

Comparing Sex Buyers with Men Who Don't Buy Sex

“You can have a good time with the servitude”

vs.

“You’re supporting a system of degradation”



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Table 1. Comments About Prostitution by Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers

Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
<i>"If you treat her nicely, instead of 'open your mouth', generally they reciprocate."</i>	<i>"Prostitution will probably damage your ability to have long lasting relationships afterward. It might be harder to bond emotionally - you might get used to objectifying women."</i>
<i>"Just stick your dick in."</i>	<i>"Prostitution is the opposite of what community means."</i>
<i>"The whole thrill of it, prostitute hunting."</i>	<i>"I am a sexual being, but it is not a turn on for me knowing that the other person needs to be coerced..."</i>
<i>"THERE ARE NO BOUNDARIES."</i>	<i>"I would say you are better off masturbating. Prostitution is a degrading thing for both parties."</i>
<i>"The relationship has to stay superficial because they are a person and you're capable of getting to know them. But once you know them, it's a problem, because you can't objectify them anymore"</i>	<i>"I don't think prostitution is quite the same as rape. Rape is worse. But it's close to the rape end of the spectrum. It's not rape, because there is superficial consent...On the face of it, the prostitute is agreeing to it. But deeper down, you can see that life circumstances have kind of forced her into that...It's like someone jumping from a burning building--you could say they made their choice to jump, but you could also say they had no choice"</i>
<i>"...it can be very satisfying at the moment, but inevitably leads to a lot of stress and anxiety... I am supporting an industry that is exploitive and unfair and potentially harmful to myself and all parties involved...they are getting paid for it, but you are being a patron to an industry that is very dangerous..."</i>	<i>"I personally enjoy intercourse with someone with something there. With a prostitute you don't have that sense of want...Meaning, does that person care for you? Does that person have concern that afterwards you'll get home safely? I'm not saying that prostitutes don't care about people; I'm just saying you don't know this person."</i>
<i>"She is just a biological object that charges for services."</i>	<i>"They don't enjoy it at all. They just blank their mind out. Men think they enjoy it, but it is just fake."</i>
<i>"If my fiancée won't give me anal, I know someone who will."</i>	<i>"Prostitution seems like going to the supermarket and picking out which brand of coffee you want...blond and light, or dark and rich..."</i>
<i>"If someone is addicted to going to prostitutes, he might lose sense that a woman has feelings."</i>	
<i>"Prostitution can get you to think that things you may have done with a prostitute you should expect in a mutual loving relationship."</i>	
<i>"Being with a prostitute is like having a cup of coffee, when you're done, you throw it out."</i>	

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study compared 101 men who buy sex with 100 men who did not buy sex. The men who participated in this study were matched in terms of age, ethnicity, and education level. Most had a wife or girlfriend at the time of the study. Sex buyers had many more sex partners in their lifetime (prostituted as well as non-prostituted) than non-sex buyers.

Each interviewee participated in a structured interview that included extended queries about the men's history of using women in prostitution, what they looked for when they bought sex, their evaluations and perceptions of women in prostitution and pimp-prostitute relationships, awareness of coercion and trafficking, likelihood to rape, pornography use, hostile masculine identification, first use of women in prostitution, criminal history, how they discussed prostitution with their friends, deterrents to prostitution, sex education, and others.

The common myth that "any man" might buy sex (i.e., that a sex buyer is a random everyman, an anonymous male who deserves the common name, john) was not supported. Sex buyers shared certain attitudes, life experiences, and behavioral tendencies that distinguish them from their non-buying peers in socially and statistically significant ways.

Sex buyers engaged in significantly more criminal activity than non-sex buyers. They were far more likely than non-sex buyers to commit felonies, misdemeanors, crimes related to violence against women, substance abuse-related crimes, assaults, crimes with weapons, and crimes against authority. All of the crimes known to be associated with violence against women were reported by sex buyers; none were reported by non-sex buyers.

The sex buyers and non-sex buyers differed in their self-reported likelihood to rape. Sex buyers acknowledged having committed significantly more sexually coercive acts against women (non-prostituting as well as prostituting women) than non-sex buyers.

The two groups differed in their attitudes regarding prostitution as consenting sex or sexual exploitation. Sex buyers had significantly less empathy for prostituted women than did non-sex buyers. Sex buyers acknowledged fewer harmful effects of prostitution on the women in it and on the community. Non-sex buyers more often saw prostitution as harmful to both the woman herself and to the community as a whole.

As in other studies of sex buyers, sex buyers expressed ambivalence, guilt and negative thinking about buying sex. They felt just as many negative feelings after buying sex as they did before. Many sex buyers sought sex that lacked emotional connection. They had little objection if the woman they purchased pretended to like them or actively disliked performing the act of prostitution. Sex buyers repeatedly commented that they liked the power relationship in prostitution and that they liked the freedom from any relationship obligation.

The sex buyers masturbated to pornography more often than non-sex buyers, imitated it with partners more often, and had more often received their sex education from pornography than the non-sex buyers. Over time, as a result of their prostitution and pornography use, sex buyers reported that their sexual preferences changed such that they sought more sadomasochistic and anal sex. Significantly more of the sex buyers compared learned about sex from pornography compared to the non-sex buyers.

When asked how much they agreed with the statement, "Most men go to prostitutes once in a while," we found that about half the sex buyers normalized their use of prostitution by suggesting that most men do it, whereas the non-sex buyers did not tend to make that assumption.

Both sex buyers and non-sex buyers evidenced extensive knowledge of the physical and psychological harms of prostitution. Two thirds of both the sex buyers and the non-sex buyers observed that a majority of women are lured, tricked, or trafficked into prostitution. Many of the men had an awareness of the economic coercion and the lack of alternatives in women's entry into prostitution. Almost all of the sex buyers and non-sex buyers shared the opinion that minor children are almost always available for prostitution in bars, massage parlors, escort and other prostitution in Boston.

The knowledge that the women have been exploited, coerced, pimped, or trafficked failed to deter sex buyers from buying sex. Many of the sex buyers had used women who were controlled by pimps at the time they used her for sex. Sex buyers in this study seemed to justify their involvement in the sex industry by stating their belief that women in prostitution are essentially different from non-prostituting women.

Both sex buyers and non-sex buyers subscribed to the theory that prostitution reduces the likelihood of rape. Although half of the study's sample did not buy sex, many of them were tolerant of prostitution for men who did. These findings suggest that efforts to deter sex buyers should expand their focus from men who buy sex to the general public's attitudes that support prostitution.

Both sex buyers and non-sex buyers agreed that the most effective deterrent to buying sex would be to be placed on a registry of sex offenders. Other effective deterrents included public exposure techniques such as having their name or photo publicized on a billboard, newspaper, or the Internet. Spending time in jail was considered an effective deterrent by 80% of sex buyers and 83% of non-sex buyers. Educational programs were considered the least effective deterrent by both groups of men.

Taken together, these findings - a range of criminal activity in addition to prostitution, nonrelational sexual preference, a high number of sex partners, extensive pornography use - interact and increase the likelihood of future violence against women, according to other studies cited in this report.

Our finding that the sex buyers are involved in these criminal activities suggests that sex buying should be considered in that context. State and federal laws against prostitution and trafficking should be enforced against johns. Sex buyers hold extensive information about pimps, coercion, trafficking, and the harms of prostitution to the women in it. This information is not yet fully used by law enforcement and could be useful.

This study strengthens proposals that educational programs aimed at sex buyers should be implemented *subsequent to* sentencing, not in lieu of it. The crimes sex buyers commit suggest that existing intervention strategies for batterers and sex offenders are resources for development of interventions for arrested johns. Their crimes also justify mandatory DNA testing.

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Prostitution Research & Education (PRE) is a U.S. non-governmental non-profit organization which has since 1995 researched and documented the harms resulting from prostitution and trafficking and advocated for alternatives to prostitution. PRE offers educational materials and resources on its website (www.prostitutionresearch.com). PRE is formally affiliated with the Pacific Graduate School of Psychology and

with the Center for World Indigenous Studies. In 2005 PRE began an international study of men who use women in prostitution aimed at developing culturally relevant programs to prevent prostitution. Butler Family Foundation has supported PRE since its inception. The Butler Family Foundation supports human service programs in Minnesota and around the United States offering practical help to those in need while advocating for systems change. The Butler Family Foundation has a special concern for women and their children and supports programs which address violence against women in all its forms.

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INTRODUCTION

Public concern is rapidly accumulating for the harms sex buyers perpetrate against women in prostitution with buyers increasingly recognized as drivers of the sex trafficking industry. In sharp contrast to the vast literature devoted to women in prostitution, relatively little is known about sex buyers. Reducing men's use of women in prostitution has been recommended based on the role of men's demand for prostitution in promoting sex trafficking (Raymond, 2004; US Department of State, 2005). Research is needed to inform the development of prevention efforts and policy change. This report aims to learn more about sex buyers in order to develop effective strategies to abolish prostitution.

Research about men who buy sex is slowly emerging. Perkins (1991) estimated that only 1% of all research on prostitution addressed the sex buyer. At the same time the proselytizing of johns online (punternet, johns' voice, erotic review) is increasing. Online communities of sex buyers mainstream and normalize sex buying, conferring higher social status on sex buyers who share their knowledge of prostitution with other buyers (Blevins and Holt, 2009). Some johns are even writing books defending prostitution. Chester Brown, a self-described "introverted" john whose friends describe him as "having a very limited emotional range compared to most people" (Brown, 2011, p 255). Like sex buyers interviewed in other research (Plumridge et al. 1997; Farley, 2011) Brown seems emotionally disconnected. He is not interested in prostituted women's feelings about yet another john who evaluates her on the basis of her breast size and skin blemishes. He seems annoyed that women in prostitution are "passionless kissers" (p 207). He's mystified as to why, after five sessions with one woman, "her face is still like a mask during sex" (Brown, 147).

Like Brown, many johns begin their interest in prostitution via pornography. In Brown's case it was *Playboy*. He wrote his first book, *The Playboy*, about his obsession with the magazine in 1992. Early on, according to that autobiographical account, Brown was ashamed of his endless fascination with pornography (Medley, 2011). Today he has evolved into a proud john. Our study found that Brown struggles with some of the same issues that other sex buyers do. For example, he repeatedly wonders if the woman who speaks no English except for "it's OK," is trafficked. He doesn't realize she doesn't speak English until after he's used her on several occasions. That particular woman, who he calls Angelina, looked uncomfortable when he chose her from a lineup of women at a Canadian brothel. He thinks to himself, "I'm getting the impression that she didn't want to be chosen" (p 74). When the madam/pimp gestures to her in a way that says "go with him," Brown draws the pimp's hand as a predatory, controlling claw. Angelina complies. He notices that she keeps her bra on and that she is "dry," and thinks "this can't feel pleasant for her but if she says it's okay I guess it's okay." This is prototypical john reasoning regarding "consent." We heard similar willful ignorance from London johns who reported to interviewers that they saw, and yet at the same time refused to see, the coercion, fear, disgust, and despair in the women they bought. She didn't run screaming out of the room, yelling "police!" She let the prostitution happen ("it's OK") therefore she's not trafficked. The same kind of self-serving rationalization and denial surfaced repeatedly in the interviews for this Boston research.

Factual errors abound in this john's book. Brown states categorically that "if a woman is Canadian with a Canadian accent" then he is confident that "she has not been forced to work as a prostitute." Crossing an international border or having an accent is not required in order to be brutally exploited and controlled in prostitution. Brown studied other men's reviews of prostituted women on a Canadian johns' chatboard (<http://www.terb.ca>; <http://www.eros.toronto.com/eros.htm>) and decided to write a bad review of a woman whose performance he did not like. The chatboards serve to normalize and support men's "hobby," a 2011 word used by johns to refer to prostitution (Pollon, 2011).

Other groups of sex buyers refer to themselves as hunt clubs, which is a more accurate description of their behavior (Lacey, 2011). The valorizing of men's sexual incontinence in pornography and prostitution is supported by comic books like Chester Brown's and for the equality of women (see Lipton, 2011) are not evident here.

While some research has sought to establish the prevalence of men's use of women in prostitution (e.g., Ward et al., 2005; Carael et al., 2006; Belza et al., 2008; Schei & Stigum, 2010) there is no agreement on how many men buy sex. Sex buyers hide and are therefore difficult to study. Reports with varying methodologies have estimated that from 9% to 80% of all men in a given country buy sex as seen in Table 2. In the United States we find four such estimates: 16%, 45%, 69% and 80%, none of which provide any certainty.

Table 2. Estimates of Population Percentages of Men Who Buy Sex

Study	Estimated Percent	Country
Benjamin & Masters, 1964	80%	USA
Public Health Ministry (in Bishop & Robinson, 1997, p 160)	75%	Thailand
Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948	69%	USA
Phan & Patterson (in Brown, 2000)	65%	Cambodia
Dahl, 1999	60%	Netherlands
Monto, 1998	45%	USA
Leridon, Zesson, & Hubert, 1998	39%	Spain
Leridon et al., 1998	19%	Switzerland
Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994	16%	USA
Lewin, 1998	13%	Sweden
Haavio-Mannila, Rotkirch, & Kontula, 2004	13%	Finland
Træen et al., 2005	13%	Norway
Haavio-Mannila et al., 2004	10%	Russia
Johnson & Mercer, 2001	9%	UK

Studies of arrested sex buyers have revealed some of their attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Monto & Hotaling, 2001; Klein et al., 2009; Monto & Julka, 2009). For example, among men arrested for buying sex, rape myth acceptance has been associated with more frequent visits to prostitutes in some studies (Monto & Hotaling 2001) but not others (Klein et al., 2009).

Men's use of women in prostitution has been described as an expression of male sexual entitlement and gross power imbalances (Dworkin, 1997; Monto & McRee, 2005; Farley et al., 2011). Descriptive research bolsters this argument; men's perceptions of masculinity and entitlement to sexual access seem to be related to their use of women in prostitution (Poudel et al., 2004; Macleod et al., 2008; Decker et al., 2009).

Men's sex buying is associated with their perpetration of other forms of gender-based violence, including perpetration of physical and sexual violence against intimate partners (Decker et al., 2009; Raj et al., 2008) as well as perpetration of rape against both partners and non-partners (Jewkes et al., 2006). The physical and sexual violence suffered by women in prostitution (Choi et al., 2008; Farley, 2004; Farley & Barkan, 1998;

Sarkar et al., 2008; Decker et al., 2010b) is an indicator of the violence of sex buyers against women who are bought.

Sex buyers are aware that many women face severe violence and control from pimps, and are often prostituted as a result of deception or coercion (Farley et al., 2009; Anderson & O'Connell Davidson 2003; Durchslag & Goswami, 2008). In order to better understand the extent or limitations of their awareness of the sex trafficking industry, it would be helpful to compare sex buyers with non-buyers.

While a number of studies offer some insight into demographics and motivations among clients, these research designs, lacking control groups, do not allow for comparisons with men who have not been involved in buying sex, and, in their reliance on men who have been arrested, in all likelihood do not represent the full range of buyers. To date, research into buyers' awareness of prostitution has been limited to studies of men who buy sex in the commercial sex industry without comparing them, on the same dimensions, with men who do not. This research with samples of both sex buyers and non-sex buyers begins to fill in the gaps in knowledge, as does the study of men who are not in police-sponsored programs post-arrest.

Without knowing the attitudinal components of sex purchase in detail, programs to curb the behavior are stymied. There have been few investigations of programs to prevent prostitution or interventions to deter it. Educational programs designed to reduce demand for commercial sex by educating buyers about prostitution, often termed john schools, have sprung up around the nation and in other parts of the world. Evaluation has recently begun to accumulate; to date findings are mixed and methodological issues persist (Wilcox et al., 2009). Program participants have demonstrated increased knowledge about prostitution as well as some changed attitudes (Kennedy et al., 2004b; Shively et al., 2008; Wortley et al., 2002). Of concern is the lack of change in men's intentions to solicit in the future (Wortley et al., 2002; Shively et al., 2008), suggesting that increased knowledge about prostitution may not be sufficient to modify behavior and reduce demand for prostitution. Some research suggested the efficacy of john schools in reducing recidivism among men arrested for solicitation (Shively et al., 2008). And other evaluations comparing educational program participants with men arrested for solicitation without going through the program have found little difference in recidivism (Monto & Garcia, 2001). Arrest may deter recidivism (Brewer et al., 2006), though evidence is mixed (Brewer et al., 2007). The fraction of buyers who are arrested for solicitation is quite small to begin with (Monto & Garcia, 2001; Brewer et al., 2007), raising concern about the feasibility of this approach in reducing demand for prostitution as well as reliance on measuring recidivism solely via arrest data. Other strategies, such as naming and shaming johns, have been suggested but are not well evaluated for behavior change (Wilcox et al., 2009).

To some extent, the educational interventions have mirrored the use of batterer intervention programs designed to reduce perpetration of gender-based violence through a mix of education, group treatment, relationship skills building and psychotherapy. Many of the lessons learned through batterer intervention research likely bear implications for demand deterrence for prostitution. Overall the evidence on the effectiveness of batterer interventions suggests reduced recidivism results from program participation, particularly among those who complete the full program (Jones et al., 2004; Coulter & VandeWeerd, 2009), and among those attending programs with a gender-based, cognitive-behavioral focus (Gondolf & Jones, 2001). In light of the apparent limited efficacy of arrest alone in reducing domestic violence perpetration

recidivism (Hilton et al., 2007), these data suggest the utility of knowledge and behavior-change interventions. Again, limited knowledge of johns' attitudes deprives these programs of sufficient knowledge of their target.

