

CONFRONTING DISASTROUS PUBLIC POLICY NORMALIZING SEX BUYERS, PIMPS, AND BROTHEL KEEPERS

Prostitution is the exchange of sex acts for money or other things of value such as food or shelter. Those advocating for full decriminalization present prostitution as a job like any other, but that's deceptive. Systems of prostitution thrive on gender inequality, deeply rooted social injustices, as well as force, fraud, and coercion. Full decriminalization eliminates legal restrictions on **pimping**, **sex buying**, **and brothel keeping**, **not just the act of selling sexual access**. Here are ten reasons why this is disastrous public policy.

- 1. Systems of prostitution exploit vulnerability. Many people in systems of prostitution suffer from vulnerabilities and marginalization. Common adverse experiences that are pathways to prostitution include childhood sexual abuse, homelessness, and poverty. Other factors associated with prostitution involvement include a history of foster care, hot having a high school degree, being a racial minority, an immigrant an indigenous minority, or LGBT person, as well as "entry" into prostitution as a child (i.e., sex trafficking). Systems of prostitution prey on and exploit these vulnerabilities.
- 2. Full decriminalization of prostitution does not make prostitution safe. Prostitution creates trauma that cannot be regulated or decriminalized away. Prostitution is inherently harmful. Prostitution results in a wide range of devastating physical harms and/or psychological trauma to those sold in it—even when it's legal¹¹ or fully decriminalized,¹² occurs indoors¹³ or outdoors,¹⁴ online¹⁵ or off.¹⁶
- 3. Fully decriminalizing the sex trade creates on ramps to more sexual exploitation; it removes laws targeting sex buyers¹⁷ who are overwhelmingly men.¹⁸ Removing these laws normalizes male demand for paid sex.¹⁹ Thus, men who were deterred from buying sex by possible criminal penalties are no longer inhibited.²⁰ As more men buy sex, more people are pulled into and exploited in prostitution. This approach benefits men who want to buy sexual access to people's bodies, affirms male sexual entitlement, and perpetuates gender-based violence.
- 4. Decriminalizing exploitation diminishes law enforcement's ability to detect and investigate sex trafficking. Victims of sex trafficking rarely make official complaints to the police.²¹ Further, the fully decriminalized sex trade operates with little to no oversight.²² It conceals indicators of fraud, force, and coercion,²³ and diminishes the flow of investigative leads²⁴ which stem from police operations focused on enforcing prostitution laws. Probable cause²⁵ for misdemeanor prostitution enables law enforcement to confirm ages and identities of prostituted persons. For instance, the lack of laws controlling indoor prostitution in Rhode Island (1980-2009) impeded police investigations by preventing them from arresting pimps/sex traffickers and sex buyers, creating a "zone of impunity" for sex traffickers.²⁶ Without this frontline capacity, minors and other sex trafficking victims are not identified because police have "very limited basis to enter and investigate premises operating as a brothel."²⁷

- 5. Normalized Prostitution Increases Sex Trafficking. Brothels, illicit massage parlors, escort agencies, and online platforms are overlapping systems of prostitution and sex trafficking occurs in all of them. Normalization of prostitution expands demand for paid sex. This emboldens sex traffickers who see this as a conducive "business" environment. Crossnational studies have found higher levels of human trafficking in countries with legalized or decriminalized prostitution.²⁸ Research has also found 100% of convicted sex traffickers support full decriminalization of prostitution.²⁹
- **6. Prostitution is not a substitute for social security safety nets.** Some people argue that prostitution is necessary because it provides income for poor and marginalized populations. This view turns prostitution into a faux social security system that *requires* the sexual exploitation of poor and minority individuals—especially women since the vast majority of people in prostitution are women.³⁰ This is regressive, misogynist, and dystopian. Governments should never reduce economically insecure people to a state of sexual servitude because they are poor.
- 7. Street-level prostitution is likely to surge. Street-level prostitution is already escalating in Brooklyn New York³¹ because the District Attorney "wiped" more than 1,000 open cases of prostitution.³² Without also instituting rigorous enforcement of laws regarding pimping and sex buying this has resulted de facto full decriminalization.
