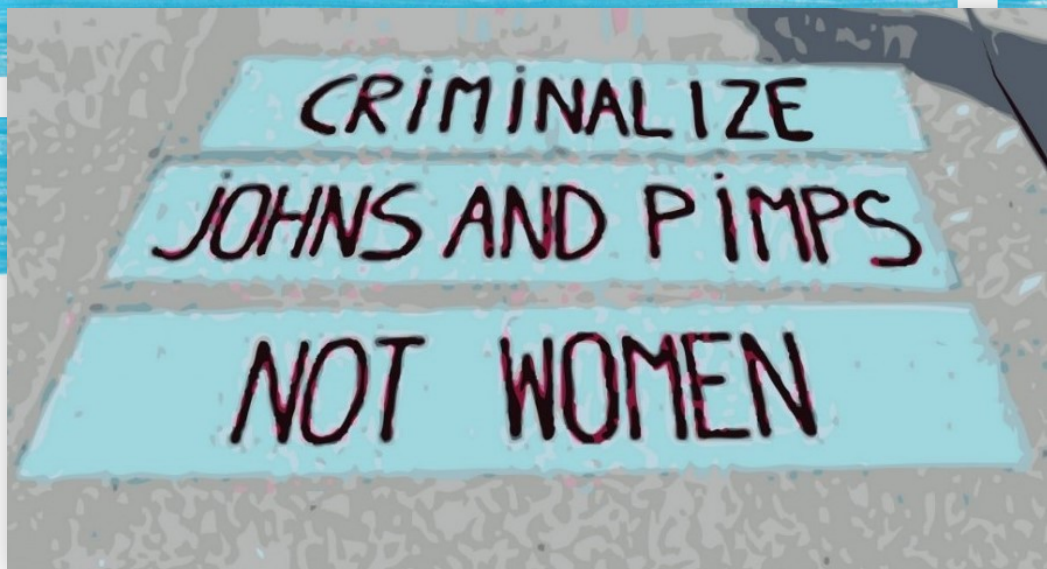


CHOOSING THE NORDIC MODEL: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights



A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution



CORE TEAM

Authors

Saundra-Lynn Coulter, London Abused Women's Centre
Megan Walker, London Abused Women's Centre

Researchers

Saundra-Lynn Coulter
Megan Walker

Research Interns

Lauren Frijia
Brigitte Ellis

Layout and Design

Juliana Dalla Costa

Contributors

Heather Wharram
Mary Jo Winkler-Callighen

Editors

Elizabeth Sheehy
Jeanne Sarson, MEd, BScN, RN, Persons Against Non-State Torture

© Copyright March, 2017:

London Abused Women's Centre

797 York Street - Unit 5
London, Ontario
N5W 6A8

Phone: (519) 432-2204
Fax: (519) 679-3918
Email: info@lawc.on.ca

ISBN number 978-1-64007-794-2



DEDICATED TO JESSIE FOSTER

Trafficked from Alberta to Las Vegas
Missing since March 29, 2006



"I hold to my hope that Jessie will come home. I will never let that go. I want Jessie to come home knowing I never gave up on finding her. My love for Jessie fills all my heart and soul. I will find her or die trying."

Glendene Grant, Jessie's Mom

If you have information about Jessie or any missing person please call your local police service.



DEFINITIONS

Human Trafficking: According to the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime [Palermo Protocol],

Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation (United Nations General Assembly, 2000).

For the most part, prostitution as actually practised in the world usually does satisfy the elements of trafficking. It is rare that one finds a case in which the path to prostitution and/or a person's experiences within prostitution do not involve, at the very least, an abuse of power and/or an abuse of vulnerability. Power and vulnerability in this context must be understood to include power disparities based on gender, race, ethnicity and poverty. Put simply, the road to prostitution and life within "the life" is rarely one marked by empowerment or adequate options" (UN Commission on Human Rights 2006: 42).

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (United Nations General Assembly, 2000).

Buyer: Refers to a man, john, punter, or a group of men who buy women or girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This can involve group or gang sexualized violence or "gang raping." They are also responsible for creating the "demand" for the sexual exploitation of women and girls.

Trafficker(s): In this paper, a trafficker(s) is also referred to as a pimp, Romeo Pimp, Lover Boy, Gorilla Pimp or Popcorn Pimp and is an individual or organized criminal group that sexually exploit predominately women and girls into prostitution through threats, coercion, use of force or use of a position of vulnerability (United Nations General Assembly, 2000).

Child Sexual Exploitation: It is illegal in Canada and most countries around the world to sexually exploit underage persons. All people under age 16 in Canada are underage

Prostituted, Trafficked and Sexually Exploited Women and Girls: Note that the majority of prostituted, trafficked and sexually exploited persons are women and girls (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2016: 27).



“Ending prostitution by ending the demand for it is what sex equality under law would look like.¹”

Catharine MacKinnon, 2006

¹ (MacKinnon 2006: 101)



CONTENTS

Dedication	3
Definitions	4
Executive Summary	7
Background	7
The London Abused Women’s Centre’s Choices Program	8
Key Findings of the Three Prevalent Legislative Models	11
Summary of Primary Findings of the Prevalent Models	20
Conclusion	23
Recommendations	25
Three Legislative Approaches to Prostitution	25
The Nordic Model	25
Decriminalization	26
Legalization	27
Addressing the Red Herrings	27
Conflating Prostitution with Trafficking	27
My Body, My Choice	29
Criminalizing Sex Buyers Pushes Prostitution Underground ...	30
Responding to Amnesty International and UNAIDS	31
Amnesty International	31
UNAIDS	33
Legislative Outcomes	34
Child Sexual Exploitation	34
Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation	38
Organized Crime	43
The Nordic Model	49
Decriminalized Prostitution	56
Legalized Prostitution	62
Racism, Colonization and Sexual Exploitation	70
Women’s Equality and Human Rights	72
Conclusion	75
Recommendations	77
References	78



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

In January 2015, during the Canadian federal election campaign, the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (2014) became an election issue. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was quoted in the *Globe and Mail* as telling CTV's Question Period "on prostitution, we need to make sure we're basing our decisions on evidence." Trudeau also said "the Supreme Court has said the framework that existed was not protecting vulnerable people and women from violence and that is the lens we need to look through as we move forward on this difficult issue" (McCarthy 2015).

In response to the potential for the Liberal government to re-examine the Act, the London Abused Women's Centre commenced an evidence-based research project in June 2016 to study the outcomes of three prevalent approaches to prostitution: the Nordic Model, decriminalization and legalization. The goal of the research is to determine the most effective approach to promoting women's equality and human rights.

This research will enable the London Abused Women's Centre to contribute evidence-based findings and recommendations to future consultations and discussions regarding the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act.

The London Abused Women's Centre (LAWC) is a feminist organization that supports and advocates for personal, social and political change directed at ending men's violence against women. The agency provides counselling, support and advocacy to women abused by their intimate partners and to prostituted, trafficked and sexually exploited girls and women.

In 2015, LAWC partnered with Salvation Army Correctional and Justice Services to develop a specialized program for prostituted and trafficked women and girls, their families, and at risk girls, funded by Justice Canada. The resulting project, *Choices: Addressing the Needs of Prostituted and Sex Trafficked Women and Girls [Choices]*, is meeting its goals. During the first 17 months of the program 490 women, girls and youth, and 57 families were provided with either direct or information services.

Almost 200 women and girls self-identified as victims of prostitution or trafficking for sexual exploitation, including six girls under the age of 18, 28 women between the ages of 18 and 24 and two transgendered women. Ninety women and girls attended groups dealing specifically with sexual exploitation.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

The London Abused Women's Centre has worked with prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls since 1998. The agency has learned from comprehensive research and consultation, including listening to the voices of victims and survivors, that the Nordic Model is the most effective approach to promoting women's equality and human rights.

The London Abused Women's Centre has advocated since 2009 for the Canadian government to adopt legislation that reflects the approach taken in Sweden to decriminalize prostituted persons while criminalizing buyers of women and girls and those who profit from prostitution.

On December 6, 2014 the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* became the law in Canada (S.C. 2014, c. 25).² The legislation includes a section (s. 213) that criminalizes prostituted women when offering, obtaining, or providing sexual services near day care centres, schools or playgrounds. This section does not reflect the goal of the Nordic Model to promote women's equality and human rights and LAWCC remains opposed to its inclusion.

The London Abused Women's Centre's Choices Program

The *Choices* program, funded by the Department of Justice Canada, is a collaboration between the London Abused Women's Centre and Salvation Army Correctional and Justice Services. The program serves women and girls over the age of 12 who are currently, or have been, prostituted and/or trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

This comprehensive program includes:

- Woman-centred, trauma-informed, long-term counselling, advocacy and support. This includes safety planning, advocacy, referrals, transitional support and systems navigation coordination to help with financial supports, addiction services, mental health supports, employment resources, support with family reunification
- Outreach supports including crisis counselling, transportation to appointments, support in attending appointments (for example legal and medical), provision for basic needs

² *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (S.C. 2014, c. 25). Retrieved from the Justice Laws website: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/2014_25.pdf



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- Group programming for women and girls who have been prostituted or trafficked. Topics include trafficker recruitment tactics, online luring, the impact of trauma, and the interaction between trauma, mental health, and substance use
- Safety planning, advocacy, and education for family members of girls and women who have been prostituted or trafficked
- Community outreach and education for at risk youth, girls, and women on issues relating to sexualized trafficking, including recruitment tactics

Since the program's inception in July 2015, 547 individuals have participated in the *Choices* program:

- 186 survivors of prostitution, trafficking and/or sexual exploitation have been provided with individual counselling or outreach services

Of these 186 women and girls:

- 158 self-identified as being trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation
 - Six disclosed they were under the age of 18
 - 28 disclosed they were between the ages of 18 and 24
 - Two identified as transgender
- 57 families from across Canada have sought service through the *Choices* program because their daughters were recruited into trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation

Of these 57 families, the following was reported:

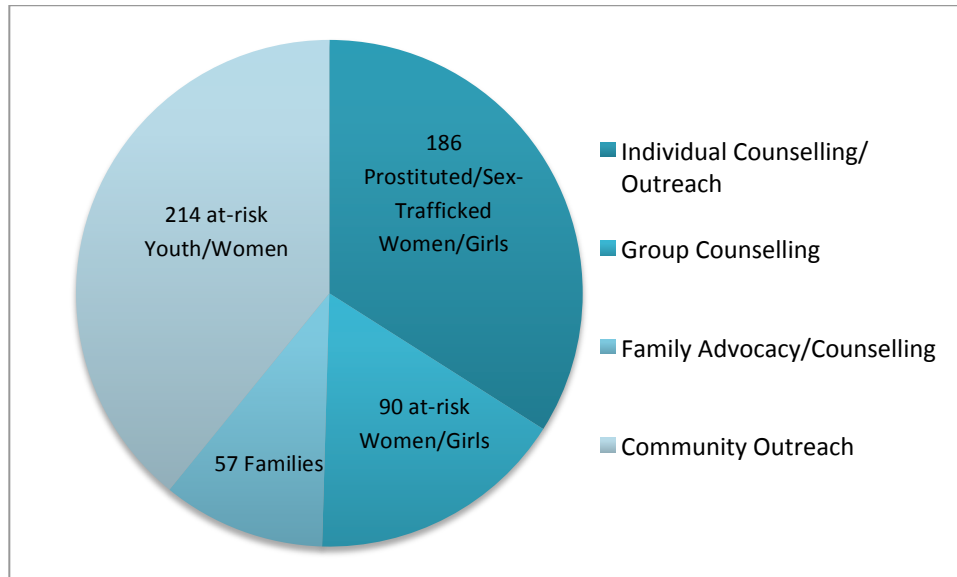
- Almost all families have seen their daughters advertised on Backpage.com
 - Many families follow their daughters' travels across Canada through Backpage.com
 - Families disclose that their daughters are recruited by both Romeo/Loverboy pimps and organized crime
- 90 prostituted, trafficked and at risk women and youth have been provided with service through a specialized group addressing recruitment tactics and the relationship between trauma, mental health, and substance use. Some women and girls in the groups have identified as being sex-trafficked. These numbers were not collected until January 2017



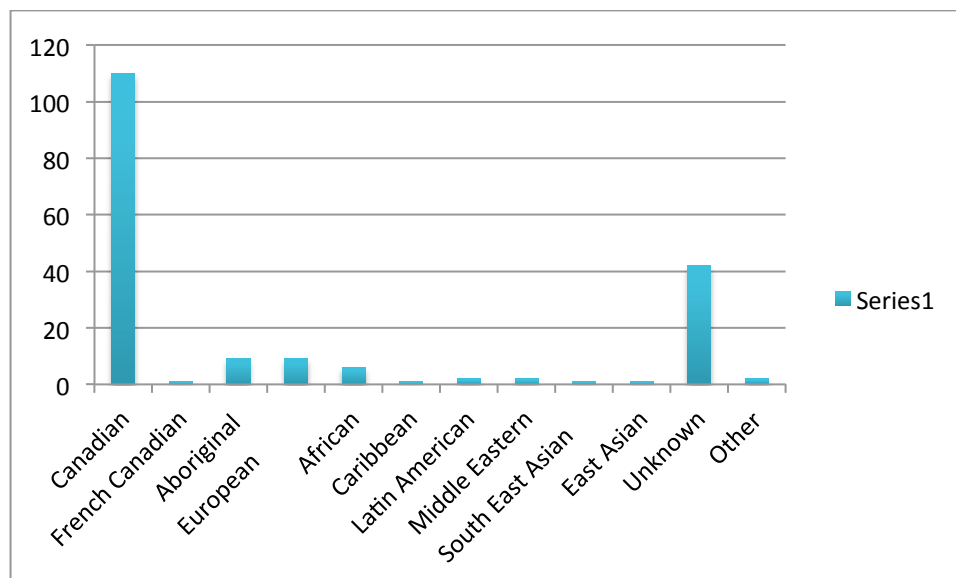
Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

214 at risk women and youth have been reached through community outreach including on London city streets (women who are homeless and living in poverty), educational institutions, social service agencies, and detention centres

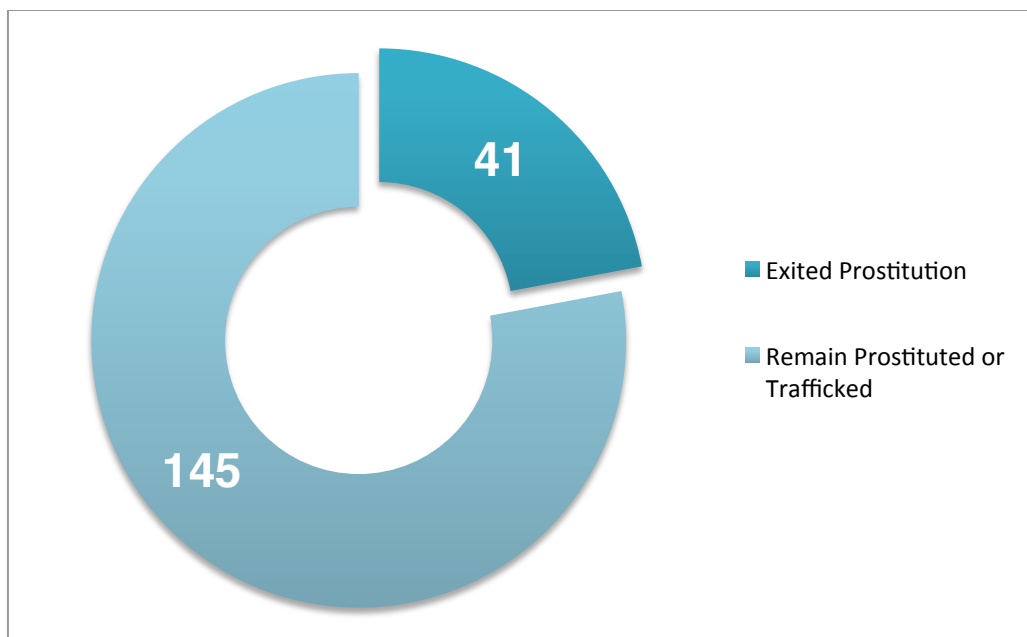
Choices Program: A breakdown of service delivery



Choices Program: Ethnicity and country of origin of women/girls served



Choices Program: Number of exited women/girls (prior to or while receiving service)



Key Findings of the Three Prevalent Legislative Models

1. Demand for Prostitution

Nordic Model: There is a significant reduction in the demand for prostitution. Since sex buying was criminalized, the number of men buying women and girls has decreased by 40 percent in Sweden.

Decriminalization: There is an increase in the demand for prostitution under the decriminalization approach. According to a trafficking expert, the normalization of prostitution that occurs under decriminalization and legalization is linked to an increased demand for prostitution. This results in an increased number of women and girls being prostituted and sexually exploited in trafficking.

Legalization: There is a 'huge' increase in the demand to buy women and girls. Eighty percent of German men have visited brothels, 1.2 million buy women and girls daily and 18 percent buy women and girls regularly.

2. Number of Women and Girls Prostituted or Sexually Exploited

Nordic Model: A smaller number of women and girls are prostituted and sexually exploited in comparison to countries with decriminalization and legalization. Sweden has a smaller number of prostituted women than New Zealand, the Netherlands, Germany, and Victoria (Australia), proportionate to population.

Following the ban on sex buying, there has been a decrease in the number of women prostituted on the streets by approximately 50 percent and no increase in the number involved in indoor prostitution.

Decriminalization: A larger number of women and girls are prostituted or sexually exploited than under the Nordic Model approach. New Zealand has a higher number of prostituted women than Sweden, proportionate to population.

Police in New Zealand report a noticeable increase in the number of girls sexually exploited into prostitution since decriminalization.

Legalization: A larger number of women and girls are prostituted or sexually exploited than under either the decriminalization or Nordic Model approaches. The Netherlands, Germany, and Victoria (Australia) all have higher numbers of prostituted women than Sweden, proportionate to population.

Researchers found higher numbers of sexually exploited children and significant increases in child sexual exploitation in the Netherlands and Victoria (Australia).

3. Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation, and Sexual Exploitation of Children

Nordic Model: The number of women and girls trafficked into Sweden for sexual exploitation is small.

Researchers report criminalizing sex buying has reduced the market and made it less profitable and more risky to operate in Sweden than in the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany.

Trafficking is reduced and deterred. Police report only small-scale trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Decriminalization: There is an increased prevalence of trafficking of women and girls under decriminalization compared to the Nordic Model approach.

Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

Police report widespread trafficking in brothels in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

Police in many jurisdictions in New Zealand report an increased number of girls being sexually exploited since the decriminalization of prostitution. The research verifies a disproportionate number of these girls are Indigenous/Maori.

Legalization: Increased trafficking of girls and women is produced under this model.

A study of 150 countries found significantly more trafficking for sexual exploitation into countries with legalized prostitution because of increased demand and an increased market for prostitution.

In 2016 in the Netherlands, because of major concerns around the number of women and girls being trafficked for sexual exploitation, Members of Parliament voted to criminalize the buying of women and girls who are coerced/threatened/trafficked into prostitution.

Evidence verifies a significant increase in the number of children being sexually exploited in the Netherlands, and Victoria has the highest level of child exploitation in Australia.

4. Risk of Lethality

Nordic Model: The risk of lethality for prostituted women is lower under this model than in Germany, New Zealand and the Netherlands.

There were no women or girls murdered by johns in Sweden in a 16-year period after the Nordic Model was legislated.

Decriminalization: There is a higher risk of lethality for prostituted women under decriminalization in New Zealand than in Sweden.

In a 13-year period after legislating decriminalized prostitution, three women were murdered by johns and a fourth by a gang member initiate (where the gang was involved in trafficking women).

Legalization: The risk of lethality for prostituted women is highest under legalized prostitution.

In a 15-year period after legislating legalized prostitution in the Netherlands, 28 prostituted women were murdered by johns. In a 13-year period after legalized



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

prostitution in Germany, 55 women were murdered by johns and there were 29 attempted murders.

5. Violence

Nordic Model: Substantially fewer prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls are subjected to violence under this model, which relates to decreased numbers of women and girls in prostitution.

Decriminalization: Higher numbers of prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls are subjected to violence than under the Nordic Model approach because there is a higher number of women and girls in prostitution relative to population size.

In a survey of prostituted persons in New Zealand, the majority responded that decriminalization had little effect on the prevalence of violence in prostitution.

Legalization: Significantly higher numbers of prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls are subjected to violence because legalization results in a higher number of women and girls in prostitution relative to population size.

More than half of prostituted women who completed a German survey responded that legalized prostitution is no safer than illegal prostitution.

The safety and welfare of prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls is addressed through regulation and licensing. Evidence confirms the regulatory and licensing approach fails to protect the safety of women or improve their situations.

The level of violence that prostituted and exploited women and girls are subjected to in Germany is very high: 82 percent have been subjected to psychological violence and 92 percent to sexual assault. Prostituted women and girls are subjected to extraordinarily high levels of psychological trauma.

The number of women and girls in prostitution significantly increased in Germany and the Netherlands, meaning that higher numbers of women and girls were subjected to the violence that is inherent in prostitution.

Researchers found higher numbers of sexually exploited children and significant increases in child sexual exploitation in the Netherlands and Victoria, Australia.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

An increased number of children were subjected to violence, rape and assault by the sex buyers/johns and sex trafficking grew exponentially in the Netherlands and Germany.