More generally, men's favorable opinion of prostitution is known to be one of a cluster of attitudes and opinions that encourage and justify violence against women (Flood and Pease, 2009; Koss and Cleveland, 1997). Violent behaviors against women have been associated with attitudes that promote men's beliefs that they are entitled to sexual access to women, are superior to women, and are licensed as sexual aggressors. For example, Malamuth and Pitpitan (2007) summarized evidence for a number of interacting factors that contributed to men's sexual aggression against women including pornography use, promiscuity/impersonal sex, hostile masculine identification, a history of family violence, delinquency in adolescence, and attitudes supportive of aggression.

We investigated several of the variables found by Malamuth, Addison, and Koss (2000) to be associated with sexual aggression: pornography use, hostile masculine identification, promiscuity or lifetime number of sex partners, and self-reported sexual coercion. We asked not only about attitudes and behaviors endorsed by sex buyers but sought to compare sex buyers with non-sex buyers.

The questionnaires and structured interview in this project were designed to assess men's attitudes toward women in prostitution, behaviors that have been associated with violence against women, and their awareness of and use of trafficking victims, with the goal of ultimately developing prostitution and trafficking prevention programs.

METHODS USED IN THIS RESEARCH

Previous research by Prostitution Research & Education and colleagues in Kolkata (Sanjog), Chicago (Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation), Glasgow (Women's Support Project) and London (POPPY Project of Eaves, Inc.) focused on men who buy sex. In each location, samples of approximately 100 sex buyers were interviewed and descriptive data obtained. For an ongoing study in Phnom Penh, and for this study, 40 additional questions on pornography use were included.

For this research study, we included a matched comparison group of non-sex buyers. The men were matched by ethnicity, age (within 5 years) and educational level.

Sex buyers were defined as men who in response to a question from a phone screener acknowledged that they have bought sex from a woman or man in prostitution, escort, sex worker, or massage parlor worker or have exchanged something of value (such as food, drugs, or shelter) for a sex act. We defined non-sex buyers as men who have not purchased phone sex or the services of a sex worker, escort, massage sex worker, or prostitute, have not been to a strip club more than one time in the past year, have not purchased a lap dance, and have not used pornography more than one time in the past week.

We determined that there were likely to be sufficient numbers of men to constitute our non-sex buyers group even if we included a requirement of infrequent pornography use. Our decision to include men who used pornography less often than once a week was based in part on data from two studies. Unpublished data collected by Malamuth and colleagues indicated that of 595 men in several United States universities, 24% were *not* using pornography on the Internet (Neil Malamuth, Personal Communication, September 7, 2009). Investigating the frequency of pornography use among 313 men aged 18-26 in United States colleges, Carroll et al. (2008) found that 48% used pornography once a week or more often.

The questionnaires used in this research were designed to learn about men's perceptions of women generally and their attitudes toward prostituted women in particular. Standardized and validated questionnaires yielded both quantitative and qualitative data. Questionnaires included a 100-item self-administered questionnaire that asked about buyers' attitudes toward prostitution (including Sawyer's 1998 15-item Attitudes & Beliefs about Prostitution Scale), acceptance of rape myths (Burt, 1980), sexual behaviors and condom use, pornography use), likelihood to rape (Briere and Malamuth, 1983), demographic characteristics, and the Sexual Experiences Scale (Koss and Oros, 1982) a widely-used measure of sexual aggression. Another self-administered measure inquired about hostile male identity based on adversarial sexual beliefs, negative masculinity and dominance as central to love relationships (Malamuth and Thornhill, 1994).

Interviewers also used a 150-item structured interview to obtain quantitative and qualitative data which included the men's history of using women in prostitution, what they looked for when they bought sex, their evaluations and perceptions of women in prostitution and pimp-prostitute relationships, awareness of coercion and trafficking, first use of women in prostitution, how they discussed prostitution with their friends, deterrents to prostitution, and sex education. We also included approximately 40 questions about the type of pornography used (based on the activity shown in it), the age of the person being acted upon, and the ethnicity of those pictured in the pornography.

Interviewers

The interviewers who participated in this research were Matthew Bane, Rebecca Booth-Fox, Lisa Coppola, Melissa Farley, Joanne Golden, Laura Jarrett, Lindsay Markel, Lina Nealon, and Michael Van Wert. Valerie Darling, Asha Kaufman, and Kajahl Valipour were phone screeners for the study. Virginia DeLuca, MSW, LICSW was available in case of emotional distress of interviewees.

Interview Scheduling and Matching Variables

The coordination of the initial phase of this research was a challenging task which involved hiring interviewers and phone screeners, running newspaper and online advertisements about the study, coordinating hundreds of phone responses to the ads, scheduling interviews based on interviewees' and interviewers' schedules, and reminding interviewees about appointment times

Research Study on Sexual Attitudes

Research team seeks to interview men 18 years or older for a study on sexual attitudes and behaviors. *Confidential* In-person interviews last approximately two hours. *Central Boston location* We will pay \$45 for completed interview. For more info, call 617-

A large amount of information was obtained from each interviewee, some of which was used in this study. Two hundred and sixty-four interviews lasted approximately 2 hours each, resulting in a grand total of more than 15,000 pages of interviewer notes and interview and questionnaire data. The 45 narrative items were compiled by item for each of the sex buyers and non-sex buyers for an informal content analysis. Sixty of the 264 interviews were not used in this analysis because they were not matched by age, ethnicity and educational level.

Interviewer training and support

Most of the interviewers had backgrounds in social sciences or community agencies. They were provided a week's training in interview techniques and questionnaire administration, including observed interviews, practice interviews, and techniques of following up the open-ended questions.

Researching sexual violence can be stressful (Mattley, 1997; Zurbriggen, 2002). When it is necessary to develop a 2-hour friendly, courteous rapport with men who sometimes treat women as if they are sexual objects, the experience can be challenging and stressful for interviewers. Training included a discussion of secondary PTSD and symptoms of depression which are not uncommon among sexual violence researchers. We discussed how to prevent stress symptoms during the training. We provided biweekly debriefing sessions which supported interviewers as well as serving to troubleshoot administrative issues. Interviewers had access to the Principal Investigator's and Project Coordinator's cell phone whenever interviews were scheduled.

Informed consent was provided and interviewees' questions answered. Interviewees were anonymous and were not asked for their real names. The interviewees were provided contact information for a social worker who was available for in-person counseling in the event that any part of the research interview caused distress. The research protocol was approved by Prostitution Research & Education Ethics Review Committee and by the Pacific Graduate School of Psychology Institutional Review Board.

Both sex buyers and the non-sex buyers harassed interviewers with boundary violations or hostile/intrusive questions such as *"where do you live?" "dinner is on me," or "do these questions turn you on?"* Sexual harassment by sex buyers was more frequent and explicit with women interviewers; sometimes the interviewees treated the women interviewers like they treated prostituted women. For example, female interviewers were asked how they masturbated or had an interviewee's *"big dick"* described to them. One interviewer commented, *"He compared me to what he would have wanted a prostitute to look like. He just said, 'Like you, a stereotypical fantasy girl.'"* Several interviewers were propositioned for sex. Another interviewer wrote in her notes, *"He made me uncomfortable a few times when he stared at me in a certain way and also when he said he liked to use his memory and think of someone he was attracted to as pornography for himself."*

In about 10% of the sex buyer interviews, interviewers were very uncomfortable, sometimes feeling unsafe as a result of physical sexual harassment, for example, being grabbed at across the table.

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of the 202 Boston men in this sample

The average age of the sex buyers was 41 years, ranging from 20 to 75. The average age of the non-sex buyers was 40, ranging from 18 to 77. The two groups were matched on education, ethnicity, and age.

The family income of the two groups is seen below.

Table 3. Sex Buyers' and Non-Sex Buyers' Family Income

Family Income	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Under \$20,000	21%	23%
\$20,001 - \$40,000	39%	27%
\$40,001 - \$60,000	15%	23%
\$60,001 - \$80,000	10%	7%
More than \$80,000	9%	15%
More than \$140,000	5%	5%

Education of men in the two groups is seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Sex Buyers' and Non-Sex Buyers' Education

Education	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Less than High School Diploma	4%	5%
High School Diploma	15%	18%
Some College	36%	34%
College Degree	32%	33%
Graduate or Professional Degree	12%	11%

The men's ethnicity is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Sex Buyers' and Non-Sex Buyers' Ethnic Identity

Ethnic Identity	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
White European-American	56%	58%
African American	32%	31%
Latino or Hispanic	6%	4%
Multiracial	4%	6%
Native American	2%	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	0%	1%

The men's sexual orientation is described in Table 6.

Table 6. Sex Buyers' and Non-Sex Buyers' Sexual Orientation

Sexual Orientation	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Heterosexual	89%	93%
Homosexual	4%	3%
Bisexual	7%	4%
Transgendered	0%	0%

Sixty-one percent of sex buyers and 70% of non-sex buyers currently had a wife or girlfriend. The non-sex buyers had fewer sex partners than the sex buyers throughout their lifetimes than the sex buyers (Table 7). A related study found that men who paid for sex in the UK were likely to report ten or more sex partners in the past five years. Only a minority of these men's lifetime sex partners (19%) were women in prostitution (Ward et al., 2005).

Table 7. Lifetime Number of Sex Partners for Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers

Number of Sex Partners	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Fewer than 10	14%	47%
11 to 25	25%	29%
26 to 50	19%	12%
51 to 100	23%	4%
More than 100	19%	5%

The men were asked to indicate the types of jobs that they currently or previously held. Table 8 summarizes their occupational backgrounds. Twice as many of the sex buyers compared to non-sex buyers had held jobs in the fields of community and social services.

Table 8. Summary of Sex Buyers' and Non-Sex Buyers' Occupations

Occupation	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Construction, Maintenance	49%	41%
Arts	17%	15%
Management	27%	15%
Finances	20%	12%
Computer and Mathematical Science	11%	7%
Community and Social Services Occupations	40%	20%
Education, Training and Library	16%	12%
Government and Legal	14%	13%
Healthcare and Support	10%	7%
Service Related	66%	55%

Prostitution Behaviors of Sex Buyers

First use of women in prostitution

On average, the men reported that they were 21 years of age when they first bought sex. Age at first purchased sex ranged from age 11 to 49. Fifty-eight percent were alone when they first bought sex and 43% were with friends. Most commonly, the first time they bought sex, the sex buyers either used a woman from an escort agency who was sent to a private home (32%) or they located a woman on the street (30%).

For 20% of these Boston men, prostitution was their first sexual experience. Other researchers have noted that prostitution is often men's first sexual experience (Sharma & Sharma, 1996; Kanbargi & Kanbargi 1996; Thuy et al., 1999).

Frequency of buying sex

The sex buyers had used women in prostitution an average of 54 times at the time we interviewed them. Their total number of visits to women in prostitution varied, ranging from once to 600 times (SD 93, median 18, mode 1).

About two out of five of the men bought sex once a month or more often. Several studies have found that there are differences between men who buy sex frequently as opposed to once or very infrequently. Prieur and Taksdal (cited in Hoigard & Finstad, 1986) found that a relatively small proportion of all johns in Sweden were responsible for the largest portion of the sex market. Atchison and colleagues (1998) conducted an Internet survey of 86 Canadian sex buyers. Eight percent had paid for sex only once, 33% 2 to 10 times, 32% 11 to 50 times, and 27% more than 50 times in their lifetime. Monto (1999), studying 1342 men attending diversion programs for men arrested for solicitation of prostitution in the US, noted that only 10% reported buying sex more than once a month. Monto observed that "men arrested for trying to hire prostitutes may represent the less experienced prostitution client, with more experienced clients better able to avoid arrest, either due to the knowledge of police procedures, familiarity with prostitutes themselves, or participating in off-street prostitution."

Where do Boston men locate women for the purpose of buying sex?

Sex buyers located women for prostitution both indoors and outdoors. Sixty-three percent of the sex buyers met women in the street, 88% met women indoors. 39% said that they located women in prostitution on the Internet. This is consistent with three other studies that sex buyers that found that sex buyers use multiple locations for purchasing women in prostitution (Atchison et al., 1998; Farley, Macleod, Anderson & Golding, 2011; Kramer, 2003).

Use of women in prostitution was equally distributed across educational levels but use of women in street prostitution was significantly related to having received less education. Of the 101 sex buyers, 10 used street prostitution exclusively, 35 used prostitution in indoor settings such as bars and strip clubs, but not on the street, and 52 used prostitution originating in both types of settings. Of the 45 men who had at least a college education, one (2%) used street prostitution exclusively, compared to nine (17%) of the 53 men who had not completed college. This difference was statistically significant (Fisher's Exact Test two-sided probability, $p = .0192$).

Indoor locations where men located women for use in prostitution included bars, strip clubs, hotels, private parties, escort agencies, lap dance clubs, brothels, and massage parlors (Table 9).

Table 9. Indoor Locations Where Boston Men Purchased Sex (n)

Indoor Location	Percentage of Sex Buyers Using
Bar	62% (53)
Strip club	55% (48)
Private Party	57% (49)
Hotel or Guesthouse	52% (45)
Escort Agency	44% (38)
Lap Dance Club	43% (37)
Brothel	33% (28)
Massage Parlor	29% (25)
Drug/Crack House	24% (21)
Other*	22% (17)
Sauna	9% (8)
Karaoke	7% (6)

*"Other" responses included: online, casino/racetrack, church, gym, hangouts, mall, airplane flight, pool room, school, sex club, taxi drivers, and at work.

Use of strip clubs

There were highly significant differences in the men's use of strip clubs. Significantly more of the sex buyers (94%) than the non-sex buyers (54%) had visited a strip club, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 42.05, p < .001$.

Lap dances are available in all strip clubs. A number of the non-sex buyers saw lap dances (available in all strip clubs) as a form of prostitution, describing them variously as a "*lesser form of prostitution*," "*soft core sex*," "*masturbation*," "*mild prostitution*," and "*insinuating sex*." One man described a multi-use sex industry enterprise. "*You pay a girl to sit on your lap and rub around on you. I guess some places you can buy the girls for a price. There was like a public area with pool tables and a bar, then the strip club in another room, then there were motel rooms upstairs.*"

Sex buyers distinguished strip clubs from prostitution, often expressing a dislike for the clubs. All the men commented negatively about the behavior of other men in strip clubs. "*I've noticed the relationship between men with other men rather than with women--they get into a frenzy with each other. They are more aroused by the concept of being there together with men instead of women...it's almost like in a sports stadium*" (non-sex buyer). Another non-sex buyer commented on the "*pack*"-like atmosphere that exists between men in the strip club: "*the girls drive the men wild....and if you want to see a pack of wolves wake up, just throw a girl in front of them.*"

Competition and eroticized camaraderie among men in strip clubs has been observed in many parts of the world. Describing a transnational male hegemony, Marttila (2008) observed the removal of social constraints and the hostile sexism of men in Finnish strip clubs. A sex buyer in our study said of them, "*I don't believe in Hell, but if there was one, a strip club would be it... it's hot, sweaty, a lot of disgusting men crowded around...I think strip clubs are the most misogynistic places on earth, they hate women, they are throwing money at them, they are sleazy and gross... the women are most often drugged.*"

Drug and alcohol use of Boston sex buyers

While a significant group of men were almost always intoxicated while buying sex (38%), an equally large group was rarely if ever intoxicated (41%). According to the men's observations, half of the women (51%) they used in prostitution were rarely if ever intoxicated while a minority of the women (13%) were usually intoxicated.

Military background of sex buyers

Twenty-two percent of the sex buyers had been in the military compared to 13% of the non-sex buyers. Of the sex buyers who had served in the military, 45% had used a woman in prostitution while in the service. This finding is generally consistent with other research reporting that men who had served in the military were more likely than those who had not, to have used women in prostitution (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann and Kolata, 1994).

Travel to other states and other countries to buy sex

Twenty-five percent of the sex buyers had traveled to another state and while there used women in prostitution. These most often included Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey (Table 10). While it was sometimes clear that they travelled expressly for the purpose of buying sex, sometimes they simply happened to be travelling and took the opportunity to buy sex while away from home.

Table 10. States Where Boston Men Bought Sex

State	Times Noted	Cities
Rhode Island	9	Providence
New York	6	New York City
New Jersey	5	Newark, Atlantic City
Connecticut	4	
Florida	4	Miami, Daytona Beach
California	3	San Francisco, Beverly Hills
Nevada	3	Las Vegas
Pennsylvania	3	Philadelphia
Illinois	2	Chicago
Massachusetts	2	Brockton, Lowell
Georgia	1	Atlanta
Maryland	1	Baltimore
New Mexico	1	
North Carolina	1	
Texas	1	
Vermont	1	
Virginia	1	

Twenty-seven percent of the sex buyers had traveled to another country to use women in prostitution. The most commonly visited countries for this purpose were Canada, Dominican Republic, Germany, Jamaica, Japan, Mexico, and Puerto Rico (Table 11.)

Table 11. Countries Where Boston Men Bought Sex

Country	Times Noted	Cities Specified
Canada	6	
Dominican Republic	5	
Germany	5	Berlin
Jamaica	5	
Japan	4	
Mexico	4	Cozumel
Puerto Rico	4	
England	3	
France	3	
Italy	3	
Philippines	3	
Barbados	2	
Brazil	2	Rio de Janeiro
Korea	2	
Switzerland	2	
Netherlands	2	Amsterdam
Poland	1	
Russia	1	
San Lucia	1	
Spain	1	
Thailand	1	
Trinidad & Tobago	1	

Three quarters of the time (77%), the men travelled with friends or colleagues, and about a third of the time (35%), they were alone when they travelled and bought sex. As was also the case within the U.S., most often they travelled because of work. They also chose certain countries as the opportunity arose. One man met another from his synagogue who helped him locate a trustworthy brothel. Buying women was cheap in certain Caribbean countries so they went there, some had Peace Corps connections, and some sex buyers were on family vacations or attending sports events. On the other hand, some men planned trips to locations that were known for selling sex. One man chose a vacation resort that he knew was near an escort agency.