- 8. Nonenforcement of prostitution laws harms disadvantaged communities. The harm of prostitution rarely stops at the individual level; it also inflicts harms on communities, residents, families, and businesses.³³ Neighborhoods littered with condoms and drug paraphernalia,³⁴ neighborhood residents—women and children—being solicited for prostitution by roving sex buyers,³⁵ and adverse impacts to businesses³⁶ are typical. Poor and minority communities typically bear the brunt of such impacts.³⁷
- **9. Sex buyers can be deterred.** Evidence points to the effectiveness of demand reduction tactics to combat prostitution. For example, studies in Jersey City, New Jersey, and San Francisco, California, and Bolton, UK, found that arresting and educating men for soliciting produced 40-75% reductions in prostitution.³⁸ An evaluation of an education program in San Francisco showed a reduction in re-arrests by over 40%, was simple, and implemented at no cost to taxpayers.³⁹ The fees paid by the offenders fully covered the cost of the program and generated over \$3 million in additional revenue that was used, in part, to support programs for survivors of prostitution and sex trafficking.⁴⁰ An evaluation of a similar "johns school" program in England found similar benefits.⁴¹ While many men have purchased sex, most have not.⁴² Buying sex is not inevitable.
- **10. Full decriminalization of prostitution is not just.** The lived experiences of people in the sex trade⁴³ around the world reveal the abuses, harms, and chronic traumatization intrinsic to prostitution. Not only is this impossible to ignore, but it demands a just response. Just responses to these harms will:
 - A) decriminalize those sold in systems of prostitution,
 - **B)** create and enforce punishments that hold accountable those who facilitate or engage in the purchase of persons for sex, and
 - C) provide supportive services for those seeking exit from prostitution.

- ¹ Bridget Diamond-Welch and Anna E. Kosloski, "Adverse Childhood Experiences and Propensity to Participate in the Commercialized Sex Market," *Child Abuse & Neglect* 104 (2020): doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104468; Christine Kaestle, "Selling and Buying Sex: A Longitudinal Study of Risk and Protective Factors in Adolescence," *Prevention Science* 13 (2012): 314-322, doi:10.1007/s11121-011-0268-8; Kym R. Ahrens et al., "Association between Childhood Sexual Abuse and Transactional Sex in Youth Aging out of Foster Care," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 36, no. 1 (2012): 75–80; doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2011.07.009.
- ² Courtney Cronley et al., "Entering Prostitution in Adolescence: History of Youth Homelessness Predicts Earlier Entry," *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma* 25, no. 9 (2016): 893–908, doi: 10.1080/10926771.1223246; Kaestle, ibid; Eric C. Wilson et al., "Transgender Female Youth and Sex Work: HIV Risk and a Comparison of Life Factors Related to Engagement in Sex Work," *AIDS and Behavior* 13 (2009): 902–913, doi: 10.1007/s10461-008-9508-8.
- ³ Sahnah Lim et al., "Severe Food Insecurity, Gender-based Violence, Homelessness, and HIV Risk among Street-based Female Sex Workers in Baltimore," *AIDS and Behavior* 23 (2019): 3058–3063, doi: 10.1007/s10461-019-02643-0; Cronley, ibid.
- ⁴ Kristin Hickle & Dominique Roe-Sepowitz, "Curiosity and a Pimp': Exploring Sex Trafficking Victimization in Experiences of Entering Sex Trade Industry Work among Participants in a Prostitution Diversion Program" *Women and Criminal Justice* 27, no. 2 (2017): 122–138, doi: 10.1080/08974454.2015.1128376.
- ⁵ Cronley, ibid; Joan R. Reid, "Risk and Resiliency Factors Influencing Onset and Adolescence-limited Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Disadvantaged Girls," *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health* 24 (2014): 332–344), doi.org/10.1002/cbm.1903; Clarke et al., "Age at Entry into Prostitution: Relationship to Drug Use, Race, Suicide, Educational Level, Childhood Abuse, and Family Experiences," *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 22 (2012): 270–289, doi: 10.1080/10911359.2012.65583; Wilson et al., ibid.