6. Organized Crime

Nordic Model: Police report organized crime involvement in prostitution and trafficking has been reduced because a reduced demand for prostitution diminishes the source of income for organized crime and curtails the incentive to be involved in prostitution and trafficking in Sweden.

Decriminalization: This model produces a more prevalent involvement of organized crime in prostitution than under the Nordic Model approach. There are reports of substantial links of organized crime and gangs to prostitution. Evidence shows the involvement of organized crime in illegal brothels and massage parlors in New Zealand.

Police in New South Wales, Australia report extensive involvement of organized crime, including criminal gangs linked with 40 brothels.

Three percent of prostituted persons in New Zealand report being raped by a john/buyer over a 12 month period; 35.3 percent reported they had no choice but to be sexually assaulted by a john/buyer when they wanted to say no.

Prostituted women experience high levels of sexual assault, rape, sexual harassment and lethality. In any other situation where women experienced this level of violence, perpetrators would be criminalized. However, decriminalizing prostitution normalizes the violence.

Higher numbers of women and girls are violated by buyers, exploited and abused by traffickers, gangs and brothel owners, and are sexual exploited as children than under the Nordic Model approach.

Legalization: The involvement of organized crime in prostitution is more prevalent under legalization than under either the decriminalization or Nordic Model approaches.

Evidence shows organized crime was extensively involved in the legal prostitution sector in the Netherlands. The City of Amsterdam closed one third of its window brothels and closed its street tolerance zone (Red Light District) in large part



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

because of the extensive involvement of organized crime and the exploitation of the prostituted women and girls by pimps and organized crime.

7. Living/Working Conditions

Nordic Model: There were no negative effects on the safety or conditions for those in prostitution.

There was no evidence of increased risk of physical violence or worsened living conditions for prostituted women and girls.

Decriminalization: Health and safety did not improve and working conditions became riskier as the demand for unsafe sex increased.

An organization that works on the street with prostituted women in New Zealand reported an increase in exploitation.

Legalization: Working conditions have deteriorated and become riskier and the demand for unsafe sex has increased.

There is evidence that prostituted women in Germany are working under riskier conditions. In the Netherlands, there have been no improvements; instead women experience generally poorer health and increased drug addiction.

8. Power Imbalance; Power and Control

Nordic Model: The power and control of buyers, brothel owners, pimps and traffickers is decreased because they are subject to prosecution for buying/selling women and girls while those in prostitution are not.

Criminalizing the buyer, brothel owner, and pimp reduces their power, thereby decreasing the imbalance of power between prostituted women and buyers/pimps.

Evidence confirms that prostituted women and exploited girls in Sweden have more leverage over buyers because they can report them to police.

Decriminalization: The power and control of brothel owners, buyers and traffickers increased, resulting in a greater power imbalance and increased vulnerability and risk of exploitation.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

A police investigator in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia reported decriminalized prostitution had increased the power of pimps and brothel owners.

In New Zealand, the conditions for prostituted women and sexually exploited girls did not improve. Brothel owners and pimps however, had fewer restrictions and less oversight.

Legalization: The power and control of brothel owners, buyers and traffickers increased, resulting in a greater power imbalance and increased vulnerability and risk of exploitation.

In the Netherlands, a pro-legalization “prostitute rights” group admitted that legalized prostitution had given traffickers increased control over women.

In a German study, 53 percent of those in prostitution reported legalized prostitution had not improved their situation. However, 64 percent of brothel owners reported improvements.

9. Women's Equality and Human Rights

Nordic Model: Prostitution is seen as incompatible with women's equality and human rights. This is a major argument for countries adopting the Nordic Model.

Patriarchal attitudes and behaviours are demonstrably changing in Sweden. The number of buyers has been reduced by 40 percent.

When the French Assembly adopted the Nordic Model in 2016, it acknowledged that prostitution undermines women's human rights and that the adoption of the Nordic Model ensures compliance with international human rights law.

Decriminalization: Evidence shows that the harm minimization approach of decriminalization fails to protect and improve the situations of prostituted women and sexually exploited girls.

In New Zealand, the number of prostituted women and sexually exploited girls is higher than in Sweden. In comparison to the Nordic Model, more women and girls in New Zealand experience violence, trauma, exploitation and control by gangs, traffickers and organized crime. More children in New Zealand are sexually exploited.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

Decriminalized prostitution normalizes sexual inequality and the commodification of women's bodies. Normalizing men's violence against women and children is inconsistent with a women's equality and human rights approach.

Legalization: Evidence shows that the regulatory and licensing approach of legalized prostitution fails to protect women's safety or improve their situations.

Legalized prostitution significantly increases the number of women and girls who are exploited in prostitution, controlled by traffickers or organized crime, subjected to violence and trauma and sexually exploited as children.

Prostituted women in Germany responded in surveys and interviews that legalized prostitution had not improved their lives: there were no legal, social or economic improvements to their circumstances.

Normalizing men's violence against women, sexual inequality and the commodification of women's bodies is inconsistent with a women's equality and human rights approach.

10. Choice

Nordic Model: Women are in prostitution because of constrained choice and limited options as a result of many factors including poverty, abuse, child abuse, violence/coercion/force, and childhood sexual exploitation.

Evidence shows a large to an overwhelming majority of women want to leave prostitution.

An integral part of the Nordic Model is government support for programs to assist prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls including income support, the provision of exit strategies, access to services (for example, transition and permanent housing, healthcare, employment programs and re-training) and public awareness and prevention programs.

Decriminalization: Prostitution is considered to be a free choice and a job like any other. This model fails to recognize that women's choices are constrained.

Evidence shows a large to an overwhelming majority of women want to leave prostitution.

Victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation do not choose to be exploited in prostitution.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights
A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

Legalization: Prostitution is defined as a choice and a job like any other. This model fails to recognize that women's choices are constrained.

Evidence shows that a large to an overwhelming majority of women want to leave prostitution.

Evidence verifies that a high number of prostituted women have been sexually exploited into prostitution as children.



Summary of Primary Findings of the Prevalent Models

Findings	Nordic Model	Decriminalization	Legalization
Demand for Prostitution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant reduction in demand for prostitution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased demand for prostitution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Largest increase of three approaches in demand for prostitution
Number of Women and Girls Prostituted or Sexually Exploited	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased number of women and girls sexually exploited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Larger number of women and girls sexually exploited than Nordic Model • Increase in underage child sexual exploitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher numbers of women and girls sexual exploited for purpose of prostitution • Significant increase in underage child sexual exploitation
Sex Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small number of women and girls trafficked into Sweden for sexual exploitation • Sex-trafficking is reduced and deterred under the Nordic Model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased prevalence of sex trafficking of women and girls • Police report that sex-trafficking is widespread in brothels in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia • Disproportionate number of trafficked victims are Indigenous/Maori 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased prevalence of sex trafficking of women and girls • Child sexual exploitation significantly increased
Risk of Lethality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lowest risk of lethality by sex buyers • No women or girls murdered by johns in Sweden in 16-year period under Nordic Model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher risk of lethality by sex buyers • Three women murdered by johns and fourth by a gang member in 13-year period 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highest risk of lethality by sex buyers • 28 prostituted women murdered by johns over 15-year period in the Netherlands • 55 prostituted women murdered by johns and 29 attempted murders over 13-year period in Germany

Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights
A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

Findings	Nordic Model	Decriminalization	Legalization
Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant decrease in number of prostituted women and sexually exploited girls subjected to violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher number of prostituted women and sexually exploited girls subjected to violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significantly higher number of prostituted women and sexually exploited girls subjected to violence
Organized Crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized crime involvement in prostitution is deterred 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized crime in prostitution is more prevalent • Substantial links of organized crime and gangs to prostitution • Organized crime involved in illegal brothels and massage parlors in New Zealand • Extensive involvement of organized crime in sex trade including criminal gangs linked with 40 brothels in New South Wales in Australia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized crime in prostitution most prevalent • Organized crime extensively involved in legal prostitution sector in the Netherlands
Living/Working Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No negative effects on safety or conditions for those in prostitution • No evidence of increased risk of physical violence or worsened living conditions for prostituted women and girls under the Nordic model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health and safety conditions did not improve • Working conditions are riskier as demand for unsafe sex increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working conditions deteriorated and are riskier as demand for unsafe sex increased • No improvements in the Netherlands; generally poorer health and increased drug addiction



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights
A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

Findings	Nordic Model	Decriminalization	Legalization
Power Imbalance; Power and Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power and control of sex buyers, brothel owners, pimps and traffickers decreased • Decreased imbalance of power between prostituted women and sex buyers/pimps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power and control of sex buyers, brothel owners, pimps and traffickers increased • Greater power imbalance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power and control of sex buyers, brothel owners, pimps and traffickers increased • Greater power imbalance
Women’s Equality and Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prostitution is seen as incompatible with women’s equality and human rights • Upholds prostituted women’s human rights and gender equality • Patriarchal attitudes and behaviours changing demonstrably 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harm minimization approach inconsistent with women’s equality and human rights • Normalization of sexual inequality and commodification of women’s bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harm minimization approach is inconsistent with women’s equality and human rights • Normalization of sexual inequality and the commodification of women’s bodies
Choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overwhelming majority of prostituted women are prostituted because of constrained choice and limited options 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prostitution is matter of choice and ‘job like all others’ • Fails to recognize women’s choices are constrained • Large majority to overwhelming majority of prostituted women want to exit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prostitution is defined as choice and ‘job like any other’ • Fails to recognize most women do not want to be prostituted and women’s choices are constrained • Large majority to overwhelming majority of prostituted women want to exit



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights
A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

Findings	Nordic Model	Decriminalization	Legalization
Men’s Violence Against Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognizes prostitution as men’s violence against women • Prostitution is inherently violent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inherent violence in prostitution is normalized • Harms in prostitution are characterized as workplace health and safety issues • Three percent of prostituted women report being raped by john/sex buyer over 12 months; 35.3 percent reported no choice but to have sex with a john/sex buyer when they wanted to say no 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inherent violence in prostitution is normalized • Safety and welfare of prostituted women and girls is addressed through regulation and licensing • High level of violence in Germany: 82 percent subjected to psychological violence; 92 percent sexually assaulted • Higher numbers of sexually-exploited children and significant increases in child sexual exploitation in the Netherlands and Victoria, Australia • Increased number of children subjected to violence, rape, and assault by the sex buyers/johns

Conclusion

The evidence shows the success of the Nordic Model in significantly increasing the safety, equality and human rights of women by decreasing child sexual exploitation, trafficking for sexual exploitation, and the involvement of organized crime.

Canada’s *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* recognizes prostitution as inherently violent and exploitative. The legislation discourages demand for prostitution, which disproportionately impacts women and children, and in particular Indigenous women and children.

Prostitution is not a job like any other. In no job would Canadians tolerate the extreme physical, psychological and emotional toll prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls are subjected to in prostitution. Canadians do not expect citizens to work in an



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights

A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

environment where they are routinely assaulted, sexually harassed, raped, traumatized and face increased rates of homicide. There are no occupation and safety standards that can help eliminate the violence inherent in prostitution.

Contrary to the pro-decriminalization/legalization assertion that women choose to sell sex as consenting adults, the evidence is clear that for the vast majority of prostituted women and girls, prostitution is not a free choice. Rather, prostitution almost invariably comes from lack of choice and from the vulnerability of poverty, marginalization, social isolation, oppression, inequality, exploitation, coercion and/or the need for economic survival.

An overwhelming majority of women want to leave prostitution but most have no viable alternatives to do so. This is because of the same circumstances women and girls faced when initially prostituted, trafficked or sexually exploited: exploitation of their youth and vulnerability, poverty, homelessness, child abuse, being lured and/or coerced, controlled by a trafficker, gang or organized crime, economic need, drug addiction, need to survive, lack of education and training, social isolation and marginalization. Exiting sexual exploitation and prostitution is extremely difficult for these reasons and because of the impact of physical and psychological trauma experienced by women and girls.

There is extensive evidence confirming that a high percentage of prostituted women and girls are trafficked into prostitution and/or controlled by organized crime.

The Nordic Model recognizes prostitution as a violation of women's equality and human rights. This understanding is diametrically opposed to the decriminalization and legalization approaches which are premised on the idea that access to a woman's body is a man's human right. Prostitution promotes gender inequality.

No country or region can legalize or decriminalize prostitution without normalizing men's violence against women and girls. Legalized and decriminalized prostitution violate women's human rights.



Recommendations

The evidence-based key findings lead to the following recommendations:

1. The Government of Canada must repeal section 213 of the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*³ and support the amended Act.
2. The Government of Canada must work with police services across the country to ensure enforcement.
3. The Government of Canada must provide increased funding to trauma informed, woman centred agencies working with prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls, and fund specialized training on the legislation for federal, provincial, regional, territorial and local police services.
4. The Government of Canada must consult with feminist advocates to seek bi-partisan solutions to ensure compliance with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guaranteeing women's equality both before and under the law.

THREE LEGISLATIVE APPROACHES TO PROSTITUTION

The three prevalent legislative approaches to prostitution are the Nordic Model, decriminalization and legalization. The proponents of each claim their approach increases the safety and welfare of women and girls involved in prostitution.

The Nordic Model

The Nordic Model (also referred to as the Swedish Model), decriminalizes prostituted persons while criminalizing sex buyers and profiteers. The Nordic Model was developed in Sweden based on three philosophies: 1) prostitution is gendered, with women and girls as the overwhelming majority of those prostituted; 2) prostitution is a form of male violence against women; and 3) prostitution is incompatible with women's equality and human rights. The long-term goal of the Nordic Model is to abolish prostitution by decreasing demand.

The Nordic Model sees prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation as inextricably linked; demand for prostitution fuels trafficking for sexual exploitation. It is a legislative

³ *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (S.C. 2014, c. 25). § 213 (1.1). Retrieved from the Justice Laws website: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/2014_25.pdf

Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

approach that recognizes the right of women and girls to live free from the harms and violence inherent in prostitution and sex trafficking (Ekberg 2012: 1).

Sweden developed and adopted the Nordic Model in 1999. It has since become a viable and successful model addressing women's equality and human rights in the following countries: Norway (2009); Iceland (2009); Northern Ireland (2014); France (2016); and the Republic of Ireland (2017).

In 2014, Canada developed and adopted an amended version of the Nordic Model. Notwithstanding almost unanimous opposition from abolitionists and pro-decriminalization advocates, the legislation contains a section (213) criminalizing prostituted women when offering, obtaining or providing sexual services near day care centres, schools or playgrounds (*Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (S.C. 2014, c. 25).

Decriminalization

Decriminalization is a harm minimization approach that is premised on the idea that criminalization creates more harms than it prevents.

Decriminalized prostitution decriminalizes both the selling and buying of women and girls and presents prostitution as an occupation like any other. It eliminates all laws against prostitution — including the acts of pimps and brothel owners — and imposes no prostitution specific legislation. This is how decriminalization differs from legalization (Equality Now (n.d.); Barnett & Casavant 2014: 2).

New South Wales in Australia (1995) and New Zealand (2003) have adopted a form of decriminalization. However, neither jurisdiction fully meets the criteria as both retain some prostitution specific legislation, making their models hybrids, drawing upon both decriminalization and legalization. In New Zealand, for example, territorial authorities can regulate the location of brothels and restrict prostitution advertising. There is a law against prostituted individuals failing to adopt safer sex practices (Banyard 2016: 163) but no law to condemn buyers who demand and pay more for unsafe sex practices.

The goal of decriminalizing prostitution as outlined in New Zealand's *Prostitution Reform Act* (PRA) is to:

Safeguard the human rights of sex workers and protect them from exploitation; promote the welfare and occupational health and safety of sex workers; contribute to public health; and prohibit the use in prostitution of persons under 18 years of



age. The PRA also established a certification regime for brothel owners.
 (“Commercial exploitation of children” n.d.: 4)

Legalization

Legalization, like decriminalization, is a harm minimization approach. The difference is under the legalization approach prostitution is regulated with laws around where and when prostitution can take place, normalizing prostitution as a job like any other. Germany (2002), the Netherlands (2000), Denmark (1999) and Victoria, Australia (1994) have all adopted legalized prostitution.

Under this approach, brothels are licensed and areas of legalized street prostitution are zoned as prostitution (red light) districts (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 12). The rationale for this approach is that “legalization would break the links between prostitution and organized crime, and that levels of violence against women in prostitution would decrease, as women would be working in ‘controlled’ environments” (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 12). The assumption is that because prostitution is no longer an illegal activity, prostituted women will be more likely to report violence and the protection of pimps will no longer be required (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 13).

The evidence shows that the women’s equality and human rights approach of the Nordic Model is the best legislative approach to address the systemic issues perpetuating prostitution. The harm minimization approaches legislated through decriminalized and legalized prostitution have not benefited prostituted women (Waltman 2011b: 455-56). Rather, the results prove the opposite. Under decriminalized and legalized prostitution, women have less control over the risk level of the sexual encounters (Waltman 2014: 503; Waltman 2011b: 457).

Health and safety legislation has “failed to improve the safety, health and welfare or the conditions of the workers” (Subritzky 2013: 4); and pimps and brothel owners are provided with even more power to require women to do whatever sex buyers demand (Waltman 2014: 477-78; Moran 2016: 2).

ADDRESSING THE RED HERRINGS

Conflating Prostitution with Trafficking

Recently, in *Evaluating Canada’s Sex Work Laws: The Case For Repeal*, Brenda Belak and Darcie Bennett wrote on behalf of Pivot Legal Society that media and government policies in Canada often conflate “[trafficking] with sex work and used to equate all



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

transactions involving sex with forced sexual services and child sexual exploitation” (Belak & Bennett 2016: 65). While allowing “some people in Canada engage in sex work through situations of constrained choice,” Belak and Bennett contend that “the vast majority of people who sell sex in Canada do so of their own volition as a way of earning income. They are not “trafficked” according to the definitions provided under international or Canadian law” (Belak & Bennett 2016: 11, 65).

The evidence shows otherwise.

According to the Palermo Protocol, to which Canada is a signatory, the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Aspects of the Victims of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children stated in 2006 “prostitution as actually practised in the world usually does satisfy the elements of trafficking” (Waltman 2014: 515, fn. 321). This observation refutes Belak and Bennett’s contention that the definition of trafficking in international law would not apply to the vast majority of those in prostitution in Canada (Belak & Bennett 2016: 11, 65).

Rather than conflating prostitution and trafficking, supporters of the Nordic Model identify the connection between prostitution and trafficking and in particular, the causal relationship between the demand to buy sex and the supply of women needed to meet the demand. The supply to meet the increased demand is filled by trafficked and sexually exploited women and girls.

Pro-decriminalization and pro-legalization proponents minimize the evidence-based causal link between decriminalized/legalized prostitution and trafficking and child sexual exploitation. Legalizing sex-buying results in increased numbers of buyers. This fuels the demand for more prostitution. This demand creates the incentive for trafficking and exploiting even more women and girls into prostitution involuntarily (Cho, Dreher & Neumayer 2013).

Evidence of a reduction in trafficking in Sweden since the ban on buying women and girls demonstrates this causal link (Jakobsson & Kotsadam 2013). Enforcement of the law criminalizing buyers has decreased demand in Sweden and deterred traffickers who have less incentive to traffic women (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 29). Banning buying deters sex traffickers and reduces the number of women and girls who are trafficked for sexual exploitation. This is a strong argument and cannot be dismissed by Nordic Model opponents as conflating prostitution and sex trafficking.



My Body, My Choice

It is simplistic to defend prostitution as an individual woman's right to choose to be exploited. That opinion fails to recognize the systemic issues that prevent women from having free choice: poverty, racism, isolation, violence, coercion, abuse, child abuse, colonization, marginalization and oppression. Even if a small minority of prostituted women assert that it is their right to choose, the focus must be on the vast majority who are the most vulnerable for whom prostitution is not a choice.

While the argument "often focuses on a hypothetical free woman making an entirely unforced choice, the reality is that many European prostitutes have no such freedom" (O'Sullivan 2013). Given that in Canada 50 percent of sexually exploited girls and 51 percent of sex trafficked women are Indigenous, it is not only in Europe where prostituted women do not have an entirely unforced choice (Canadian Women's Foundation 2014: 32).

Women and girls who are lured/coerced/trafficked, those who have no other practical options particularly because of poverty or addiction, women and girls who are marginalized/Indigenous/racialized and those who have been sexually abused and exploited as children represent the overwhelming majority of prostituted women. They do not have "free choice" (Lloyd 2012).

Catharine MacKinnon, Professor of Law at Harvard and Michigan Universities has researched prostitution extensively. She asserts, "Prostitution is not a free choice, it's done to survive" (Nordiskt Forum 2014). MacKinnon states that it is the poorest people who are vulnerable to being exploited and prostituted so that the lowest caste in India and Indigenous peoples in Canada are overrepresented in prostitution (Nordiskt Forum 2014).

Evidence supports the claim by Nordic Model supporters that it is not a choice to be exploited, marginalized or oppressed based on ethnicity, caste or poverty. Prostitution is not a choice but "a product of lack of choice, the resort of those with the fewest choices, or none at all when all else fails" (MacKinnon 2011: 274).