Age and ethnic selection of women in prostitution

Eighty percent of the sex buyers selected women on the basis of age. Fifty percent selected them on the basis of ethnicity, using blatant race stereotyping. While a few men sought women who were "*racially familiar*," most sought someone who was ethnically "*different or exotic*," the racial other.

Paying for sex with drugs, shelter, food and clothes

In addition to paying cash for sex, 40% of the men exchanged drugs for sex, 25% exchanged shelter for sex, 18% exchanged food for sex, and 15% exchanged clothes for sex.

Changes in sex buyers' sexuality over time as a result of prostitution

Nearly a third (30%) of the sex buyers told us that the acts they sought out from women in prostitution gradually changed. The changes included more sadomasochistic sex acts, more anal sex, and learning new sexual preferences such as being submissive. *"Over time I would still want head, anal, doing dirtier things; treat them dirtier, like flipping them around. I have an easier time treating them worse. I had a girlfriend who would just moan during sex and she wouldn't talk dirty but then I asked her to and she got better at it. Then I called her a nasty slam pig this one time and she stopped having sex with me. With prostitutes, you can call them anything..."*

Another man explained the change in the type of sex he preferred this way: *"It's like being an addict, you always want a better high than the previous one, you're always looking to top your previous high."*

Attitudes About Prostitution Among Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers

Differences in whether or not prostitution was viewed as consenting sex, a choice, or sexual exploitation, and whether prostitution should be legal

We found significant differences in attitudes toward the institution of prostitution, some of which mainstreamed and normalized prostitution. There were inconsistencies in both groups' thinking about whether prostitution was a choice or whether it was sexually exploitive.

Sixty-two percent of sex buyers and 37% of non-sex buyers viewed prostitution as consenting sex, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 12.94, p < .001$. When the question was framed as "choice," both groups dramatically increased their acceptance of prostitution: 93% of sex buyers and 66% of non-sex buyers stated that women should have the choice to prostitute, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 22.00, p < .001$. While acknowledging that prostitution could be a "*power trip*" or a "*control thing*" on the part of the john, nonetheless a sex buyer insisted, *"They can choose who they want to have sex with as much as the man can choose."* In another study, 63% of 147 men arrested for soliciting sex endorsed the statement that women made the choice to prostitute and that they could stop prostitution when they wanted to do that (Shively et al., 2008).

Thirty-seven percent of sex buyers and 21% of non-sex buyers think that once sex is paid for, women are obligated to do whatever the buyer wants, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 6.43, p = .011$. Thirty-eight percent of sex

buyers and 65% of non-sex buyers saw prostitution as sexual exploitation, a statistically significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 14.59, p < .001$. At the same time, some of the men articulated their awareness that women in prostitution do not make a real choice but are coerced into prostitution by histories of abuse, neglect, violence in relationships and as a result of this culture's tolerance for sex discrimination, race discrimination and by poverty. *"They're doing it for survival, going down the wrong path. I seen women do it for tuition, video games, their children, rent... but they all felt like they didn't have a choice"* (sex buyer). *"...she really doesn't want to be there, but she has to do it to keep an income"* (sex buyer). *"I don't think it's their choice... so by paying, you're almost forcing them into having sex. It's usually not their choice to be a prostitute. I'm assuming women don't just wake up and say I want to be a prostitute. So, while there's some degree of choice on their part, if you pay them, they have to have sex with you"* (non-sex buyer).

A non-sex buyer powerfully explained his understanding of prostitution as a form of sexual violence. *"I don't think prostitution is quite the same as rape. Rape is worse. But it's close to the rape end of the spectrum. It's not rape, because there is superficial consent. On the face of it, the prostitute is agreeing to it. But deeper down, you can see that life circumstances have kind of forced her into that, even though she has agreed to it. It's like someone jumping from a burning building—you could say they made their choice to jump, but you could also say they had no choice."*

Observing the well documented history of childhood sexual assault common to almost all of those in prostitution, another sex buyer said, *"I met a lot of women [in prostitution], and it seems like, you know, everyone has baggage but most of their baggage has to do with incest, rape, sexual abuse. They just carry a lot of baggage, and they just carry on with it, **doing that stuff over and over, like they deserve it**"* [authors' emphasis].

We asked all the men several questions about legalization and decriminalization of prostitution and about what they thought would deter men from buying sex. Across several different questions, there was a trend for sex buyers to favor legalized or decriminalized prostitution. Eighty percent of sex buyers agreed that prostitution should be legalized, compared with 40% of non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 33.52, p < .001$. Seventy-three percent of sex buyers agreed that prostitution should be decriminalized compared with 45% of non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 16.77, p < .001$. Finally, 72% of the sex buyers agreed that arresting men who patronize prostitutes causes more problems than it solves, compared with 41% of non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 20.14, p < .001$. Despite these significant differences, the non-sex buyers' support for some form of legally-tolerated prostitution is noteworthy. For example, one non-sex buyer explained prostitution in exactly the same terms as sex buyers: *"It's very similar to going to the barber or dentist... any professional service... service is being provided, it's cut and dry... if I want to order a hamburger at McDonald's I am satisfying one appetite like physical hunger... with prostitution it is fulfilling a sexual appetite."*

When we asked the men how much they agreed with the statement that "most men go to prostitutes once in a while," 48% of the sex buyers but only 26% of non-sex buyers agreed, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 10.70, p = .001$. This is an important difference, suggesting that about half of the sex buyers were normalizing their own use of prostitution by suggesting that most men do it, whereas the non-sex buyers tended not to make that same assumption.

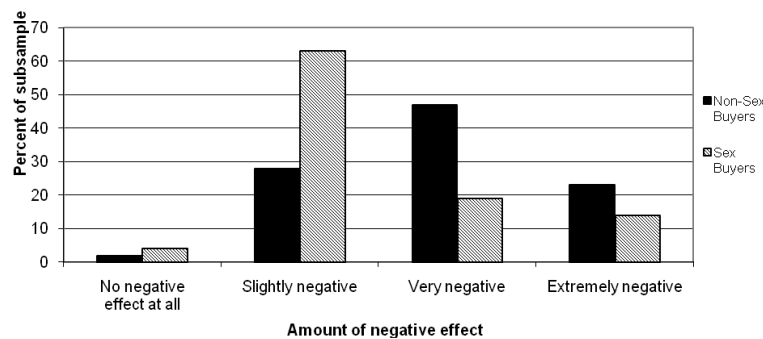
We also asked how comfortable the men would be with their children's involvement in prostitution. Differences were in the predicted direction with sex buyers stating that it was more acceptable to them if either their daughters or sons were involved in prostitution. Twenty-three percent of the sex buyers but only 11% of the non-sex buyers thought that it would be acceptable for their daughters to work in strip clubs, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 5.24, p = .022$. Fifty-six percent of the sex buyers but only 20% of the non-sex buyers felt that it was acceptable for their sons to go to brothels, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 28.00, < .001$. These findings further suggest that both groups see a difference between buying sex (sons going to brothels) and being bought for sex (daughters in strip clubs).

Awareness of harms of prostitution

The psychological trauma of prostitution can be understood as a process of victimization across the life cycle (Brannigan & Van Brunshot, 1997). The lifetime experiences of the majority of those prostituted usually includes childhood sexual assault by family and community (Silbert & Pines, 1982a, 1983; Nadon, Koverola, Schludermann, 1998; Abramovich, 2005; Putnam, 1990; Widom & Kuhns, 1996), emotional neglect (Cusick, 2002; Mayfield-Schwarz, 2006; MacLean, Embry, & Cauce, 1999), childhood physical abuse (Dalla, 2006; Giobbe, 1991), domestic violence (Dworkin, 1997; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Zimmerman et al., 2006; Potterat et al., 2004), rape in prostitution (Silbert & Pines, 1982b; Oberman, 2004; Farley, et al., 2003), verbal abuse, and domination (Herman, 1992; Schwartz, Williams, & Farley, 2007), all of which most frequently occur in a social context where racism and poverty increase vulnerability and interact with the foregoing (Tyler, 2009; Farley, Lynne, & Cotton, 2005; Raymond et al., 2002).

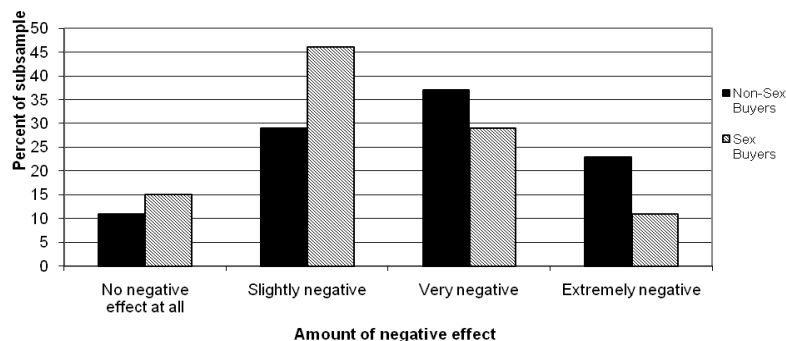
We asked the men's opinions of the extent of negative consequences of prostitution for the woman in it. There were highly significant differences between sex buyers' and non-sex buyers' assessment of the effects of prostitution (Figure 1). Of the 100 sex buyers, 67% indicated no or slight negative effects, 19% indicated very negative effects, and 14% indicated extremely negative effects. Of the 100 non-sex buyers, 30% indicated no or slight negative effects, 47% indicated very negative effects, and 23% indicated extremely negative effects, $\chi^2(2, N = 200) = 28.18, p < .001$.

Figure 1. Negative Effects of Prostitution on Prostituted Women According to Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers



We also asked about the potential negative effects of prostitution on the community. Again, there were significant differences between the two groups of men (Figure 2), with sex buyers perceiving fewer negative effects on the community, $\chi^2(3, N = 201) = 9.67, p = .022$.

Figure 2. Negative Effects of Prostitution on the Community According to Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers



Both sex buyers and non-sex buyers evidenced extensive knowledge of the physical and psychological harms of prostitution. The men observed common psychological symptoms include low self-esteem, depression, substance abuse disorders, and dissociative disorders. Prostituted women also suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder, eating disorders, and chronic physical symptoms typically seen in those subjected to violence and terror.

A non-sex buyer said: *"Prostitution ruins self-esteem, self worth... it gives them a distorted image of men because they are with certain types of men... Those men [who buy sex] are not a real reflection of the real population... those men are dirty, controlling, not responsible, not honorable."* A sex buyer said, *"at one time I used to think that it [prostitution] used to help a woman get self esteem. But I've changed my views on that. Now I think it helps to eliminate your self esteem."* Another sex buyer explained, *"They use sex to get money because they don't believe in themselves. They have very low self confidence. I think they're very disturbed. I think a lot of times they feel degraded. They feel like they've been used. They feel useless. I mean the ones I know have no self confidence, so they feel less than a person, and more like a commodity."* *"I think prostitutes turn into bad people from being prostitutes... jaded, bad things happen like rape, beatings, just being looked at as a commodity, having to con men out of money... you turn into a criminal"* (sex buyer).

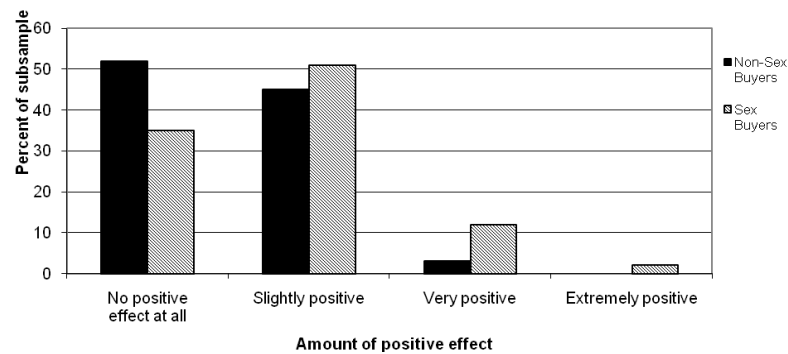
A non-sex buyer said: *"What are you doing to your mother, sister or other family member, to the neighborhood? To drive down Blue Hill Avenue and see a family member on the street corner selling her precious body. She got value for awhile, but then she wasn't looking beautiful anymore because of the toll it took on her life. She looked like she'd been beat up, gained weight. Mentally she was driven down to the point where she didn't care anymore."* *"On the emotional level the women lose the ability to form any real commitments to a potential husband..."* [the person] is *"worthless to themselves."* (non-sex buyer) *"You get to treat a ho like a ho...you can find a ho for any type of need - slapping, choking, aggressive sex beyond what your girlfriend will do - **you won't do stuff to your girlfriend that will make her lose her self esteem.**"* (sex buyer)

A non-sex buyer analyzed the dissociation that he knew existed in prostitution in the following way. *".. you have to make yourself shut down let's say 4 times a day, emotionally...It [prostitution] might not be what she thought it was going to be... It could lead to other addictions, like drugs and alcohol."* Sex buyers were also aware of prostituted women's dissociation, with one man accurately observing, *"it's like she's not really there."* Or as another drily commented, *"Let's face it; sex with 3000 guys tends to diminish real feelings."*

A man who previously bought sex decided to discontinue prostitution after overcoming an addiction and after having children. His experiences of childhood sexual assault played a role both in his buying sex and then also in stopping that behavior because he was able to clearly see the pain of those prostituted. *"As an underage person, I was forced to have sex. And I can look back today and see how that damaged me. And so if it damaged me, I don't feel like it's any more right to go out and damage someone else."* About prostitution, he concluded, *"I just think everything about it is negative. I think it destroys your ability to be intimate. It destroys your views on sexuality outside of yourself. It might even change the way you look at how different classes of people should be treated—children, women. I think the whole thing is negative."*

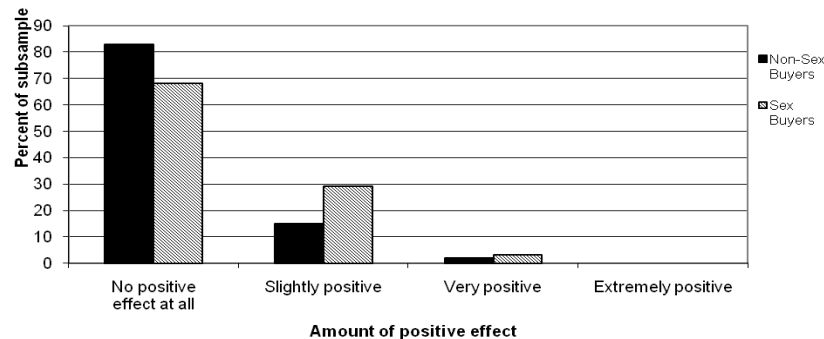
In addition to asking about negative effects of prostitution, we also asked about the men's perceptions of its potentially positive effects. Of the 101 sex buyers, 35% indicated no positive effects on the woman in prostitution, 51% indicated slight positive effects, and 14% indicated very or extremely positive effects. In contrast, 52% of the 100 non-sex buyers indicated no positive effects, 45% indicated slight positive effects, and 3% indicated very or extremely positive effects, $\chi^2 (2, N = 201) = 10.94, p = .004$ (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Positive Effects of Prostitution on Prostituted Women According to Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers



Likewise, 32% of the sex buyers indicated some positive effects on the community, compared to 17% of the non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 5.69, p = .017$ (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Positive Effects of Prostitution on the Community According to Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers



Awareness of pimping, coercion, and trafficking

Some of the men we interviewed had extensive knowledge about the recruitment tactics and coercive exploitation used by pimps against women and children in prostitution. Forty-one percent of the sex buyers had themselves used a woman in prostitution who was controlled by a pimp. The pimp most often (89% of the time) was a man, although 36% of the sex buyers also reported that sometimes the prostituted woman was controlled by a female pimp. One man noted, *"They are made to feel insecure and lose self-respect. They probably are made to feel like that [prostitution] is what they have to do and that is all they can do. The whole idea for pimps is to keep them there and so that is how they want to them to feel."*

One of the sex buyer interviewees was a friend of some pimps who asked him to help recruit women for prostitution. Pimps asked him to *"find them certain types of girls in the psych hospital...Then there are other guys [pimps] I knew who picked up kids from the bus stops. I've met girls who are like 15 or 16."* This man estimated that of the prostituted women he was acquainted with *"60-70% of them were abused as children."* Sex buyers (96%) and non-sex buyers (97%) shared the opinion that minor children are almost always available for prostitution in bars, massage parlors, escort and other prostitution in Boston. A sex buyer observed a girl he estimated to be about 16 years old. *"She didn't want to do it, she didn't know what she was doing...she was young, she was naive. You KNOW she didn't want to be doing what she was doing"*

For the woman herself it is of course impossible to tell any difference at all between pimping (coercive physical and mental control) and trafficking (coercive physical and mental control). For example, a sex buyer commented, *"She was Asian and barely spoke English, some guy brought her up to my room and stayed by the*

door outside the room until she was done...he looked like a thug." Another sex buyer said, "There may be some people who have chosen that profession. **There are also those who may have been forced there and you might not be able to tell who's who...**" Another sex buyer responded to an interviewer's query about the source of his knowledge that a prostituted woman he had used was trafficked with a commonly-heard john rescue fantasy/rationalization for abuse: "The fact that there was a man in a car waiting for her and that she had to give him the money first before we did anything...I gave her more money at the end and told her not to tell him. She spoke very little English, that she didn't want to be doing what she was doing...and that is why I would have cancelled it, but for my urges and that I thought she would get abused by the guy in the car when she arrived, she definitely didn't want to be there...but when she left, she was happier and I think I may have touched her soul just a little bit."