- ⁶ Kaestle, ibid; N. Eugene Walls and Stephanie Bell, "Correlates of Engaging in Survival Sex among Homeless Youth and Young Adults," *Journal of Sex Research* 48, no. 5 (2011): 423–436, doi: 10.1080/00224499.2010.501916; Wilson et al, ibid; Lisa A. Kramer and Ellen C. Berg, "A Survival Analysis of Timing of Entry into Prostitution: The Differential Impact of Race, Educational Level, and Childhood/Adolescent Risk Factors," *Sociological Inquiry* 73, no. 4 (2003): 511–28. See also, Cheryl Nelson Butler, "A Critical Race Feminist Perspective on Prostitution and Sex Trafficking in America" *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* (2015): 95–139, https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjlf/vol27/iss1/3 (accessed October 13, 2021).
- ⁷ Licia Brussa, <u>Sex Work in Europe: A Mapping of the Prostitution Scene in 25 European Countries</u>, TAMPEP International Foundation, Netherlands, 2009 (accessed October 6, 2021).
- ⁸ Melissa Farley, Jacqueline Lynne, and Ann J. Cotton, "Prostitution in Vancouver: Violence and the Colonization of First National Women," *Transcultural Psychiatry* (2005): 242–271, doi: 10.1177/1363461505052667; Gillian Abel, Lisa Fitzgerald, and Cheryl Brunton, The Impact of the Prostitution Reform Act on the Health and Safety Practices of Sex Workers. Report to the Prostitution Law Review Committee (November 2007), p. 8, 61, https://www.otago.ac.nz/christchurch/otago018607.pdf (accessed October 12, 2021); Wai 2717, #1.1.1(a) Before the Waitangi Tribunal, In the Matter of The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and in the Matter of The Man Wāhine Kaupapa Inquirty (Wai 2700) and in the matter of a Claim by Bonnie Jade Kake on behalf of Wāhine Māori Concerning the Prostitution Reform Act of 2003 (Wai 2717), Amended Statement of Claim (August 31, 2018). See also, Alexandra (Sandi) Pierce, "Shattered Hearts (Full Report): The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of American Indian Women and Girls in Minnesota," *First Annual Interdisciplinary Conference on Human Trafficking* (2009), digitalcommons.unl.edu/humantraffconf/26; Jake Kake and Fern Eyles, "The Failure of the 'New Zealand Model' According to Māori Women, AF3IRM Hawai'i (February 2, 2021), https://www.otago.ac.nz/christchurch/otago018607.pdf (accessed October 12, 2021); Wai 2717, #1.1.1(a) Before the Waitangi Tribunal, In the Matter of The Man Wāhine Kaupapa Inquirty (Wai 2700) and in the matter of a Claim by Bonnie Jake Kake on behalf of Wāhine Māori Concerning the Prostitution Reform Act of 2003 (Wai 2717), Amended Statement of Claim (August 31, 2018). See also, Alexandra (Sandi) Pierce, "Shattered Hearts (Full Report): The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of American Indian Women and Girls in Min
- ⁸ Walls and Bell, ibid; Wilson et al., ibid; Robert Garofalo et al., "Behavioral Interventions to Prevent HIV Transmission and Acquisition for Transgender Women: A Critical Review," *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome* 72 (2016): S220–S225; Susan Rabinovitz et al., *No Way Home: Understanding the Needs and Experiences of Homeless Youth in Hollywood* (Hollywood: Hollywood Homeless Youth Partnership, 2010), https://www.scribd.com/document/155693348/No-Way-Home (accessed October 12, 2021).
