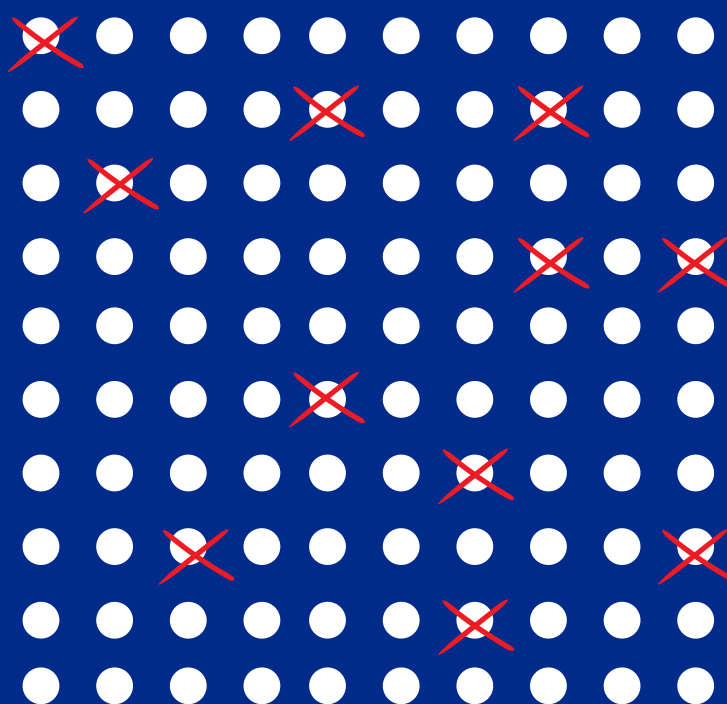


All-Party Parliamentary Group on
Commercial Sexual Exploitation



Men Who Buy Sex: Understanding the Demand for Prostitution and Sex Trafficking in the UK

2024



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All-Party Parliamentary Group on Commercial Sexual Exploitation

The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Commercial Sexual Exploitation brings together parliamentarians from across the political spectrum to work for an end to commercial sexual exploitation. We lead research and advocacy in Parliament to tackle all forms of commercial sexual exploitation.

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Tonia Antoniazzi MP (Gower)
Sarah Champion MP (Rotherham)
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Jess Phillips MP (Birmingham Yardley)
Lord Ponsonby of Shulbrede

Officers, 2024 (maximum of four following APPG rule changes)

Tonia Antoniazzi MP (Gower)
Dame Diana Johnson MP, co-Chair (Kingston upon Hull North)
Ronnie Cowan MP, co-Chair (Inverclyde)
Lord McColl of Dulwich

Contacts

For information and enquiries relating to the APPG on Commercial Sexual Exploitation email contact@appg-cse.uk or visit the APPG's website at www.appg-cse.uk.

The image on the front page depicts the 11% of men in the UK who say that have ever paid for sex. See [7] for source.



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1. Summary

This report represents the findings of an inquiry by the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Commercial Sexual Exploitation. The inquiry was launched in October 2023 and had four objectives:

1. Assess the scale and nature of the demand that drives prostitution and sex trafficking in the UK.
2. Identify what the key facilitators of demand for sexual exploitation are.
3. Assess whether the UK is fulfilling its legal and international obligations to deter demand for sexual exploitation and hold offenders to account.
4. Establish which legal frameworks, national, regional, and local are needed to reduce demand for prostitution and sex trafficking.

The findings and recommendations of this report are based on evidence provided to the inquiry during oral evidence hearings, and a wide-ranging literature review drawing on multiple research methodologies. Individuals who provided evidence to this inquiry included academics, practitioners, and front-line service providers supporting victims of sexual exploitation.

Alongside the inquiry's main findings, this report makes a series of recommendations for government.

Scale and nature of demand for prostitution and sex trafficking in the UK **Sex buyers are overwhelmingly male**

There is overwhelming evidence that prostitution and sex trafficking are gendered phenomena. In the UK, 11% of men aged 16-74 have ever previously paid for sex with money. Less than one percent of women in the UK have ever paid for sex.

Many sex buyers first purchase sex abroad

Many men who have paid for sex say that they first accessed the sex trade abroad as part of all-male groups.

Violence and exploitation are inherent in the purchase of sex

The act of purchasing sex is fundamentally violent and exploitative. This is because of the inherent power imbalance between those with means to buy sex and those who sell it. In 2018, the Home Office estimated that the median length of time a trafficking victim is held in sexual exploitation is nine months (274 days), with individual victims experiencing a median of 795 counts of rape and other forms of sexual assault during that period.

Knowledge of sex trafficking and coercion does not deter demand

Studies show that many sex buyers are aware of the risks of prostitution and the realities of the sex trade for the women they exploit. Witnesses told this inquiry of how sex buyers identify signs of trafficking and coercion but that this does not prevent them from purchasing sex from these women.

The demand for the sex trade fuels exploitation in the UK and internationally

The sex trade would not exist if it was not for demand from sex buyers. This is something that has long been recognised in international law, including in protocols that the UK has formally ratified such as the Palermo Protocol and the Convention against Trafficking in the Council of Europe.

The key facilitators of demand for sexual exploitation

The legality of paying for sex

The fact that paying for sex is legal in England and Wales and Scotland means that there are very few deterrents to purchasing sex. In one study over half of the sex buyers surveyed said they would “definitely”, “probably” or “possibly” change their behaviour if it was made a crime to buy sex.

Pimping websites facilitate the vast majority of the UK’s sex trade

75% of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation are advertised online. Pimping websites make it quicker, easier and far less risky for sex buyers to find women to exploit.

Current legislation allows pimping websites to act with impunity

The legal and policy framework does not account for the role pimping websites play in facilitating the sex trade. The government must implement legislation to criminalise all individuals and corporate bodies that profit from the prostitution of another person.

Pornography fuels demand for the sex trade

This inquiry found evidence that pornography is shaping men’s sexual desires and that some young people are accessing pornography to learn about sex and relationships. Frequent use of pornography has been associated with sex buying by some academics.

The UK’s legal and international obligations

The UK is failing to meet its legal obligations to tackle the demand for sex trafficking and prostitution

Our laws and policies do not deter the demand

that fosters exploitation, as stipulated in international protocols ratified by the government

Legal frameworks to tackle demand for commercial sexual exploitation

The UK must learn from international experiences

Countries such as Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Northern Ireland, Ireland and France provide useful examples on how the government can implement effective legislation to deter demand for sex trafficking and prostitution.

Local police forces and local authorities must be given the resources and direction needed to deter demand and protect victims

Data from areas where the local authority and police force have worked together to deter demand for commercial sexual exploitation show that this approach can work to reduce the size of the on-street sex trade and save public money.