Two British studies of women and girls, who had been or were being prostituted, report that 33 percent had been in care as children; 50 percent were under 18 when they were sexually exploited (into prostitution); 50 percent were homeless when they were prostituted; "50 percent were coerced into prostitution;" and, "72 percent were abused as children" (Fact: Choice is complicated, n.d.). Given these circumstances, the options



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

and choices for most of these women and girls are severely limited (Fact: Choice is complicated, n.d.).

The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) states:

Aboriginal women are grossly overrepresented in prostitution and among the women who have been murdered in prostitution. It is not helpful to divide women in prostitution into those who “choose” and those who are “forced” into prostitution. In most cases, Aboriginal women are recruited for prostitution as girls and/or feel they have no other option due to poverty and abuse. It is the sex industry that encourages women to view prostitution as their chosen identity. (Native Women's Association of Canada 2012: 1)

Prostitution promotes sex inequality as it is overwhelmingly women and girls who are bought for sex, coerced, stigmatized and put at risk of violence. They tend to have very limited choices because they are doing this to survive. Buyers are overwhelmingly men who have the choice whether to participate and who hold the power as the consumer with the money that fuels the sex industry, sex trafficking and child exploitation. Catharine MacKinnon concludes, “Gender inequality means that it is women who become prostitutes; if prostitution were a free choice, more men would become prostitutes” (Nordiskt Forum 2014).

Criminalizing Sex Buyers Pushes Prostitution Underground

A critique of the Swedish ban on the purchase of sexual services is that it drives prostitution underground thereby increasing the risk of violence and worsening the conditions for women in prostitution. In 2010, the Swedish government conducted an evaluation of the ban against the purchase of sexual services. This research included gathering evidence to evaluate how the ban had affected those involved in prostitution and to consider whether there was evidence to support the concerns that had been voiced about the possible negative impacts of the ban.

When the ban on the purchase of sexual services was introduced, various misgivings were voiced. These included fears that criminalization would risk driving prostitution underground, making it harder to reach out to vulnerable persons through social measures, and that the ban would bring an increased risk of physical abuse and generally worsen living conditions for prostitutes. As far as we can judge from the written material and the contacts we have had with public officials and people involved with the issue of prostitution, these fears have not been realized. (Selected extracts of the Swedish government report 2010: 9)



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

The speculation that police may have difficulties in finding prostitution if it were to go underground is unfounded. The market for prostitution is dependent on the ability of the sex purchaser to access individuals selling sexual services. As such, venues must be reasonably visible rather than hidden or inaccessible. By extension, it is reasonable to assume police, who have access to the same or more information than johns, can also access these sites (Kelly & Lovett 2016: 135).

Detective Inspector Häggström of the Stockholm Prostitution Unit refuted the claim that police cannot find prostitution that has “gone underground.” Häggström states “finding prostitution is not a problem for us” because if buyers and exploited women and girls can find each other then so too can the police (Banyard 2016: 206).

Kajsa Wahlberg, the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings in Sweden, also rejects the logic of the criticism that under the ban on buying sex, police are “pushing prostitution activities underground.” Wahlberg stated emphatically:

Prostitution activities are not and cannot be pushed underground. The profit of traffickers, procurers and other prostitution operators is obviously dependent on [men being able to] access women who they wish to purchase for prostitution purposes. If law enforcement agencies want to find out where prostitution activity takes place, the police can. (Banyard 2016: 206-07)

Research shows that while criminalizing buyers in Sweden has resulted in an increased number of women using the internet to connect with johns, it has not been disproportionate to increases found under the approaches of decriminalization or legalization. The increases are attributed to technology. A 2015 report on Sweden found that, while information about sexual services had increased significantly online, there was no evidence of an increase in the actual number of prostituted people (Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 3).

RESPONDING TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND UNAIDS

Amnesty International

In 2015, Amnesty International proposed supporting “all aspects of consensual sex work.” Amnesty “call[ed] on states to ensure that sex workers enjoy full and equal legal protection from exploitation, trafficking and violence” (Amnesty International 2015). Amnesty presented this as a policy that would “protect human rights of sex workers” (Amnesty International 2015).



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Journalist Julie Bindel exposed Amnesty for consulting with only those who identified as “sex workers” rather than also including survivors of prostitution (Bindel 2015). After receiving criticism from survivors, abolitionists and feminists, Amnesty did agree to consult with survivors; however, survivor voices were still not heard. The consultation process was compromised by Amnesty when it had the consultation led by a “well-known adherent of the pro-decriminalization argument. During the consultation, no survivor group or other abolitionist organization that are critical of the sex trade was consulted. The result – the new draft policy [in favour of decriminalization] – was a foregone conclusion” (Bindel 2015).

Amnesty’s process in reaching its policy decision was further compromised by the involvement of an escort agency owner who pushed the sex industry’s agenda in developing Amnesty’s policy. Janice Raymond, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women writes:

A policy initiated by the perpetrators who are beneficiaries. As journalist Julie Bindel first revealed, Amnesty took to heart the lobbying of Douglas Fox, co-founder of a UK escort agency, who claimed credit for Amnesty's draft policy. In 2008 as a member of Amnesty, Fox urged the organization not only to support "sex workers" by promoting full decriminalization but also pushed his associates in the sex industry to join the organization. "Getting Amnesty on side will be a huge boost to our morale... we need to pursue them mercilessly..." he said. Amnesty tried to distance itself from Fox arguing he was not a current member and had no input, but his fingerprints and those he represents were all over the policy. (Raymond 2015)

Substantial evidence opposes Amnesty’s belief that decriminalization would “ensure that sex workers enjoy full and equal legal protection from exploitation, trafficking and violence” and would “protect human rights of sex workers” (Amnesty International 2015).

While Amnesty called on countries to decriminalize “consensual sex work,” it failed to recognize that the large to overwhelming majority of prostituted women say they do not want to be in the sex trade and would leave if they could. The choices and freedom to consent or to say “no” by prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls is limited and constrained by poverty, economic circumstance, oppression, inequality, coercion, exploitation and by lack of viable options.

Remarkably, Amnesty believes the right of men to buy “sex” is a human right.

The right of men to buy sex appears to be paramount, according to Amnesty. For example, in the 2014 leaked document it is stated that: “Sexual desire and



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

activity are a fundamental human need. To criminalize those who are unable or unwilling to fulfil that need through more traditionally recognized means and thus purchase sex, may amount to a violation of the right to privacy and undermine the rights to free expression and health.” If Amnesty stays true to its founding principles, it should be concentrating on those whose human rights are violated – in this case the women in the sex trade – as opposed to those, such as the sex buyers and pimps who believe it is their human right to violate others. (Bindel 2015)

Amnesty’s call for countries to adopt decriminalization of prostitution has not persuaded the governments and countries who are moving to change their approach to prostitution. France and the Republic of Ireland adopted the Nordic model in 2016 and 2017 respectively and rejected Amnesty’s compromised and flawed recommendation to adopt decriminalization.

UNAIDS

In 2012, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) joined with The World Health Organization, United Nations Population Fund, and the Global Network of Sex Work Projects to develop guidelines for the ‘*Prevention and treatment of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections for sex workers in low- and middle-income countries*’ (World Health Organization 2012). These guidelines recommend decriminalization of prostitution “to improve sex workers’ access health services” and to promote “consistent condom use” advising that this would reduce transmission of HIV and sexually transmitted infections (UNAIDS 2012).

Condom use alone may reduce risk in some circumstances. However, condom use alone is insufficient to reduce the exposure of prostituted women to bodily fluids and semen in particular. Buyers often prefer unprotected sex, even offering more money to do so; condoms break; and buyers often seek riskier acts like anal penetration, ejaculating on a woman’s face, and knife play. These acts all contribute to an increased likelihood of sexually transmitted infections.

Dr. Lori Watson, Chair of the Philosophy Department at San Diego University, compared the protection that a condom offers prostituted women to the requirements under standard health and safety regulations for workers handling infectious materials: gloves, masks, eye protection, and face shields as well as other protective body clothing (Watson 2014). She explains:

The retort that condom use will be required by law and that is sufficient to protect the health and safety of “sex workers” is simply not true. Condoms may reduce risk



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

in some cases, as noted above, however they do not “minimize” risk nor do they protect against all potentially infections transmissions (STIs) as noted above. Moreover, where the selling and buying of sex is currently legal and condoms required by law—New Zealand, Australia, the Netherlands, parts of Nevada, e.g.—there is ample evidence of clients preferring sex without condoms, offering to pay more for sex without condoms, and a lack of enforcement among “management.” (Watson 2014)

Evidence shows the health and safety regulations, which are supposed to minimize harm under decriminalization in New Zealand, failed to improve the health and safety of prostituted women (Subritzky 2013: 4). Prostituted women had less control over the risks that the sex acts demanded of them entailed (Waltman 2014: 503; Waltman 2011: 457); pimps and brothel owners actually had more power (as the health and safety regulations were largely unenforced) to require women to do whatever buyers demand (Waltman 2014: 477-78; Moran 2016: 2). What buyers often demand is to not use condoms and, it is “the most vulnerable among persons selling sex [who] are the least likely to use condoms (to have the power to require purchasers of sex to use them)” (Watson 2014).

Catharine MacKinnon summarizes the inconsistency in the harm minimization model proposed by UNAIDS:

When prostitution is understood as commercial sexual exploitation, resulting cases of HIV/AIDS are a symptom, the cause of which is prostitution itself: sex with thousands of men a year under conditions you cannot realistically control. The sex work perspective would protect the buyers from the women so they can keep using them without getting sick, rather than protecting the women from the buyers who are making them lethally ill. Everyone supports less harm to the women. But harm elimination is not part of the sex work agenda because it is inconsistent with sex for sale (MacKinnon 2011: 286)

LEGISLATIVE OUTCOMES

Child Sexual Exploitation

Evidence demonstrates that child sexual exploitation and trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation increases when states decriminalize or legalize prostitution. This pattern contrasts with dramatically lower numbers of women and children sexually exploited, trafficked and prostituted in Sweden under the Nordic Model. Where prostitution is decriminalized or legalized, organized crime increases and there is a link



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

between an increased demand for prostitution when it is decriminalized or legalized and trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Sexual exploitation of girls under 18 and trafficking of primarily women and girls are both recognized as unacceptable human rights violations. Decriminalized and legalized prostitution are both associated with increased child sexual exploitation and human trafficking. Prime Minister John Key of New Zealand expressed concern that, almost ten years after the law was changed in New Zealand, decriminalization had failed “to safeguard sex workers and bring a halt to underage prostitution.” He said, “There are still a lot of reports of young people being engaged in prostitution well and truly below the age which Parliament set which was 18” (“Debate begins” 2012).

In 2008 Elizabeth Bang, the president of the National Council of Women of New Zealand, which had originally supported decriminalization, lamented, “The only winners from the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 are men” (“Men ‘the only winners’” 2008). Bang stated they are “seeing girls as young as 13 and 14 on the streets selling their bodies” (“Men ‘the only winners’” 2008). Under decriminalization the Council felt there was “no disincentive for men for their actions when they were getting name suppression and light sentences for buying sexual services from underage girls” (“Men ‘the only winners’” 2008).

Child sexual exploitation has increased in New Zealand not only because decriminalization resulted in increased demand, but also because the law decriminalizing prostitution provided inadequate protection for children.

The legislation does not allow police to:

Require age identification documentation from a person they suspect to be an underage person providing commercial sexual services. Police report that this makes it difficult to proactively protect young people who are involved, or at risk of being involved, in under age prostitution. Likewise police have no right of entry into a brothel or other premise and brothel owners are not required to maintain a record of the age identification of sex workers or provide such to the police. (“Commercial Exploitation of Children” 2008: 4)

While enhanced police investigatory powers would mitigate some of the difficulties police have locating and protecting sexually exploited children and investigating those who lure, traffic, and exploit children for profit, it would not address the fundamental problem that decriminalized and legalized prostitution inevitably increase the market for prostitution and for children to be sexually exploited.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Child ALERT (ECPAT NZ), a New Zealand organization whose sole focus is to address the sexual exploitation of children, estimates there are approximately 200 children in New Zealand who have been sexually exploited into prostitution (ECPAT NZ Child ALERT n.d.: 6).

According to the Maxim Institute, an independent research and public policy think tank in New Zealand, decriminalization fails to protect children who are sexually exploited and makes it extremely difficult to prosecute those who purchase sexual services from underage children and youth (Mrozek 2008).

One study found approximately one-third of women and girls who have been sexually exploited or prostituted in New Zealand were exploited before the age of 18 and in another study, 56 percent of those in street-based prostitution were exploited before age 18 ("Commercial Exploitation of Children" 2008: 3-4). In 2010, police and social workers in Auckland City reported concern over an "upsurge" in underage girls as young as 12 being sexually exploited, some of whom were believed to be "run" by gangs (Shepherd 2010).

Ten young women (aged 16-20) involved in Natalie Thorburn's study of child sexual exploitation in New Zealand reported they were 12 to 16 years old when they were first sexually exploited; all had been victims of abuse prior to being sexually exploited and "they often worked in unsafe circumstances" ("Study reveals" 2015).

According to the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women New Zealand:

The Prostitution Reform Act [New Zealand] was supposed to reduce underage prostitution and 'protect young people,' by introducing offences such as paying for 'sexual services' provided by any person under 18. However, Commissioner for Children Dr. Cindy Kiro argues that New Zealand has a 'clear problem' of child sexual exploitation, which has most likely worsened since the decriminalization of prostitution. Dr. Kiro's hypothesis is supported by many of the major police groups within New Zealand.

Inspector Gary Knowles of the Christchurch police argues there has been a noticeable rise in the number of underage street prostitutes since the introduction of the new legislation. It is reported that girls as young as 12 have been found on the streets, sought mostly by men wanting unprotected sex. Police in Wellington have also reported that the age of prostituted women has declined since the Act.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

The 2005 Prostitution Law Review Commission report estimates that 20 percent of prostitutes in street prostitution and 8 percent of escort agency workers were underage, with a low estimated total of 210 such underage persons in the industry. ECPAT NZ [End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes] reported in 2004 that 'most child prostitutes come from backgrounds of sexual abuse, drug-taking, and family dysfunction.' Of those who were first prostituted when they were younger than 16 years of age, 60 percent had been sexually abused, most drank 'lots' of alcohol when sexually servicing men, and all used drugs. Amongst underage Maori prostitutes, 74 percent had been sexually abused. In an address to the United Nations in 2001, the New Zealand government recognized that Indigenous children and children from lower socio-economic groups were particularly vulnerable to becoming involved in prostitution.

... Reports also suggest that a disproportionate number of children and young women in underage prostitution are Indigenous. A representative of the Prostitutes Collective outreach program claims that the majority of underage prostitutes are Maori or Pacific Islander. This is reflected in statistics which show that 68 percent of Indigenous prostituted women enter prostitution at 17 years or younger, compared to 25 percent of Pakeha [white New Zealander] women. (Instone & Margerison 2007:4-6)

Indigenous children in New Zealand are at a higher risk of being sexually exploited than non-Indigenous children. A study from Christchurch, New Zealand reported "56 percent of sex workers under the age of 18 were Maori, 44.5 percent Pakeha and 1.5 per cent Pasifika [Pacific peoples]. These figures are for a city whose Maori population is only 13 percent" (Coppedge 2006: 51). These findings show that Maori girls are subjected to sexual exploitation at a much higher rate given there are more than four times as many sexually exploited Maori girls under the age of 18 than would be consistent with the percentage of Maori population.

In another study, 20 percent of prostituted women identified as Maori in an area where only 7.4 percent of women aged 15-44 are Maori, and even higher proportions of Indigenous women and girls are involved in the street-based sex trade (Instone & Margerison 2007: 5).

As in New Zealand, the risk of sexual exploitation is much higher for Indigenous children and women in Canada. A 2014 report identified 266 Canadian organizations providing counselling and support services to sex trafficked and sexually exploited women and



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

girls. It is estimated, that based on the woman and girls they served, 50 percent of sex trafficked and sexually exploited girls were Indigenous and 51 percent of sexualized human trafficked women were Indigenous (Canadian Women's Foundation 2014: 32). To understand how massive the over representation of Indigenous women and girls is among sex trafficked and sexually exploited women and children in Canada, it must be recognized that Indigenous people make up only approximately five percent of Canada's population (Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights, Government of Canada 2011: 29).

In a study of four countries with different legislative responses to prostitution, researchers found a dramatic increase in all areas of prostitution and child sexual exploitation, and particularly in the number of foreign girls and women sex trafficked into states/countries where prostitution was legalized (Bindel & Kelly 2003). Kvinnofronten, the Women's Front in Sweden, identifies sexual abuse of children as the basis for prostitution because the majority of those in prostitution had been children who were subjected to other forms of sexual abuse prior to being sexually exploited into prostitution, on average at the age of 14 ("Speaking of prostitution" 2013: 28).

The evidence is clear: where the buying and selling of sex are decriminalized or legalized, children are at increased risk of being sexually exploited, and Indigenous children are at the highest risk of being sexually exploited and trafficked. Based on this evidence, it can be safely predicted that any country adopting decriminalized or legalized prostitution will inevitably find larger numbers of children lured, trafficked, and sexually exploited into prostitution. In many countries, this increase would manifest as an even higher percentage of Indigenous children being sexually exploited and trafficked, outcomes that are extremely negative for children. The potential risks for children are so great that these issues should weigh heavily against any movement towards legalization and decriminalization.

Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia reports "the available evidence suggests the Nordic Model is effective in reducing sex trafficking" (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia 2013: 1) The Coalition concludes from its examination of the evidence that "legalization not only fails to prevent the harms of prostitution, it appears to exacerbate them by encouraging a boom in the illegal sector and sex trafficking" (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia 2013: 4).

In Sweden, the level of cross-jurisdictional human trafficking for sexual exploitation is at lower levels than in countries where prostitution has been legalized. The Swedish police



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

report, "It is clear that the ban on the purchase of sexual services acts as a barrier to human traffickers and procurers who are considering establishing themselves in Sweden" (Selected extracts of the Swedish government report 2010: 9).

Der Spiegel reported in 2007 that according to police estimates, 400 to 600 foreign women were being trafficked every year into Sweden for sexual exploitation in the sex trade. This compares to the 10,000 to 15,000 foreign women trafficked yearly into neighbouring Finland, a country with only slightly more than half of Sweden's population and where, although brothels and pimping are illegal, the actions of johns are legal (Anwar 2007). In 2013, only 41 suspected victims of transnational sex trafficking into Sweden were identified by Swedish authorities. This number contrasts to the 15,000 to 17,000 suspect victims being trafficked into Finland in 2013 for sexual exploitation (De Santis 2015).

A Nordic research study in 2008 concluded that, unlike other Nordic countries (none of which had adopted the Nordic Model at that time), in Sweden "no large groups of foreign women have established themselves in the visible prostitution market, contrary to what is the case in Norway, Finland and Denmark" (Ekberg 2012: 6).

In telephone conversations intercepted as part of police investigations, pimps and traffickers revealed their frustrations about the expense and difficulty of operating in Sweden and of attracting sex buyers (Ekberg 2004: 1200). Trafficked women have reported to police overhearing traffickers saying, "Sweden is a very unfriendly country to operate in, and that they should take them elsewhere, such as the Netherlands, where the traffickers can operate with impunity" (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 29).

Criminalization of sex buying threatens the anonymity of sex buyers and, more than the fear of modest penalties, buyers fear being identified publicly. This fear has reduced the customer base, making operating in Sweden less attractive for pimps and traffickers (Raymond 2010). The diminished demand to buy sex and the criminalization of sex buying has made Sweden a less lucrative, higher risk, and less attractive market for traffickers and has made it more difficult for them to operate. The Nordic Model thus discourages sex trafficking into Sweden when other more lucrative markets and easier operating conditions exist in countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark, and Germany (Ekberg 2004: 1200-01).

In Sweden, the prostitution laws that are the basis of the Nordic Model "counteracted the establishment of organized crime" (Selected extracts of the Swedish government



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

report 2010: 9) and functioned “as an ‘effective barrier to the establishment of traffickers in Sweden” (Ekberg 2015:13).

The success of the sex buyer law in reducing the demand for prostitution has also reduced the market and monetary incentives that fuel trafficking and finance organized criminal involvement in prostitution, trafficking, and child sexual exploitation. It is buyers who “make human trafficking both possible and lucrative” (Claude 2011: 6). Legalized prostitution results in increased trafficking into these countries for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Evidence from 150 countries found “countries with legalized prostitution have a statistically significantly larger reported incidence of human trafficking inflows” because the prostitution market increases with legalization (Cho, Dreher & Neumayer 2013: 6).

Decriminalizing and legalizing sex-buying results in an increased demand for prostitution. This is often associated with an increase in cross-jurisdictional trafficking (Waltman 2011a). Increased demand for prostitution leads to an increased number of individuals in prostitution, and therefore to increased sex trafficking to meet the demand for more prostituted women and girls. Legalized prostitution has resulted in an estimated 150,000 to 700,000⁴ prostituted people, primarily women and girls, in Germany (“Data on women in prostitution in Germany” 2016).