Two thirds of both the sex buyers (66%) and the non-sex buyers (66)% observed that a majority of women are lured, tricked or trafficked into prostitution. Many of the men had an awareness of the economic coercion and the lack of alternatives in women's entry into prostitution. "... the women who are prostitutes, they're single moms, it's not so cut and dry. It's not a conscious choice for them. While they're not literally forced into it, through socioeconomic circumstances they are partially forced into it. And the purchaser is inexorably tied to the bad and the wrong things that go into it. He's not just a harmless customer" (non-sex buyer). A sex buyer commented on men who pimped their wives: "you won't believe how many husbands or whatever force their wives to do stuff like that [prostitute]." "...in Chinatown, I think there is less choice, less of a making of one's own life because life is made for them by pimps, drugs, and rape" (sex buyer).

Another sex buyer struggled to balance what he knew and his desire to minimize the exploitation involved in "high end" prostitution, "Overall, I would say they are different because they're vulnerable and exploited, but I would like to think that the high end girls that I use aren't like that. But overall, I'd say... they don't have very many options to make money and maybe they got involved with a pimp, and they are stuck."

A prostitution tourist with extensive information about trafficking of children in Thailand spoke about his experiences, "One time I was in Thailand, I had sex with a young girl, and she was interesting. Her friend said 'she would love to spend the night with you.' I loved it, it was fabulous, and it was great. Once a man starts getting in his thirties and forties, they start getting more of an emotional attachment... In Thailand [I was] feeling bad that her financial circumstances were so bleak. I had fatherly instincts. I enjoyed it immensely; I enjoyed the fact that she was very attracted to me. When you live in a warm tropical climate, your sexuality is brought out more. The last time I was in Thailand two ten or eleven year old girls walked by me, I was all tan and looking great. They saw me as a good looking man and interesting. The next thing, four years later, the same girl is 16, the grandmother tried to give her to me, to take her to America. The girl looked at the grandmother and was confused. I sensed that she was feeling that if it [being sold] was going to have to happen to her, I would be a good guy for it to happen with. I picked up that she wasn't that comfortable with it. Every street corner in Bangkok, I would see all these young girls. I went there to go on mountain treks. These girls were around 16 or 17 and would be intrigued by a blue-eyed, well tanned American. What I learned from seeing these girls, a good percentage of these sweet girls, there is no money, the whole family lives together, so now the girls in the villages see the other girls coming back from Bangkok, and all nice clothes and money, and it is understandable to them to go out and have that job. The younger prostitutes make more money, in Thailand." Prostitution is illegal in Thailand.¹ Today, any prostitution of a minor is also the federal crime of trafficking in the United States (Trafficking Victims Protection Act, 2008). Thus all children prostituted in Boston are victims of a federal crime as well as the victim of laws against sexual assault against a child. Sadly, when these children turn into 18 year olds, and then 28 year olds, they are no longer considered innocent victims, they are assumed (wrongly) to have made the choice to prostitute, and they are all too often ignored by the public and by the criminal justice system.

Research studies and non-governmental agencies' knowledge based on extensive experience with

¹ Sex buyer Dave describes Thai laws on prostitution for prostitution tourists. See <http://www.sexwork.com/Thailand/legal.html>

victims have shown that trafficking is prevalent in all forms of prostitution (Boyer, 2008; DiPaolo, 1999; Decker et al., 2011; Giobbe, 1993; Herman, 2003; Ling et al., 2007; Raphael and Shapiro, 2002; Sarkar et al., 2008) Silbert and Pines, 1982; Vanwesenbeeck et al, 1995; West et al., 2000). Anderson and O'Connell Davidson (2003) reported that 77% of sex buyers in Japan were aware of trafficked women who were prostituting.

Often, as in other studies, the knowledge that the women have been exploited, coerced, pimped, or trafficked failed to deter Boston sex buyers. A sex buyer described the rapes of a woman he knew by her pimp. But, he said, it was only, *"Every once and a while, not every week. She would have to sleep with him maybe once or twice a month. But he was not abusive."* Other sex buyers claimed to be nice guys themselves while acknowledging that other johns were abusive. *"Listen, I'm not demeaning to women. I know that's out there, but it's not my thing."*

A sex buyer interviewed by Di Nicola (2009, p 232) reasoned that the abuse was paid for therefore negated, *"All of them are exploited. However, they also have good incomes."* The same qualities in women that are sought by men who buy sex are also risk factors for trafficking, for example, young age, low price, foreigner or "exotic," and inability to speak the local language (Farley, 2009). Cauduro and colleagues (2009) point out that women trafficked to Italy from Eastern Europe, Africa, China, and South America often share a common patriarchal cultural background where it is considered normal for women to be subservient to men, therefore are easier for sex buyers to dominate.

Based on these sex buyers' extensive information about pimps, coercion, trafficking, and the harms of prostitution to the women, it is logical for law enforcement to interrogate arrested johns about these crimes. Sex buyers' knowledge about the sex trafficking industry is not yet well used by law enforcement although it would likely yield valuable information. The men's extensive knowledge about trafficking for prostitution suggests to the authors that law enforcement strategies to extract information from arrested johns is far more appropriate in pursuing pimping and trafficking investigations than the unjust and largely ineffective practice of arresting and interrogating prostituted women and children. Prostituted children and women are often under pimp control and have been threatened with extreme violence if they cooperate with police. Arrested sex buyers on the other hand would be highly motivated to cooperate with law enforcement and share their extensive knowledge of pimps, trafficking networks, and general information about how the sex trafficking industry operates.

Despite their knowledge of coercion and their awareness of prostitution's harms, some aspect of their thinking nonetheless still enabled men to buy women for sexual use. We suspect that to a significant extent, sex buyers simply don't think about the consequences of their actions. If the opportunity to buy sex arises, if it's made easy for them, they buy sex. Dragomirescu, Necula & Simion (2009) interviewed sex buyers, women in prostitution, pimps, and police officers in Romania, all of whom agreed that ease of access was a key factor increasing men's demand for prostitution, further noting that sex buyers "are not interested if the girls are actually trafficked or not but are rather more interested in satisfying their sexual needs" (p 160).

Beliefs about differences between women who are and are not prostituted

Sex buyers in this study seemed to justify their involvement in the sex industry by stating their belief in the prejudicial notion that women in prostitution were intrinsically different from non-prostituting women. In this research study, sex buyers significantly more often viewed women who were prostituting as fundamentally different from other women. On a scale of this belief, sex buyers scored 5.09 and non-sex buyers 3.61, a statistically significant difference, $t(197) = -3.09, p = .002$. Circularly, one man argued that women who prostituted belonged in a separate class of humans based on the fact that she was prostituted, *"Most women won't sell their body for money. They think it's a demeaning thing to do. So just being willing to do that makes a woman different."* Another man reasoned that the act of taking money for sex was in and of itself evidence of the essential difference between prostituting and non-prostituting women: *"...a real woman will not solicit her body*

out.. Because if she likes you, she likes you and will have sex because she likes you but a prostitute has sex with you because she wants the money."

Both sex buyers and non-sex buyers viewed women in prostitution as having an ethical or moral deficiency or as having a different sex drive from other women. Both groups saw women who were older or who were not blatantly pimp-controlled as making a choice and earning good money and sometimes even as "con artists." At the same time, interview data revealed that non-sex buyers more frequently than sex buyers mentioned economic hardship as a pressure pushing women into prostitution.

Paradoxically, while viewing prostituted women as degraded objects who were different from other women, at the same time, a number of men understood that their extremely negative attitudes toward women in prostitution inevitably also contaminated their own relationships with other women. "It [prostitution] affects how you view you the opposite sex...gradually over time it goes from the raw experience to something that's incorporated into your personality... if the man has gone with prostitutes a lot he is going to think the woman he is with is like the prostitute ... You might think you can separate that out but all of your experiences, but they become a part of who you are...what's important is how you think about the experiences later...but you can't separate out your experiences, they all mix together" (sex buyer). And "Prostitution can get you to think that things you may have done with a prostitute you should expect in a mutual loving relationship. For example if a woman doesn't like oral or anal. That's acceptable for someone to have that attitude, but if you're going to a prostitute you're getting it. And you think you should get it no matter what" (sex buyer). "Where there is prostitution, men will generalize from a small selective group, if I can buy sex from these women, then I can buy sex from all women. If they don't accept money, then I will have sex with them anyway. It will allow a sense of entitlement from a guy" (sex buyer). "Subconsciously, you may not want to be a jerk to women but if that is what you have grown up seeing the men in your family do and you are getting what you want from the prostitute, then you formulate opinions and ideas of how to treat women and it normalizes the idea that all women want to be treated like that (sex buyer).



Myths about sexuality held by sex buyers and non-sex buyers

We asked whether the sex buyers thought that women in prostitution were sexually satisfied while prostituting. Although the traumatic and destructive effects of prostitution on the autonomous sexuality of the person in prostitution are well known (Perkins & Bennett, 1985; Williams, 1991; Miller, 1986; Silbert & Pines, 1983; Giobbe, 1991), a third (35%) of the sex buyers nonetheless believed that women were almost always sexually satisfied during prostitution (70% or more of the time). On the other hand, another third (33%) of sex buyers believed that women were rarely if ever sexually satisfied in prostitution (20% or less of the time).

In a related query, more of the sex buyers (58%) than non-sex buyers (37%) felt that having sex with a prostitute made a man a better lover, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 9.20, p = .002$. Labeling the sex buyers "losers" in so many words, a non-sex buyer observed, *"They [women in prostitution] don't enjoy it at all. They just blank their mind out. Men think they enjoy it, but it is just fake. The guys will come back and will say 'I had that woman moaning and screaming,' and I will be like, 'they got your money, though.'"* Several sex buyers repeated the myth expressed by this man: *"You are not paying a prostitute for sex, you are paying her to leave afterwards. No emotional connection."* This statement reflects the john's fantasy that the woman he buys is having a relationship with him - a desirable partner - and that she wants to stay with him.

We asked both groups of men what words they would use to describe sex buyers. All (100%) of the sex buyers described themselves in terms of dominance (player, stud, powerful). There were differences in the descriptors they used, with more non-sex buyers labeling buyers as losers, unethical, or desperate. Fewer non-sex buyers labeled buyers as normal or as studs/players/powerful than did sex buyers (Table 12).

Table 12. Words Used by Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers to Describe Men Who Buy Sex

Word	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Normal	67%	42%
Player, Stud, Powerful	100%	55%
Loser	35%	52%
Desperate	63%	83%
Unethical	33%	66%

Why men say they buy sex

Men's view of sex as a commodity and their sense of entitlement to sexual access to women were primary motivations for buying sex according to Monto's review of studies (2004). Buying sex reflected men's dominant social position in several ways, including what McLeod (1982) described as "self-centered gratification."

Of 147 men attending a diversion program for those arrested for solicitation of prostitution, half reported that they bought sex because it was "quick and easy" and 20% said that they did not have to worry about a relationship, and 4% reported that the primary reason they bought sex was for "control over the situation" (Shively et al., 2008). The same study found that 63% men arrested for soliciting thought that prostitution was the woman's choice. In another study, among 37 men in a post-sentencing psychoeducational program, 14% said they liked the danger, excitement or novelty" of prostitution, 17% were seeking sexual satisfaction, 11% were seeking anonymity or "no ties" (Sawyer, 1998).

We asked sex buyers and non-sex buyers why men bought sex (Table 13).

Table 13. Reasons for Buying Sex

Reason	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Satisfy immediate sexual urge, entertainment, pleasure	26%	17%
No commitment, convenient, no emotional connection	12%	11%
Can't get what he wants sexually or emotionally in his current relationship, seeks variety	19%	20%
It's a thrill; likes to break a taboo	8%	5%
To feel in control; to dominate or abuse a woman	3%	10%
It's an addiction, self-esteem/emotional problem or intoxication	3%	13%
Male bonding, peer pressure	1%	3%

Additional comments by sex buyers regarding why they bought sex were that it *"mentally makes you superior,"* with another commenting that *"I wanted to do something nasty to somebody."* A third sex buyer said that he liked *"to beat women up."* Non-sex buyers offered analyses that to some extent mirrored these statements. One non-sex buyer said that men bought sex because *"they hate women – to punish them,"* and another described johns as men who *"want to degrade women."* Other non-sex buyers focused on the dominance of sex buyers: they act as if they're *"entitled to buy someone,"* or they are exploiting their *"power because you are buying and they [women in prostitution] need your money."* Several non-sex buyers saw buying sex as a sign that a man was unable to maintain a normal relationship. For example, *"I would see myself as a loser to buy sex...to stoop that low...because you are admitting that you can't have sex with a woman under regular terms."* Another noted that buying sex seemed *"desperate and sad."*

Belief that prostitution prevents rape

Thirty-two percent of sex buyers and 20% of non-sex buyers subscribe to the theory that prostitution reduces the likelihood of rape, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 3.90, p = .048$. These ideas were expressed by a sex buyer who said, *"If a person seeks sex with a prostitute and doesn't get it, he can go into the park and grab a girl and rape or do violence to women...legalized prostitution cuts down violence towards women... doesn't eliminate it, but it will help if it saves 1,2,3 women, then it's served its purpose."* Another man said, *"There's desperate people out there. They're frustrated, they can't get laid, so they go out and they're raping people. They get pissed off... Where there is no prostitution, there will be lots of rape; where there is lots of prostitution, no rapes."*

Among all of the men (sex buyers and non-sex buyers alike), the higher the rape myth acceptance score (see below), the more likely he was to accept the notion that prostitution prevents rape, $r = -.33, p < .001$.

Internal Conflicts of Sex Buyers

Sawyer (1998) reported that all 37 of the men arrested for prostitution solicitation who participated in a post-sentencing psychoeducational program for sex buyers had "mild to severe opposition to their own behavior." We also noted highly conflicted attitudes among the sex buyers toward their own sex buying.

We asked sex buyers to describe how they felt before and after buying sex, and then rated each word as positive, negative or neutral (Table 14). Men's feelings after buying sex were generally more negative and less positive. Positive words before prostitution included *"looking forward to it,"* or *"excited."* Yet more often they felt *"dirty," "overwhelmed with sexual urges," "anxious,"* or *"desperate"* before buying sex. Afterwards, they occasionally described feeling *"relieved"* or *"satisfied,"* but far more frequently described feeling *"glad it's over," "weird," "regretful," "guilty,"* or *"dirty."*

Table 14. Sex Buyers' Feelings Before and After Buying Sex (n)

	Positive Feeling Words	Negative Feeling Words	Neutral Feeling Words	Total Words
Before Buying Sex	13% (56)	36% (154)	51% (220)	430
After Buying Sex	6% (27)	54% (228)	40% (170)	425

Some men who bought sex expressed feelings of guilt or regret after the experience of prostitution. One man explained that after using a woman for sex, *"It was confusing. It was depressing. It felt inherently wrong afterwards. Unfulfilling. It made me feel much worse than it made me feel good at the time."* The men often focused specifically on the way they felt after participating in an industry they saw as exploitive of women: *"You have to be careful, but it can be very satisfying at the moment, but inevitably leads to a lot of stress and anxiety. Your own moral fiber, because I am supporting an industry that is exploitive and unfair and potentially harmful to myself and all parties involved...they are getting paid for it, but you are being a patron to an industry that is very dangerous for the sex workers."*

Empathy for women in prostitution

A key element in empathy is the cognitive ability to identify what someone else is feeling. After an accurate identification of another person's emotional state has occurred, the second phase of empathy involves an appropriate response to that person's emotional state. Baron-Cohen (2011) suggested that people who lack empathy see others as mere objects. Objectification is a core element of the sex buyer's attitude toward women in prostitution. Empathy has been shown to be an exceptionally important variable in the study of sexual aggression. For example, Lisak and Ivan (1995) found empathy deficits in sexually aggressive men. Abbey and colleagues (2006) found that men who were in other respects high risk for sexual aggression were unlikely to aggress if they were "sensitive to others' feelings" (empathetic) rather than self-centered.

We asked the interviewees to estimate how women in prostitution felt during prostitution, and then compared their responses to a study of prostituted women in which the women described how they felt during prostitution (Kramer, 2003). We then ranked the men's positive, negative, and neutral descriptors of how the women felt. The sex buyers' were far less able than the non-sex buyers to assess the emotional state (positive or negative) of actual women in prostitution. The assessment of the women's emotional state by men who did not buy sex was closer to the women's actual feelings during prostitution (Table 15).

Table 15. Words Used by Sex Buyers, Non-Sex Buyers, and Prostituted Women to Describe Feelings of Women during Prostitution (n)

	Positive Feeling Words	Neutral Feeling Words	Negative Feeling Words	Total Words
Sex Buyers	40% (182)	17% (76)	44% (201)	459
Non-Sex Buyers	18% (79)	11% (47)	72% (319)	445
Women in Prostitution (Kramer, 2003)	9% (41)	14% (64)	77% (127)	232

The lack of empathy exhibited by sex buyers is associated with their objectification of women in prostitution, which are both cause and result of men's use of women in prostitution. The interviews provided much evidence of sex buyers' emotional and sexual disconnections, their lack of interest in the emotional state or well being of the prostituted person, and the profound objectification that was a core element in their buying sex.