Conclusion and recommendations

Only a small minority of men buy sex in the UK. However, this small minority fuels the exploitation of thousands of women through prostitution and sex trafficking. Purchasing sex is inherently violent. The government must meet its international legal obligations to deter the demand for the sex trade by criminalising the purchasing of sex. It must also protect victims by repealing legislation which criminalises them and expunging previous convictions. Commercial sexual exploitation is not inevitable, it is a form of violence against women and girls and must be ended.

Recommendations for government

1. Adopt legislation to criminalise the purchase of sex acts.
2. Recognise prostitution as a form of violence against women and girls in policy.
3. Repeal Section 1 of the Street Offences Act 1959 and expunge previous convictions for soliciting.
4. Fund local authorities to commission specialist holistic support and exiting services for people in prostitution and sex trafficking.
5. Implement effective legislation to prevent pimping websites from facilitating and profiting from sexual exploitation, by criminalising individuals and companies who enable and/ or profit from the prostitution of another person.
6. Include the harms of pornography and prostitution in schools' Relationships and Sex Education curriculum.
7. Design and implement a widespread advertising campaign to inform the public about the harms caused by prostitution and sex-trafficking and to deter the buying of sex.

Introduction

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Current legislative landscape in relation to prostitution and sex trafficking in the UK:

Laws relating to commercial sexual exploitation are a devolved matter. The legislation currently in operation in the UK is summarised below.[1]

England and Wales

Overview

- Victims of sexual exploitation can face criminal sanction for soliciting in a public place.
- Men who sexually exploit women by paying them for sex only face criminal sanction if they solicit a person in a public place or if they pay for sex with an individual 'subjected to force etc'.
- Third-party facilitation or financial gain from prostitution is illegal in some, but not all, circumstances.

Legislation

- It is legal to pay for sex. However, it is an offence for a person in a street or public place to solicit another for the purpose of paying for sex. {Section 51A of the Sexual Offences Act 2003}
- It is legal to receive payment for performing sex acts. However, it is illegal to persistently loiter or solicit in a street or public place for the purpose of prostitution. {Section 1 of the Street Offences Act 1959}
- 'Paying for sexual services of a prostitute subjected to force etc' is an offence. {Section 53a of the Sexual Offences Act 2003}. This legislation is rarely used. [2]
- Keeping, managing, acting or assisting in the management of a brothel is an offence. {Section 33A of the Sexual Offences Act 1956}
- Controlling prostitution for gain is an offence. {Section 53 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003}
- Causing or inciting prostitution for gain is an offence. {Section 52 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003}
- It is illegal to place a prostitution advert on or in the immediate vicinity of a public telephone. {Section 46 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001} However, it is not illegal for commercial websites to knowingly host and profit from prostitution adverts.
- Trafficking for sexual exploitation is an offence. A person commits a human trafficking offence if they arrange or facilitate the travel of another person with a view to that person being exploited. It is irrelevant whether the victim consents to the travel. {Part 1 of the Modern Slavery Act 2015}

Scotland

Overview

- Victims of sexual exploitation can face criminal sanction for soliciting in a public place.
- People who sexually exploit women by paying them for sex only face criminal sanction if they solicit a person in a public place or if they pay for sex with an individual 'subjected to force etc'.
- Third-party facilitation or financial gain from prostitution is illegal in some, but not all, circumstances.

Legislation

- It is legal to pay for sex. However, it is an offence to solicit another person in a public place for the purpose of paying them for sex acts. {Section 1 of the Prostitution (Public Places) (Scotland) Act 2007}
- It is legal to receive payment for performing sex acts. However, it is illegal to loiter or solicit in a public place for the purpose of prostitution. {Section 46 of the Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982}
- Procuring (pimping) a woman for prostitution is an offence. {Section 7 of the Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995}
- Trading in prostitution and brothel-keeping is an offence. {Section 11 of the Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995}

- Trafficking for sexual exploitation is an offence. A person commits a human trafficking offence if they recruit, transport, harbour or receive, exchange or transfer control over (or arrange or facilitate any of these actions) another person with a view to them being exploited. It is irrelevant if the victim consents to any part of these actions. {Part 1 of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act 2015}

Northern Ireland

Overview


- Unlike in England, Wales and Scotland, it is not an offence in Northern Ireland for victims of sexual exploitation to solicit in a public place.
- However, it is a criminal offence in all circumstances to sexually exploit a person by paying them for sex.
- The purpose of this legislation is to deter and reduce demand for sexual exploitation.

Legislation

- It is an offence to provide payment in exchange for sex acts. {Section 64A of the Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2008}
- It is not an offence for an individual to receive payment for performing sex acts or to solicit in a public place.
- Causing or inciting prostitution for gain is an offence. {Section 62 of the Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2008}
- Controlling prostitution for gain is an offence. {Section 63 of the Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2008}
- Keeping a brothel used for prostitution is an offence. {Section 64 of the Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2008}
- Trafficking for sexual exploitation is an offence. A person commits a human trafficking offence if they arrange or facilitate the travel of another person with a view to that person being exploited. It is irrelevant whether the victim consents to any part of the offence. {Part 1 of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland) 2015}

In summary, the current policies and legislation in most UK nations relating to prostitution and sex trafficking do not work to deter demand for commercial sexual exploitation. The current legislative landscape also serves to punish women involved in prostitution for their own exploitation, acting as a barrier to them exiting the sex trade.

Within the current patchwork of regulation, there are substantial differences between how different police forces and local authorities approach commercial sexual exploitation. The vacuum of clear direction from central government means that in some cities the law as it currently stands is ignored, while in others, local authorities and police services are doing all they can do to prevent the exploitation of vulnerable women.



This is the sixth report of the APPG on Commercial Sexual Exploitation in ten years and the first to focus specifically on demand. It seeks to add to existing knowledge on what demand for commercial sexual exploitation looks like and how it can be tackled.

With a general election looming, as a cross-party group of parliamentarians we call on the next government to implement policies that tackle the demand for commercial sexual exploitation that fuels all parts of the sex trade including prostitution and sex trafficking in the UK.