Taina Bien-Aime, from the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, reports that, of an estimated 400,000 women and girls prostituted in Germany, “the vast majority [of whom are] poor women from abroad, with a linked exponential spike in sex trafficking” (Bien-Aime 2015). Dr. Ingeborg Kraus reported “approximately 90 percent of prostituted

⁴ It is difficult to estimate the actual number of prostituted, sexually-exploited, and trafficked women and girls. Since there is no comprehensive data from the German government, there are a variety of estimates that range 150,000 to 700,000 (“Data on women in prostitution in Germany” 2016). Cho, Dreher and Neumayer used the figure of about 150,000 prostituted people in Germany and compared the number of prostituted people and the number of victims of human trafficking in Germany and Sweden. They demonstrated that, even controlling for the size of population, Sweden had a fraction of the number of prostituted and trafficked women and of sexually-exploited and trafficked girls in Germany: “Having a liberal prostitution regime, Germany is known to have one of the largest prostitution markets in Europe, with about 150,000 people working as prostitutes (Global report data used in Danailova-Trainor and Belser (2006). This means that the number of prostitutes in Germany is more than 60 times that of Sweden, while having a population (82 million inhabitants) less than 10 times larger. In terms of human trafficking victims, the ILO [International Labour Organization] estimated the stock of victims in Germany in 2004 to be approximately 32,800—about 62 times more than in Sweden (Danailova-Trainor & Belser 2006)” (Cho, Dreher & Neumayer 2013: section 6).



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

women in Germany come from the poorest European countries, especially Bulgaria and Romania. Most of these women don't speak German and don't know their rights" (Bien-Aime 2015).

Detective Chief Superintendent Helmut Sporer, Augsburg, Germany, estimates 80 percent of prostituted women in Germany are foreigners, with a majority coming from south-east Europe (Speak 2013). Sporer reports "90 percent of these women have not freely chosen prostitution, they are subjected to various forms of pressure" (Speak 2013). The Detective Chief Superintendent also said that, because only 44 of the estimated 400,000 prostituted people in Germany have registered (which would make them eligible for social insurance), women can go missing and "absolutely no one will notice." This makes "Germany very attractive for traffickers and other profiteers" (Speak 2013).

Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is also a significant problem in the Netherlands. Police estimate that 50 to 90 percent of those who are in prostitution have been forced into it (Meyer et al. 2013: part 5). As a result, the government "plans to tighten the law to combat a rise in human trafficking and forced prostitution" (Meyer et al. 2013: part 5).

In 2015, Premier Mike Baird of New South Wales, Australia, where prostitution is decriminalized, called for an inquiry into brothels after an investigation "exposed incidents of confinement and sexual abuse in legal brothels as well as an unfolding crisis involving local councils that are powerless to prevent illegal parlours setting up shop – some alongside schools, learning centres and in residential complexes" (Duff 2015a). The inquiry heard that "sexual servitude and human trafficking is widespread in Sydney [New South Wales] brothels" (Duff 2015a).

Decriminalized prostitution "can make it much easier for traffickers to function with impunity" by making it harder to monitor and to intervene to protect trafficked women and children (Paulat 2015). In 2011, the United States' *Trafficking in Persons Report* said, "New Zealand was a destination country for women from Asian and Eastern European countries trafficked into forced prostitution" (NZ a destination for illegal prostitution 2011).

In regards to New Zealand, the 2015 Trafficking in Persons report stated:

Foreign women from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand, and Vietnam are at risk of coercive or forced prostitution. Some international students and temporary visa holders are vulnerable to forced labour or prostitution. A small



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

number of Pacific Islands and New Zealand (often of Maori descent) girls and boys are at risk of sex trafficking in street prostitution, and some are victims of trafficking in gangs. Some children are recruited by other girls or compelled by family members, into prostitution. (United States Department of State 2015)

There is evidence of a limited increase in transnational sex trafficking in New Zealand. This is not surprising given New Zealand is an island accessed by only flight or boat. However, the problem of child sexual exploitation into prostitution, particularly that of Indigenous girls, is the more problematic, unintended negative consequence of decriminalized prostitution in New Zealand.

Child sexual exploitation of Indigenous children is facilitated through trafficking within New Zealand. Sarah Benson of Ruhama, which provides support services to prostituted women, recently stated:

All states around the world that have relaxed their laws regarding prostitution, through the decriminalization or legalization of the trade as a whole, have failed to protect those in prostitution from its inherent harm. In New Zealand, Germany and the Netherlands more women and girls, including the very vulnerable, have been drawn and indeed trafficked into prostitution; more men are buying sex as the practice becomes normalized; violence and human-rights abuses persist, generating more profit than ever before for the exploiters. (Benson 2015)

Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation occurs at a much lower rate in Sweden under the Nordic Model than in other countries where prostitution has been legalized such as Denmark and Germany ("Does legalized prostitution increase human trafficking?" 2014: 2). According to the Swedish National Rapporteur for Trafficking in Human Beings "it is clear that the [prostitution] law has limited the amount of trafficking to Sweden", which supports "the claim of a causal link from law to reduced trafficking" (Jakobsson & Kotsadam 2013). The implementation and enforcement of the law criminalizing sex buyers has decreased demand and made Sweden "less attractive" for human traffickers (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 29).

Citing two recent studies by Jakobsson and Kotsadam, and Cho et al., Liz Kelly and Joanna Lovett concluded, "The supply and demand effects of legalization create a conducive context for trafficking" (Kelly & Lovett 2016: 133; Jakobsson and Kotsadam 2011; Cho et al. 2013). In both studies, Sweden was shown to confirm this by demonstrating criminalized sex buying was less conducive to sex trafficking than was legalized sex buying (Kelly & Lovett 2016: 133).



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

That legalized prostitution leads to increased human trafficking for sexual exploitation is also evidenced by the European Union's harmonized data on human trafficking showing "Sweden and Norway have done much better than the Netherlands" in regards to lower levels of trafficking ("A brief review of the evidence" n.d.: 5).

Decreasing the demand for prostitution is the most effective strategy to decrease sex trafficking. Countries are required by the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children of 2000* (Palermo Protocol) (United Nations 2000) to "discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking" (as cited in Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 5).

In their analysis of the impact of the Swedish Sex Purchase Law, Maddy Coy, Helen Pringle, and Meagan Tyler conclude:

Prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation cannot be separated. Women are trafficked into prostitution because that market exists.

As such, the demand by sex buyers for access to women's bodies fuels both prostitution and the trafficking that supplies it. Trafficking can therefore only be reduced and ultimately eliminated if demand for prostitution is addressed. The 'Nordic model' approach, by targeting and demonstrably reducing demand, most directly and effectively addresses the legal obligation of countries to reduce trafficking for sexual exploitation. (Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 5)

Organized Crime

Both decriminalized and legalized prostitution foster organized crime especially related to human trafficking and the coercion and sexual exploitation of women and children. Both approaches increase market demand for prostitution by increasing the numbers of sex buyers and the trafficking of women into prostitution to meet the demand.

In a 2016 interview on CBC radio, Canada, Detective Inspector Simon Häggström, Head of the Stockholm Prostitution Unit, spoke about the relationship between demand, organized crime and sex trafficking.

I think it's very important to realize when you talk about prostitution, you have to see the link to organized crime – that the sex buyers are actually the crucial sponsors of human trafficking. The traffickers are in this because of one reason and that is simply to get money and by striking [targeting] on the sex buyers and reducing the demand you actually cut the source of income for human trafficking and ultimately organized crime. ("How prostitution laws work" 2016)



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

The links between organized crime and prostitution in New Zealand are evident from the connection of organized crime to an estimated “one-fifth through to nearly three-quarters of ‘massage parlors’” and “one in ten to three-fifths of private sex workers” (Instone & Margerison 2007: 3).

Evidence is accruing that under decriminalized prostitution in New South Wales, organized crime, violence, sexual exploitation, and human trafficking have created problems the government is now moving to address. Concern about “the exploitation of women and the involvement of criminal gangs in the sex trade” resulted in the government moving to tighten controls on brothels (Reilly & Davies 2011).

Evidence was presented at the government’s inquiry into sexual exploitation that “police intelligence had linked outlaw motorcycle gangs to about 40 brothels across the state” (Duff 2015b). At the inquiry, a NSW Police Deputy Commissioner reported “As it is right now, there is next to no regulation, no enforcement, and abuses are far more likely to go undetected, with horrible consequences for individuals” (Duff 2015b).

Another police investigator in Sydney previously reported that although the intention of decriminalization was to provide “a safe working environment for sex workers the reverse has occurred in that pimps and brothel operators were empowered and enriched. Police were cut out of the equation and organized crime infiltrated the brothel and massage parlour industry” (Reilly & Davies 2011).

According to Dr. Caroline Norma of the School of Global, Urban and Social Studies at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology:

The community and individual damage wrought by prostitution in Sydney is now apparent to everyone, even foreign governments (South Korea sent an emissary to the state in 2010, to investigate the trafficking of its female citizens). NSW [New South Wales] Police this year publicly admitted outlaw motorcycle gangs had links with at least 40 brothels in the state; a sex worker was set alight a few years ago; groups of women have been found debt-bonded to brothels; and individual women have been found dead in hotels.

The victims are often foreign. In 2012, researchers identified more than 50 percent of their research sample in approved brothels in metropolitan Sydney as being of Asian or other non-English speaking country background, and nearly 45 percent of these respondents as speaking only “poor” or “fair” English.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Even the state government now recognizes this as a problem. Earlier this year it set up a parliamentary committee to inquire into existing laws on prostitution, and the committee will shortly announce recommendations to strengthen police powers in relation to illegal brothels, and a greater monitoring function for state government (local government is currently burdened with sex industry oversight). (Norma 2015)

As a result of the parliamentary inquiry, it was recommended that a “new police unit should be established to stamp out organized crime and exploitation in the NSW sex industry” (Duff 2015b). Creating new units and strengthening police investigatory powers will potentially allow police to investigate and prosecute more human traffickers. However, such measures cannot address the fundamental dynamic that legalizing the buying of sex increases market demand and makes it lucrative for gangs and organized crime to make huge profits. Organized criminal activity booms because “illegal prostitution is more lucrative and profitable, and there is the ability to hide such illegal activities within legalized prostitution” (“Why the Nordic model is the only viable alternative” n.d.: section 3).

Pimps are driven by profit and sex buyers are driven to buy sexual services without restrictions on whatever form of sex they want. The vulnerability of prostituted persons provides them with “little leverage against either of them [pimps and johns]. Granting legality to third parties [pimps] and tricks [johns] in prostitution does not strengthen the hand of prostituted persons; it provides greater legitimacy to their exploiters and those exploiters’ interests” (Waltman 2014: 477-8). Decriminalizing buying only increases the imbalance of power between those who are prostituted and the buyers/pimps/brothel owners/traffickers.

Huisman and Kleemans in their 2014 research into sex trafficking in the Netherlands found legalized prostitution “creates a façade of legitimacy that hides sexual exploitation, and that brothels can ‘function as legalized outlets for victims of sex trafficking’” (as cited in “A Brief Review of the Evidence” n.d.: 4). Sex trafficking of underage girls and the coercion, exploitation, and trafficking of women and girls both within national borders and trans-nationally can be camouflaged behind the façade of legalized prostitution, which reduces the risks for criminal organizations, traffickers, pimps, and gangs.

In 2011, a joint press release from the City of Amsterdam, the Amsterdam police, and the Dutch government stated, “Organized crime is firmly embedded in the Amsterdam Red Light District, which means, for example, that they have a firm grip on the



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

prostitution sector. Human trafficking, exploitation and forced prostitution are common” (Vanderwyk 2011).

In Amsterdam's Red Light district, pimps control “the majority of women in the window brothels.” According to Daalder's 2007 government sponsored study of prostitution in the Netherlands since legalization, the emotional wellbeing of the women in the window brothels was lower than in 2001 or pre-legalization (as cited in Raymond 2011: 8). Daalder's study further shows organized crime has increased its control of both the legal and illegal sectors of the sex trade since prostitution was legalized in the Netherlands (as cited in Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia 2013: 5).

In 2011, the Dutch national police estimated that “50 percent to 90 percent of the women in licensed prostitution ‘work involuntarily’” (“TORL's fact finding mission” 2012). The connections of prostitution with organized crime, drug dealing, child sexual exploitation, and the increase in human trafficking for sexual exploitation were major factors in local governments closing a third of the window brothels in Amsterdam and shutting down designated prostitution zones in several other Dutch cities (Bindel 2013). In Queensland, Australia, where licensed brothels are legal, a study by the University of Queensland estimated “90 percent of the commercial sex industry existed outside the legal sex industry as ‘illegal forms of prostitution cater for a demand that is not met by the legal industry’” (as cited in Equality Now n.d.: 2).

The regulation of prostitution, which happens in both legalized and decriminalized legislative approaches “has been found in general to fuel the illegal sex market, which includes increasing the prevalence of human trafficking” (“A brief review of the evidence” n.d.: 3). The illegal sex market includes the sexual exploitation of children who are under the age set for legal prostitution (Waltman 2011b: 457).

The European Women's Lobby identified “an obvious relationship” between decriminalization of prostitution and an increase in trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. Evaluations of countries where decreasing the demand for buying sex is the legislative goal show lower levels of sex trafficking than countries where prostitution is legalized and seen as “sex work” (European Women's Lobby n.d.: 2). The Lobby also cites a 2008 Dutch National Police study “Keeping Up Appearances: The Signs of Human Trafficking in the Legalized Prostitution Sector,” which estimated “50 to 90 percent of women in legalized brothels were ‘working involuntarily’” (European Women's Lobby n.d.: 3). That equates to perhaps 4,000 victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation annually in the “legal” brothels. Not surprisingly, the Dutch report



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

concludes, "The idea that a clean, normal business sector has emerged is an illusion..." (as cited in European Women's Lobby n.d.: 3).

Deputy Prime Minister Lodewijk Asscher of the Netherlands issued a strong statement of concern over human trafficking in 2016 saying, "Many vulnerable women are enticed to come to the Netherlands under false pretenses. Once here, they are sexually exploited by ruthless pimps. These women are promised a better life, but end up in a living hell" (Asscher 2016). In the Netherlands, there have been reports of "large scale abuse of people working in prostitution and the extensive presence of organized crime in the legal prostitution sector." At least 55 percent of those in prostitution have been subjected to exploitation according to Dutch Police ("Draft bill in Dutch Parliament" 2014).

In May 2016, because of major concerns around the number of women and girls being trafficked for sexual exploitation, Members of Parliament in the Netherlands voted to criminalize the buying of sex from women who are coerced/threatened/trafficked into prostitution. This measure will "give the police and judicial authorities the possibility to combat human trafficking by dealing with the demand side ([that is] the customers) instead of only going after pimps and traffickers" ("Draft bill in Dutch Parliament" 2014). Sex buyers will be held accountable with a prison term of up to four years or a fine of 20,000 euros for contributing to the sexual exploitation and trafficking of the women and girls through driving the demand that fuels trafficking ("Draft bill in Dutch Parliament" 2014).

The new Dutch law criminalizes only sex buyers who purchase sex from trafficked and coerced women. The law is not likely enforceable however because it will be difficult to prove men knew or ought to have known that the women or girls were coerced into prostitution or trafficked ("MPs back change in law" 2016). There is an additional concern about how narrowly trafficking may be defined. Nevertheless, if the police estimated minimum of 55 percent of those in prostitution being coerced is at all accurate then buying sex from half of the women and girls in prostitution in the Netherlands would be illegal.

While not legislated, the German cabinet has supported the criminalization of men who buy sexual services from prostituted women who are "forced" with a penalty of up to five years of jail time. It is also considering the criminalizing of pimps who have "forced" women into trafficking with penalties of up to ten years (Connor 2016). The German Minister of Justice stated the proposed law "was meant to have a 'preventative effect' to deter those who would be clients of prostitutes, who are victims of human trafficking"



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

(Connor 2016). Minister Maas declared, "As a state, we made a decision that we do not accept and also do not tolerate such a thing" (Connor 2016). Among prostituted women, the estimated percentage of women who are trafficked transnationally is high. NGOs have reported up to 85 percent of prostituted women in Germany are foreigners and that most have been trafficked (Raymond 2003). Based on the evidence, an overwhelming number of prostituted women are trafficked and therefore there should be a correlating high number of sex buyers charged. However, for the reasons previously outlined, the law is likely to be unenforceable.

An emerging pattern is the number of countries where prostitution has been legalized or decriminalized making changes or considering changes to their laws because of concerns about increased sex trafficking and sexual exploitation of women and children. This exemplifies the problematic outcomes of the decriminalization and legalization approaches. The proponents of both approaches "focus on a hypothetical free woman making an entirely unforced choice." However, "the reality is that many European prostitutes have no such freedom" (O'Sullivan 2013).

Women and girls who are lured/coerced/sex-trafficked, who have no other options, who are marginalized, and those who have been sexually abused and sexually exploited as children are the overwhelming majority of prostituted women and they did not have free choice (Lloyd 2012).

The difficulty with believing in the 'hypothetical free woman' approach is that sex buyers either wrongly assume the women they buy sexual services from are there by choice or they know the woman is being trafficked but choose to ignore it:

Sex buyers see, and yet at the same time refuse to see, the fear, disgust, and despair in the women they buy. If she didn't run out of the room, screaming "help, police! trafficking!" then the sex buyer concludes that she chose the prostitution. Knowing that women in prostitution have been exploited, coerced, pimped, or trafficked does not deter sex buyers. Half of a group of 103 London sex buyers said that they had used a woman in prostitution who they knew was under the control of a pimp. As one man explained, "It's like he's her owner." Another man said: "The girl is instructed to do what she needs to do. You can just relax, it's her job." In Romania, researchers interviewed sex buyers, women in prostitution, pimps, and police officers, all of whom agreed that sex buyers "are not interested if the girls are actually trafficked or not but are rather more interested in satisfying their sexual needs." (Farley 2016).



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

The failures of legalization and decriminalization resulting in increased sexual exploitation and organized criminal involvement in the sex trade, combined with the success of the Nordic Model as a deterrent for sex trafficking and organized crime, were important considerations when the French government adopted the Nordic Model in 2016 (Raymond 2016). Of the 30,000 to 37,000 primarily women and girls in the French sex trade in 2016 “nearly 85 percent of them are victims of human trafficking” (Mis 2016).

The recognition that “ending the demand for commercial sexual acts is key in the fight against pimping, procuring and trafficking” (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women International 2016) and the success of the Nordic Model in combatting sex trafficking were also the central arguments in the recent adoption of the Nordic Model by Ireland and the European Union (European Parliament 2014).

The Nordic Model

In 2014, the European Parliament adopted a lengthy resolution on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on women's equality. The resolution encourages the European Union to adopt a position that supports the Nordic Model (European Parliament resolution of 26 February 2014 on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)). One of the many reasons so many countries are moving towards adopting the Nordic Model is because of its evidence-based merits and successful outcomes compared to the approaches of decriminalization or legalization.

The European Parliament's statement concludes, “Viewing prostitution as simply ‘work’ helps to keep women in prostitution. Viewing prostitution as a violation of women's human rights helps keep women out of prostitution” (European Parliament resolution of 26 February 2014 on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)), Explanatory Statement). Evidence shows legalizing prostitution results in more trafficking and increased numbers of women and girls exploited and prostituted. This compares to Sweden with one-tenth the number of prostituted persons than the smaller populated Denmark where prostitution is legalized (European Parliament resolution, 2014, Explanatory Statement).

The number of prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls is lower in Sweden because the ban on sex buying decreases the demand for prostitution. The result is that “Sweden appears to have the smallest number of women selling sex even taking population into account [in comparison to eight other countries in the study including



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Australia (Victoria), Ireland, Netherlands, Finland, Germany, New Zealand, Spain and South Africa]" (Kelly, Coy, & Davenport 2009: 37).

The Nordic Model has dramatically reduced the number of women and girls who are exploited and prostituted, deterred trafficking, and changed public opinion in favour of criminalizing sex buying.

After examining the outcomes from the Nordic Model, legalization and decriminalization, the European Parliament concluded:

The evidence of the effectiveness of the Nordic Model in reducing prostitution and trafficking of women and girls and thereby promoting gender equality is growing all the time. Meanwhile those countries where procuring is legal still face problems in relation to human trafficking and organized crime as these relate to prostitution. This report therefore supports the Nordic Model and urges that the governments in those Member States who deal with prostitution in other ways review their legislation in the light of the success achieved by Sweden and other countries who have adopted the Nordic Model. Such action would bring about significant progress for gender equality in the European Union.

This report is not against prostituted women. It is against prostitution but for prostituted women. By recommending that the buyer – the man who buys sex - is deemed the guilty party rather than the female prostitute, this report represents another step on the road to full gender equality throughout the European Union. (European Parliament Resolution 2014)

The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia, comparing the impact of the Nordic Model on the health and safety of prostituted women to that of decriminalization and legalization, stated:

The Swedish approach to prostitution is profoundly different from the more traditional harm minimization approach taken by those promoting legalization or decriminalization. The Swedish model does not aim to make prostitution itself more comfortable or acceptable but rather to reduce and ultimately abolish the existence of a market for prostitution; thereby, at least reducing, and potentially eliminating, harm altogether. (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia 2013: 13)

Scholar Max Waltman researched the theoretical basis for the harm minimization approach to prostitution. The theory behind the approach is a belief the harms associated with prostitution can be reduced. Waltman concludes, "This position implies



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

that by reducing some instances of violence and increasing some safety precautions, the extreme power imbalance between the prostituted person and the trick is tolerable though not necessarily mitigated" (Waltman 2011b: 455).

