplicate IP addresses to protect against duplicate responses

of data collection used is non-probability based, caution must be taken when attempting generalisations or drawing inferences. Without pre-existing, probability-based research on buyers in each country as a reference point, it is impossible to determine the precise impact this had on the research. Compared against the existing international and national data on buyers, it would not appear to be significant.

As participation in the study was based on 'self-selection', this could have created a selection bias, in so far as participation may have been based on specific characteristics, experiences or interests. In the context of this research, this could have resulted in the over or under representation of particular types of buyers. Considered in light of the variety of buyers who responded, and the correlation between their characteristics and those of buyers in pre-existing research, there is little evidence that this has occurred.

A number of limitations may have arisen out of the decision to use a web-based research tool. This includes the potential for a coverage gap between those with and without access to the internet. The impact of this gap could be amplified by existing divisions in society between those with and without internet access. Similar to the self-selection bias, this could have resulted in the under or over representation of certain segments of the Irish, Cypriot or Finnish populations specifically. Any potential coverage gap depends on the population studied. Cyprus, Finland and Ireland are countries with high levels of internet usage. Furthermore, the websites used for advertising the survey are amongst the most popular in those countries.

Finally, owing to the ease with which participants could engage with the research and the anonymity offered by it, responses received could lack integrity in so far as participants could have falsely reported on their characteristics or experiences. They could have also responded to the survey multiple times. In respect of the latter, IP address checking was used to guard against this. However, it was not possible to guard against one-off malicious or false responses. However, a snapshot analysis carried out midway through advertisement of the online survey in Ireland, at a time when less than half of the total number of buyers had participated, did not yield markedly different results or conclusions to those discussed in this report.

Appendix 4

Online survey questionnaire

1. What is your gender?

2. Are you currently in a relationship with someone?

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3. What is your age?

Under 25/25-44/45 or over

4. Where do you live? Please select a county from the drop down box

5. Do you live in a...?

City/town/rural area

6. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Intermediate Cert/Leaving Cert/Third level/Other

7. About how much do you earn?

Under €20,000/€20,000-€40,000/€40,000-€60,000/Over €60,000

8. Have you ever paid a person for sex?

Answer Yes

9. Was the person.....?

Male/Female

10. Have you ever bought sex outside Ireland? Y/N

11. If you have bought sex outside of Ireland, in which countries have you bought sex?

12. What do you think would stop you from buying sex? This would deter me ...

A lot/A little/Not at all (They had to mark down how much the below measures would deter them)

A letter sent to your employer

Jail time

Having your driver's licence suspended

A letter sent to your family

A bad experience or a disease

Having to do community service

Criminal record

Photo and/or name on internet

Photo and/or name in local paper

A large fine

Car impounded

Being required to attend education classes

13. Just thinking about the last time you bought sex, how did you find the person?

Internet

Club/strip club/lap dance club

Hotel

Street

Private flat

Bar

Escort agency

Private party

Massage parlour

Brothel

Sauna

Other (please specify)

14. Just thinking about the last time you bought sex, where did the transaction take place?

Club/strip club/lap dance club

Hotel

Street

Private flat

Massage parlour

Brothel

Sauna

15. How often have you bought sex?

Just once

A few times

Quite often

Very often

16. Have you ever changed your mind and walked away because the person seemed:

- Scared
- Unwilling
- Frightened
- Controlled
- Unhappy
- Intimidated
- Hurt or injured
- Too young
- Other (please specify)

17. Have you ever considered reporting your suspicions that someone was being trafficked or controlled?

| | |
|-----|--|
| No | |
| Yes | |

18. If you are willing to be contacted for a further interview, please include your email address below.

End of Survey

8. Have you ever paid a person for sex?

Answer No

19. What has deterred you from buying sex? Please tick all that apply.

- It is too expensive
- It is illegal
- I am in a relationship
- Diseases
- I would be embarrassed
- It is against my beliefs
- There is nowhere I could buy sex
- Getting caught and publically named

End of Survey

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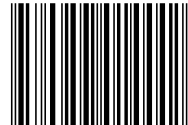
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Admin: +353 1 6740202
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