2. Scale and nature of the demand that drives prostitution and sex trafficking in the UK

1. Sex buyers are overwhelmingly male
2. Many sex buyers first purchase sex in groups and abroad
3. Violence and exploitation are inherent in the purchase of sex
4. Knowledge of sex trafficking and coercion does not deter demand
5. The demand for the sex trade fuels trafficking in the UK and internationally

Sex buyers are overwhelmingly male

There is overwhelming evidence that prostitution and sex trafficking are gendered phenomena with the majority of exploiters being men and the majority of those exploited being women. Home Office research found that the profile of a sex buyer is “a man of around 30 years of age, married, in full time employment, and with no criminal convictions.”[3] A study of sex buyers in East London showed that the majority (88.4%) were in paid employment and 22.3% had children.[4] Further research has found that men most likely to have paid for sex in the past are single men aged 25-34, in managerial or professional occupations and those who reported high numbers of (unpaid) sexual partners. Men who binge drink at least once a week or who have taken hard drugs in the past year are also more likely to pay for sex.[5]

Demand for commercial sexual exploitation is not consistent and is context dependent. A study in 2005 showed that the number of men who said that they had paid for sex in the previous 5 years had increased from 2% in 1990 to 4.2% in 2000.[6] The National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles carried out between 2010 and 2012 found that 11% of men aged 16-74 had ever previously paid for sex with money. The survey question asked did not include paying for sex with goods or accommodation which means that the figure above may be an underestimation of the number of men who have purchased sex in the UK. [7] Less than one percent of women in the UK have ever paid for sex.[8] The gendered nature of the sex trade reflects and fuels ongoing systemic economic and social inequalities between men and women nationally and internationally.[9]

Many sex buyers first purchase sex in groups and abroad

Sex buying is sometimes a group activity, with sex buyers often first accessing the sex trade as part of all-male groups abroad. Some men have spoken of being pressured by other men to purchase sex as a sort of ritual on their 18th birthday.[10] Research indicates that for some men, buying sex is part of an evening out with a group of other men.[11]

A study of sex buyers in the UK showed that as well as buying sex in this country, half of them had also paid for sex abroad.[12] Amsterdam was the most visited destination for this kind of sex tourism. A number of men mentioned specifically travelling to countries where prostitution had been legalised such as New Zealand and the Netherlands.

Explaining why Amsterdam was so popular amongst the cohort of sex buyers in Nottinghamshire he interviewed, Dr Radford explained, "I think some of that initially is reputational for certain cities. They know to go to Prague or Amsterdam or wherever it might be. And if someone's organising a stag do to go to one of those cities, there's probably a good reason why. And it's usually down to peer pressure that actually it might be one or two in the group who hadn't paid for sex before, everybody else in the group is going, there's this expectation that they will all go."

Percentage of people in the UK who have paid for sex, by age

Data from the National National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles carried out between 2010 and 2012 found that 11% of men aged 16-74 had ever previously paid for sex with money.

Paid for sex	16-24 years old %	25- 34 years old %	35-44 years old %	45-54 years old %	55-64 years old %	65-74 years old %	Total aged 16- 44 %	Total aged 16-74 %
Men								
Ever paid for sex	4	13	13	13	14	9	10	11
Paid for sex in the last five years	3	5	4	4	4	1	4	4
Paid for sex in the last year	1	1	1	1	2	<1	1	1
Women								
Ever paid for sex	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1
Paid for sex in the last five years	-	<1	<1	<1	-	<1	<1	<1
Paid for sex in the last year	-	-	-	<1	-	<1	-	<1

Violence and exploitation are inherent in the purchase of sex

The act of purchasing sex is fundamentally violent and exploitative, this is because of the inherent power imbalance between those with means to buy sex and those who sell it. Witnesses to this inquiry emphasised the power imbalance between those who pay for sex, and the individuals who have sex for money (paid to them or a third party). Ruth Breslin, Researcher at Sexual Exploitation Research Programme (SERP) at University College Dublin explained this to the APPG: “Huge power imbalance exists between the buyer of sex and the seller of sex... what's happening in this dynamic is that a man is using his free disposable income and has that income in which to do that to purchase and, as I said, this is, these are men who tend to be middle class, tend to be well educated etc., using his disposable income to purchase sexual access to the bodies of women who do not enjoy, do not have the same financial power and do not enjoy the same power and status in society. So, this is not a situation of an exchange between equals, that is almost never the case in all the research we've done on prostitution, we do not see this as an exchange of equals. The exploitive element comes in because there is this power imbalance.”

The APPG on Commercial Sexual Exploitation’s Bust the Business Model report concluded that prostitution must be understood as a form of sexual exploitation, as meaningful consent cannot be present in transactional sex: “Healthy, non-abusive sexual relationships require both parties to mutually and freely want to have sex. Offering someone money - or accommodation, or other goods and services – in return for them performing sex acts is a form of sexual coercion.”[13]

Another report, by the Cross-Party Group on Commercial Sexual Exploitation in the Scottish Parliament, found that “Sexual exploitation itself can never be made ‘safe’. Extensive evidence shows that having repeated unwanted sex in exchange for money... can have deeply harmful, wide-ranging, and long-lasting psychological and physical consequences...”[14] Moreover, a study conducted by the Sexual Exploitation Research Programme in 2021 found that “...women are experiencing multiple sexual, reproductive and mental health harms arising from their involvement in prostitution, which are linked to buyers’ demands for risky practices and the frequency with which multiple buyers have sexual access to their bodies.”[15]

This inquiry found evidence that there is widespread violence in both indoor and street prostitution.[16] In Canada and the UK, 62 to 65% of

killings of women in prostitution are committed by sex buyers.[17] In 2018, the Home Office estimated that the median length of time a trafficking victim is held in sexual exploitation is nine months (274 days), with individual victims experiencing a median of 795 counts of rape and other forms of sexual assault during that period.[18] Moreover, in the UK, at least 137 women involved in the sex trade were murdered between 1990 and 2009, and women in street prostitution are 12 times more likely to be murdered than the rate of all women in the same age group in the UK.[19]

“SEXUAL ACTS BOUGHT BY SEX BUYERS ARE NEVER FREELY GIVEN. EITHER THEY ARE COERCED BY THE PHYSICAL COERCION OF PIMPS AND TRAFFICKERS. OR THEY ARE CAUSED BY THE SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND COERCIONS THAT PUSHES THE MOST VULNERABLE WOMEN AND GIRLS IN THE PROSTITUTION SYSTEM.”