The men explained that they often literally saw women in prostitution as objects or consumable products: *"Prostitution treats women as objects and not beings. Not humans. You have to make a person feel like an 'other,' like a vessel, like a hole to stick your penis into, that is all she is..."* *"For me, being with a prostitute is not a relationship. It's like having a cup of coffee, when you're done, you throw it out."* *"Prostitution is for satisfying a man. It makes the world interesting: it creates variety, like a delicatessen--you order this, you that that."*

"She is just a biological object...that charges for services" The sexual service sought by buyers put women in the position of being the thing provided, *"All you have to do is pay for it like any other convenient service you use."*

Prostitution as a 'girlfriend experience'...but not really

Some men wanted prostitution to be like having a girlfriend except they wanted her to be a girlfriend with no feelings who made no demands on them and who would automatically be aroused by every sex act they demanded. Though several men described an ideal encounter with a prostitute consisting of *"mutual pleasure,"* they also sought an emotion-free girlfriend. Sixty-three percent of sex buyers reported that they never had an emotional relationship at all with women they bought. Only 4% said that they always had an emotional relationship with the women. According to a sex buyer, a woman in prostitution should be: *"...sort of like a girlfriend, very friendly. The sex would be really good, really great. I would get off. If she did, great; if she didn't, OK. Then I would pay and say goodbye."* This pornographized sex focuses exclusively on his pleasure; hers is irrelevant - if she enjoys it that's nice but if not, that's just fine, too.

Several men clearly expressed their awareness of - and their satisfaction with - the falseness of the women's emotional expression. *"The best part about going to prostitutes is you don't have to worry about them feeling good because they're going to fake it no matter what. So you can just focus on having a good time yourself."* Sex buyers' embrace of the prostituted woman's coerced self-presentation, their requirement that she service their masturbatory fantasies, their knowledge that she is acting, and their not caring what she really thinks or feels, was prevalent among sex buyers: *"...they pretend that they like me. I know they don't but pretending is enough."* One man who bought sex explained that emotional distance was an essential element of paying for sex without guilt. *"The relationship is all superficial--all on the surface. It has to stay that way because they are a person and you're capable of getting to know them. But once you know them, it's a problem, because you can't objectify them anymore."* Another sex buyer said, *"Being with a woman, it's a mutual sex act. And being with a prostitute, it's more of a one-sided exchange."*

Many sex buyers emphasized to interviewers that the women's feelings were irrelevant to them. Some were not interested in the girlfriend pretense. This disconnection from the woman's experience appealed to many men. One man bought sex in order *"to be greedy. I don't have to satisfy her."* O'Connell Davidson characterized sex buyers as "necrophiliacs" who commit their acts on socially dead women. These are men, she said, whose sexual desire is aroused by *not* having to care about the prostitute as a human being—the opposite of the intimacy (Westerhof, 2008). A lack of emotional involvement was one of the key attractions of commercial sex for 59% of sex buyers in another study (Xantidis and McCabe, 2000). Other sex buyers simply wanted sexual relief through ejaculation in or on a woman who *"you will never see again, so you don't care, it's a woman you don't care about."* Another noted, *"I've never had emotional encounters with a prostitute... it's just physical."* *"You tell a girl, like can I put it in your ass and she's like 'ooh I really like that,' that has a good psychological effect. That sounds creepy, I feel weird because it sounds personal. I mean, you want to be respectful and whatever, but you also want to be dirty. Really dirty, dirty girls."*

For a number of sex buyers, their domination and the woman's powerlessness was what aroused him. *"I guess the big thing is the control aspect of it. When you're with a prostitute, you have control of what happens. You get to have control over what you do when, how, in what order, and I like that."*

Other sex buyers were more aware of the women's feelings, yet that did not deter them. For example, *"You should think about the other person's rights and feelings, and not make it all about you..."* One man's comments

about the differences in his attitudes toward women when he bought sex, compared to his thinking about women 15 years after buying sex for the last time - were illuminating. *"In a society where there's no prostitution, I think there would be lots more respect between men and women. And I think in a society where prostitution runs rampant, there's a lot of disrespect. And I think that's why women are looked at as merely sex object and not as humans that deserve respect. I think women have been looked at as being sexual beings and not as being intelligent beings. I have to admit that at one time I did think of women merely as sexual objects. And I'm not proud of it. I was a product of my environment, and that's what was going on in the society I grew up in. I think prostitution degrades women and it treats all sexual relationships as cheap sex and not as a respectable loving relationship with intimate feelings for one another."*

Interest in non-relational sex

We found differences in the men's expressions of their need for a variety of sex partners. Sixty-nine percent of sex buyers and 25% of the non-sex buyers said they needed a variety of sex partners, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 38.79, p < .001$. *"A friend of mine [who used women in prostitution] said that he had 2000 sex partners. I figured that having that many meant that he really couldn't get women on his own. You know, Wilt Chamberlain wrote that he had 20,000 sexual partners. And he said that he would have enjoyed it more if he had had sex 20,000 times with the same sexual partner."* Significantly more of the sex buyers (62%) than the non-sex buyers (24%) acknowledged a need for non-relational, non-committed sex, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 30.01, p < .001$.

Masturbation and prostitution are equated in the views of some men, as in this interviewee's military trainer. *"When I was in the service, I was in boot camp and getting ready for leave. The military trainers said, 'Beyond the gates, there are prostitutes and you can hold up a \$20 bill and they will do it for you. Or you can go into the bathroom and do it yourself [makes masturbation motion with hand] and keep the \$20.' I figured it [prostitution] wasn't worth it."* A non-sex buyer described an alternative to prostitution, *"I would not go to a prostitute even if I wasn't with other women. I think I would just masturbate."*

Hostile masculine identity

In a synchrony of psychoanalytic thinking and feminist theory, Stoller (1975) categorized prostitution as "erotic hatred" of women, similar to Dworkin's (1997) analysis, "When men use women in prostitution, they are expressing a pure hatred for the female body. It is as pure as anything on this earth ever is or ever has been. It is a contempt so deep, so deep, that a whole human life is reduced to a few sexual orifices, and he can do anything he wants."

Hostile masculinity is an important concept in the field of violence against women. It may be at the root of why men dehumanize women as paid-for sexual objects in prostitution. We assessed the men's acceptance of a hostile masculine self-identity as defined by a 34-item scale that inquired about their adversarial sexual beliefs, negative masculinity, and dominance as central to love relationships (Malamuth et al., 1991, Malamuth and Thornhill, 1994). The average score on the scale was 89.8 for sex buyers and 79.7 for non-sex buyers, a statistically significant difference, $t(197) = -3.44, p = .001$.

Pornography Use

"...But it is more exciting to see it visually. And I found out [from pornography] hey, you can do that in real life. And the people that I wanted to it with didn't want to do it with me, so I started going to prostitutes" (sex buyer). *"It's [pornography is] giving you a false sense of closeness to a person that you're never going to meet. And that person that you're going to look at has no initial desire for you. So you should have no initial desire for that. They're there just to create a fantasy that you'll never be able to reach"* (non-sex buyer).

Sex buyers significantly more often imitated sex acts that they had seen in pornography. Fifty-two

percent of sex buyers and 29% of non-sex buyers imitated pornography with their sex partners, $\chi^2 (1, N = 192) = 10.153, p = .001$.

Sometimes the sex buyers directly incorporated pornography into their use of women in prostitution. Some preferred viewing pornography during a session with a prostituted woman, with one sex buyer saying that he wanted the prostitution session to be *"like in a porn movie."*

We compared the men's use of a range of types of pornography and found that sex buyers looked at a greater range of genres of pornography than non-sex buyers. Sex buyers reported looking at an average of 10.32 different types of pornography (std = 3.52, range 1 - 17) compared to an average of 7.70 for the non-sex buyers (SD = 3.47, range 0 - 14), $t(167) = -4.86, p < .001$. There was a trend, which was not statistically significant, for sex buyers (34%) to have seen children aged 13-17 more frequently in at least one category of pornography than non-sex buyers (22%), $\chi^2 (1, N = 191) = 3.07, p = .080$.

Sex buyers more often masturbated to pornography than those who did not buy sex. The sex buyers masturbated to an average of 5.29 types of pornography (SD = 3.78, range 0 - 17) compared to an average of 3.08 types of pornography for the non-sex buyers (SD = 2.85, range 0 - 11), $t(189) = -4.49, p < .001$. In related findings, Monto & McRee (2005) also found that sex buyers compared with a national sample of non-sex buyers more often masturbated and more often used other aspects of the sex industry such as nude shows and pornography. Monto & McRee did not specify whether or not the sex buyers in their study were masturbating to pornography, although we suspect that the answer would have been affirmative if the sex buyers had been asked that question.

In addition to the overall difference between the two groups in the number of types of pornography to which they masturbate, we also found differences in the specific types of pornography which the two groups reported using. Sex buyers significantly more often masturbate to pornography with vaginal sex (86% sex buyers vs 62% non-sex buyers, $\chi^2 (1, N=188) = 14.27, p < .001$); pornography with anal sex (57% sex buyers vs. 29% non-sex buyers, $\chi^2 (1, N = 151) = 11.51, < .001$; pornography with group sex (69% sex buyers vs 48% non-sex buyers, $\chi^2 (1, N = 155) = 6.85, p = .009$); pornography with bukkake², 34% sex buyers vs 13% non-sex buyers, $\chi^2 (1, N = 108) = 5.96, p = .015$; pornography with multiple men penetrating the woman, 56% sex buyers vs 32% non-sex buyers, $\chi^2 (1, N = 147) = 8.45, p = .004$.

The pervasive negative effects of pornography saturation on users are still understudied. While a discussion of the negative effects of pornography on men's sexuality is beyond the scope of this report, it should be noted that new research suggests that delayed ejaculation, impotence, a need to fantasize about pornography in order to sustain an erection, and a gradual detachment from one's partner may be related to men's pornography use (Rothbart, 2011).

Sex Education

We asked questions about the content of sex education classes attended by interviewees. Sex education classes taken by sex buyers as youth (18%) significantly more often covered the topic of prostitution than the sex education classes of non-sex buyers (3%), $\chi^2 (1, N = 120) = 6.865, p = .009$. This finding suggests that the way in which prostitution was addressed in the sex buyers' sex education classes may have normalized prostitution. It is also possible that men's subsequent experiences influenced their recall of sex education. There was a significant difference in whether or not the men were taught about mutual respect in sexual relationships. Significantly fewer (46%) of the sex buyers as compared to 70% of the non-sex

² Bukkake is one of the most popular forms of U.S. pornography, originating in Japan, in which a group of men ejaculate on a woman's face; she is shown humiliated, often crying.

buyers reported that they were taught about respect in sex education classes, $\chi^2(1, N = 116) = 6.64, p = .010$.

Seventy-four percent of the sex buyers as compared to 54% of the non-sex buyers reported that they learned about sex from pornography ($\chi^2(1, N = 180) = 8.07, p = .005$) with 52% of the sex buyers and 34% of the non-sex buyers stating that they learned about sex specifically from pornography videos, ($\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 5.74, p = .017$).

In their extended comments about sex education, the sex buyers very frequently said that they learned about sex from pornography and that it made sex look like fun. The non-sex buyers were somewhat more detailed in their descriptions of what they learned from pornography. For example, a non-sex buyer learned about prostitution by watching pornography, while another described it as “exploitative.” Another explained that in pornography, “Sometimes sex seemed violent, sometimes pleasurable/joyful, loving. It was a wide range of experiences and perspectives.” Interestingly, a non-sex buyer commented that while he looked at pornography and could “imagine the situation,” he did not become aroused by it. Some of the sex buyers noted the specific relationship between sex education, pornography, and attitudes toward women. For example in a discussion about deterring prostitution, one man explained, *“There would have to be stiff criminal penalties [for buying sex] and better sexual education. Need to teach children that sex is a vehicle for emotional connection and not physical orgasm...We need restricted access to online porn, so that kids would be less likely to see women simply as sexual objects...women need better sexual education and education in alternative career options...”*

Rape myth acceptance

We found that both sex buyers and non-sex buyers tended to accept rape myths, reflective of attitudes that have been associated with sexual violence. The sex buyers had a mean rape myths score of 41.13 compared to the non-sex buyers' mean of 39.74, a difference that was not statistically significant, $t(199) = -1.07, p = .287$. These findings are consistent with others' findings of similarities in rape myth acceptance between sex buyers and non-sex buyers (Monto & Hotaling, 2001). Men in the United States are exposed to eroticized violence that normalizes sexual aggression, including rape myths, including for example the notion that women secretly want to be raped, that women say no to sex but really mean yes or that certain clothes worn by women signal their desire to be sexually assaulted and that all women are in their essence sluts and whores.

This finding also suggests that our efforts to deter sex buyers should not be focused exclusively on whether or not men buy sex, but also on whether they hold attitudes that are supportive of prostitution and other forms of violence against women. Although half of our sample did not buy sex, nonetheless many of them were tolerant of prostitution for men who did choose it. For example, one man who did *not* buy sex told us that prostitution could be helpful in teaching men about sex. That misconception could be corrected.

Why do some men choose not to buy sex?

We asked non-sex buyers how they avoided prostitution, including asking them whether others had offered them opportunities to buy women in prostitution and how they rejected those offers. Some men who choose not to buy sex appear to have a greater understanding of the pervasive negative effects of prostitution on their own relationships with women who are important to them than men who do buy sex have. For example one man who did not buy sex explained prostitution as *“the lowest form of social relationship between men and women.”* Men who chose not to buy sex often wanted to avoid harming women. *“I want think of her as a whole person, rather than simply a body.”* and *“I am a sexual being, but it is not a turn on for me knowing that the other person needs to be coerced, no...It is not like you can just grab a rubber doll—a person is still a person, and you need more than just that physical thing...”* Another non-sex buyer said, *“I don’t want to feel like I am using a woman, and if I feel that*

way, I am not going to enjoy it. And I know she isn't going to enjoy it, so why waste my money like that?... I turn myself off if a prostitute is trying to make contact with me."

The men's decisions not to pay for sex were often connected to their perceptions of masculinity. Some men thought that they were so desirable to women that women should have sex with them for free. *"If I have to pay for sex, then that means I can't get a woman, and that bears on me as a man."* Others more clearly saw how prostitution was exploitive of women. *"I have too much respect for myself and too much respect for women, I'm just against the whole idea of exploitation."*

An important aspect of the men's thinking was the sense that sex with a prostitute was emotionally empty and ultimately unsatisfying, *"a one way street."* Another saw the experience as somehow *"not authentic"* because *"there's absolutely no connection with the person there...they're just there because you paid them money."*

Some men understood the harm of prostitution because they themselves had experienced similar abuse. *"I have been abused, and raped. I can identify."*

A prostituted woman said that she viewed bachelor parties as gang rape parties. These events are among the most dangerous kinds of prostitution for women in which there are a group of men rather than one man, most are intoxicated, and the atmosphere is one of wilding. Under these circumstances, there is a high probability of violent rapes and other abuse of women in prostitution. Several non-sex buyers were repulsed by bachelor parties. *"I have been at a bachelor party: the other guys will say, hey let's get the groom a prostitute. I don't want to be involved in that. I knew the bride, and I have too much respect for her."* Another man said about friends at a bachelor party, *"It was their choice and I felt that no, I don't want this [prostitution]...they went off and...most of the people that stayed with me were in a relationship."* A young man had inadvertently attended a bachelor party without knowing what he was getting involved with. *"It was awful. A friend of mine was getting married, I think, and there were 10 of us that all put \$1 in a hat. I was 15, everyone was doing it, and I guess I wanted to see what it was like. I basically got a blow job in front of 5 of my friends. She was complaining that the others were all losers—they were all drunk—and I was the only one who was successful. It was pretty degrading for everyone."*

Many non-sex buyers simply said *"it's not for me"* or said that their viewpoint on prostitution was well enough respected by their friends to be asked only once after which time their *"no"* was respected. One man's response was typical, *"We all respect each other and don't use peer pressure to make each other do something"*

While many of the non sex-buyers categorically opposed buying sex, a number of them cited lack of opportunity as a reason for not buying. Twenty of the men noted that the primary reason they hadn't bought sex was that they had access to sex with a non-prostitute partner such as a wife or girlfriend. The implication was clear that if they did not have a sex partner then they might consider prostitution. *"I might try it if I wasn't in a relationship and there was a well regulated situation."* Another non-sex buyer said that he would choose to use a woman in prostitution if *"someone came up to me and said 'let's get an erotic massage.'"*

Other reasons offered for not buying sex included prostitution's illegal status and their fears about violence or health risks (to them) associated with prostitution. Several men cited a fear of public exposure, with one man describing the stigma of being a john, *"They would think I was sleazy, desperate and had an abusive attitude towards women."*

Many non-sex buyers saw prostitution as a violation of their values. *"My parents taught me how to treat women and see them as equals and not as objects, and that buying sex goes against everything they've taught me."* Another noted, *"I have the utmost respect for myself and my body, and I don't want to do it."* In addition to referring more generally to their upbringing as a deterrent to prostitution, several interviewees specifically mentioned religion as playing a major role in the decision not to buy sex. This man's response is typical: *"I think my Roman Catholic upbringing has a lot to do with it."* Another viewed visiting a prostitute as a violation of religious teachings: *"This*

relates to the Golden Rule. I have daughters, and I wouldn't do that to women like my daughters. I would say the Commandments and the Beatitudes are my moral compass." Another respondent noted: *"My morals would never allow me to do something like that...Prostitution is against Christianity."*

Fear of rejection by women

Significantly more often than non-sex buyers, the sex buyers reported that they feared rejection by women. Sex buyers averaged a score of 5.27, indicating greater sensitivity to rejection, versus a score of 3.54 for non-sex buyers, $t(199) = -3.46, p = .001$. The men discussed how prostitution obviated their fear of rejection. A sex buyer stated: *"It's a service that you can go to for sexual favors if you're too shy to pick up women yourself, if you're insecure."* Another man said: *"[A prostitute] is a person you can practice having sex with and not worry about being judged, or if you are judged, you wouldn't care because it is not someone you know or have a certain relationship with her"* (non-buyer).