Abolitionists do not accept prostitution as being inevitable for women and girls and view both decriminalization and legalization as failing to recognize women's equality rights. Waltman states, "Legalizing a licensing scheme that purports to control some of the abuse and tolerate the rest of it is the best that prostituted persons with no better alternatives may hope for" (Waltman 2011b: 456). Waltman questions why, "Even a reduced level of abuse is acceptable at all?" (Waltman 2011b: 455).

Swedish lawmakers reject the theory that prostitution can be made tolerable by attempting to minimize harm. Rather, they moved towards the abolition of prostitution. The Swedish Parliament recognized "if prostitution stems from as well as causes inequality, it would be as contrary to equality imperatives to endorse it by decriminalization as it would be to criminalize those already subordinated by the phenomenon itself" (Waltman 2011b: 456).

Since introducing Sweden's Act on prohibiting the purchase of sexual services in 1999, non-legislative measures to assist women in prostitution have been implemented. These include comprehensive exit programs and access to NGOs providing assistance in terms of income support, health, affordable housing, job seeking, and retraining. There are also preventative measures in place to help identify and assist those at risk of entering prostitution (Ekberg & Wahlberg 2011).

Pro Sentret, which provides services to prostituted people, conducted research which included a comparison of studies on violence against prostituted women in Oslo, Norway in 2008 and 2012 (both before and after the sex purchasing law was instituted in 2009). It concluded that prostituted women continued to be subjected to high levels of violence but these statistics have been interpreted by some including politicians to say that violence increased in Norway after the Nordic Model was adopted ("Rip up prostitution law, says top Oslo politician" 2012). The statistics from the two studies are not directly comparable because "the two studies dealt with very different time frames" yet still provide evidence of trends (Bjørndahl, 2012: 22).

Pro Sentret reported:

The numbers have gone up in 11 of the different categories for violence (unwanted touching, verbal abuse, threats/force, shoving, threatened with weapon, hair pulling, stranglehold, biting, kicking, scratching), while they have



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

decreased in nine categories (threatened/forced into sex that was not agreed to, restrained, robbed/attempted robbery, struck with open hand, struck with fist, trapped, raped, thrown from car, pinched).” (Bjørndahl 2012: 22, table 12)

The comparisons between before and after legislating the Nordic Model do show significant decreases in reported rapes and a decrease in being coerced into sexual acts not agreed to. The report showed an increase in verbal abuse, unwanted touching, threatening with a weapon, hair pulling, and being spat on with the highest increasing seen in hair pulling.

The findings suggest that violence is inherent in prostitution and the level of violence against prostituted women is high regardless of the legislative model. Further, the findings suggest that some of the most severe forms of violence were less prevalent after legislating the Nordic Model.

A report about prostitution in Gothenburg, Sweden, found no evidence of increased violence against women in street prostitution and similarly, police reported no evidence that violence had increased against prostituted women in Stockholm since the ban (Selected extracts of the Swedish government report 2010: 33). However, the Swedish government report stated that, while in Malmö in 2003 there were increased reports of assaults on people in prostitution, it was not possible to say if violence had increased in Malmö since the ban (Selected extracts of the Swedish government report 2010: 33).

The report concludes:

Some people who provided information for the report described a more risky situation, but few felt that the actual violence had increased. The report also stated that both researchers and people with experience of prostitution speak of the close relationship between violence and prostitution—regardless of legislation—and that many of the women exploited in prostitution are subject to violence from men other than the clients, for example the men with whom they live.

...Both police working in the field and women who have left prostitution stated to the investigators that it is a myth that clients have become more dangerous and violent since the ban went into effect; however, they confirm that violence has always existed in prostitution and that men also “buy the right” to use violence against prostitutes. (Selected extracts of the Swedish government report 2010: 33)



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Police in Stockholm's Prostitution Unit reported in an interview that many of the women in street prostitution are from the Baltic states or Africa and these women, who have lived experience of prostitution from other countries say, "they're much more likely to be subjected to violence in countries where prostitution has been legalized" (Smith 2013) than they are in Sweden. One officer also said Swedish men buying sex "know they have to behave or they may be arrested. They don't want to use violence" (Smith 2013).

In 2014, the government of Norway released a study of the impact of the ban on buying sexual services. It reported that some women in street-level prostitution identified that they were "in a weaker bargaining position" and had "more safety concerns" since the legislation was passed. Some women in indoor prostitution "express[ed] concerns for 'outdoor calls,'" (Rasmussen, Strøm, Sverdrup & Hansen 2014: 4) and it appeared there was a higher threshold for reporting violence. Taking this evidence from some prostituted women into account, overall the study still found:

No clear evidence of more violence against women in the street market after the introduction of the law. It is the customer that engages in illegal action and thus has the most to fear if reported to the police by a prostitute. The police have no indications on more violence following the ban on purchasing sexual services. (Rasmussen, Strøm, Sverdrup & Hansen 2014: 4)

Evidence of the positive effects of the ban on purchasing sex on the safety of prostituted women in Sweden comes from those with lived experience of prostitution who reported:

They are now able to threaten the sex buyer with reporting him to the police for buying sex and for violence if he in any way has a threatening attitude and wants to go beyond normal limits. The sex buyer cannot report on the person in prostitution as he/she has not violated the law. This means that the person in prostitution obtains more power over his/her situation. (March 8th Initiative 2012: 10)

This shift in control and the balance of power is reflected in a 2003 Swedish Board of Health and Welfare report that recounted several prostituted women in Sweden who "dared to file rape complaints against clients, thanks to the law against purchasing sex which, in these cases, had been a source of strength and support" (as cited in Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 4).

The Nordic Model redresses the power imbalance to some extent by criminalizing the johns/pimps/brothel owners while decriminalizing those who are prostituted. Furthermore, it seeks to eradicate the systemic power imbalance by promoting women's



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

equality while simultaneously providing prostituted individuals with individualized exit strategies.

Simone Watson, a prostitution survivor in Australia and leader of a coalition supporting the Nordic Model, believes harm minimization approaches are detrimental to women.

Watson contrasts harm minimization to the Nordic Model:

As for the Nordic Model itself, I was really thrilled to find that there was an alternative to harm minimization because harm minimization or full decriminalization just ends up in expansion of the sex-trade, economic strife for the prostituted and expanded trafficking.

If I thought full decriminalization worked, I'd be all for it. If I thought making it completely illegal worked, I'd be all for it. But neither of these models work. We need the prostituted to be fully decriminalized, and the pimps and johns to face penalization. We need a a [sic] huge injection of funds for the prostituted to get out. And not just half-way houses (which are thin on the ground in any case) but decent places to live, health care, child-care, long term funding. This may irritate the vocal minority (and they are the minority) who say they choose sex work, but I care about the majority for whom there is no viable choice. (Sporenda & Watson 2015)

Watson acknowledges that a small minority of women in prostitution do say they "choose sex work." However, the overwhelming majority of prostituted women and girls tell researchers they are in prostitution involuntarily and would exit if they had that choice.

In a survey by Saphira and Herbert, 80 percent of 47 prostituted New Zealanders who had been sexually exploited in prostitution before the age of 18 reported they had attempted to exit prostitution but most had failed "citing economic necessity" (as cited in MacKinnon 2011: 289). In Vancouver, Canada 95 percent of prostituted women and girls, the majority of whom are Indigenous, stated "they wanted to leave prostitution" (Farley & Lynne 2008).

The Native Women's Association of Canada supports the Nordic Model because the movement to abolish prostitution "is rooted in the equality and human rights protection of women who want something better for women and girls than to be stuck in prostitution and subjected to emotional, physical, and spiritual violence" (Native Women's Association of Canada 2012: 2).



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

The focus in Sweden on reducing demand for prostitution and supporting prostituted women with options and resources to exit has proven successful. Demand for prostitution in Sweden has decreased significantly since prior to the 1999 ban on buying sex. This is evidenced by the decline in the percentage of men who report having bought sex prior to the ban compared to after the ban had been in effect for a number of years.

In 1996, before the sex buyer ban, the percentage of Sweden's population who reported having ever bought sexual services was 13.6 percent. In 2008, nine years after the ban, the percentage of sex buyers decreased significantly to 7.9 percent. In 2014, the percentage was reduced even further to 7.5 percent (Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 3-4).

To highlight the significance of this success, it is worth noting that in Germany where prostitution is legal, 80 percent of men have been to a brothel (Kraus 2016). These statistics prove the massive and increasing difference in the demand to buy sex between Sweden, whose focus is women's equality rights, and Germany, whose focus is harm minimization.

In Sweden, where the market for prostitution has been reduced and the number of women and girls in prostitution has decreased, or at least did not increase proportionately as it did in other countries under the approaches of decriminalization and legalization, fewer women and girls are being exposed to the "common and pervasive sexual and physical violence of prostitution" (Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 3).

Decreased demand for prostitution has limited the growth of the sex trade in Sweden compared to the legalized approach in Denmark and the pre-Nordic Model approach in Norway:

In 2007, the number of prostituted persons in Denmark, where buying sex is legal, was estimated to be about 15 times higher per capita than in Sweden. Estimates for Norway, before a law that criminalized the purchase of sex was introduced there in 2009, suggested that there were eight or nine times the per capita number of prostituted persons than Sweden. Although these figures may not be exact, given the difficulties in calculating the numbers of those involved in prostitution, the huge per capita difference cannot be explained by any increase in so-called 'hidden' or 'underground' prostitution. (Coy, Pringle & Tyler 2016: 3)

There is substantial evidence that street prostitution has decreased perhaps by as much as half in Sweden since 1999 and the numbers involved in street level prostitution are a third of that in Denmark and Norway. Importantly, the special Swedish government



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

inquiry that studied prostitution up to 2008 found no evidence of increased indoor prostitution where women who had worked on the street were now working indoors. Prostitution had not moved from the street to other venues (Ekberg 2012: 3).

Pye Jakobsson, leader of the Rose Alliance and a supporter of decriminalized prostitution, raised concerns over potential threats to prostituted women by landlords under the Nordic Model as landlords fear being accused of benefiting from proceeds of prostitution. These concerns are challenged by the Swedish National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings, Detective Superintendent Kajsa Wahlberg, who reported “in her eighteen years as National Rapporteur, she has never heard of a landlord in Sweden getting arrested on those charges” (Bien-Aime 2016).

The major concern identified by Jakobsson is the stigma against prostituted women by authorities (Goldberg 2014; Claims about the “Swedish Model” – and what’s really going on n.d.). Advocates of decriminalized prostitution like Jakobsson take the position the Nordic Model treats prostituted women as victims and do not respect their choices.

Advocates of the Nordic Model strongly refute the criticism they do not respect the choices of prostituted women. Nordic Model advocates want prostituted women to have real choices. It is therefore imperative to recognize that the choices for the overwhelming majority of prostituted women and exploited girls are severely constrained by economic and social circumstances and/or because they sexually exploited as children, or lured/coerced/forced into prostitution.

This reality is reflected in the evidence that shows a large to overwhelming majority of prostituted women say they do not want to be in prostitution and would leave if they could (Sullivan 2005: 8; Saphira and Herbert as cited in MacKinnon 2011: 289; Farley, et al. 2003: 34; and Farley & Lynne 2008).

In regard to accusations that Nordic Model advocates are “treating” prostituted women as victims, proponents of the Nordic Model hold that prostitution is male violence against women, and that prostituted women are victims of violence against women in the same way that women abused by their intimate partners are victims of violence against women.

Acknowledging that prostituted women have been victims of sexual exploitation and violence “does not mean that women in prostitution don’t have agency, or cannot make certain choices”. However, it does mean these choices are constrained often by the need to survive in difficult circumstances (Raymond 2011).



Decriminalized Prostitution

New Zealand's Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) passed third reading by one vote in 2003. The purpose of the PRA is to:

Safeguard the human rights of sex workers and protect them from exploitation; promote the welfare and occupational health and safety of sex workers; contribute to public health; and prohibit the use in prostitution of persons under 18 years of age. The PRA also established a certification regime for brothel owners ("Commercial exploitation of children," n.d., p. 4).

Occupational Health and Safety regulations are inadequate to deal with the inherent violence perpetrated against prostituted women and exploited girls. Bodily fluids are routinely exchanged during sex with a john or johns without the safety precautions required for the protection of workers exposed to potentially infectious and hazardous materials in other jobs, for example, protective equipment such as gloves, masks and gowns. Condoms do not offer adequate protection from the transmission of infections (L. Watson, 2014).

New Zealand's Guide to Occupational Health and Safety in the New Zealand Sex Industry states that brothels should identify condom use and "safer" sex practices as the standard, expected practice. However, the Guide acknowledges, "Unfortunately, incidents occur where workers are forced by clients to have sex without a condom against their will (for example, rape)" (Occupational Safety and Health Service, 2004, p 37). This appears to be the only mention of rape in the guide. Additionally, there is no reference to the terms 'sexual assault' or 'sexual violence' in the guide's section on Security and Safety from Violence (Occupational Safety and Health Service, 2004, p. 52-53).

In 2008, New Zealand's Prostitution Law Review Committee released its findings of the preceding 12 months of study of the Prostitution Reform Act. Prostituted people participating in the study reported the following levels of violence: 17.3 percent received abusive text messages from clients; 9.8 percent were physically assaulted by clients; 15.9 percent were threatened with physical violence; 4.7 percent were held somewhere against their will; three percent were raped by a client (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 56); 35.3 percent "felt they had to accept a client when they didn't want to in last 12 months;" and 10.5 percent of those who had refused to accept a client were penalized by brothel owners and managers for doing so.

Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

While only a few reported to police (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 55), 64.8 percent reported they were more able to refuse a client since the law changed (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 46).

It appears adverse incidents, including violence, continue to be experienced by those in the sex industry. There is conflicting evidence on whether violence is reported more often since decriminalization, but clearly there is still a marked reluctance amongst sex workers to follow through on complaints. (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 58)

No substantial change was reported in the use of safer sex practices as a result of decriminalization (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 50). In 2006, one of New Zealand's political parties "raised concerns about the high levels of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) in New Zealand and suggested the Prostitution Reform Act had done nothing to help prevent the spread of STDs but rather could have promoted an increase" (Instone & Margerison, 2007, p.4).

The Prostitution Law Review Committee determined that neither licensing of brothels nor monitoring of health and safety had been effective in minimizing harm and wrote "there are currently no enforcement procedures and no mechanisms for monitoring health and safety" (Kelly, Coy, & Davenport, 2009, p.51).

Debbie Baker, Manager of Streetreach, an organization providing services and support to prostituted women in New Zealand, reported the health and safety regulations outlined in the 100 page manual, 'A guide to occupational health and safety in the New Zealand Sex Industry,' are often ignored or circumvented by brothel owners (Baker, 2011a, p. 15).

Baker reported at a conference in Denmark that "Streetreach hears regularly of clients not paying, clients being raped, this happens both in brothels and on the street, no manual protects them from that" (Baker, 2011a, p. 16).

Baker also reported that in the many years Streetreach has worked with prostituted women, both before and after decriminalization, the organization has seen "many forms of exploitation and continues to see this more since decriminalization" (Baker, 2011a, p. 3).



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

After five years of decriminalization, Baker states:

I believe that although decriminalization it [sic] hasn't really made a difference to the average girl out on the street, except there is more competition and the prices have gone down.

Girls are working longer and harder and taking more risks to get a job, they aren't really checking out their clients.

We in Streetreach have seen an increase of underage children working in prostitution; these are girls under the age of 18. (Baker, 2011a, pp. 5-6)

At a conference presentation Baker reported "the average girl I work with doesn't give a damn about decriminalization, it does nothing for them," (Baker, 2011b) and, "Decriminalisation does not deal with the issues of my clients. It doesn't make it safer, doesn't make them feel more empowered, doesn't make them drug or alcohol free" (Baker, 2011a, p. 13).

In addressing the exploitation of women and girls in prostitution, New Zealand's Prostitution Law Review Committee viewed one operating brothel's contract "that retain[ed] many of the exploitative practices of the pre-decriminalization era" and they believed that more brothels also continued the exploitive practices (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 157). The Committee reported written contracts about employment conditions in brothels often did not exist and even when they did exist, they often failed to meet "standards of best practice." There were many disincentives that stopped those who worked in brothels from making complaints about employment practices to the authorities (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2008, pp. 157-158).

One recent unintended consequence of decriminalized prostitution in New Zealand is a growing trend for 'sex-for-rent' in which male renters and landlords are advertising free rent for women if they will share the man's accommodation and provide sexual services. Ruth Dyson, spokeswoman for Women Representing the Labour Party, stated she found it shocking and "really sickening" that women are being offered free rent in exchange for sex. She is quoted as saying, "Wow, this is the country I live in and this is what is happening to it" ("Labour's response on sex-for-rent," 2016).

In response, Denise Ritchie, founder of Stop Demand pointed out the Labour Party's support for the legislation decriminalizing that makes trading sex for food, goods or money legal.

"...New Zealand's liberal laws on prostitution opens the door to all kinds of sexual exploitation," ... "Decriminalization not only removes the stigma and legal barrier



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

to purchasing sex, it endorses messages that men and boys can view women as commodities to purchase and sexually use at whim. This latest revelation might be a surprise to Labour, but not to us. These landlords are merely doing what the law allows. Sadly, it's a case of 'we reap what we sow.'" ("Labour's response on sex-for-rent," 2016).

Sabrina Valisce was prostituted in New Zealand for more than 20 years. During that time she advocated for decriminalization while volunteering with the Zealand Prostitutes' Collective, an organization supporting decriminalized prostitution. Valisce now believes decriminalization has failed to shift the power to women in prostitution. (Moran, 2016)

I worked pre and post-law reform. The Prostitution Reform Bill passed into law to become The Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) in 2003. The good part of it was that the threat of a criminal record was removed. This would happen under The Nordic Model also. I volunteered at the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC), so I was [able to compare our decriminalization] goal ... to the results. I, and others who were agitating for decriminalization in New Zealand, we always wanted the power to be placed firmly in the hands of the prostituted person/sex worker.

Decriminalization didn't do that. The power went to the brothel owners, escort agency owners and johns. Immediately following the PRA, the pimps became legitimate businessmen. They introduced 'All-Inclusive.' An All-Inclusive is a single fee paid by the john to the brothel/escort agency through the receptionist. This means the prostituted person/sex worker has no power of negotiation. It also means the pimp decides her earnings (most are women). The pimps gained the power to decide what a "service" would be paid and how much of that belonged to them. They also gained the power to withhold the woman's earnings or even deny any existence of those earnings. Prior to law reform we negotiated our own money and decided our own services." (Moran, 2016, p. 2)

Valisce witnessed the changes for prostituted women following the introduction of decriminalized prostituted and identified increased vulnerability to exploitation by pimps and brothel owners. Valisce reported women did not receive the benefits that were consistent with the approach of decriminalized prostitution that it was a job like any other. She observed that while decriminalization was intended to make prostitution safer and to enforce safe sex practices, it had accomplished the opposite (Moran, 2016, p. 2). She witnessed decriminalized prostitution leading to increased numbers of women in prostitution, increased demand, greater competition and lowered rates.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Valisce concluded:

So, I repeat, the power went to the pimps and johns despite that never being the goal. I respect and adore the people I worked with at NZPC because I know they, like me, wanted everyone in the sex trade to have legal protections, power of conditions and negotiation, and a way to be as safe as possible. It's been very hard to admit we failed, but I feel morally obligated to do so. I still want the original goal and I believe the Nordic Model offers the best chance of making that happen. (Moran, 2016, p. 2)

The observations by Valisce about the problems linked to decriminalization are echoed by a sex-trafficking police investigator in New South Wales who said, "Although the intention was to provide a safe working environment for sex workers, the reverse has occurred in that pimps and brothel operators were empowered and enriched. Police were cut out of the equation and organized crime infiltrated the brothel and massage parlour industry" (Reilly & Davies, 2011).

New Zealand prostitution survivor Simone Watson provided further evidence of continued exploitation and violence in decriminalized, legalized and illegal prostitution stating "we [prostituted women] are subjected to very painful practices, even in high class brothels, even in decriminalized prostitution" (Sporenda & Watson, 2015). Watson reports that even though it was supposed to be in a safe environment "...behind doors, we were treated to this abuse. And the pimps profit from that abuse" (Sporenda & Watson, 2015).

Watson shared her personal story of being tracked down and physically intimidated to return to the brothel when she tried to voluntarily leave. She reported brothel owners controlled women by playing on their insecurities and through threats and violence. If women did not do what johns wanted, the brothel owner and pimps would fire them, "If you were in a situation where you had to flee a room and run out, they just got rid of you—and this was fully decriminalized prostitution" (Sporenda & Watson, 2015). In 2011, more than 2,900 prostituted women and their advocates in New Zealand signed a petition circulated by the organization Freedom from Sexual Exploitation saying decriminalization had failed them and calling for criminalization of sex buyers (Gulliver, 2013).

Many prostituted women shared their experiences of prostitution and violence with the Prostitution Law Review Committee. Elizabeth Subritzky, Director of Freedom from Sexual Exploitation, informed the committee, "The only solution to the damage that



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

prostitution caused, and the violence it created, was to prosecute buyers of sexual services through a reform of prostitution laws" (McLaughlin, 2013).