Jonathan Machler, Executive Director, CAP International

A number of different international studies on sex buyers show that hostile attitudes towards women are prevalent amongst these men. Israeli researchers found that some sex buyers refer to themselves as “hunters” when discussing purchasing sex from women on the street.[20] Another study of sex buyers showed how they dehumanise the women they buy sex from, for example, by calling them “it” and referring to them as public toilets rather than human beings.[21] Sex buyers have higher levels of hostile masculinity in regard to women in prostitution.[22] They are more likely to believe rape myths and engage in violent sex practices.[23] Rape myths are “beliefs that often reference survivors of sexual assault and blame the victim rather than the perpetrator of a rape; these myths are typically gendered beliefs wherein men are the perpetrators and women are the victims.”[24]

Some men who buy sex target women who are seen as vulnerable by society,[25] with 13% of men interviewed as part of a research project in Chicago saying that they specifically seek out women who they think are intoxicated.[26] A detailed study carried out in 2011 shows that men who buy sex see women involved in prostitution as different to other women.[27]

This inquiry heard from multiple witnesses that sex buyers sometimes target women who they perceive as being particularly vulnerable, including those selling sex on the street. Dr Neil Radford, formerly the police sergeant in charge of a multi-agency project run and funded jointly by Nottinghamshire Police and Nottingham City Council tasked with addressing all issues relating to on-street prostitution, off-street prostitution, recounted, “During my time with the prostitution task force, we caught an England cricketer and a professional footballer accessing the lowest end of prostitution, if you like, on street...looking for that thrill of the seediness... They could afford anything they wanted. But they went for the low end.”

“PROSTITUTION WAS UNDERSTOOD BY ONE MAN AS “RENTING AN ORGAN FOR TEN MINUTES”

Sex buyer, quoted in [28]

“IT DOESN’T MAKE ME FEEL GOOD, HAVING SEX AND HAVING PAID FOR IT, IT SEEMS LIKE YOU ARE A PIMP.”

Sex buyer, quoted in [29]

Studies show that men who buy sex are motivated by a range of factors including the desire to exert control and power over women, to act out ‘dirty whore fantasies’ and to try out new sex acts.[30] Research on men’s motivations when buying sex found that “men who are motivated to purchase sex according to this fantasy subscribe to the patriarchal notion that all women can be seen through the dualistic lens of the Madonna-whore complex, whereby women are seen as either being pure, respected members of society that are sexually unavailable (i.e., Madonnas) or depraved, sinful, and sexually promiscuous (i.e., whores).”[31] One sex buyer described the advantage of purchasing sex as “I don’t have to ask or think “No, is that too dirty for her?” or- like I don’t really have to be as a respectful as if it was my girlfriend or my wife or partner.”[32]

“LOOK, MEN PAY FOR WOMEN BECAUSE HE CAN HAVE WHATEVER AND WHOEVER HE WANTS. LOTS OF MEN GO TO PROSTITUTES SO THEY CAN DO THINGS TO THEM THAT REAL WOMEN WOULD NOT PUT UP WITH.”

Sex buyer, quoted in [33]

As well as viewing women in prostitution as different to women not involved in the sex trade, some sex buyers also demonstrate a belief in racial stereotypes and discriminatory perceptions of ethnic minority women. Some buyers actively seek to buy sex from women in order to have stereotyped 'raced sexual experiences'. [34] One man interviewed in London said, "You can do a lot more with the Oriental girls like blow job without a condom, and you can cum in their mouths.... I view them as dirty." [35] Jonathan Machler, Executive Director of CAP International told the inquiry, "The prostitution system is...a system that preys on the most marginal. In Europe, if it's not a migrant woman who is in prostitution, you will find a woman from the Roma community, from the lower class, from the lower caste in other countries."

Unsafe sexual practices are seen as normal and expected parts of the sex buying experience with women who sell sex often having their boundaries pushed. Women's objections to certain sex acts are described by sex buyers as a form of bad customer service in online reviews. [36] Online forums in which sex buyers review and rate the women they exploit are "a unique venue for the study of the attitudes held by sex buyers." [37] They are spaces where these men bond over their use of women in the sex trade, perform masculinity, and "reflect on the ineffectiveness of current law enforcement activities in deterring them." [38]

Knowledge of sex trafficking and coercion does not deter demand

Interviews with sex buyers show that they are aware of the risks of prostitution and the realities for the women involved. Several East London sex buyers interviewed by researchers demonstrated understanding and awareness of the circumstances leading women into the sex trade, mentioning factors such as poverty, coercion and limited life chances. [39]

Another study shows that sex buyers know of child sexual exploitation and that many women started being sexually exploited under the age of 18, but underestimate how prevalent this is. [40] Almost half (48%) of sex buyers in London said that they believed that most women involved in prostitution are the victims of coercion by pimps. The same study showed that 50% of sex buyers interviewed had knowingly bought sex from a woman they knew was controlled by a pimp. [41]

55% of sex buyers in London, interviewed in another study, believed that the majority of women in the sex trade were lured, tricked or trafficked into selling sex. However, only 5 out of the 103 men interviewed reported their concerns to the police.[42] In a series of studies discussed in the book *Prostitution and Human Trafficking: Focus on Clients*, researchers found that men who buy sex have witnessed and acknowledged exploitation, coercion, and trafficking but this does not affect their decision to buy women for sexual use. One of the men interviewed said, "If I could differentiate between forced and voluntary, it would probably not influence my choice. Because if I like the girl, I would ask her to join me in the room".[43]

Analysing sex buyer reviews online allows us to contextualise how sex buyers are aware of coercion and trafficking in the sex trade. Ruth Breslin of SERP who has carried out this kind of research highlighted to this inquiry that sex buyers are able to pinpoint concerning behaviour from the women they pay for sex but that they do not care enough to stop the transaction and alert the authorities:

"They'll talk a lot about things like 'the woman couldn't speak any English', even though when he first phoned her, she had perfect English. And that's because, you know, he spoke to essentially a receptionist, somebody who was fronting the situation. But when he turned up, the woman couldn't communicate with him hardly at all and is using Google Translate on her phone to kind of sort out what they're going to do together.

"They give out and complain about women not being the same as the woman that they saw advertised in the picture online. And again, that's because one advertising profile is fronting, you know, host of women behind that. So, these are all indicators of evidence of control. They talk about women being too busy, having a line of buyers outside. And they talk about women not knowing where they are, so they phone her for directions and she's no idea where she is in the country. And, I suppose the other thing that buyers say consistently is such a common theme in their reviews is describing women who are, they often use the term 'mechanical'.

"So, describing women who are mechanical, who are robotic, who are clearly out of it, who wouldn't make eye contact, who wouldn't kiss me, wouldn't let me touch her hair, was really off with me, didn't seem to be enjoying herself. They talk about that all the time. But they're talking about it as a complaint. [What is] very clear is that the buyers are indiscriminate, they do not care about the women's circumstances. They are there in order to, you know, obtain their own kind of sexual pleasure, to fulfil their own sexual desires. They are literally not interested in the woman's circumstances."