Self-reported behaviors and attitudes about violence against women

The sex buyers and non-sex buyers significantly differed in their subjective likelihood to rape. Sex buyers (15%) were significantly more likely than non-sex buyers (2%) to acknowledge that they would rape a woman if they could get away with it and if no one knew about it, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 11.00, p < .001$.

We also inquired about the men's commission of sexually coercive and aggressive behaviors (Koss and Oros, 1982). Sex buyers were significantly more likely tell us that they had engaged in sexually aggressive behaviors with their partners than non-sex buyers, with an average score of 1.59 (SD=1.83, range 0 - 10) sexually coercive behaviors compared to an average for non-sex buyers of 0.53 (SD=0.79, range 0 - 4), $t(188) = -5.63, p < .001$.

Criminal History

We found significant differences in whether or not the sex buyers as opposed to the non-sex buyers had ever been arrested, $\chi^2(1, N=200) = 5.17, p = .023$. Non-sex buyers had been arrested an average of 4.74 times (SD = 5.49, range 0-25, median=2, mode=1). Men who buy sex averaged 11.66 arrests (SD=19.97, range 0-120, median=6, mode=1). This mean difference in number of arrests is significant $t(101.25) = -2.63, p = .010$.

We asked the men how many felonies and how many misdemeanors they had been convicted of. Although a minority of each group of men had been convicted, there were nonetheless significant differences between the two groups. 22% of the sex buyers had at least one felony conviction, compared to 8% of the non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 202) = 7.67, p = .006$. Likewise, 23% of the sex buyers had at least one misdemeanor conviction, compared to 10% of non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 202) = 6.12, p = .013$.

Clinical reports that document sex offender risk behaviors offer additional support for the differences we found in arrest histories of sex buyers vs. non-sex buyers. The Colorado Sex Offender Management Board (2004, p 133, 156) lists procuring prostitutes as one of the risk behaviors exhibited by sex offenders. Lussier and colleagues (2007) found that rapists were more likely than non-rapists to buy sex. In related findings, men who had used women in prostitution were found to have more frequently committed rape in a large national sample (Monto and McRee, 2005).

The finding that sex buyers have engaged in more criminal acts than non-sex buyers requires a reassessment of the way in which we understand the extreme violence including murders that are known to be connected with prostitution (Potterat et al., 2004). All of the crimes known to be associated with violence against women were reported by sex buyers and none were reported by non-sex buyers (Table 16). Similarly,

our finding (see above) that sex buyers have committed significantly more sexually coercive acts against women (non-prostituting as well as prostituting women) than non-sex buyers requires a deeper understanding of all sex buyers as men who must be considered at risk for criminal activity, including commission of violence against women which includes risk for future prostitution activity. The study of undetected rapists suggests that these men are usually multiple offenders, all undetected (Lisak, 2002). In addition to committing other types of crimes, it's likely that undetected sex buyers are also multiple prostitution offenders.

Table 16. Crimes Committed by Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers

Type of Crime	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Violence Against Women or Typically Associated w/VAWA		
impersonating a police officer	1	0
violating a restraining order	1	0
indecent exposure – public urinating	1	0
intimidating witnesses	1	0
lewd and lascivious behavior	1	0
destruction of property	1	0
Total	6	0
Assault		
assault & battery on police officer	2	1
attempted murder	2	0
assault & battery	6	2
assault & battery w/ weapon	2	1
resisting arrest	1	0
hit and run	1	0
assault but charges were dropped	0	1
shoplifting/fighting	0	1
Total	14	6
Weapons		
possession of a firearm	2	0
carrying a concealed weapon	1	1
Total	3	1
Robbery		
conspiracy to commit a robbery	0	1
armed robbery	0	0
unarmed robbery	1	1
robbery	1	0
Total	2	2
Burglary		
breaking and entering	4	1
Total	4	1
Property Crimes		
shoplifting	2	0
theft	1	0
selling balloons without a permit	1	0
larceny over \$1200	1	0
fare evasion on the train	1	0
breaking into safe deposit box	1	0
larceny by check bouncing	0	1
Total	7	1

continued on next page

Table 16 cont. Crimes Committed by Sex Buyers and Non-Sex Buyers

Type of Crime	Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers
Crimes Against Authority - Crimes Defying Police/Parole Officer		
disobeying a police officer	1	0
Evading police	1	0
Parole violation	1	0
Total	3	0
Crimes Against Authority- Disorderly Conduct		
disorderly conduct	4	0
drunk in public	2	0
drinking in public	3	0
open container	1	0
camping in illegal area	0	1
disturbing the peace	0	1
Total	10	2
Crimes Against Authority - Driving Infractions		
driver's license suspended	1	1
driving without a license	2	0
Total	3	1
Substance Abuse – Drug Sales		
possession w/intent to distribute oxycontin	1	0
possession w/intent to distribute cocaine	1	0
drug trafficking	1	0
distribution – crack-cocaine	2	0
distribution in school zone – drug trafficking	1	0
Total	6	0
Substance Abuse – Driving Under the Influence/Dangerously		
drunk driving or DUI	5	1
attempting to commit suicide – driving over 100 mph	1	0
driving under influence of narcotics	1	0
driving to endanger	0	1
Total	7	2
Substance Abuse – Drug Possession		
drug possession - cocaine	1	0
drug possession - marijuana	4	2
drug possession - heroin	1	0
drug possession - oxycontin	1	0
drug possession	2	2
Total	9	4
Substance Abuse - Possession of Drug Paraphernalia		
possession of hypodermic needle	1	0
possession of drug paraphernalia	1	0
Total	2	0

Deterrents to Prostitution

As in 3 previous samples that we and our colleagues studied (Scotland, England, Chicago in Table 17),

both sex buyers and non-sex buyers agreed that the most effective deterrent to buying sex would be to be placed on an official registry of sex offenders. Clearly, sex buyers find that categorization strongly aversive. Next most effective are other public exposure techniques such as having their name or photo publicized on a billboard, newspaper, or the Internet.

Table 17. 526 Responses to: "What would deter you from buying sex?"

	Boston Non-Sex Buyers	Boston Sex Buyers	England Sex Buyers	Chicago Sex Buyers	Scotland Sex Buyers	Overall Percentage	Rank Order
	n=100	n=100	n=103	n=113	n=110	n=526	
Added to a sex offender registry	91%	88%	85%	92%	89%	89%	1
Photo or name in local newspaper	85%	82%	83%	87%	84%	84%	2
Photo or name on a billboard/poster	83%	84%	85%	83%	86%	84%	2
Time in prison	83%	80%	84%	83%	79%	82%	3
Picture or name on Internet	85%	84%	83%	82%	78%	82%	3
Letter sent to family members	76%	88%	79%	79%	77%	80%	4
Suspension of driver's license	84%	73%	78%	76%	NA	78%	5
Greater criminal penalty	81%	70%	77%	75%	72%	75%	6
Car impounded	82%	71%	76%	70%	70%	74%	7
Greater monetary fine	79%	66%	80%	68%	69%	72%	8
Community service	46%	57%	72%	58%	NA	47%	9
Attend an educational program	54%	38%	47%	41%	56%	47%	9

The men described what size fine and what amount of jail time would deter them (Tables 18. and 19). A fine of \$50 would be sufficient to deter 17% of the sex buyers. A fine of \$300 would deter 41% of buyers. A fine of \$500 would deter 66% of buyers. A fine of \$2,000 deter 90% of buyers. A fine of \$4,500 would be sufficient to deter all of the sex buyers in this study. Any amount of time in jail would deter 22% of sex buyers; several hours in jail would deter 34% of sex buyers; 3 days in jail would deter 71% of sex buyers; 3 weeks in jail would deter 83% of sex buyers, and one month would deter 100% of sex buyers.

Table 18. What Size Fine Would Deter Men from Buying Sex?

Fine	Sex Buyers	Sex Buyers (Cumulative)	Non-Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers (Cumulative)
\$1 - \$50	17%	17%	17%	17%
\$100 - \$300	27%	41%	31%	48%
\$500	25%	66%	18%	66%
\$1,000 - \$2,000	24%	90%	22%	88%
\$4,500 or More	7%	97%	12%	100%

Table 19. How Much Jail Time Would Deter Men from Buying Sex?

Time Spent in Jail	Sex Buyers	Sex Buyers (Cumulative)	Non-Sex Buyers	Non-Sex Buyers (Cumulative)
Any time	22%	22%	19%	19%
Several hours	12%	34%	24%	42%
1-3 days	37%	71%	27%	69%
1-3 weeks	12%	83%	11%	80%
1 month or more	17%	100%	20%	100%

Only 35% of the sex buyers said that there was a 100% chance that legal penalties for buying sex would impact them, compared to 55% of the non-sex buyers, $\chi^2(1, N = 194) = 7.52, p = .006$. A sex buyer advised, *"You'd have to make more severe penalties. You'd have to make it a more severe crime than it actually is. Right now it's not all that punishable, especially for the john it's a slap on the wrist. It's nothing, really, you pay a fine and they'll let you go the next day. . . . [you need] longer incarceration. What scares people more than going to jail? I think it's the largest deterrent. And maybe large fines, but very large fines."*

In extended discussions with the men about deterrence and abolition of prostitution, half of the men in each group thought that prostitution would never be abolished.

Prostitution is about servitude

Strip clubs are *"an aim-to-please business,"* a Boston sex buyer said. *"They treat the women kind of like objects. You can have a good time with the servitude, you know what I mean."* Men who buy sex seek and eroticize servitude from prostituted women. Servitude means that the dominator imposes his will on the person who is its object. The object serves the subject. Prostitution is a condition, a status, and a series of acts (Catharine A. MacKinnon, personal communication, July 2011).

Policymakers, clinicians and researchers seeking the abolition of prostitution need to know what exactly makes prostitution so compelling to some men. Why do they want to engage in it? What do they get out of it? The men in these research interviews - both sex buyers and non-sex buyers - made clear that the concept of servitude is at the heart of what prostitution is: it is what they want and it is what they get. The servitude is real, not simulated. He is not just after a pretty girl but one who offers him servitude with a smile (although depending on his preferences, sometimes tears are OK too). *"It's a great feeling to have somebody to do just any normal thing just by your asking.... It's a male thing. 'Get into bed. Do this. Do that. Now do it this way.' You're the boss, the total boss. Even us normal guys want to say something and have it done no questions asked. No 'I don't feel like it.' No, 'I'm tired.' None of those things. Unquestionable obedience, I mean that's powerful. Power is like a drug. The minute you walk in the door you are the Lord and master until the minute you walk out of the door"* (sex buyer). A sex buyer explained that what he wanted from the women he bought in prostitution was, *"Quiet."* When asked what he meant by that, he responded, *"Just, you know... here. Let's do this, and that's it. No drama, I don't have to hear her mouth or nothing. I can say what I want, I can say, 'shut up.' She's just there to serve and that's it."* Some men expressed a desire for obedient compliance with no disagreement, questions or back-talk. *"...they submit to me, whatever I want to do, they do... Whatever I tell them to do, there's no questions, no misunderstanding looks..."* and *"Sometimes you don't want the person to talk back to you... Somebody that just listens to what you want to say and doesn't have an opinion"*

These men's observations about what they sought in prostitution mirror the decades-old observations of feminist analysts and survivors of prostitution Andrea Dworkin, Evelina Giobbe, and Vednita Carter who

also talked about the silencing of women in prostitution. Suppression of all signs of resistance is a critical aspect of the servitude that comprises the distinctive quality of prostituted sex for those who demand it. There is no mutuality or equality in servitude. *"It's a big turn on. Just to know somebody wants to please you, and you don't have to please them."* The one who serves knows without being asked how to attend to the needs of the one who is serviced, *"the feeling that the prostitute is there for me and she is always going to know what I want and do what I want."* As one sex buyer said, *"And they submit to me, whatever I want to do, they do. They're willing to do any and everything I say. Whatever I tell them to do, there's no questions, no misunderstanding looks, like they don't understand why I'm asking them to do something."* The servile relationship required by johns extends to strip club prostitution, with a sex buyer describing exactly what he enjoyed about strip clubs: these women are *"willing to do anything they can for that next dollar. And when I'm there [at a strip club] I treat them like they're just another dog in my back yard. It's fun to watch!"*

The sexuality of servitude in prostitution is "you-do-what-I say-sex" as distinguished from other sex (MacKinnon, 2011). "What turns the john on is the woman's powerlessness," O'Connell Davidson concludes (Westerhof, 2008). Yes, it's the powerlessness but more than that it's the *apparent willingness* to enter into a subservient and powerless relationship with the perpetrator/sex buyer. He wants the total control that comes with her giving up not just an orifice. He also wants her to happily fake her willingness to do that. The john wants her to enjoy her powerlessness. ³ *"You're falling in love with the service, and maybe the girls...but **mostly the thrill of the service...** you don't even want to go to bars anymore, you can just call up and get what you want...there is no more looking...you have it right there..."*

Analogous to other forms of slavery, women in prostitution experience social death (Patterson, 1982; Farley, 1997). As clearly illustrated in these accounts of sex buyers, the prostituted are disappeared as fully human, because only then can she provide the servitude the sex buyer seeks. He seeks her subordination to his wishes, to turn her into his masturbation fantasy by depersonalizing her, by disappearing her name, her identity, her feelings. He replaces her identity with the one he needs for his fantasy (Harvey Schwartz, personal communication, July 2011). In the process she becomes nothing except what men use for sex (Dworkin, 1997). "I'm nothing... They could just as well have bought themselves one of those blown-up dolls" said a prostituted woman in Norway (Hoigard and Finstad, 1986).

Patterson and Dworkin described the servitude of the slave in the same terms: "a dominated thing, an animated instrument, a body with natural movements...The proprietor of this thing, this mover of this instrument...was the master." Patterson (1987), Barry (1979), MacKinnon (1993), and Leidholdt (1993) have described prostitution as a condition of enslavement. The sex buyers in this study affirmed this essential understanding of prostitution. The servitude that arouses the sex buyer, that is what he goes to prostitution to buy, makes prostitution a slavery-like practice.

Coercion of the victim into *colluding* with her own victimization, so the buyer can persuade himself he is enjoying the fruits of the victim's free choice, is the centerpiece of both slavery and organized sexual abuse of children as well as prostitution of adult women (Schwartz, 2000). It is precisely this seeming willing servitude that is sought by sex buyers. The collusion in her own victimization reduces the perpetrator's guilt as these sex buyers often expressed. Located on a continuum of sexual exploitation along with incest, rape and domestic violence, systems of prostitution parallel those abuses in many respects including the exquisite sensitivity of their perpetrators to the realities of power and social norms (Herman, 1992). Sex buyers' goal is the creation of a sexually believable willing victim, as is the case with others on the spectrum of sex offending. Omitting this critical piece about sex buyers misses the whole point of prostitution as the sex buyers themselves see it and seek it.

³ If the reader is not clear about this, spend some time reading eroticreview.com or other john chat boards to observe how important a "good attitude" is when johns rate prostituted women's performances and tell each other what she's worth on the market.

WHAT WE LEARNED FROM THIS RESEARCH

Sex buyers committed more criminal activity than the non-sex buyers. Simply put: sex buyers are criminals, not only because they are soliciting prostitution but also because they are far more likely than non-sex buyers to commit felonies, misdemeanors, crimes related to violence against women, substance abuse-related crimes, assaults, crimes with weapons, and crimes against authority. The only category of crime with no difference between the groups was robberies.

Sex buyers were extremely sensitive to the enforcement of laws and clearly understood that the likelihood of negative legal consequences for buying sex was minimal. They spoke to us about this issue. There were a number of other important differences between these two groups of Boston men as well. Non-sex buyers significantly more often viewed prostitution as harmful both to the woman bought for sexual use and to the entire community than did sex buyers.

The sex buyers had an extensive awareness of the intimate relationship between coercion, prostitution, and trafficking. Many (41%) of the sex buyers used women who they knew were controlled by pimps at the time they used her. Both sex buyers and non-sex buyers (more than 90% of the men in each group) held the opinion that almost all bars and strip clubs in Boston sold minor children in the sex industry. We found many differences in the attitudes and beliefs of sex buyers and non-sex buyers. The sex buyers had significantly less empathy for prostituted women than did non-sex buyers. As in other studies of sex buyers, they expressed ambivalence, guilt, and negative thinking about buying sex. They felt just as many negative feelings after buying sex as they did before. Many sex buyers sought sex that was unemotional and non-relational. They had little objection if the woman they purchased for sexual use was obviously pretending to like him or actively disliked performing the act of prostitution. Sex buyers repeatedly commented that they liked the power relationship in prostitution and they liked the freedom from any relational obligation.

Sex buyers more often than non-sex buyers falsely believed that prostitution prevents rape. They more often placed women in a category separate from other women. Non-sex buyers less often saw women in these two different categories of human.