In regards to prostitution being treated as a job like any other, Freedom from Sexual Exploitation pondered:

What other work employment sector has a risk factor where rape is considered part of the work, and a society that condones employment where a family member is sent to work when there is a 35 percent chance during the year of being sexually molested, i.e., forced to accept sex from a man they did not want. (Subritzky, 2013, p. 4)

Subritzky and Freedom from Sexual Exploitation concluded:

The PRA [New Zealand's decriminalization legislation] has failed to achieve its stated objectives to improve the safety, health and welfare or the conditions of the workers. It has greatly improved the conditions and risk for the pimps, brothel owners etc. who are no longer at risk of the law interrupting their operations and severely limited any police intervention. (Subritzky, 2013, p. 4)

Janice Raymond, Professor Emerita of Women's Studies and Medical Ethics at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, believes neither decriminalization nor criminalization can improve the situation for the majority of prostituted women and girls.

The majority of women in prostitution come from marginalized groups with a history of sexual abuse, drug and alcohol dependencies, poverty or financial disadvantage, lack of education and histories of other vulnerabilities. A large number of women in prostitution are pimped and drawn into the sex industry at an early age. These are women whose lives will not change for the better if prostitution is legalized or decriminalized but, rather, in establishing programs that help provide women with exit strategies and the services that they need to regain their lost lives. (Raymond, 2011, p. 5)

Raymond rejects the arguments that decriminalization and legalization will protect women by keeping them off the streets and allegedly "safer" in regulated settings such as brothels, sex clubs and other indoor venues. The claim that violence is considerably reduced in most indoor settings and off-street prostitution venues are much safer for women is simply not true. Rather, it is a naive view of brothels and sex venues. (Raymond, 2011, p. 5)



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Evidence from an eleven country study in Europe confirmed the level of violence is similar in both indoor and outdoor prostitution, and in some countries, the level of violence indoors is greater.

The wide-spread view that the exploitation of victims of trafficking is always more violent outdoors than indoors does not seem to be confirmed. The level of violence is quite homogenous between outdoor and indoor trafficked prostitution and furthermore, in some countries (such as Austria and Spain), the level of indoor violence is actually much greater than the level of outdoor violence. Austria and Spain are countries in which the share of the indoor trafficked prostitution is greater than the share of outdoor trafficked prostitution.” (Transcrime Institute for the European Parliament, National Legislation on Prostitution and the Trafficking in Women and Children, 2005, p. 131)

Legalized Prostitution

With the exception of a short time in the early 20th century, prostitution has always been legal in Germany. In 2016, Psychologist Dr. Ingeborg Kraus spoke at a conference in Vancouver, Canada where she presented on legalized prostitution in Germany. She reported on the 2002 Act on the Regulation of Prostitutes' Legal Affairs passed with the intention of recognizing prostitution as a job like all others:

[Politicians said] Prostitution should not be seen any more as something “against the good morals,” but as a job. For [sic] now on, the women were considered as workers, “sex workers.” And if they are workers, they should have the same rights as any other worker that run [sic] a business or is employed somewhere, like having a social security or if their rights are not respected, they should have the right to enforce a claim by legal action. (Kraus 2016)

Evidence confirms the Act has failed to provide prostituted and sexually assaulted women and girls with the same rights as any other worker. Of the 400,000 to 1,000,000 prostituted persons in Germany, only 44 have registered as employees and are therefore not receiving social security or paying taxes (Bien-Aime 2015). Prostituted women do not register as brothel employees to avoid publically disclosing because of stigma and because such a high proportion of prostituted women in Germany are trafficked and under the control of pimps rendering any independence moot.

Max Waltman's extensive research verifies both decriminalization and legalization make situations worse for prostituted women, pushing the limits of what sex buyers can do to women. Legalization has generally been found to increase rather than decrease the tricks' demands for “cheaper” or “unrestricted” sex, child sexual exploitation, child sexual



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women’s Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

abuse, sexual harassment, and alcohol-related harms. Waltman’s research shows the Netherlands, under a legalized prostitution model “is becoming a pedophile-centre of Europe” (Waltman 2011b: 457).

Drawing on Mary Sullivan’s findings from Victoria (Sullivan 2005: 7, 20-21), Waltman stated, “Prostituted women reported legalization had led to increasing competition and demands that women perform unsafe or high-risk practices and accept unwanted tricks” (Waltman 2011b: 457).

The regulations governing licensed brothels were developed to create a healthier environment, better “working conditions”, and to decrease the risk of sexually transmitted diseases (Bindel & Kelly 2003: 13). However, in 2007, the German government reported no measurable improvements in social protection for those in prostitution, almost no improvements were found in “working conditions,” and no proof of reduced crime since the Act passed in 2002 (Waltman 2014: 474).

Licensing brothels has failed to produce the expected better “controlled” environments; rather, legalization has promoted “uncontrolled” environments. This expansion is a result of the uncontrolled growth of the market for prostitution and the increased risks as police are usually unable to access licensed brothels to monitor conditions. Increased demand has resulted in an increased number of prostituted women, more exploitative practices, high rates of sex trafficking, increased demand by sex buyers for unsafe sexual practices (Waltman 2014: 474–75), and the proliferation of brothels and development of mega-brothels. In 2014, 3,500 brothels and mega-brothels in Germany were registered and could accommodate up to 1,000 sex-buyers at one time (Kraus 2016).

Andrea Weppert, a Nuremberg social worker supporting prostituted women for more than 20 years, concluded “working conditions” have “worsened in recent years” and “significantly more [sexual] services are provided under riskier conditions and for less money than 10 years ago” (Meyer et al. 2013).

Ingeborg Kraus reported, “Working conditions have become disastrous,” and spoke of some brothels being established in cow-box like sheds without running water or toilets (Kraus 2016). Kraus said, “More than half of the prostituted women don’t have a fixed residence but are shipped from one town to the other.” They live in the brothel, eating and sleeping in the same room where johns buy sex from them (Kraus 2016).

Relinquishing the control and monitoring to brothel managers and pimps has not been successful in increasing safety for women “as they often do not stop violence and/or



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

unsafe sex, whether or not they actually can; instead, they tend to cover up violence and encourage unsafe sex” (Waltman 2014: 503).

Legalized prostitution has increased the control of brothel managers and pimps and exacerbated the imbalance of power. The demand to buy violent and unsafe sex, and sex with underage girls is stimulated by legalizing or decriminalizing sex buyers. This makes condoning and promoting violent and unsafe sex and the sexual exploitation of children highly profitable to the sex industry (Waltman 2014: 477-78).

A 2007 report by the Federal Government of Germany on the Impact of the Act Regulating Prostitutes' Legal Affairs states, “One cannot ignore the empirical findings that show that those working in this industry are subject to considerable, empirically verifiable, psychological and physical threats” (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth 2007: 11). It acknowledged that prostitution is “generally a...risky and dangerous business in which particularly vulnerable groups frequently engage”. Those in prostitution “suffered considerably more childhood violence, sexual violence, violence in relationships and violence in the workplace” (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth 2007: 11).

The evidence provided in the report showed that the 2002 German Prostitution Act had not succeeded in improving the safety, working conditions, and social protection of those in prostitution:

The [German] Prostitution Act has thus up until now also not been able to make actual, measurable improvements to prostitutes' social protection.

As regards [to] improving prostitutes' working conditions, hardly any measurable, positive impact has been observed in practice.

The Prostitution Act has not recognizably improved the prostitutes' means for leaving prostitution.

There are as yet no viable indications that the Prostitution Act has reduced crime. (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth 2007: 79)

Referencing the report by the Federal Government of Germany, Kajsa Ekman, author of *Being and Being Bought: Prostitution, Surrogacy and the Split Self* concluded:

Legalization hadn't made prostitution safer; it hadn't provided women with a safe working environment or a steady job and the majority of the women still weren't paying taxes. What it showed was that, first of all, women stayed in prostitution



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

much longer than they had expected to, and secondly, it had become more difficult for them to leave the industry. If you look at the German experience as well as the Dutch experience you see that it simply wasn't the case that it had become safer through legalization – in fact it was the opposite. (Murphy 2014a)

Ingeborg Kraus reported on a study by the German Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth on the violence to which prostituted women had been subjected; “82 percent have mentioned sustaining psychological violence, 92 percent have been sexually assaulted” (as cited in Kraus 2015: 5). Kraus, along with other German psychologists and trauma experts who have worked with prostituted women on the severe psychological consequences experienced in prostitution, identifies prostitution as violence. It is therefore unlike any other occupation. This group of psychologists and trauma experts sees legalized prostitution as having failed. As such they are advocating with the German government for the adoption of the Nordic Model (Bien-Aime 2015).

According to gynaecologist Wolf Heide, who provides health care to prostituted women in Germany who rarely have health insurance, prostitution is detrimental to the gynaecological health of prostituted women and girls. Heide reports that “overuse and abuse of the women's sexual organs leads to inflammations, STIs.” Further, “Bruising, tearing, abrasions in/on those organs, means the slightest infection will lead to illness” (“Data on women in prostitution in Germany” 2016). This injury and infection often result in damage to reproductive organs and infertility:

This is especially true as the women are in prostitution throughout these illnesses, inflammations etc., which means the abuse and causes continue while they should be healing. It subjects them to intense pain and exacerbates the illnesses, wounds, inflammations.

... [The prostituted women treated] suffer from chronic lower abdominal pain due to inflammations and to mechanical trauma that are hard to treat medically. Due to the high rents, they have to continue to serve clients even while suffering from unbearable pain. (“Data on women in prostitution in Germany” 2016)

Heide observed that the abuse experienced by prostituted women leads to high use of drugs and psychotropic medication (“Data on women in prostitution in Germany” 2016). Based on Heide's evidence, it is clear the health and safety codes of the “working conditions” approach associated with legalization and decriminalization cannot possibly adequately address the harms inherent in prostitution.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Another goal of legalized prostitution is to break the dependency that links prostituted women to pimps or managers. Emilija Mitrovic's 2004 report on field research into the effects of legalization show that the majority of money earned by prostituted women continues to go to pimps and managers (as cited in European Women's Lobby n.d.: 1). Mitrovic, and Kavemann and Rabe surveyed those impacted in Germany by legalized prostitution. Findings confirm participants "do not consider the new law to have improved their legal, social or economic situation" (European Women's Lobby n.d.: 1). Fifty-three percent of prostituted women reported the 2002 German Prostitution Act had not brought improvements and had "very little impact" by 2004/05. Not surprisingly, 64 percent of brothel owners responded that the law had brought about improvements (Kavemann & Rabe 2007: 15- 16).

Evidence from both the German and Dutch experiences of legalized prostitution demonstrates that it has made prostitution less safe in both countries. In the Netherlands the Justice Minister and police conceded in 2013 that "there have been no palpable improvements for prostitutes since [legalization was introduced]. They are generally in poorer health than before, and increasing numbers are addicted to drugs. The police estimate that 50 to 90 percent of prostitutes do not practice the profession voluntarily" (Meyer et al. 2013).

As of 2014, only about four percent of prostituted persons in the Netherlands were registered with the government. The remaining 96 percent were involved in the illegal prostitution sector (Barnett & Casavant 2014: 2). The majority of women in prostitution in the Netherlands are from other countries, with many undocumented and in the Netherlands illegally (Barnett & Casavant 2014: 12). Women and girls who are reluctant to register with the government or who are undocumented and in the country illegally are likely to be involved in street prostitution or illegal brothels. These women and girls are even more vulnerable to violence by johns, traffickers, brothel managers, security, and organized crime because they are unable or reluctant to report to police or authorities (Barnett & Casavant 2014: 12).

In a 2007 study of prostitution in the Netherlands, Daalder found that the focus on regulating brothels and prostitution zones failed to address the power and control of pimps who "are most likely to exercise coercion and are still commonly involved, especially in relation to women from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia" (Daalder 2007: 13 as cited in Kelly, Coy, & Davenport 2009: 48). The Red Thread, a pro-legalization group working for "prostitute rights" in the Netherlands, believes that, notwithstanding its support of legalization, the implementation has "increased the control of traffickers and



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

pimps who avoid licensing, and conditions are worse for non-nationals” (Altink and Bokelman 2006, as cited in Kelly, Coy, & Davenport 2009: 48).

In 2003, Amsterdam City Council closed its street tolerance zone because, as Mayor Job Cohen was quoted as saying in a *Het Parool* editorial, "it appeared impossible to create a safe and controllable zone for women that was not open to abuse by organized crime" (as cited in Bindel & Kelly 2003: 13).

Further evidence confirming the failure of legalized prostitution in its goal of increasing the control women in the sex trade have over their “working” lives comes from the state of Victoria in Australia where prostitution has been legalized for decades. In response to a survey on the impact of legalization by the pro-legalization Prostitutes’ Collective of Victoria, one prostituted woman explained how “with far more competition, the clients are extremely demanding [and] the control over what the women will and won’t do is often taken out of their hands” (Sullivan 2005: 7).

Since homelessness and poverty are primary factors pushing women into prostitution, most prostituted women in Victoria are unable to operate their own businesses due to licensing fees and restrictions (Sullivan 2005: 7). When being prostituted in brothels and escort agencies in Victoria, brothel and escort agency owners take 50 to 60 percent of women’s earnings (Sullivan 2005: 7). As demand for prostitution has increased with legalized prostitution, the sex industry responded by recruiting more women into the sex trade thus significantly decreasing earnings of prostituted women and girls (Sullivan 2005: 7).

Prostituted women are economically vulnerable to being trapped in prostitution. The Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria reported 64 percent of women surveyed wanted to leave prostitution (Sullivan 2005: 8). In 2005, Sullivan found no state sponsored programs in Victoria to assist women who wanted to exit (Sullivan 2005: 8).

An argument in favour of legalized prostitution is the belief it will protect the health and safety of prostituted women. In Victoria, prostitution falls under the Occupational Health and Safety Act 2004 which requires employers to provide a safe working environment without risk to health (Sullivan 2005: 18). However, Victoria focuses almost entirely on mandatory testing of prostituted women for sexually transmitted diseases. This focus shifts the blame for spreading STDs to women rather than to the men sexually exploiting them. It discriminates against prostituted women and stigmatizes them as the carriers of sexual diseases. Furthermore, although brothel owners are required to provide condoms, dental dams, and gloves, prostituted women cannot always negotiate safe



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

sex as many johns refuse to use condoms and, in fact, are increasingly asking for more unsafe practices such as unprotected anal penetration.

Based on her study of legalized prostitution in Victoria, Sullivan concludes "Legalization has allowed violence that is unacceptable in any other workplace to become normalized for prostituted women as just sex and just part of the job. No occupational health and safety strategy can deal with this reality" (Sullivan 2005: 23).

While the evidence largely supports the conclusion that violence did not increase in Sweden after criminalizing sex buyers, substantial evidence has been presented that the level of violence did increase under legalization and decriminalization. The number of women in prostitution increased in the Netherlands, Germany, New South Wales and New Zealand. A growing number of women were subjected to the increased risks of abuse and violence that are the unintended consequences of legalization and decriminalization. Implementing either legalized or decriminalized prostitution increases the number of women and girls exposed to the violence inherent in prostitution as well as the level of violence to which women and girls are exposed.

Women and girls in prostitution are at higher risk of lethality compared to those not prostituted. In a 2004 study published in the American Journal of Epidemiology, John Potterat and his colleagues examined the mortality of a cohort of prostituted women and found women who were actively involved in prostitution "were almost 18 times more likely to be murdered than women of similar age and race" who were not prostituted (Potterat et al. 2004: 782). Potterat's study confirmed prostituted women had a "workplace homicide rate ... (204 per 100,000) many times higher than" that of people in any of the "standard occupations that had the highest workplace homicide rates in the United States during the 1980s (4 per 100,000 for female liquor store workers and 29 per 100,000 for male taxicab drivers)" (Potterat et al. 2004: 783).

In 2015, Penny White examined mortality statistics and found during the 13 years since the 2002 prostitution Act was passed in Germany, 55 women had been murdered by johns, and there had been 29 attempted murders (White 2015). In the Netherlands, also with legalized prostitution, 28 prostituted women were murdered by johns since 2000. Since New Zealand decriminalized prostitution in 2002, three women were murdered by johns and a fourth by a gang member initiate (where the gang was involved in prostituting women). One of the primary aims of New Zealand's Prostitution Reform Act was harm minimization. In 2006, a prominent New Zealand lawyer wrote that decriminalized prostitution was a "disaster" citing "a significant rise in underage



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

prostitution since legalization and the murder of three women in prostitution during 2005 as evidence that the act was not working” (Instone & Margerison 2007: 4).

Under the Nordic Model in Sweden, there have been no prostituted women murdered by johns since the sex purchasing act was passed. It is acknowledged that in Sweden, a prostituted woman was murdered, not by a john but by her ex-husband, during a supervised access visit (White 2015). Sweden's population is double that of New Zealand yet no women or girls have been murdered by johns or pimps in Sweden in the 16 years after the Nordic model was instituted.

RACISM, COLONIZATION AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Prostitution and sexual exploitation both depend on, and reinforce, racism and colonization. In Canada, the ongoing impacts of racism and colonialism: poverty, the intergenerational impact of residential schools, homelessness, high rates of men's violence against women and of child abuse, loss of culture, high rates of children being in care, lack of access to education and employment result in Indigenous women and girls being prostituted and sexually exploited at vastly higher rates than non-Indigenous women and girls (Smiley 2013: 3-4).

The average age that Indigenous girls are sexually exploited into prostitution is estimated to be 11 or 12. By this time, many of these children have already been sexually abused (Smiley 2013: 4). It is estimated that 50 percent of underage girls who have been sexually exploited into prostitution are Indigenous and 51 percent of trafficked women in Canada are Indigenous. (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2014, p. 32).

Cherry Smiley, co-founder of Indigenous Women Against the Sex Industry stated:

Prostitution, akin to the residential school system, is an institution that continues to have devastating impacts on the lives of aboriginal women and girls, who are disproportionately involved in street-level prostitution. Prostitution is an industry that relies on disparities in power to exist. We can see clearly that women, and especially aboriginal women and girls, are funnelled into prostitution as a result of systemic inequalities such as their lack of access to housing, loss of land, culture, and languages, poverty, high rates of male violence, involvement with the foster care system, suicide, criminalization, addiction, and disability.

To imagine that prostitution, a system that feeds these inequalities, should be allowed or encouraged, is dangerously misguided and supports the ongoing systemic harms against our women and girls. In the same ways that those who



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

came before us were funnelled into the residential school system “for our own good,” the attempts to now funnel us into the system of prostitution, and to support the rights of pimps and johns, is also being incorrectly portrayed as being for our own benefit and protection. (Smiley 2015)

The link between racism and prostitution in Canada is evident in the finding by the Asian Women's Coalition Ending Prostitution that “over 60 percent of the women advertised for sex on Vancouver Craigslist were advertised as being Asian” (Asian Women's Coalition to End Prostitution 2017). These “racist stereotypes are used against Asian women in prostitution. Common descriptions used are ‘Exotic,’ ‘New in Town’ and ‘Geisha Doll’” (Mah 2014).

Sarah Mah of the Asian Women's Coalition Ending Prostitution states:

Prostitution plays a part in fuelling racial inequality in Canada. As a country that aspires to be a progressive multicultural society, we must consider moving towards an end to prostitution if we are to promote freedom, safety and security of the person for all. (Mah 2014)

In New Zealand, colonialism and racism have increased the vulnerability of Indigenous/Maori women and girls to prostitution and sexual exploitation. Decriminalized prostitution has increased the demand. Sixty-eight percent of Indigenous women were sexually exploited into prostitution when younger than 18 years old compared to 25 percent of Pakeha [white New Zealander] women (Instone & Margerison, 2007, pp. 4-6). Chinese and Southeast Asian women were trafficked into New Zealand for sexual exploitation (United States Department of State, 2015). The New Zealand Prostitutes Collective reported one third of the 1,700 prostituted people in Auckland, New Zealand, were Asian with the majority being Chinese (Tan 2008).

More than 50 percent of prostituted women in government approved brothels in Sydney and New South Wales were Asian or from other non-English speaking countries (Norma, 2015). Australian Federal Police Manager of Victim-Based Crime stated that a typical scenario of trafficking for sexual exploitation into Australia involved Asian women brought to New South Wales using deception and promises of legitimate work and then coerced into sexual servitude through debt bondage (Duff, 2015a).

In a 2008 report on prostitution in Amsterdam, Karina Schaapman, a woman with lived experience of prostitution who was elected to Amsterdam's City Council, wrote that more than 75 percent of the 8,000 to 11,000 prostituted people in Amsterdam are Eastern European, African or Asian (Simons 2008).



In Stockholm, Sweden, while the overall number of prostituted women declined after the ban on sex purchasing, the percentage of prostituted women from Africa increased (Smith 2013).

The interconnections between prostitution and racism and colonialism lead to racialized and Indigenous women and girls being overrepresented in prostitution, sexual exploitation and trafficking for sexual purposes. Since Asian women are overrepresented in prostitution, decriminalizing or legalizing prostitution results in higher numbers of Asian women and girls being prostituted and sexually exploited which further fuels racial inequality.