Dr Neil Radford, a former police officer with decades of experience of working on prostitution shared similar stories with the APPG on Commercial Sexual Exploitation during this inquiry:

“OVER THE YEARS I’VE PROBABLY HAD ABOUT A DOZEN MEN THAT HAVE COME TO THE POLICE STATION TO SAY I’M CONCERNED THAT THIS WOMAN AT THIS ADDRESS HAS BEEN TRAFFICKED OR EXPLOITED AND EVERY SINGLE ONE WITHOUT EXCEPTION, HAD ONLY COME TO ME AFTER THEY’VE PAID FOR SEX AND HAD A SEXUAL ACT WITH THE WOMAN. THEN THEY KIND OF, THEIR CONSCIENCE PRICKED OR WHATEVER. AND NONE OF NOT ONE OF THEM TURNED AWAY AT THE DOOR AND SAID NO, I’M NOT HAPPY THIS. I’M GONNA TELL THE POLICE. THEY ALL HAD SEX FIRST.”

Dr Neil Radford, former Police Sergeant

The demand for the sex trade fuels trafficking in the UK and internationally

As already discussed, violence and exploitation are inherent in the exchange of sex acts for money, services, employment, accommodation or other goods. The sex trade would not exist if it was not for the demand from sex buyers. This is something that has long been recognised internationally.

It is recognised in international law, including in protocols that the UK has formally ratified such as the Palermo Protocol and the Convention against Trafficking in the Council of Europe, that demand for the sex trade fuels exploitation through trafficking and prostitution. Article 9 of the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women

“YOU HAVE A SITUATION RIGHT NOW WHERE YOU HAVE UNFETTERED DEMAND AND THAT IS SOMETHING THAT IS VERY MUCH DRIVING A TRADE, A LUCRATIVE TRADE IN HUMAN EXPLOITATION AND MISERY.”

Ruth Breslin, Researcher, SERP

and Children calls for the development of research, media campaigns and social and economic initiatives to prevent and combat trafficking in persons. In relation to demand, it states that: “States Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking.”[44]

“IT IS THE PURCHASE OF SEX THAT ENCOURAGES PIMPS TO PROFIT OFF THE SALE, AND IT IS THE DESIRE FOR MORE PROFITS, MORE GAINS THAT INSPIRE TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS TO TAKE PLACE... AND IT IS BECAUSE OF THE BUSINESS NATURE OF TRAFFICKING AND THE FINANCIAL MOTIVATION THAT DISCOURAGING DEMAND HAS BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT FOR EVERY STATE, INCLUDING THE UK, WHO HAS RATIFIED THE PALERMO PROTOCOL AND THE CONVENTION AGAINST TRAFFICKING IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.”

Anne-Lise Robin, Programme Officer, Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, OSCE

A recent country visit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Valiant Richey, to the UK found that: “With regard to prevention, the UK does not appear to be taking substantive steps to tackle the demand that fosters trafficking for sexual exploitation, despite the international legal obligation to do so. Enforcing existing legal provisions that target the buyers of sexual services from trafficking victims is crucial to tackle and discourage the growing demand fostering sexual exploitation.”[45]

Previous research supports this. An international study by the Immigrant Council of Ireland on how to reduce demand for sex trafficking noted “simply allowing the prostitution industry to grow, increases the flow of trafficked people to that jurisdiction; conversely, addressing demand and reducing the size of the market for prostitution-related activities is an effective anti-trafficking measure”. [46]

This APPG’s Bust the Business Model report found that “countries with legalised prostitution regimes experience significantly greater levels of trafficking. Reducing overall demand from sex buyers, and thereby reducing the size of the market, is crucial to reducing the scale of trafficking for sexual exploitation.” [47]

The Home Affairs Committee’s 2023 inquiry into human trafficking found that “action to discourage the demand that leads to trafficking for sexual exploitation in England and Wales has been particularly inadequate”, with both the government’s Modern Slavery Strategy and the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner Strategic Plan for 2019-2021 found to not adequately address sexual exploitation. [48]

The Home Affairs Committee concluded that the government “should conduct a comprehensive review of all legislative, policy and educational initiatives that are underway to reduce demand for sexual exploitation and report on this by June 2024.” It stipulated that the review should compare the UK’s approach with other European countries’ and consider whether legislation criminalising all acts of paying for or attempting to pay for sex and decriminalising victims of exploitation by removing penalties for soliciting should be implemented. [49] Furthermore, the committee called on the government to produce an updated Modern Slavery Strategy which sets out how the demand for sexual exploitation created by individuals who pay for sex will be combatted.[50]

3. The key facilitators of demand for sexual exploitation

1. **The legality of paying for sex**
2. **Pimping websites facilitate the vast majority of the UK's sex trade**
3. **Current legislation allows pimping websites to act with impunity**
4. **Pornography fuels demand for the sex trade**

The legality of paying for sex

This inquiry has found evidence that the very fact that paying for sex is legal across most of the UK fuels demand for prostitution and sex trafficking.

Several studies have found that a significant factor in the level of demand, and the size of sex trades overall, is the legality of paying for sex and activities relating to it. A study by the University of Leicester published in 2018 asked over 1200 sex buyers the following question: 'Would you change your behaviour if a law was introduced that made it a crime to pay for sex?' Over half of the respondents said they would 'definitely', 'probably' or 'possibly' change their behaviour. [51] Research on men who pay for sex by the Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit at London Metropolitan University reported: "legality contributes to normalisation, which in turn increases the likelihood of paying for sex".[52] Stop Traffick!, an international study, found that sex buyers identified deterrents such as imprisonment, publicity in the local media or online and letters of disclosure sent to their family as effective in reducing demand for sex trafficking. The researchers found that "visibility and availability has a strong influence on the decision to purchase sex for the first time." [53]

The government must use all tools and mechanisms, including the implementation of new legislation, to deter the demand for commercial sexual exploitation that fuels sex trafficking and prostitution.

Pimping websites facilitate the vast majority of the UK's sex trade

“THE INTERNET IS AN ABSOLUTE GIFT FOR THE SEX TRADE BECAUSE IT VASTLY EXPANDS THE POTENTIAL BUSINESS WITH VERY LITTLE EXPENSE...IT'S ESSENTIALLY CONNECTING PIMPS AND TRAFFICKERS AND ORGANISERS WITH AN UNENDING NUMBER OF POTENTIAL BUYERS ONLINE”

Ruth Breslin, Researcher, SERP

A report from the Cross-Party Group on Commercial Sexual Exploitation in the Scottish Parliament found that sexual exploitation advertising websites were a major enabler of sex trafficking and sexual exploitation.[54] These websites are dedicated either partially or completely to the advertising of individuals for sexual exploitation.[55] They are also sometimes referred to as pimping websites, 'prostitution procurement websites', 'escort advertising platforms and 'Adult Services Websites'. [56] They enable exploitation by centralising the demand in one place, making it easier and more profitable for traffickers and other exploiters to connect sex buyers with those they exploit.