The sex buyers masturbated to pornography more often, imitated it with partners more often, and had more often received their sex education from pornography than the non-sex buyers. Over time, as a result of their prostitution and pornography use sex buyers reported that they changed their sexual practices. Their sexual preferences changed and they sought more sadomasochistic and anal sex.

We can conclude as others have that these factors — non-relational sexuality, a high number of sex partners, pornography use, a range of criminal activity in addition to prostitution—interact and increase the likelihood of future violence against women, including prostitution.

In their comments to interviewers, the men shed significant light on the nature of prostitution. A non-sex buyer thoughtfully explained how prostitution could not be considered a true choice. *"I don't think prostitution is quite the same as rape. Rape is worse. But it's close to the rape end of the spectrum. It's not rape, because there is superficial consent. On the face of it, the prostitute is agreeing to it. But deeper down, you can see that life circumstances have kind of forced her into that, even though she has agreed to it. It's like someone jumping from a burning building—you could say they made their choice to jump, but you could also say they had no choice."*

A man who had previously used women in prostitution made the choice to stop buying sex. Thinking about his own childhood sexual abuse, he reasoned, *"I was just thinking... I was forced as an underage person, I was forced to have sex. And I can look back today and see how that damaged me. And so if it damaged me, I don't feel like it's any more right to go out and damage someone else."* A non-sex buyer said, *"I had a bad experience as a kid; I was molested by a woman — so I decided I didn't want to inflict that on anyone else, I didn't want to be taking advantage of someone."*

Limitations of this research

It is possible that men who respond to advertisements requesting participation in research in general, and those who respond to advertisements requesting participation in research on sexual attitudes and behaviors, may differ in unknown ways from the general population of men, including sex buyers. Yet given the logistical difficulties and high cost of obtaining a sample of men who buy sex who are representative of the general population of sex buyers, the present study's sampling procedure represents an advance over previous studies that relied on samples of men who had been arrested for buying sex and that did not include comparison groups of demographically similar men who did not buy sex. The significant differences between these two groups of men could not have been caused by the matching variables: age, ethnicity, and educational level.

The authors doubt that sex buyers who are arrested and participating in a police-sponsored program are likely to exhibit the same behaviors and attitudes that those in this study demonstrated. Sex buyers in this study may have been more willing to reveal information about themselves because of the lack of police oversight, the anonymity with respect to their names, and the safety of a familiar public location in Boston rather than an official building. The physical and verbal sexual harassment of interviewers by these men would likely not have occurred in a police-sponsored program. Nevertheless, it was a thread that ran through these interviews.

All of the information collected in the present study was obtained by self-report. It is likely that all of the men's responses were influenced by their attempts to respond in a socially desirable direction, a common response set on self-report measures (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). A socially desirable response set has been demonstrated in self-reports of men attending batterer intervention programs (Craig et al., 2006). It is likely that all of the men's responses to this research study - both sex buyers and non-sex buyers - were influenced by attempts to appear socially desirable in their responses. We can therefore assume that all responses in the study tended to *minimize* the socially undesirable phenomena they are endorsing, such as sexist attitudes, reports of sexually coercive behavior toward women, description of criminal history, etc. We assume with some confidence that the numbers reported in this study are conservative and are likely underestimates of many of the attitudes and behaviors we were assessing.

Policy Considerations

Evidence that the sex buyers are involved in a range of criminal activities has implications for prostitution and trafficking law enforcement. Given their criminality, DNA testing for arrested johns is an important option. Another step toward ending prostitution is the enforcement of state laws against men's solicitation of prostitution, a practice that the sex buyers in this study tell us would have a deterrent effect on them. Educational programs aimed at abolishing other forms of violence against women are worth consideration, but given the findings here, should be implemented only in conjunction with sentencing. Decades of research and evaluation of policy and intervention strategies for sex offenders and for batterers have provided useful information on the limited effectiveness of programs that are strictly informational.

The frustration and even despair among advocates and policymakers who work against sexual and domestic violence is cause for concern. Sack (2010) for example details the stalling of progress that she suggests arises from a deep social resistance to comprehending the dynamics of domestic violence, challenging its existence, and addressing its consequences. The same or even greater resistance to understanding can be seen in the case of prostitution, reflected in many of the narratives in this study.

The insistence of some advocates that we focus on the simpler, visceral issues of prostitution of children and international trafficking contrasts with their silence on the domestic prostitution of adults. Yet prostitution of children and of people from outside the U.S. will always occur if the adult sex industry thrives.

It is impossible to compartmentalize children and international trafficking victims because the businessmen who run the sex industry will always be a step ahead of us technologically, corrupting public officials, bribing judges, organizing new crime groups, and advertising some segment of the sex industry as not-prostitution (escort, indoors, girlfriend experience, hobby, phone sex, etc).

There is tremendous pressure on municipalities, policy makers, and politicians to "do something" about sex trafficking, given the increased public awareness about that issue. The danger is that there will be a rush to implement programs without careful planning based on the best available new research and existing knowledge, and without built in evaluation methods. The findings from this study can be used to assess which approaches might be more effective, from the perspective of the sex buyer himself.

The problem of lack of enforcement of prostitution laws

Sex buyers in this study commented on the disparate arrests of johns and women in prostitution. For example, *"The onus should be switched from the prostitute to the consumer...because if it were men going to jail instead of women it would be a different ball of wax."* In a highly publicized case United States Attorney Michael J. Garcia stated that the federal government (Department of Justice) does not typically prosecute sex buyers (Farley and Ramos, 2008). State-level enforcement of laws against buying adult women for sexual use is often neglected or ignored. When state prostitution laws are enforced, they are more often enforced against the woman in prostitution and much less often against the sex buyer. Because prostitution is not categorized as a serious misdemeanor or felony in most of the United States and also because prostitution has often been (erroneously) de-linked to human trafficking, police departments have not focused on enforcing laws against solicitation of prostitution (Shively et al., 2010).

Arrests of men who solicited prostitution accounted for only 10% of U.S. prostitution arrests in the 1980s and 1990s (Monto, 2004; Alexander, 1987; Miller, 1993). Johns comprised 19% of prostitution arrests in Seattle and in Chicago (Seattle Women's Commission, 1995; Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, 2004). In 2011, an Atlanta sting arrested only one john for every 15 prostituting women (Wenk, 2011). A 3% rate of prostitution exchanged for non-arrest by police of women in prostitution has been reported (Levitt and Venkatesh, 2007).

Internet-based rather than street-based stings show a trend toward more arrests of johns. A Syracuse Internet sting netted 18 johns and 16 women in prostitution (Carey, 2011).

DNA Samples from Arrested Sex Buyers

The Dallas Police Department currently takes DNA samples from women in prostitution if the women agree to it, upon arrest or diversion (Tongish, 2010). The gruesome logic for this practice is: given the extremely high homicide rate of prostituted women, it would offer their families closure if the women go missing and there is a DNA sample to ensure whether or not it is a family member's body.

A more proactive use of DNA sampling would be to sample sex buyers' DNA. Given the criminal history of sex buyers documented in this research, one would anticipate that other criminal activity including sexual violence might occur in the future. Obtaining DNA samples from arrested johns may be useful to consider matches with evidence obtained in past and future crimes. DNA samples would be predicted to serve as a deterrent to buying sex since most people who commit crimes do not want their DNA taken.

Table 20. List of Esteemed Supporters for Taking DNA Samples From Arrested Sex Buyers

Meg Baldwin, JD , Executive Director, Refuge House, Inc. Tallahassee FLA
Judy Benitez , Executive Director of the Louisiana Foundation Against Sexual Assault
Anita Carpenter , CEO of the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault
Vednita Carter , Executive Director, Breaking Free, Minneapolis, MN
Kristy Childs , Executive Director, Veronica's Voice, Kansas City MO
Tina Frundt , Executive Director/Founder, Courtney's House, Washington, D.C.
Kaethe Morris Hoffer, Esq. Chicago ILL
Christopher Mallios , Attorney Advisor, AEquitas, The Prosecutors' Resource on Violence Against Women & former Philadelphia Assistant District Attorney, Chief of the Family Violence and Sexual Assault Unit
Lt. Derek Marsh , Westminster Police Department, Orange County CA " At a minimum, johns are committing a misdemeanor sexually related crime, which may indicate other similar types of crime in the past and the future. The objectification of women extends from the street into the home: there is a potential for domestic violence and child abuse from these individuals. In addition, at some time they are most likely to have been with an under-aged (< 18 years old) person being prostituted and that would make them felons (for at least statutory rape not to mention the assembly of other state and federal child sexual assault crimes). I consider johns to be co-conspirators in the sex trafficking dynamic which would also make them felons and susceptible to having DNA taken from them upon arrest.
John Miller , Ambassador-at-Large on Modern Day Slavery 2004-2006; Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State 2002-2006; Former Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.
Delilah Rumburg , CEO of the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape
Michael Shively, Ph.D. Abt Associates, Cambridge MA
Alice Vachss , former Chief of the Special Victims Bureau of the Queens (New York City) District Attorney's Office, Special Prosecutor for Sex Crimes of Lincoln County (Oregon) District Attorney's Office: "Prostitution and violence are so criminologically linked that a DNA database of males caught paying for sex could be a hugely useful investigative tool. Ask Gary Ridgeway. Or Anthony Sowell. But one warning: the testing backlog is already so severe that any legislative addition to the DNA sampling list must provide for funding the testing process or else it compromises the existing system."
Roger Young , Special Agent, FBI, Retired, Las Vegas, NV: "It is a very worthwhile endeavor to require by law that a DNA sample is obtained from all arrested johns. If it were known that DNA samples were obtained from all arrested johns then it would assist in the prevention of prostitution and the very harmful effects prostitution causes with every aspect of society, morally, socially, economically - and our national security."

Several people who are involved in work against violence against women did not agree to be put on this list—not because they object in principle to taking DNA samples from arrested johns. They understand that the criminal justice system is racist and is currently so biased against men of color that they fear this practice would disproportionately and unjustly harm men of color. Sadly, we understand this reasoning. Since we have no evidence that men of color buy sex any more or less frequently than white European-American men, the proportion of all men who are arrested for buying sex (and thus whose DNA we propose would be sampled) should be in proportion to their numbers in the population at large, and should not exceed—or be less than—the population percentage of those men.

Some who signed and some who did not sign this list felt that funding requests could not be added to the already-existing backlog of DNA requests in the criminal justice system. Others only wanted DNA samples should be taken from convicted, not arrested, johns.

Interventions for sex buyers

The men in this study, and in three other studies (see Table 17) clearly indicated that educational programs alone would be the least effective deterrent to buying sex. Nonetheless, many of these programs have been implemented in spite of a lack of standardization, evaluation or research data on most of them.

Monto and colleagues (1999, 2001, 2005, 2009), Kennedy, (2004), Houser (2005), and Shively and colleagues (2008, 2010) have studied educational programs for sex buyers. Education programs for sex buyers assume that information will result in a change of sex buyers' attitudes, beliefs, and ultimately behaviors (Hughes, 2004, Shively et al, 2010). Kennedy (2004) found that following Canadian diversion programs for sex buyers, attitudes towards prostitution, attitudes towards prostituted women, and attitudes towards buying sex did in fact shift in a favorable direction. There are contradictory findings regarding attitude change and its relation to behavior change. For example, Legault, Gutsell and Inzlicht (2011) found that some informational programs that tell people negative facts about race prejudice backfired and actually increased peoples' prejudice. While it is quick and easy to implement prejudice reduction programs that tell people how they should think and behave, and which stress the negative consequences of failing to think and behave in desirable ways, Legault et al. state that "people need to feel that they are freely choosing to be nonprejudiced, rather than having it forced upon them." They stressed the need to focus on the reasons why diversity and equality are important and beneficial to both majority and minority group members. This peer-reviewed research comparing approaches to reducing race prejudice suggests the necessity for careful design of programs that have the goal of reducing sex buying. The complex sexual and relational benefits of not buying sex, as well as the disadvantages to the buyer of buying sex are important. Open discussions, follow-up sessions, and role plays are likely to produce more change.

Educational programs for sex buyers differ in their philosophies, policies, structures, and implementation. Although diversion programs may appear similar, no standards exist to guide their development and implementation (Shively et al., 2008). See Appendix A.

Educational program modeled after batterer intervention programs may prove useful. After decades of research, the questions about batterer intervention programs are not so much *whether* they work at all (they do) but more specifically how and why they work, what kinds of men do they work best with, and what content areas and structural elements of the program work best. The Sexual Exploitation Education Program (SEEP) was an educational program that was a post-arrest condition of sentencing, specifically sought to link prostitution to other forms of violence against women. It differed in some ways from other educational programs which were court-sponsored diversion programs such as First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP). See Appendix B.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The myth that most men buy sex (endorsed more often by sex buyers than non-sex buyers in this study) mainstreams prostitution for potential buyers and promotes social amnesia among the general public. According to the men interviewed for this study, most men do not buy sex.

Policymakers are under pressure to produce budget-sensitive proposals that will reduce prostitution solicitation (especially street solicitation because it is especially visible) or that will combat men's demand for prostitution therefore reduce the numbers of trafficked women. The empirical evidence regarding effective interventions and programs is extremely limited.⁴ We should not rush to implement any program that does

⁴ Legislative change is another matter entirely. In 2011, there is strong evidence that if all johns were subject to felony-level criminal charges, not only prostitution but trafficking decreases (Committee of Inquiry of the Prohibition against the Purchase of Sexual Services, Sweden, 2010, MacKinnon, 2011).

not have empirical support. Lonsway and colleagues (2009) have comprehensively addressed these issues with respect to rape prevention programs. Much of the empirical literature on what works and what does not to prevent rape is relevant to our attempts to reduce men's demand for prostitution.

In the field of sexual assault, bystander programs have been developed with some success. These approaches aim to overcome the natural tendency toward defensiveness, thereby increasing potential to effect positive changes. Proactive bystander education programs typically include discussions of specific behaviors, general information about sexual assault, role modeling, and opportunities to develop bystander intervention skills (Lonsway et al., 2009).

Sex buyers reported receiving extensive sex education via pornography. More research on the role of pornography in trafficking for prostitution is warranted. Like sex buyers, sexually aggressive men use pornography frequently (Fogg, 2009). Media literacy programs developed with other goals in mind such as reducing domestic violence or reducing smoking that teach men to critically evaluate the flood of messaging about prostitution have proven effective. Social marketing campaigns have been implemented to reduce other forms of sexual violence with limited efficacy (Lonsway et al., 2009).

In places where johns are arrested for buying sex and the women who are bought and sold are not considered criminals, there is some evidence that the stigma of prostitution is shifting away from the prostituted people to the buyers (MacKinnon, 2011). Erasing a man's arrest for prostitution in these locations would not be considered supportive of the policy goals of that legislation, which is to eliminate prostitution by criminalizing the demand for it.

Women in prostitution are the origin of and a critical resource for information about sex buyers. The women's resistance to servitude keeps the abolitionist movement alive. "I'm not good pimp or john material," smiled a survivor on her way out of prostitution. Another lens through which to understand the prostituted woman's enduring resistance is to remember that in 1851 a southern psychiatrist, Samuel Cartwright, M.D., created a special diagnosis—"drapetomania"—for the tendency of slaves to keep running away (Jackson, 2002). One of the cures for this condition was whipping. In systems of legitimized subjugation such as prostitution, the dehumanized person is owned, not human. When the "property" decides to have her own subjectivity, she is seen as breaking the law, or she is pathologized so as to keep the focus away from the individuals or the systems creating the subordination. (Schwartz, personal communication, July 2011). An African blogger recently wrote, "Drapetomania..... catch it if you can" (MaxJulian, 2011).

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APPENDIX A

Educational Programs For Sex Buyers

Houser (2005) surveyed 14 diversion programs and Shively et al. (2010) surveyed 40 programs from various locations across the United States. Both found that most programs were about 8 hours in duration. The number of sessions and total hours varied substantially, according to the Shively et al. (2010) survey, from 2-15 hours in duration. In 2010, 52% (25) of john schools were diversion programs, 29% (14) were a condition of sentencing and 19% (9) could be used as either one (Shively et al., 2010).

The only content area covered by all programs in 2005 was STD/HIV risks of prostitution (Houser). In 2010 Shively found that health consequences of prostitution, legal consequences of prostitution, and negative impact of prostitution on women and girls were covered in all educational programs for sex buyers. Other content areas covered included how prostitution impacts communities, sex addiction, dynamics of pimping, global sexual exploitation of women and children, substance abuse, and prostitution laws. Some programs also taught men about healthy relationships, anger management, sex addiction, pimping and pandering, human trafficking, johns' vulnerability to criminal victimization while engaged in commercial sex, and/or negative impacts of prostitution on the community (Shively et al., 2010, Houser, 2005).

The education/diversion programs for sex buyers were administered by prostitution recovery programs (5), police departments (2), courts (2), prosecutors' offices (2), and behavioral health service providers (2), and city government (2). In 2010, fees for the john schools ranged from \$0 to \$1500. Nearly half (43% or 17) of the programs used these fees to support programs for survivors of prostitution (Shively, 2010). In 2005, most of the programs tracked re-arrests of sex buyers for varying periods of time after program completion⁵ (Houser).

Because there is such wide variation in educational program content and administration, a favorable or unfavorable evaluation of one john school cannot be assumed to apply to any other. John program effectiveness tends to have been measured in two distinctly different ways: 1) attitude change assessed by self-report and 2) behavior change as measured by re-arrest records of men who completed the program. John school program participants stated their intentions to continue buying sex in two programs (Shively, 2008, Wortley, Fischer and Webster, 2002).