Waltman draws the following connections when he concludes:

The Swedish model recognizes that prostitution is an institution of inequality. Most people in prostitution enter as children after being sexually abused. Lacking education and resources to survive, often destitute and homeless, they are easy prey to pimps and johns. Sexism and racism lock them in, as in the United States, where African-American women and girls are overrepresented in prostitution, as are native Canadian women in Canada. (Waltman 2012)

WOMEN'S EQUALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Swedish laws on prostitution and sex trafficking are based on the human rights principles that prostitution is men's violence against women, a "serious barrier to gender equality," and "incompatible with internationally accepted principles of human rights: the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women" (Ekberg 2015: 1).

Max Waltman states unequivocally, "Not to be bought and sold for sex should be a human right." The Nordic Model "identified prostitution as a form of sex inequality connected to gender-based violence, with johns as central in the exploitation and abuse" (Waltman 2012a). Since 2011, prostituted women in Sweden have had the right to sue to "claim damages against johns for violating their equality and dignity" (Waltman 2012a)

The Swedish position that prostitution is a violation of human rights is diametrically opposed to the pro-decriminalization or pro-legalization positions that having sex and selling sex is a human right. Simone Watson, said, "I'll be damned if I ever think men



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

have a right to buy other people for sex. Yes, even disabled men. Sex is not a human right, but being free from sexual abuse is" (Sporenda 2015).

International law (for example Article 6 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW)) supports the position that prostitution and sex trafficking are incompatible with women's equality and human rights (Ekberg & Wahlberg 2011). The Women's Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution (Canada) in its Supreme Court of Canada Factum of the Interveners reinforced the position that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees equality between women and men and "promotes the equality rights of women, with particular attention to the circumstances of Aboriginal women" (Supreme Court of Canada 2013: 4). It is particularly problematic therefore, that Indigenous girls and women in Canada constitute a disproportionately high percentage of prostituted women and girls.

The Women's Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution contends:

Prostitution is a practice of sex inequality. Most of those prostituted are women and girls. Almost all buyers/johns and most pimps/profiteers are men. The buying and selling of women's bodies in prostitution is a global practice of sexual exploitation and male violence against women that normalizes the subordination of women in a sexualized form. It exploits and compounds systemic inequality on the basis of sex, Aboriginality, race, poverty, age and disability. (Supreme Court of Canada 2013: 1)

Under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, women and girls in Canada, including Indigenous women and girls, have the right to sex equality. This right is abrogated by prostitution.

The pro-decriminalization and pro-legalization positions normalize the commodification of women's bodies and male entitlement to buy sex and use women's bodies for sexual purposes. This result is antithetical to women's equality rights:

Legalizing or decriminalizing the entire industry of prostitution normalizes an extreme form of sexual subordination, it legitimizes the existence of an underclass of women, it reinforces male dominance, and it undermines struggles for gender equality. It is time to start tackling the attitudes which say that it is acceptable to view and treat women as sexual objects by tackling the demand for commercial sexual exploitation. (Facts About Prostitution n.d.)

The Swedish government defines prostitution as a form of both male violence and exploitation of women and children. The Swedish government works from the premise



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

that “gender equality will remain unattainable as long as men buy, sell and exploit women and children by prostituting them” (Ministry of Industry, Employment, and Communications 2004).

Changing public attitudes about prostitution through public education and public awareness campaigns is an integral element of the government's strategy. The Nordic Model has been “an important tool in changing prevailing cultural patriarchal norms” and moving away from a culture in which prostitution is normalized towards one in which equal rights for women is prioritized (Ekberg & Wahlberg 2011).

Prostitution is men's violence against women. When a country legalizes or decriminalizes the buying of women and girls' bodies for sexual purposes, it reinforces male dominance and encourages sexual assault, abuse, and violence against women and girls. If a country is committed to women's equality, it cannot condone gender exploitation and the violence and abuse perpetrated mostly by men against (mostly) women and girls in prostitution.

In Nevada, “rape rates were over five times higher in those counties with legalized prostitution than elsewhere” (European Women's Lobby n.d.: 3). Where prostitution is legalized, “social tolerance for violence against women” is greater (European Women's Lobby n.d.: 3). Normalizing prostitution reinforces the commodification of women's bodies and male entitlement, which leads not only to prostituted women and girls being subjected to violence, but also to increased violence against women and girls in all of society.

Studies of attitudes and behaviours of men who buy sex show they objectify and commodify the women and girls whom they pay for sexual services and do not “acknowledge the humanity of the women they use for sex” (Farley 2016). Based on the evidence about the attitudes and behaviours of sex buyers, prostitution leads to sex inequality. If these attitudes were to become normalized through decriminalized or legalized prostitution in Canada for example, the likely outcomes would be further objectification and commodification of women and girls (Farley 2016), increased gender inequality, and increased incidents of sexual assault and rape against women and girls in the general population (European Women's Lobby n.d.: 3), resulting in the degradation of fundamental human rights for women and girls.

In 2016, when the French Assembly voted 64 to 12 to adopt the Nordic Model, it “acknowledge[d] the way in which prostitution undermines the social, emotional, and physical well-being of women, as well as our fundamental human rights”. It also ensured



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

France's "compliance with international and national human rights commitments, including the United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949)" (Murphy 2016). A major argument for countries adopting the Nordic Model is that it upholds "the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women" (Ekberg 2015:1), as well as "women's right to be free of all forms of sexual exploitation" (Raymond 2016). Ingeborg Kraus and her colleagues are circulating a petition asking the German government to "repeal its decriminalization law as a preventive measure against sexual violence and trauma" (Bien-Aime 2015). Kraus announced in January 2017 that the coalition "Stop Sexkauf" [Stop Sex-buying] will lodge a complaint with the European Commission against Germany for the violation of human rights because of its prostitution laws legalizing prostitution. Kraus writes, "So for the first time in history, a country will be accused for normalizing prostitution and accepting violence against women without any guilty conscience" (Kraus 2017).

As Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said in 2014, "prostitution itself is a form of violence against women" ("Justin Trudeau wary of proposal to regulate, tax prostitution" 2014). No country or region can legalize or decriminalize prostitution without normalizing sex inequality and violence against women and girls who are prostituted. Legalization and decriminalization of prostitution promote the violation of the human rights of all of those in prostitution and of all women and girls.

CONCLUSION

This paper provides evidence-based research showing that the Nordic Model is the only successful prostitution approach to significantly increase women's equality and human rights by working to end demand.

Canada's *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* recognizes prostitution as inherently violent and exploitative. The legislation discourages demand for prostitution by criminalizing sex buyers.

Evidence confirms the negative consequences of decriminalized or legalized prostitution approaches. Both approaches result in a marked increase in the demand for prostitution, with increased control to brothel owners, pimps, traffickers, and johns over the women and girls being exploited. Free consent is impossible under both approaches.



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

Prostitution is not a job like any other. In no job would Canadians allow the significant physical, psychological, and emotional toll prostituted women and girls are subjected to. Canadians do not expect citizens to work in an environment where they face regular exposure to assault, sexual harassment, rape, trauma, and increased rates of homicide. In fact, provincial and federal legislation attempt to protect workers from such atrocities.

Exploitation of people is not unique to prostitution; however, high levels of violence and exploitation are. Sweden has demonstrated that the violence, trauma, and high death rates that prostituted women and girls experience can be decreased by the Nordic Model. The interconnections between prostitution and racism and colonialism leads to racialized and Indigenous women and girls being overrepresented in prostitution, sexual exploitation and trafficking for sexual purposes which further fuels racial inequality.

Contrary to the pro-decriminalization and legalization assertions that women choose to sell sex as consenting adults, evidence shows that for the vast majority of prostituted women and girls, prostitution is not a free choice. Rather, prostitution almost invariably comes from lack of choice, from the vulnerability of poverty, of marginalization, of social isolation, of oppression, of inequality, of exploitation, of coercion, and/or of the need for economic survival.

It is Indigenous women and girls who are most vulnerable to prostitution, trafficking and exploitation. Canadians must do more to protect Indigenous women and girls from the inherent violence in prostitution. Given Canada's close proximity to the largely prohibitionist United States, a decriminalized or legalized legislative approach to prostitution will force Indigenous women and girls to the Canada/US borders for the sole purpose of serving American men.

A large to an overwhelming majority of women want to leave prostitution; however, most have no viable alternatives to do so. This situation arises from the same circumstances women and girls faced when initially prostituted, trafficked, or sexually exploited: exploitation of their youth and vulnerability; poverty; homelessness; abuse or child abuse; being lured and/or coerced; control by a trafficker, gang or organized crime; economic need; drug addiction; need to survive; lack of education and training; social isolation; and marginalization. Exiting sexual exploitation and prostitution is extremely difficult for these reasons, and because of the impact of the physical and psychological trauma to which the women and girls have been exposed.

The evidence proving a high percentage of prostituted women and girls are trafficked into prostitution (both within countries and across international boundaries) and/or



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

controlled by organized crime is extensive. There is a demonstrated link between increased sex trafficking and a higher demand and bigger market for prostitution resulting from decriminalized and legalized prostitution. The involvement of organized crime and gangs has been shown to be more prevalent under decriminalization and legalization.

The Swedish approach of the Nordic Model, that prostitution is a violation of women's equality and human rights, is diametrically opposed to the pro-decriminalization and legalization approach. The conceptualization of the "right" to have sex as a human right promotes women's inequality.

No country or region can legalize or decriminalize prostitution without normalizing violence against women and girls who are prostituted. Legalization and decriminalization of prostitution promotes human rights violations against prostituted women and girls and affects the dignity and equality of all women and girls.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The evidence-based key findings lead to the following recommendations:

1. The Government of Canada must repeal section 213 of the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*⁵ and support the amended Act.
2. The Government of Canada must work with police services across the country to ensure enforcement.
3. The Government of Canada must provide increased funding to trauma informed, woman centred agencies working with prostituted and sexually exploited women and girls and fund specialized training on the legislation to federal, provincial, regional, territorial, and local police services.
4. The Government of Canada must consult with feminist advocates to seek bi-partisan solutions to ensure compliance with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guaranteeing women's equality both before and under the law.

⁵ *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (S.C. 2014, c. 25). § 213 (1.1). Retrieved from the Justice Laws website: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/2014_25.pdf

REFERENCES

- A Brief Review of the Evidence on the Consequences of Legalizing or Decriminalizing Prostitution. (n.d.). *Demand Abolition*. Retrieved from <http://prostitutionresearch> According to the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women New Zealand:
- Aleem, Z. (2015). 16 Years Since Decriminalizing Prostitution, Here's What's Happening in Sweden. *Mic Network*. Retrieved from <http://mic.com/articles/112814/here-s-what-s-happened-in-sweden-16-years-since-decriminalizingprostitution>
- Amnesty International. (2015). Global movement votes to adopt policy to protect human rights of sex workers. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/08/global-movement-votes-to-adopt-policy-to-protect-human-rights-of-sex-workers/>
- Anwar, A. (2007). Criminalizing the Customers: Prostitution Ban Huge Success in Sweden. *Der Spiegel*. Retrieved from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/criminalizing-the-customers-prostitution-ban-huge-success-in-sweden-a-516030.html>
- Article 6 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW). (1979). Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm#article6>
- Asian Women's Coalition to end prostitution. (2017). Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution Demand Vancouver Police Arrest Pimps, Brothel-keepers and Sex-buyers. Retrieved from http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/sites/default/files/imce/Asian%20Women%20Statement_Palmer_Fisher.pdf
- Asscher, L. (2016). Toespraak van minister Asscher op de conferentie 'Multidisciplinaire aanpak van mensenhandel'. Retrieved from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/toespraken/2016/01/19/speech-minister-asscher-over-mensenhandel>
- Baker, D. (2011a). Prostitution in New Zealand. *Grosse Freiheit Conference*, Copenhagen. Presented at the International Conference on Prostitution & Trafficking, Copenhagen. Retrieved from <http://www.grosserfreiheit.dk/upl/9629/DebbieBakertale.pdf> Baker, D. (2011b). 'Prostitution in New Zealand'. Presented at the International Conference on Prostitution & Trafficking, Copenhagen. Video retrieved from <http://www.grosserfreiheit.dk/9531/>
- Banyard, K. (2016). *Pimp State: Sex, Money and the Future of Equality*. London, United Kingdom: Faber and Faber Limited.
- Barnett, L., & Casavant, L. (2014). *Prostitution: A review of legislation in selected countries (Background Papers)* (Report No. 2011-115-E). Retrieved from the Library of Parliament, Canada, website: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/researchpublications/2011-115-e.pdf>
- Belak, B. & Bennett, D. (2016). Evaluating Canada's Sex Work Laws: The Case for Repeal. *Pivot Legal Society*. Retrieved from https://d3n8a8pro7vnm.cloudfront.net/pivotlegal/pages/1960/attachments/original/1480910826/PIVOT_Sex_workers_Report_FINAL_hires_ONLINE.pdf?1480910826 [Executive Summary, Retrieved from https://d3n8a8pro7vnm.cloudfront.net/pivotlegal/pages/1960/attachments/original/1480911183/Executive_Summary.pdf?1480911183]
- Benson, S. (2015). Head to head: Why the purchase of sex should be a criminal offence. *Irish Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/head-to-head-why-the-purchase-of-sex-should-be-a-criminal-offence-1.2322078>
- Bien-Aime, T. (2015). Germany wins the title of 'Bordello of Europe': Why doesn't Angela Merkel care? *The World Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/taina-bienaime/germany-wins-the-title-of_b_7446636.html

Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- Bien-Aime, T. (2016). Is the New York Times Endorsing Legalization of Prostitution?, Huffington Post. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/taina-bienaime/is-the-new-york-times-end_b_9949716.html
- Bindel, J. (2013). Why even Amsterdam doesn't want legal brothels. *The Spectator*. Retrieved from <http://www.spectator.co.uk/2013/02/flesh-for-sale/>
- Bindel, J. (2015). Women in prostitution won't be protected by Amnesty's plan. *The Guardian*, Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/04/sex-workers-amnesty-international-prostitution-decriminalisation>
- Bindel, J., & Kelly, L. (2003). A critical examination of responses to prostitution in four countries: Victoria, Australia; Ireland; the Netherlands; and Sweden. *Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University*. Retrieved from http://nordicbaltic-assistwomen.net/IMG/pdf/Study_in_4_countries_Kelly_Bindel.pdf
- Bjørndahl, U. (2012). Dangerous Liaisons, A report on the violence women in prostitution in Oslo are exposed to. Retrieved from <https://humboldt1982.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/dangerous-liaisons.pdf>
- Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Part I of the Constitution Act. (1982). Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c 11, § 7, 15 (1), and 28 and 52(1). Retrieved from <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-15.html>
- Canadian Women's Foundation. (2014). "NO MORE" Ending sex-trafficking in Canada. Report of the National Task Force on Sex Trafficking of Women and Girls in Canada. Retrieved from <http://canadianwomen.org/sites/canadianwomen.org/files/NO%20MORE.%20Task%20Force%20Report.pdf>
- Cho, S., Dreher, A., & Neumayer, E. (2013). Does legalized prostitution increase human trafficking?. *World Development*, 41 (1), 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X12001453>
- Claims about the "Swedish Model" – and what's really going on. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://cybersolidaires.typepad.com/files/claims-about-the-swedish-model-pye-jakobsson.pdf>
- Claude, K. (2011). Targeting the sex buyer. The Swedish Example: Stopping prostitution and trafficking where it all begins. Retrieved from <https://eng.si.se/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2013/02/Targeting-the-sex-buyer-English.pdf>
- Coalition Against Trafficking in Women Australia. (2013). Demand Change: Understanding the Nordic Approach to Prostitution. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=211CDDF49AC51FECAE2B9D493B138541?doi=10.1.1.664.2837&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Coalition Against Trafficking in Women International. (2016). France Passes Historic Abolitionist Legislation. Retrieved from <http://www.catwinternational.org/Home/Article/660-france-passes-historic-abolitionist-legislation>
- Commercial exploitation of children in New Zealand (CSEC II project). (2008). Executive Summary. Retrieved from <http://childalert.org.nz/Other/Researches/CSECIIPROJECTREPORT.aspx>
- Connor, R. (2016). German plan to jail 'johns' stirs debate on forced prostitution. *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from <http://www.dw.com/en/german-plan-to-jail-johns-stirs-debate-on-forced-prostitution/a-19170214>
- Coppedge, S. (2006). People trafficking: An international crisis fought at the local level. *The Ian Axford New Zealand Fellowships in Public Policy*. Retrieved from http://www.fulbright.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/axford2006_coppedge.pdf



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- Coy, M., Pringle, H., & Tyler, M. (2016). The Swedish Sex Purchase Law: evidence of its impact. *Nordic Model Information Network*, 2016. Retrieved from http://catwa.org.au/files/images/NMIN_briefing_on_Sweden_July_16.pdf
- Daalder, A. (2007). Prostitution in the Netherlands since the lifting of the brothel ban. *Boom Juridische Uitgevers, WODC*. Retrieved from <https://english.wodc.nl/onderzoeksdatabase/1204e-engelse-vertaling-rapport-evaluatie-opheffing-bordeelverbod.aspx>
- Data on women in prostitution in Germany: numbers, health, working conditions. (2016). Retrieved from <https://banishea.wordpress.com/2016/11/20/data-on-women-in-prostitution-in-germany-numbers-health-working-conditions/>
- De Santis, M. (2015). Sweden's prostitution solution: Why hasn't anyone tried this before? *Solutions Journal*, 6 (3). 20-23. Retrieved from <http://thesolutionsjournal.com/node/237351>
- Debate begins over Auckland super-brothel. (2012). *Radio Live, Newshub*. Retrieved from <http://www.3news.co.nz/politics/debate-begins-over-auckland-superbrothel-2012111208#ixzz3yIK4qwfz>
- Does legalized prostitution increase human trafficking?. (2014). *Harvard Law & International Development Society*. Retrieved from <https://orgs.law.harvard.edu/lids/2014/06/12/does-legalized-prostitution-increase-human-trafficking/>
- Draft bill in Dutch Parliament offers useful tools in fight against human trafficking. (2014). *European Christian Political Movement*. <http://ecpm.info/news/draft-bill-dutch-parliament-offers-useful-tools-fight-against-human-trafficking>
- Duff, E. (2015a). AFP reveals sex trafficking based in Sydney brothels. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/afp-reveals-sex-trafficking-based-in-sydney-brothels-20150912-gjkzwt.html#ixzz3ywVTvYvn>
- Duff, E. (2015b). "Sex inquiry recommends greater powers for police to tackle brothel crime." *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/act-news/sex-inquiry-recommends-greater-powers-for-police-to-tackle-brothel-crime-20151107-gkt9wl.html>
- ECPAT NZ Child ALERT. (n.d.) [Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children \(CSEC\) Fact Sheet](http://ecpat.org.nz/assets/uploads/publications/publication-1466725291.pdf). Retrieved from <http://ecpat.org.nz/assets/uploads/publications/publication-1466725291.pdf>
- Ekberg, G. & Wahlberg, K. (2011). The Swedish approach: A European country fights sex trafficking. *Solutions Journal*, 2 (2). Retrieved from <http://www.thesolutionsjournal.org/node/895>
- Ekberg, G. (2004). The Swedish law that prohibits the purchase of sexual services. *Violence Against Women*(10)10. Retrieved from <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/pdf/EkbergVAW.pdf>
- Ekberg, G. (2012). Briefing – Swedish law and policies on prostitution and trafficking in human beings. Retrieved from <http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Briefing-Law-and-policies-on-prostitution-and-THB-Sweden-1203082.pdf>
- Ekberg, G. (2015). Swedish laws, policies and interventions on prostitution and trafficking in human beings: An overview. Retrieved from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bz41mzo4ql2dczhQWjFCMEhqM1E/view?pref=2&pli=1>
- End human trafficking in sex industry by decriminalising victims and criminalising pimps and buyers. (2016). *European United Left/Nordic Green Left European Parliamentary Group*. Retrieved from <http://www.guengl.eu/news/article/end-human-trafficking-in-sex-industry-by-decriminalising-victims-and-crimin>
- Equality Now. (n.d.). Does legalizing prostitution protect women and girls? (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.equalitynow.org/sites/default/files/Does_Legalizing_Prostitution_Protect_Women_and_Girls_EN.pdf