“75% OF THE VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING FOR THE PURPOSE OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION ARE ADVERTISED ONLINE.”

Anne-Lise Robin, Programme Officer, Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, OSCE

Before the widespread use of the internet and the creation of these websites, sex buyers means of contacting women to buy sex was via more visible methods such as cards in photo booths, soliciting women in the streets, kerb crawling, visible brothels or contacting people via adverts in local newspapers.[57] Pimping websites allow sex buyers to find people to exploit much more easily and more covertly by allowing them to search hundreds of adverts, stipulate the location of women, filter by race, age and other characteristics, all at the click of a button and from their homes, workplaces or cars.

Pimping websites also reduce the risk for pimps and traffickers who advertise women on these websites, allowing them protection and anonymity.



Ruth Breslin told this inquiry how these websites benefit exploiters, "if you're controlling women on the street, you often have to be physically present somewhere in the background, watching what they're doing. The woman is standing on the street and she's relying on whatever guy comes along, walks up or drives by. It's a small number of men that tend... to target women in street prostitution. Whereas if you're a pimp or trafficker, organising your business online, you can, you know, advertise an infinite number of women or as many as you have under your control on this one website ...so you're reaching so many buyers while at the same time you're entirely hidden in the background, the Internet provides you with the cloak. All of the women on the on the website we deal with are advertised as independent escorts, even though so many of them are not. And we have tonnes of evidence of pimped and trafficked women being advertised on

this website, but they're all advertised, of course. That's the veneer of, you know, they're independent escorts. And of course, the organisers, you know, very cheaply, very easily, are setting up these profiles for women, advertising them. And then, as I say, kind of cloak of protection for them in that online space so that they don't have to come forward and appear to be the pimps and traffickers that they are."

This lowering of risk for criminals has been recognised by the OSCE as an issue arising from pimping websites. OSCE and Tech Against Trafficking found that "online platforms allow any trafficker, whether part of a large criminal organization or unaffiliated individual, to advertise their victims on the Internet. ...traffickers are in a position to reduce their operations on the streets and move them entirely into a virtual space. This way, traffickers do not have to worry about their victims being spotted by law enforcement or anti-trafficking NGOs. This is a significant de-risking of the crime as it serves to create an additional barrier to law enforcement in victim and trafficker identification." [58]

Detective Superintendent Filippo Capaldi, then Head of Police Scotland's National Human Trafficking Unit, told the Cross-Party Group on Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Scotland: "Adult Services Websites are one of the main facilitators of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation in Scotland and the rest of the UK, and we come across them quite commonly when we are dealing with trafficking inquiries, particularly involving foreign nationals." [59]

There is no realistic or reliable way for the operators of these websites to prevent exploitation occurring on their platforms. While there may sometimes be very clear signs that an individual is being exploited, such as being one of many profiles with the same telephone number, a lack of these signs is not confirmation that the person is not being forced or coerced in some way. [60]

Current legislation allows pimping websites to act with impunity

While current legislation means that it is illegal to place a prostitution advert on or in the immediate vicinity of a public telephone, it is not illegal for commercial websites to knowingly host and profit from prostitution adverts. [61]

A recent Home Affairs Committee inquiry into human trafficking was concerned by "insufficient action from the Home Office and law enforcement to address the high level of trafficking that occurs on these platforms." [62]

The Home Affairs Committee inquiry also noted how an absence of regulation of these websites had led to the National Crime Agency (NCA) and National Police Chief's Council to work closely with them in order to encourage them to 'minimise the likelihood of illegal or high harm activity', despite recognising that they can "be an enabler of exploitation".[63] However, despite this high level of engagement, including the NCA and Home Office meeting with these website operators fifteen times over the period of five years, the operators still allow practices which indicate trafficking. These include the same telephone number being used as the contact number for multiple profiles, and an individual controlling multiple profiles at the same time.[64]

The OSCE Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, after his country visit to the UK, found that the UK is taking a collaborative, voluntary approach to encourage pimping websites to identify or curb exploitation. He strongly urged the government to change approach as current policy "has consistently proved ineffective across the OSCE region." [65] He explained that, "the business model of such websites is based on making money off the sex industry, which is notoriously high risk and permeated by exploitation. Time and again, the website operators have shown no interest in meaningful prevention or protection and, in some cases, actively contribute to exploitation.

Anne-Lise Robin from the OSCE's Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings told this inquiry that "There is trafficking happening on these platforms and no, nothing is being done to address it". Other countries, such as France and the United States have implemented effective legislation and offer examples to the UK government of how to combat the harm caused by these websites.

The Home Affairs Committee concluded their inquiry into human trafficking by recommending that new legislation is introduced which criminalises "any individual or company from enabling and/or profiting from the prostitution of another person, including facilitation that takes place via online, digital services, websites and the internet." [66]

Pornography fuels demand for the sex trade

Frequent use of pornography has been associated with sex buying by academics carrying out studies in the USA, Sweden and Scotland.[67] The Scottish survey found that the most frequent users of pornography were also the most frequent buyers of sex from women in prostitution.[68]

This inquiry found evidence that pornography is shaping men's sexual desires and that some young people are accessing pornography to learn about sex and relationships.[69] However, as Dr Neil Radford explained to this inquiry, sex depicted in pornography is almost always extreme in its nature, "One of the men I was interviewing, he was talking about accessing pornography and webcams. I asked him, is the pornography you access hardcore or anything else, and he basically said it's all hardcore now, that's all you get, there is no kind of pornography that promotes healthy sexual relationships. It's all violent physical strangulation, whatever it might be."

Widespread access to extreme pornographic images and videos, coupled with viewing women in prostitution as 'other' which as discussed earlier is common amongst sex buyers, mean that they sometimes seek to buy access to women on whom to act out their sexual fantasies.

One sex buyer interviewed as part of a study in London said, "The more I've watched pornography, the more specific my wants have become. Watching pornography has shaped my sexual desires. I watch pornography and I discover "hey, that really turns me on' and I want to recreate what I've seen in porn." [70]

This inquiry heard evidence that OnlyFans is having a particularly worrying effect on young boys' and girls' expectations of sexual relationships. Ruth Breslin told the inquiry about how the website acts to draw both new sex buyers and vulnerable women to the sex trade. "It's marketing genius on behalf of the sex trade...OnlyFans is a fantastic new way to draw in essentially new sex buyers because you know, we are talking about an exchange of sexual content for money here. So, grooming I think new young sex buyers but also drawing in lots and lots of again, once again, vulnerable young women into the sex trade, and it's really, really lowered the bar. So, there's a lot of women, I think, including vulnerable women that would not think to themselves 'it's a good idea for me, go to go down to the local street corner in my town and sell sex.' Lots of women balk at that but some women within that will say, but it's very easy for me to set up an OnlyFans account and to start just, you know, selling nude pictures of myself and what those young women don't realise is that for some of them. This is a slippery slope into much deeper into the sex trade, much deeper and potentially into in person prostitution."