Differences in law enforcement practices (variously making arrests of sex buyers a lower or a higher priority) and the sex buyers' displacement from the street to buying sex indoors where arrest is far less likely together suggest that recidivism rates are not a reliable measure of reoffending (Monto and Garcia, 2001). Historically most of the sex buyer police stings have been conducted with street prostitution, but it is now clear that the majority of sex buyers (88% in the current study) also buy sex indoors via web-advertised escort agencies, strip clubs, gentlemen's clubs, and massage parlors.

Reliance on re-arrest data to measure efficacy of john schools is additionally questionable given the low priority placed on reverse stings by law enforcement agencies throughout the United States and given the focus on street prostitution in these stings even though street prostitution is a small percentage of all prostitution. Given budget cuts, re-arrest rates may decrease because fewer police officers are available to arrest johns.

Re-arrest rates for sex buyers attending educational programs in the year following the program are very low (Buffalo Prostitution Task Force, 1999; Fresno Police Department, 1999; Monto, 2004; Monto and Garcia, 2002; Shively et al, 2008). Because so few men are *ever* arrested for soliciting prostitution (Chicago

⁵ Seven programs noted that arrest records were tracked for one year or less from the time of program completion; six programs tracked arrest records for one to two years, and five programs tracked arrest records for more than two years.

Coalition for the Homeless, 2002; Monto, 2004; Monto and Garcia, 2001; Brewer), it is not possible to determine if low re-arrest rates for sex buyers who have been through a diversion program are the result of the program, a result of being arrested, or a result of limited police enforcement (Brewer et al., 2006; Monto, 2004; Monto and Garcia, 2001; Mueller, 2005). In a comparison study, Monto and Garcia found that the recidivism rate of men who did and who did not attend the SEEP educational program in Portland was about the same (approximately 1.4%). That rate in turn was similar to the recidivism rate of FOPP program attendees in San Francisco (2%) although there was no comparison group in San Francisco.

APPENDIX B

Intervention and Education Models: The Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP) and The First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP)

The Duluth model of batterer intervention is the best-known model with many elements of the program applicable to interventions for sex buyers. The Duluth model is a gender-based, cognitive-behavioral approach that includes reinforcement from the criminal justice system and coordination of community services. Some of these elements have been used in the Sexual Exploitation Education Program (SEEP) for sex buyers.

Most batterer intervention programs use behavioral change techniques such as pattern interruption or self-regulation to teach men to choose to avoid committing violence. When men were asked what techniques they used the most in order to change their violent behaviors, they most often reported relying on interruption methods, and to a lesser extent, discussion about the problem of violence, and least of all on respect for women. These findings are consistent with research suggesting that attitudes take much longer to change than specific behaviors.

The Duluth curriculum first exposes the behaviors associated with a core of abuse and violence in the “Power and Control Wheel,” a technique that challenges the denial or minimization associated with violent behaviors against women by using the cognitive/behavioral techniques of naming, role-playing, modeling, and vignettes. This understanding of the power and control tactics used by batterers has been applied by Giobbe et al (1990) to pimps' and sex buyers' behaviors against prostituted women.

Educational approaches to exposing violent behaviors and attitudes are embedded by the Duluth model in a larger context of intervention that includes swift, consistent consequences (jail or return to the program) for noncompliance with conditions of probation, civil court orders, program violations such as missing group meetings, and new acts of violence. The Duluth curriculum generally requires 26 weeks of classes.

Cognitive-behavioral treatment techniques have been shown to reduce criminal behaviors among convicted offenders (Wilson et al., 2005). Nonetheless, “even the best court-mandated treatment programs are likely to be ineffective in the absence of strong legal response in initial sentencing and in sanctioning offenders who fail to comply with treatment” (Babcock et al., 2004).

Evaluations of domestic violence prevention programs involve measuring an individual batterer's likelihood of re-abuse. Yet the risk of being rearrested is only a fraction of the risk of re-abuse, therefore the batterer intervention program records tend to overestimate the effectiveness of the program. For example, Dutton et al. (1997) found that the proportion of arrest to *victim-reported* abuse was 1 in 35; that is, for every reported arrest, there were 35 assaultive actions (Dutton, et al., 1997). It is likely that the same (or an even higher proportion of purchased sex to arrests for purchased sex) is true for sex buyer education programs. Gondolf et al. (2003) concluded that “well-established batterer intervention programs with sufficient reinforcement from the courts do contribute to a substantial decline in re-assault.” Duluth batterer interventions were evaluated at seven locations. After 30 months, fewer than 20% of the men had re-assaulted their partner in the previous year; after 48-months, approximately 10% had re-assaulted in the previous year (Gondolf et al., 2004, 2007).

The Duluth model has been influenced by the drug court movement which has also shown the effectiveness of court referral to and oversight of treatment. A “stick and carrot approach” to drug court programs was favorably reviewed in a meta-analysis by Wilson and colleagues (2006).

Questions raised about batterer intervention programs are also applicable to educational interventions for sex buyers. Are there different types of sex buyers who warrant different approaches to treatment or intervention? For example are different approaches warranted for men who have bought sex only once or twice versus those who are chronic users? What would appropriate counseling for sex buyers include?

We know that culturally competent programs for batterers are essential. In one study, mixed-race batterer groups were less effective than groups of African American men only, and dropout rates differed by batterer groups' ethnic composition, based presumably on the men's comfort, trust, and willingness to discuss crucial topics (Williams, 1995). The issue of cultural competence has not been addressed in evaluations of sex buyer educational programs.

Many questions remain. Are there sex buyer risk factors that can be identified as predictive of future prostitution solicitation behavior? Should different programs be developed for different types of sex buyers (if there are such "types")? Within the alcohol treatment community, it has been noted that commonalities tend to override differences between alcohol treatment program participants and that the differences between participants may represent points on a continuum rather than distinct types (Holtzworth-Munroe & Meehan, 2004; Wilson et al., 2006).

Other approaches include a mind-body approach to batterer intervention programs that addresses the aggressive hyperarousal of the batterer just prior to battering incidents (Tollefson et al 2009). The hyperaroused state of sex buyers includes general anxiety and tension, not exclusively sexual arousal. This approach is worth consideration with sex buyers since many of the sex buyers interviewed here describe a generally hyperaroused state prior to buying sex which they in turn they often describe as an impulsive, not a planned, act.

It is crucial to note the strong impact of arrest alone on domestic violence re-offense. Analysis of pooled arrest studies emphasizes the impressive impact of arrest by itself on domestic violence re-offense, especially in comparison to other criminal justice interventions (Garner & Maxwell, 2000).

Early programs for sex buyers were more closely modeled after the Duluth model batterer interventions than subsequent programs. The early programs were consistently run as a condition of sentencing rather than diversion. Sawyer, Rosser and Schroeder (1998) developed a five to eight-week psychoeducational program for sex buyers in Minnesota that appears to have been modeled after batterer intervention programs. Following a court disposition, sex buyers were referred to the program by a judge or probation officer. The classes addressed human emotions, psychological defenses, decision making and motivations to buy sex, relationship intimacy, and myths about prostitution.

SEEP was based on the principles of batterer intervention. It was not a diversion program but a condition of sentencing. It ran longer than most john schools do, and it specifically sought to link prostitution to other forms of violence against women. For a period of time, it was successful and still stands as a model for educational programs for court-mandated sex buyers.

The Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP) in Portland, Oregon and the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) in San Francisco, California both began in 1995. Both focused on prevention of prostitution with intervention programs for arrested sex buyers. However SEEP was an educational program run in conjunction with sentencing whereas FOPP was a diversion program.

SEEP was a fifteen-hour workshop administered in cooperation with the District Court. FOPP, which still operates, was an eight-hour diversion program (arrest charges dropped after program completion) administered through the District Attorney's office. SEEP was in a process of development and expansion

when its funding was abruptly cut, most likely because of the program's unrelenting focus on prostitution as a system of men's violence against women and its requirement that men arrested for soliciting prostitution examine other areas of their lives where they harmed women.

SEEP and FOPP had common elements. The inspiration behind both the SEEP workshop and FOPP diversion program came from prostituted women's experience of the harm of commercial sexual exploitation. FOPP was started by Norma Hotaling, a survivor of prostitution. SEEP's prostitution intervention program was developed under the auspices of the Council for Prostitution Alternatives (CPA), a feminist agency founded in 1985 to assist women escaping the sex industry. In addition to its direct service work with survivors of prostitution, CPA was active in community education, bringing attention to the harms inherent to systems of prostitution (Qualliotine, 1994).

Both organizations' educational programs emphasized the harms of prostitution to those in it via survivor testimony. SEEP's survivor Speak Out was described by an observer:

The women come at the beginning of the afternoon session on the second day of the three-day workshop. The johns are seated against a wall and are instructed to remain silent throughout the Speak Out while the four formerly prostituted women sit down at a table. The women have no preplanned script but simply talk about their own experience as prostitutes, the reasons they did it, the violence they endured, and how they felt about the men who paid them to use their bodies. Both the facilitators and johns agree that it is the most meaningful and eye-opening aspect of the weekend....An observer describing the event suggested that it had an almost historic quality, that perhaps it was the first time in history that prostituted women had been given the chance to safely confront johns. (Monto, 1998)

There were also important differences between SEEP and FOPP. The FOPP program was founded on a partnership between Norma Hotaling—founder of Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE)—and the criminal justice system (Shively, 2008). SEEP was founded by pro-feminist men in partnership with survivors of prostitution and their feminist allies upon a principle of promoting men's accountability in stopping men's violence against women and children (Qualliotine, 1994). FOPP and SEEP used different conceptual frameworks with substantively different educational models.

FOPP adopted a large group lecture format with little participation by sex buyers. Representatives from partner agencies in law enforcement, the District Attorney's office, public health representatives, and Sex Addicts Anonymous presented information in six content areas: prostitution law and street facts; health education; effect of prostitution on prostitutes; dynamics of pimping; effect of prostitution on the community; and sexual addiction. The sessions were designed to present reasons for men to avoid sex with prostituted people (Shively et al, 2008).

In contrast, the SEEP workshop used an interactive model with exercises and facilitated discussions. Two male and two female facilitators modeled egalitarian relationships and monitored the group process using the men's defensive body language, snickers, comments, sighs and eye-rolls as grist for discussions.

There were essential philosophical differences between SEEP and FOPP. While both viewed prostitution as violent and abusive, FOPP focused specifically on the harms of prostitution and generally did not expand its analysis of prostitution to other institutions that harm women. SEEP recognized that prostitution could not be separated from other forms of male violence against women, all of which sexually objectify and systematically subordinate women as a class, as well as harming them individually:

Instead of seeing the client's [sex buyer's] behavior as harmless mischief, as reflected by the expression 'boys will be boys,' SEEP sees the client as instrumental in supporting a system of oppression. Instead

of the sympathetic understanding of the John as a needy, perhaps shy or unattractive man who has no access to more legitimate sexual contacts, SEEP sees him as a participant in nonconsensual sex. Instead of seeing the John as an innocent man, led astray by a seductive woman, he is a person who takes advantage of a system of inequality for his own benefit. (Monto, 1998).

Accusations of prostitution are often levied against victims of domestic violence, rape, incest and sexual harassment in what seems to be the perpetrator's rationalization for abuse. If community understanding of prostitution changes, SEEP reasoned, so will the use of hate speech against prostituted women used in a myriad of situations: "She's just a slut. A whore. And she deserves what she got.

Prostitution survivors' experience informed the pursuit of three SEEP program goals which were themselves used as a demonstration of male accountability to prostituted women: 1) Reframe prostitution from a victimless crime to a system of violence against women; 2) Deconstruct male sexual identity, exploring the ways in which men's socialization leads to increased violence against women; 3) Emphasize men's choice and responsibility in creating non-coercive egalitarian relationships with women (Monto, 1998).

Like antiracism workshops, SEEP's structure assumed that no participant could fully achieve the SEEP program goals. The staff of SEEP recognized that they themselves were continually engaged in an ongoing struggle towards sex equality. Men's choice to be answerable to women, especially to prostituted women, entails a rejection of privilege and power, critical awareness, lack of allegiance to an identity based on dominance, and an ability to be compassionate. SEEP sought to build organizational accountability to victims/survivors of prostitution into every aspect of the project (Qualliotine, 1993). Towards that end the men of SEEP regularly consulted with Council for Prostitution Alternatives, a feminist agency providing services to prostitution survivors.

SEEP was originally conceived of as a weekly, six-months-long program modeled after batterer intervention programs. It aimed not only to deter sex buyers but also to deter other acts of domestic and sexual violence including battering, rape, and incest. Prospective partners in the criminal justice system thought that such a long program was not an appropriate sentence for a misdemeanor crime. In 1994, SEEP proposed a court-mandated weekend educational program that was a condition of sentencing. The SEEP staff were opposed to offering diversion programs for arrested johns⁶ and recommended more (not fewer) consequences for soliciting in terms of jail time, fines, auto-forfeiture and public exposure of men arrested as buyers (Qualliotine, 1993).

With the assistance of its partners from the University of Portland and the Council for Prostitution Alternatives and with the support of neighborhood associations and Portland Police, SEEP cultivated relationships with the Trial Court administrators and the District Court judges from Multnomah County, Oregon. The weekend workshop curriculum was approved as a sentencing option and SEEP began receiving referrals in 1995. After several years in development, the first SEEP weekend workshop was launched in July 1995.

SEEP's curriculum centered on a survivor speak-out with didactic presentations on the harm of prostitution, and a discussion about men's choices. Exercises aimed at clarifying the role of gender socialization helped participants explore the social construction of male sexual identity and the related "good girl/bad girl" dichotomy. The messages boys and men receive about what it means to "be a man" sexually and the connection of that messaging to sexual violence, including prostitution, were emphasized. The discussion of sexual violence was followed by an exercise that addressed rape myths and clarified the meaning of "consent" and "coercion." These concepts were examined in the context of prostitution and a theoretical

⁶ Exercises for the weekend program were drawn from the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) (see <http://www.avpusa.org/>) and from the work of the Oakland Men's Project (Kivel, 1990, Eslinger, 2010).

basis for viewing prostitution as rape was established. SEEP program participants discussed sex education and the possible impact of prostitution on women they loved.

Pornography was central to the SEEP analysis of prostitution since pornography is central to prostitution. Evelina Giobbe, survivor/founder of Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution (WHISPER) explained:

Pornography is pictures of prostitution. We can't talk of prostitution without talking about pornography and we can't talk about pornography without also talking of prostitution because

- 1) Women used in the production of pornography are usually prostituted in other ways as well.
- 2) Women and children who are prostituted are taught, or "seasoned" to perform the acts johns expect of them through their pimps' use of pornography.
- 3) Sex buyers frequently request prostituted women to perform acts they have seen in pornography.
- 4) For men, using either pornography or prostitution reinforces an emotionally disconnected abusive sexual identity.
- 5) Some men make pornography of the prostituted women they "buy." Pornography and prostitution are not all that different. The sex is the same. We can think of pornography as the technologized recycling of prostitution. (BBC, 1991)

Following a discussion of the BBC film, sex buyers participated in a series of exercises aimed at helping them acknowledge abusive behaviors and fears generated by pornography use. In another exercise one participant played the role of a prostituted woman and a second man would be a sex buyer. In various scenarios, the men were asked how they felt as the character and how they were similar to and different from the character they played and what they would like to say to the character they played. The final session of the SEEP workshop involved an exercise in which participants were asked to name more and less powerful groups in society (white people/people of color, men/women, rich/poor, etc.) The men were then asked to locate themselves on the list and realized that they were not always in the dominant group. A discussion ensued about their own oppression and about incidents during which they had seen another person being oppressed or when they observed a more powerful group member intervened as an ally for the less powerful. The men were then each given a hypothetical situation in which they observed behavior in others that targeted members of a subordinate groups and were given the opportunity to act as an ally.

It is noteworthy that one exercise failed and was deleted from the SEEP curriculum. The Porn Pose originated with John Stoltenberg in the early 1990s. In SEEP's original curriculum, sex buyers used an image from pornography (provided by SEEP) to direct a fully-clothed volunteer to imitate the posture and facial expression of the woman in the photo. On one occasion the volunteer became angry and refused to imitate the pose saying, "That's a woman's pose." On a second occasion, the exercise was explained in more detail but no sex buyer was willing to volunteer, fully clothed, to imitate the pose of a woman in pornography. Although it was removed from the curriculum, the narrative of the failure of the Porn Pose Exercise remained in the workshop as a teaching tool.

Recognizing the critical role of prevention, SEEP offered educational curricula to more than 4,000 middle and high school students in the Portland area. The program focused on preventing violence against women, including prostitution, pornography, and sexual harassment.

SEEP refused to change its program in response to Portland's Assistant District Attorney's (ADA) demand that the program be altered to a less "radical" program which was shorter, one which viewed prostitution as sex addiction, and which focused on adverse effects of prostitution on neighborhoods. The ADA threatened to implement the FOPP program if SEEP did not change its curriculum. SEEP was defunded.

The FOPP diversion program has emerged as a model favored by law enforcement, city governments, and courts. This shorter and less explicitly feminist program was not as controversial as SEEP and since

FOPP was a diversion program rather than part of sentencing, FOPP was perceived as saving money and time for the courts.

Despite its untimely demise, the SEEP workshop contained invaluable components that should be considered for inclusion by education programs for sex buyers. With more research on sex buyers and concern about the effectiveness of diversion programs, perhaps the time has come for a reevaluation of educational programs for sex buyers with SEEP's model program reconsidered.