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- European Parliament. (2014). Punish the client, not the prostitute. Retrieved from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20140221IPR36644/punish-the-client-not-the-prostitute>
- European Union: European Parliament. *European Parliament resolution of 26 February 2014 on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality*. (2013/2103(INI)) Retrieved from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2014-0162+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>
- European Women's Lobby. (n.d.) The effects of different legislative approaches to prostitution on persons in prostitution and society in general. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/ewl_article_-_regulation_vs_abolition_-_impact_on_persons_in_prostitution.pdf
- Fact: Choice is complicated. (n.d.) Nordic Model Now!. Retrieved from, <https://nordicmodelnow.org/facts-about-prostitution/fact-choice-is-complicated/>
- Facts About Prostitution. (n.d.) Turn Off the Red Light. Retrieved from <http://www.turnofftheredlight.ie/learn-more/>
- Farley, M. & Butler, E. (2012). Prostitution and Trafficking - Quick Facts. *Prostitution Research & Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/Prostitution%20Quick%20Facts%202012-21-12.pdf>
- Farley, M. & Lynne, J. (2008). Prostitution of Indigenous Women: Sex Inequality and the Colonization of Canada's First Nations Women. Retrieved from <http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/learn/resources/prostitution-indigenous-women-sex-inequality-and-colonization-canadas-first-nations->
- Farley, M. (2008). What *really* happened in New Zealand after prostitution was decriminalized in 2003? Retrieved from <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/Report%20on%20NZ%2010-29-2008.pdf>
- Farley, M. (2016). Very inconvenient truths: sex buyers, sexual coercion, and prostitution-harm-denial. *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society & Culture*. Retrieved from <http://logosjournal.com/2016/farley-2/>
- Farley, M., Cotton, A., Lynne, J., Zumbeck, S., Spiwak, F., Reyes, M.E., ... Sezgin, U. (2003). Prostitution & Trafficking in Nine Countries: An Update on Violence and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Retrieved from <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/pdf/Prostitutionin9Countries.pdf>
- Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. (2007). Report by the Federal Government on the Impact of the Act Regulating the Legal Situation of Prostitutes (Prostitution Act), https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/federal_government_report_of_the_impact_of_the_act_regulating_the_legal_situation_of_prostitutes_2007_en_1.pdf
- Goldberg, M. (2014). Should Buying Sex Be Illegal? The so-called "Swedish model" banning the purchase but not the sale of sex is catching on in Europe. But does it work? And for whom?. *The Nation*. Retrieved from <http://www.thenation.com/article/should-buying-sex-be-illegal/>
- Gulliver, A. (2013). Ex-prostitutes call for law change. *Stuff NZ*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/9428778/Ex-prostitutes-call-for-law-change>
- How prostitution laws work in Sweden and Germany and what Canada can learn. (2016). *CBC Radio, the Early Edition*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/2695234815/>
- Huisman, W. & Kleemans, E. (2014). The challenges of fighting sex trafficking in the legalized prostitution market of the Netherlands. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2). Retrieved from [file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Huisman&Kleemans\(2014\)_Thechallengesoffightingsextrafficking.pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Huisman&Kleemans(2014)_Thechallengesoffightingsextrafficking.pdf)
- Instone, T., & Margerison, R. (2007). Shadow report for the CEDAW committee on New Zealand from: Coalition against trafficking in women New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://www.catwinternational.org/Content/Images/Article/455/attachment.doc>



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- Jakobsson, N., & Kotsadam, A. (2013). The law and economics of international sexual slavery: Prostitution laws and trafficking for sexual exploitation. *University of Gothenburg*. Retrieved from https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/22825/4/gupea_2077_22825_4.pdf
- Justin Trudeau wary of proposal to regulate, tax prostitution. (2014) *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-wary-of-proposal-to-regulate-tax-prostitution-1.2500357>
- Kavemann, B., & Rabe, H. (2007). The Act Regulating the Legal Situation of Prostitutes – implementation, impact, current developments, 2007, http://www.turnofftheredlight.ie/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Germany-prostitution-report_english.pdf
- Kelly, L. & Lovett, J. (2016). Demand Reduction: Sweden Case Study. In S. Walby, B. Apitzsch, J. Armstrong, S. Balderstone, K. Follis, B. Francis, ... M. Tunte (Eds., *Study on the Gender Dimension of Trafficking in Human Beings* (pp. 123- 139). Luxembourg: European Union. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/study_on_the_gender_dimension_of_trafficking_in_human_beings_final_report.pdf
- Kelly, L., Coy, M., & Davenport, R. (2009). Shifting Sands: A Comparison of Prostitution Regimes Across Nine Countries. Child & Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University. Retrieved from http://www.turnofftheredlight.ie/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Shifting_Sands_UK-HOMe-Office.pdf
- Kraus, I. (2015). Prostitution is Incompatible with Equality between Men and Women, presented at the Madrid Conference. Retrieved from <http://catwinternational.org/Content/Images/Article/643/attachment.pdf>
- Kraus, I. (2016), The German model is producing hell on earth!, Retrieved from http://www.trauma-and-prostitution.eu/en/2016/11/02/the-german-model-is-producing-hell-on-earth/#_edn12
- Kraus, I. (2017). European Commission – complaint. *Banishhea*. Retrieved from <https://banishhea.wordpress.com/2017/01/02/european-commission-complaint/>
- Labour's response on sex-for-rent ironic. (2016). *Scoop Media*. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO1602/S00011/labours-response-on-sex-for-rent-ironic.htm>
- Lloyd, R. (2012). Legalizing Prostitution Leads to More Trafficking. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/04/19/is-legalized-prostitution-safer/legalizing-prostitution-leads-to-more-trafficking>
- MacKinnon, C. (2006). On Sex and Violence: Introducing the Antipornography Civil Rights Law in Sweden. In *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press
- MacKinnon, C.. (2011). Trafficking, prostitution, and inequality. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 46. Retrieved from <http://harvardcrl.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/MacKinnon.pdf>
- Mah, S. M. (2014). Sarah M. Mah: Help prostitutes by fighting racism. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/sarah-m-mah-help-prostitutes-by-fighting-racism>
- March 8th Initiative. (2012). The effects of the Swedish ban on the purchase of sexual services. Retrieved from <http://www.8marts.dk/upl/14431/TheEffectsoftheSwedishBanonthePurchaseofSexualServicesOK.pdf>
- McCarthy, S. (2015). Trudeau urges 'evidence-based approach' on marijuana, prostitution laws. *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/trudeau-urges-evidence-based-approach-on-marijuana-prostitution-laws/article22285641/>



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

- McLaughlin, F. (2013). Petition 2011/60 of Elizabeth Subritzky on behalf of freedom from sexual exploitation and 2,910 others: Submission of the Ministry of Justice. Retrieved from New Zealand Parliament website: http://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-nz/50SCJE_EVI_50DBHOH_PET3153_1_A358783/9476c54af2c89b8e6594e62827f7f71ea5d54c36
- Men 'the only winners of Prostitution Reform Act'. (2008). *Stuff NZ*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/727258/Men-the-only-winners-of-Prostitution-Reform-Act>
- Meyer, C., Neumann, C., Schmid, F., Truckendanner, P., & Winter, S. (2013). Unprotected: How Legalizing Prostitution Has Failed, *Der Spiegel*, retrieved from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/human-trafficking-persists-despite-legality-of-prostitution-in-germany-a-902533.html>
- Ministry of Industry, Employment, and Communications. Sweden. (2004). Fact sheet on prostitution and trafficking in women. Retrieved from http://myweb.dal.ca/mgoodyea/Documents/Sweden/prostitution_fact_sheet_sweden_2004.pdf
- Mis, M. (2016). French law that makes it illegal to pay for sex "revolutionary" – activists. *Reuters*. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-3528720/French-law-makes-illegal-pay-sex-revolutionary--activists.html>
- Mitrovic, E. (2004). Working in the sex industry: Report on the findings of a field research "Social change in dealing with prostitution since the new legislation's entry into force on 1.1.2002." Retrieved from http://espu-ca.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/studie_english.pdf
- Molisa, P. (2015). Breaking the silence on prostitution and rape culture. *E-Tangata*. Retrieved from <http://e-tangata.co.nz/news/breaking-the-silence>
- Moran, R. (2015). Buying Sex Should Not Be Legal. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/29/opinion/buying-sex-should-not-be-legal.html?_r=0
- Moran, R. (2016). *The Evidence About Prostitution that the New York Times Ignored*. Retrieved from http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/the_evidence_from_new_zealand_the_new_york_times_ignored_20160601/
- MPs back change in law to penalise clients of illegal prostitutes. (2016). *Dutch News*. Retrieved from <http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2016/05/mps-back-change-in-law-to-criminalise/>
- Mrozek, A. (2008). Prostitution: Learning from the New Zealand Decriminalization Experience. Retrieved from <http://www.imfcanada.org/sites/default/files/eReview%20-%20November%2019,%202008%20-%20for%20print-Prostitution.pdf>
- Murphy, M. (2014a). Being and Being Bought: An interview with Kajsa Ekis Ekman. Retrieved from <http://rabble.ca/print/blogs/bloggers/feminist-current/2014/01/being-and-being-bought-interview-kajsa-ekis-ekman>
- Murphy, M. (2014b). Is the Nordic Prostitution Model for Us?. Originally published in *Herizons*, Spring 2014. Retrieved from <https://ressourcesprostitution.wordpress.com/2014/01/02/canada-is-the-nordic-prostitution-model-for-us/>
- Murphy, M. (2016). France adopts the Nordic model. Retrieved from <http://www.feministcurrent.com/2016/04/06/france-adopts-the-nordic-model/>
- Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2012). Understanding NWAC's Position on Prostitution November 2012. Retrieved from https://nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/2012_NWACs_Position_on_Prostitution.pdf



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- New Zealand Ministry of Justice. (2008). Report of the prostitution law review committee on the operation of the prostitution reform act 2003. Retrieved from <https://maggiemcneill.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/report-of-the-nz-prostitution-law-committee-2008.pdf>
- Nordiskt Forum. (2014). Catharine MacKinnon: 'Prostitution is not a choice'. Retrieved from <https://nf2014.org/en/2014/06/15/catherine-mackinnon-prostitution-is-not-a-choice/>
- Norma, C. (2015). It's time to clean up prostitution in NSW. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/action/printArticle?id=1002504408>
- NZ 'best place on earth' to be a prostitute. (2015). *NZ Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11453616
- NZ a destination for illegal prostitution – report. (2011, July 3). *Stuff NZ*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/5225830/NZ-a-destination-for-illegal-prostitution-report>
- O'Sullivan, F. (2013). Across Europe, a Growing Sense That Legalized Prostitution Isn't Working. *CityLab*. Retrieved from <http://www.citylab.com/tech/2013/12/across-europe-growing-sense-legalized-prostitution-isnt-working/7777/>
- Occupational Safety and Health Service. (2004). A Guide to Occupational Health and Safety in the New Zealand Sex Industry, Department of Labour, New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://www.worksafe.govt.nz/worksafe/information-guidance/all-guidance-items/sex-industry-a-guide-to-occupational-health-and-safety-in-the-new-zealand/sexindustry.pdf>
- Paulat, L. (2015). Pros and cons of decriminalizing sex work. *Care2*. Retrieved from <http://www.care2.com/causes/the-pros-and-cons-of-decriminalizing-sex-work.html>
- Potterat, J., Brewer, D., Muth, S., Rothenberg, R., Woodhouse, D., Muth, J., ... Brody, S. (2004). Mortality in a Long-term Open Cohort of Prostitute Women. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 159(8), 778–785. Retrieved from http://oup.oxfordjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1093/aje/kwh110/2/kwh110.pdf?Expires=1486225687&Signature=HZuZfaEhd8XDLP-LsCATDiHhIte5lgYnQorweY3NKNtQJUDbdAERyHIAQtBj9cc9WTmMDoqbg9zR~ihk2IPRU-BTM15owwRDKpsTtx0kOtdz~WbDvLYR4xWOZiwBBhgmo0sPBFoUCTEUtpQk8Zg~F11AlpDdBkVIAxKaPAplWibnnEiAjq~RXdcZsR1FKTqFIQkCl6xxDqVM0ZoNgcQB14UmXQJm2kEAvNQJ5QkD95f6kXsQQFOatCW9Y7ts~VSBGF55K9B5jqeRAn-zOeL7Lic~WBNvt1tlg0ovkphczMaM4odHRdQLoHBaCtaN3C0bdzrmwSblhfKqHHGYZI2gemw_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAIUCZBIA4LVPVW3Q
- Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (S.C. 2014, c. 25). Retrieved from the Justice Laws website: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/2014_25.pdf
- Rasmussen, I., Strøm, S., Sverdrup, S. & Hansen, V. (2014). Evaluation of Norwegian legislation criminalising the buying of sexual services (summary). English summary of Evaluering av forbudet mot kjøp av seksuelle tjenester [Evaluation of the ban on buying sexual services]. Retrieved from <http://www.eu-norway.org/Global/SiteFolders/webeu/Evaluation.pdf>
- Raymond, J. (2003). 10 Reasons for Not Legalizing Prostitution. Coalition Against Trafficking in Women International. Retrieved from <http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/learn/resources/10-reasons-not-legalizing-prostitution>
- Raymond, J. (2010). Trafficking, Prostitution and the Sex Industry: The Nordic Legal Model. *Coalition Against Trafficking in Women*. Retrieved from <http://www.catwinternational.org/Home/Article/91-trafficking-prostitution-and-the-sex-industry-the-nordic-legal-model>
- Raymond, J. (2011). *Legalization and Decriminalization of Prostitution are not the Answers: A Global Perspective*. Presented at the International Conference on Prostitution & Trafficking, Copenhagen. Retrieved from <http://www.grossefreiheit.dk/upl/9628/JaniceRaymondtales.pdf>



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

- Raymond, J. (2015). Amnesty International: Not in Our Name. Retrieved from <http://www.catwinternational.org/Home/Article/669-amnesty-international-not-in-our-name>
- Raymond, J. (2016). France's 'Non' to the Notion of 'Sex Work' Is a Blow Against the Exploitation of Women. *Prostitution Research and Education*. Retrieved from <http://prostitutionresearch.com/2016/04/13/frances-non-to-the-notion-of-sex-work-is-a-blow-against-the-exploitation-of-women/>
- Reilly, T. & Davies, A. (2011). Licensing law to tighten screws on brothel chiefs. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/action/printArticle?id=2682223>
- Response to the Home Affairs Select Committee's Interim Report on Prostitution. (2016). Nordic Model Now!. Retrieved from <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2016/07/17/response-to-the-home-affairs-select-committees-interim-report-on-prostitution/>
- Rip up prostitution law, says top Oslo politician. (2012). *The Local Norway*. Retrieved from <http://www.thelocal.no/20120622/rip-up-prostitution-law-says-top-oslo-politician>
- Saphira, M. & Herbert, A. (2004). The Involvement of Children in Commercial Sexual Activity, *ECPAT 2004*. Retrieved from <http://childalert.org.nz/Other/Researches/TheInvolvementOfChildrenInSActivities.aspx>
- Selected extracts of the Swedish government report SOU 2010:49: The ban against the purchase of sexual services. An evaluation 1999-2008. (2010). *Swedish Institute*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/the_ban_against_the_purchase_of_sexual_services_an_evaluation_1999-2008_1.pdf
- Shepherd, S. (2010). Police target child prostitutes in Auckland City. *3 News, Newshub*. Retrieved from <http://www.newshub.co.nz/nznews/police-target-child-prostitutes-in-auckland-city-2010061216>
- Simons, M. (2008). Amsterdam Tries Upscale Fix for Red-Light District Crime. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/24/world/europe/24amsterdam.html>
- Smiley, C. (2013). Indigenous Girls and the Canadian State. Retrieved from http://www.justiceforgirls.org/uploads/2/4/5/0/24509463/indigenous_girls_and_the_canadian_state.pdf
- Smiley, C. (2015). Real change for aboriginal women begins with the end of prostitution. *Globe and Mail*, Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/real-change-for-aboriginal-women-begins-with-the-end-of-prostitution/article22442349/>
- Smith, J. (2013). Why the game's up for Sweden's sex trade. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/features/why-the-game-s-up-for-swedens-sex-trade-8548854.html>
- Socialstyrelsen [National Board of Health & Welfare], Swedish Government. (2004). *Prostitution in Sweden 2003, Knowledge, Beliefs & Attitudes of Key Informants*. Retrieved from <https://perma.cc/0vWJVMQN1Ea>
- Speak, C. (2013). Germany May Roll Back Legalised Prostitution Amid Exploitation Fears. *Equal Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.equaltimes.org/germany-may-roll-back-legalised?lang=en#.VhbPpPIVikr>
- Speaking of prostitution: Arguments & counterarguments about prostitution. (2013). *Kvinnofronten*. Retrieved from <http://www.kvinnofronten.nu/eng/speaking-of-prostitution.htm>
- Sporenda, F. (2015). Legalized Prostitution in Australia: Behind the Scenes. Retrieved from <https://ressourcesprostitution.wordpress.com/2015/10/03/legalized-prostitution-in-australia-behind-the-scenes/>



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights *A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution*

- Sporenda, F. (interviewer) & Watson, S. (Interviewee). (2015). *Legalized prostitution in Australia: Behind the scenes*. [Interview Transcript]. Retrieved from <https://ressourcesprostitution.wordpress.com/2015/10/03/legalized-prostitution-in-australia-behind-the-scenes/>
- Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights. Government of Canada. (2011). *The Sexual Exploitation of Children in Canada: the Need for National Action*. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/site/archievee-archived.html?url=http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2011/sen/yc32-0/YC32-0-411-3-eng.pdf
- Study reveals the sad secret world of underage sex work. (2015). University of Auckland. Retrieved from <https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/news-events-and-notice/news/news-2015/06/study-reveals-the-sad-secret-world-of-child-prostitution.html>
- Subritzky, E. (2013). *Freedom's response to the Ministry of Justice (the Ministry) Submission*. Retrieved from http://www.parliament.nz/resource/ennz/50SCJE_EVI_50DBHOH_PET3153_1_A369900/b426fa021eb59ac2055090b07c0b3b117bd16d9b
- Sullivan, M. (2005). What happens when prostitution becomes work? An update on legalisation of prostitution in Australia. *Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Australia*. Retrieved from <http://www.catwinternational.org/Content/Images/Article/93/attachment.pdf>
- Supreme Court Of Canada, Factum of the Interveners, Women's Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution, Faraday, F. & Benedet, J. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/sites/default/files/imce/SCC%20Factum%20of%20Intervner%20Women%27s%20Coalition.pdf>
- Tan, L. (2008). Unsafe sex sparks increase in HIV. *New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10545882
- The harsh realities of 'being raped for a living'. (2012). *Irish Examiner*, Retrieved from <http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/the-harsh-realities-of-being-raped-for-a-living-183894.html>
- TORL's fact finding mission in Amsterdam. (2012). *Turn Off The Red Light, End Prostitution and Sex Trafficking in Ireland*. Retrieved from <http://www.turnofftheredlight.ie/2012/01/637/>
- Transcrime Institute for the European Parliament. 2005. National Legislation on Prostitution and the Trafficking in Women and Children. Available at <http://transcrime.cs.unitn.it/tc/412.php>
- Turning off the red light. A new law will make paying for sex a crime. (2013). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21591220-new-law-will-make-paying-sex-crime-turning-red-light>
- UNAIDS. (2012). *New Guidelines to Better Prevent HIV in Sex Workers*. Retrieved from <http://www.unaids.org/en/resources/presscentre/featurestories/2012/december/20121212sexworkguidance>
- United Nations Commission on Human Rights, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Aspects of the Victims of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Sigma Huda*, 20 February 2006, E/CN.4/2006/62, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/48abd53dd.html>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2016). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons*. United Nations Publications. Retrieved from http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2016_Global_Report_on_Trafficking_in_Persons.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2017). What is Human Trafficking?. Retrieved from <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html>
- United Nations. (2000). Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ProtocolTraffickingInPersons.aspx>



Choosing the Nordic Model: Championing Women's Equality and Human Rights A Global Movement to Abolish Prostitution

- United States Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. (2015). 2015 the Trafficking in Persons Report. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2015/243502.htm>
- Vanderwyk, J. (2011). Tackling organized crime in the Amsterdam Red Light District. Retrieved from <https://amsterdamgang.wordpress.com/2011/05/27/tackling-organized-crime-in-the-amsterdam-red-light-district/>
- Waltman, M. (2011a). *Prohibiting Sex Purchasing and Ending Trafficking: The Swedish Prostitution Law*. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Volume 33, pp.133-157. Retrieved from <http://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1041&context=mjil>
- Waltman, M. (2011b). Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 34, 449–474. Retrieved from <http://prostitutionresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Swedens-prohibition-of-purchase-of-sex.pdf>
- Waltman, M. (2012a). Criminalize Only the Buying of Sex. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/04/19/is-legalized-prostitution-safer/criminalize-buying-not-selling-sex>
- Waltman, M. (2012b). Evidence shows that ending demand works: A response to Noy Thrupkaew and the attack on the Swedish approach to prostitution. *Rabble Blogs*. Retrieved from <http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/feminist-current/2012/10/evidence-shows-ending-demand-works-response-noy-thrupkaew-an>
- Waltman, M. (2014). Assessing Evidence, Arguments, and Inequality in Bedford v. Canada. *Harvard Journal of Law & Gender*, Vol. 37, pp. 459-544. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2091216>
- Watson, L. (2014). Why Sex Work Isn't Work, *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society & Culture*. Retrieved from <http://logosjournal.com/2014/watson/>
- Watson, S. (2016). And They Call This "Sex Work"? In Norma, C. & Tankard Reist, M. (Eds.), *Prostitution Narratives: Stories of Survival in the Sex Trade*. (pp. 155-159). North Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex Press.
- White, P. (2015). Remembering the murdered women erased by the pro-sex work agenda. Retrieved from <http://www.feministcurrent.com/2015/11/03/remembering-the-murdered-women-erased-by-the-pro-sex-work-agenda>
- Why the Nordic model is the only viable alternative. (n.d.). *Mairivoice*. Retrieved from <http://mairivoice.femininebyte.org/category/prostitution/>
- Woodward, S. (2016). Calls for Australia to adopt "Nordic Model" on prostitution. *SBS World News Radio*. Retrieved from <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2016/06/06/calls-australia-adopt-nordic-model-prostitution>
- World Health Organization. (2012). Prevention and treatment of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections for sex workers in low- and middle- income countries. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77745/1/9789241504744_eng.pdf