4. The UK's legal and international obligations

1. The UK is failing to meet its legal obligations to tackle the demand for sex trafficking and prostitution

The UK is failing to meet its legal obligations to tackle the demand for sex trafficking and prostitution

The UK has multiple legal obligations to deter the demand that fuels the sex trade. These are highlighted here.[71]

United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children ('Palermo Protocol')

Article 9.5 of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children stipulates: "States Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking." [72]

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

Article 6 of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) stipulates: "States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women." [73]

CEDAW's General recommendation No. 38 (2020) on trafficking in women and girls in the context of global migration states: "Sexual exploitation persists due to the failure of States parties to effectively discourage the demand that fosters exploitation and leads to trafficking. Persistent norms and stereotypes regarding male domination and the need to assert male control or power, enforce patriarchal gender roles and male sexual entitlement, coercion and control, which drive the demand for the sexual exploitation of women and girls." [74]

Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings

Article 6 of the 2005 Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings requires of member states: “To discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking, each Party shall adopt or strengthen legislative, administrative, educational, social, cultural or other measures”. [75]

As Anne-Lise Robin of the OSCE’s Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings told this inquiry: “The legal obligation at the international level, regional level to discourage demand is very robust.” She went on to explain that the language used in the above international agreements is key to understanding the need for the government to act to deter demand for commercial sexual exploitation: “[The] instruments also give us an answer of what is demand. The Palermo protocol that was adopted in 2000 provides a clear framing for addressing demand in Article 9 section 5, that says that all state parties are required to discourage the demand that fosters exploitation that leads to trafficking.” Highlighting the importance of the use of “foster”, she explained that “language is extremely important... ‘Foster’ - that means to encourage the development of and that's what the legal framework is for and it's critical to understanding that this is actually an expansive understanding, an expansive definition of demand. It's not only the demand for trafficking, it's not only the demand for exploitation, but it has to be understood in relation to each other. It's not necessary for the demand itself to lead to trafficking, it's the demand that fosters exploitation that leads to trafficking. Because if we only focus on the demand for trafficking, which is not what the Palermo protocol says, it would mean that someone is actually specifically demanding or desiring a victim of trafficking. But this is not the law, and this is not the reality of the market.”

The government is currently failing to meet its legal obligations. The UK’s international legal obligations require it to go beyond its current legislation by introducing measures aimed at deterring the demand which fosters trafficking. This means the government must adopt legislation to discourage sex trafficking and prostitution and implement policies to tackle men’s demand for paid sex.

As well as criminalising paying for sex and holding individuals and companies who profit and/or enable the prostitution of others to account, this inquiry heard evidence about the need to repeal legislation which criminalises those exploited through the sex trade.

Dr Neil Radford, former Police Sergeant in Nottinghamshire, told us how the Street Offences Act 1959 which penalises women loitering or soliciting on the street should be repealed and that those with convictions under this legislation should have them repealed in order to support their recovery from prostitution and sex trafficking. He said, "I honestly cannot understand why that wasn't repealed years ago, but also I think not only we should be repealing it, we should be expunging all previous convictions for women who have those convictions, because that's a barrier to moving forward."

"IT'S NOT UNDERSTANDABLE THAT IN THE 21ST CENTURY THAT WOMAN SHOULD BE CRIMINALISED FOR BEING VICTIMS OF A OF A SEXIST OPPRESSION."

Jonathan Machler, Exectuive Director, CAP International

The OSCE Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Valiant Richey, found that "the UK has not taken sufficient action to discourage the demand that fosters sexual exploitation in line with its international legal obligations." [76] He witnessed resistance among criminal justice practitioners to implementing Section 53A of the Sexual Offences Act or to "actively seek other methods to discourage demand despite the strategic value of such approaches as well as the country's international legal obligation to do so." [77] Reasons for inaction Richey heard from enforcement agencies included that they were "too busy or had too many obligations related to trafficking cases to pursue offenses under 53A, which is a low-level offense." [78]

5. Legal frameworks to tackle demand for commercial sexual exploitation

1. **The UK must learn from international experiences**
2. **Local police forces and local authorities must be given the resources and direction they need to deter demand and protect victims**

The UK must learn from international experiences

Commercial sexual exploitation is not inevitable. Other states have taken steps to implement legislation which meets international obligations by deterring demand which fosters prostitution and sex trafficking. The government can learn from these international experiences in order to pass legislation which is grounded in the realities of how the sex trade works, and the role that demand has in fuelling commercial sexual exploitation.

Sweden was the first country in the world to adopt a legal framework that recognised prostitution as a form of violence against women. In 1999, the country criminalised paying for sex while decriminalising selling sex. This ensured that victims of sexual exploitation would not be punished for their own abuse. Pimping and other forms of third-party facilitation of prostitution are also illegal. The results of this approach provide over two decades of evidence relating to the development, adoption, and implementation of a national model to combat commercial sexual exploitation.[79]

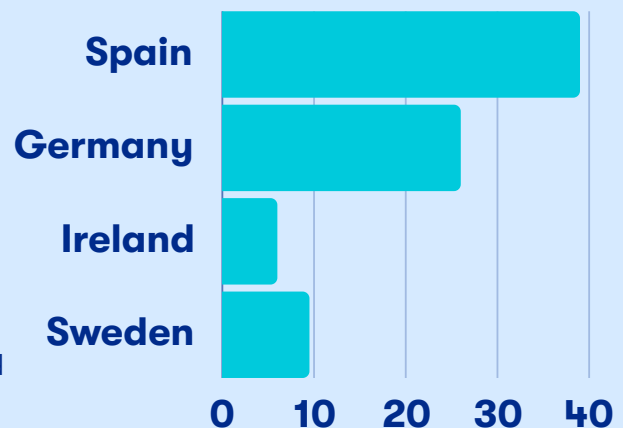
It is not only Sweden that provides a valuable evidence base. A growing number of countries have followed Sweden's lead by adopting legal frameworks to reduce demand for sexual exploitation, deter sex traffickers and provide support to victims. These include France, Norway, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Israel and Iceland.[80]

Ruth Breslin, Researcher at SERP which is based in Ireland told this inquiry that the Irish law is a "normative law, a declarative law, and a law that deters." In Ireland they found that "buyers are deterred essentially by being found out. They are deterred by being criminalised because what comes with criminalisation is then getting a letter summoning them to court, is their partner or their wife finding out that they've been buying it, their employer finding out, it's their name in the local newspaper... Those things deter buyers, that's what they're worried about."

Data shows how Sweden and Ireland have worked to effectively deter the demand that fuels prostitution and sex trafficking.

Percentage of men who have paid for sex, by country.

This graph shows how countries, such as Spain and Germany, that do not have laws that deter demand, have higher rates of sex buying than countries that criminalise the purchase of sex, such as Sweden and Ireland. [81] [82] [83] [84]



Laws which criminalise the purchase of sex and decriminalise selling sex are also conducive to building more positive relationships between the police and women in the sex trade. Ruth Breslin told this inquiry how the police in Ireland shifted the burden of criminality away from women who sell sex and onto the men who buy it. She described it as a “cultural shift in their mindset. Whereas previously the police saw women in the sex trade as criminals, they now pursue men who buy sex as those breaking the law. This allows the police to address the women they come across as victims and provide them with the support they require.” There have been similar experiences in France since decriminalising the selling of sex as Jonathan Machler, Executive Director at CAP International told the inquiry, “In France, since the women have been decriminalised, they are not afraid anymore to go to the police to seek for justice and protection... in the 10 years before the adoption of the law, we had an average of 2500 women arrested per year by the police. Since 2016 this number is 0.”

Local police forces and local authorities must be given the resources and direction they need to deter demand and protect victims

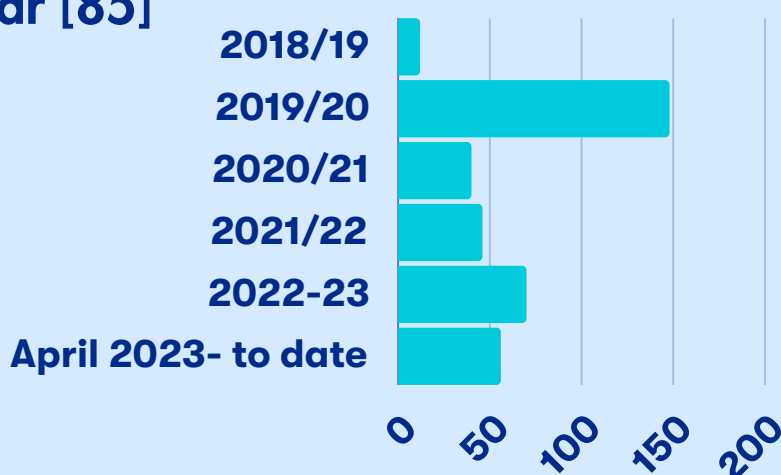
Without clear direction from central government through comprehensive legislation, local authorities and police forces across the country deal with prostitution and sex trafficking in varying ways.

“ARRESTING AND FINDING WOMEN INVOLVED WAS JUST GOING TO FORCE THEM TO WORK LONGER HOURS TO PAY OFF THE MONEY OF THE FINES. SO, WHAT'S THE POINT?”

John Richards, Head of Community Safety, London Borough of Redbridge

This inquiry heard from John Richards, Head of Community Safety at the London Borough of Redbridge, about the council’s innovative use of Public Space Protection Orders (PSPOs) to prohibit the purchase of sex on the street within its borders. The area first noticed a rise in the number of women involved in street prostitution during the 2012 London Olympic games. Following widespread public outcry and an in-depth review into prostitution policy by local councillors, the local authority adopted the PSPO. This order allows a council enforcement officer or police officer to issue anyone they witness purchasing or attempting to purchase sex outdoors with a £100 on-the-spot fine. This has led to a collapse in the demand for sex and the almost-elimination of the on-street sex trade in the borough. This example provides the national government with evidence from England and Wales on how deterring demand can prevent prostitution and sex trafficking from occurring.

Number of men receiving PSPO fines in Redbridge by year [85]



Similar results were seen in Suffolk following the implementation of a new prostitution strategy there.[86] After five women were murdered in Ipswich by a sex buyer in 2006, Suffolk adopted a new strategy for dealing with the prostitution trade. This new strategy constituted an approach to prostitution which deterred demand, with the aim of ending the street prostitution trade. It was implemented by a Joint Agency Strategy Group, whose membership included Suffolk Primary Care Trust, Suffolk Constabulary, Suffolk County Council and a range of other local agencies. An evaluation of the strategy’s first five years carried out by the University of East Anglia found “clear and sustained success” in eliminating kerb-crawling and supporting women to exit prostitution. The review also analysed the economic impact of the multi-agency prostitution strategy.[87] Accounting for the costs associated with supporting women to exit the prostitution trade, the analysis concluded that for every £1 spent within the Suffolk prostitution strategy, there were £2 savings for the public purse.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

Only a small minority of men buy sex in the UK. However, this small minority fuels the exploitation of thousands of women through prostitution and sex trafficking. Purchasing sex is inherently violent. The government must meet its international legal obligations to deter the demand for the sex trade by criminalising the purchasing of sex. It must also protect victims by repealing legislation which criminalises them and expunging previous convictions. Commercial sexual exploitation is not inevitable, it is a form of violence against women and girls and must be ended.

Recommendations for government

- 1 Adopt legislation to criminalise the purchase of sex acts.**
- 2 Recognise prostitution as a form of violence against women and girls in policy.**
- 3 Repeal Section 1 of the Street Offences Act 1959 and expunge previous convictions for soliciting.**
- 4 Fund local authorities to commission specialist holistic support and exiting services for people in prostitution and sex trafficking.**
- 5 Implement effective legislation to prevent pimping websites from facilitating and profiting from sexual exploitation, by criminalising individuals and companies who enable and/ or profit from the prostitution of another person.**
- 6 Include the harms of pornography and prostitution in schools' Relationships and Sex Education curriculum.**
- 7 Design and implement a widespread advertising campaign to inform the public about the harms caused by prostitution and sex-trafficking and to deter the buying of sex.**

Appendix 1: Witnesses

The following witnesses gave evidence to the APPG on Commercial Sexual Exploitation's inquiry.

Wednesday 15 November 2023

1. Ruth Robb, CEO and co-Founder, Azalea
2. Dr Neil Radford, former Police Sergeant
3. Ruth Breslin, Researcher, Sexual Exploitation Research Project, University College Dublin

Wednesday 29 November 2023

1. John Richards, Head of Community Safety, London Borough of Redbridge
2. Anne-Lise Robin, Programme Officer, Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings
3. Jonathan Machler, Executive Director, CAP International

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