- ⁹ Susan Strega, Leah Shumka, & Helga Kristín Hallgrímsdóttir, "The 'Sociological Equation': Intersections between Street Sex Workers' Agency and Their Theories about Their Customers," *The Journal of Sex Research* (2020), doi: 10.1080/00224499.2020.1830260; Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, ibid; Reid, 2014, ibid; Clarke et al., ibid; Rachel Jewkes, et al., "Sexual IPV and Non-partner Rape of Female Sex Workers: Findings of a Cross-sectional Community-centric National Study in South Africa," *SSM Mental Health* 1, (2021), doi: 10.1016/j.ssmmh.2021.100012;
- ¹⁰ W. Rössler, et al., "The Mental Health of Female Sex Workers," *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica* 122, no. 2 (2010): 143-152, doi: 10.1111/j.1600_0447.2009.01533.x; Elizabeth J. Krumrei-Mancuso, "Sex Work and Mental Health: A Study of Women in the Netherlands," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 46 (2017): 1843–1856; Alexandre Teixeira and Alexandra Oliveira, "Exploratory Study on the Prevalence of Suicidal Behavior, Mental Health, and Social Support in Female Street Sex Workers in Porto, Portugal," *Health Care for Women International* 38, no. 2 (2017): 159-166, doi: 10.1080/07399332.2016.1192172; Manuela Schon and Anna Hoheide, "Murders in the German Sex Trade: 1920 to 2017," *Dignity: A Journal of Sexual Exploitation and Violence* 6, no. 1 (2021): 1-18, doi: 10.23860/dignity.2021.06.01.04; Michael Shively, *Negative Effects of Legalized Prostitution in the U.S. State of Nevada* (Cambridge, MA: Women and Human Rights, December 2015). See also Natalie Jovanovski, and Meagan Tyler, ""Bitch, You Got What You Deserved!": Violation and Violence in Sex Buyer Reviews of Legal Brothels," *Violence Against Women* 24, no 16, (2018): 1887-1908, doi.org: 10.1177/1077801218757375.
- ¹¹ Natalie Thorburn, "Practitioner Knowledge and Responsiveness to Victims of Sex trafficking in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Women's Studies Journal* 31, no. 2 (2017): 77-96, ISSN 1173-6615; New South Wales. Parliament. Legislative Assembly, "Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels," Report 1/56, November (2015), <a href="https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/ladocs/inquiries/1703/Final Report-Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Report 1/56, November (2015), <a href="https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/ladocs/inquiries/1703/Final Report-Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Report 1/56, November (2015), <a href="https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/ladocs/inquiries/1703/Final Report-Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Report 1/56, November (2015), <a href="https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/ladocs/inquiries/1703/Final Report-Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels," Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels, "Select Committee on the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels, "Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels, "Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels," Inquiry into the Regulation of Brothels, "Inquiry
- ¹² W. Rössler, ibid.; Schon and Hoheide, ibid.; Jewkes ibid; Hyunjung Choi et al, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Disorders of Extreme Stress (DESNOS) Symptoms Following Prostitution and Childhood Abuse," *Violence Against Women* 15, no. 8 (2009): 933–951, doi: 10.1177/1077801209335493; Bella Chudakov et al, "The Motivation and Mental Health of Sex Workers," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* (2002): doi: 10.1080/0092623090001439; Young-Eun Jung, "Symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and Mental Health in Women Who Escaped Prostitution and Helping Activists in Shelters," Younsei Medical Journal 49, no. 3 (2008):372–382, doi: 10.3349/ymj.2008.49.3.372.

- ¹³ Jewkes, ibid.; Teixeira and Oliveira, ibid; Ju Nyeong Park, et al., "Cumulative Violence and PTSD Symptom Severity Among Urban Street-Based Female Sex Workers," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* (2019): 1-22, doi: 10.1177/0886260519884694.
- ¹⁴ Susanne Drückler et al., "Substance Use and Sexual Risk Behavior among Male and Transgender Women Sex Workers at the Prostitution Outreach Center in Amsterdam, the Netherlands" Sexually Transmitted Diseases 47. No. 2 (2020): 114–121, doi: 10.1097/OLQ.000000000000001096; Hickle and Roe-Sepowitz, ibid; Elinor May Cruz and Trina Joyce Sajo, "Exploring the Cybersex Phenomenon in the Philippines," The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries 69, no. 1 (2015): 1-21, doi: 10.1002/j.1681-4835.2015.tb00499.x. See also Thula Koops, Arne Dekker, and Peer Briken, "Online Sexual Activity Involving Webcams—An Overview of Existing Literature and Implications for Sexual Boundary Violations of Children and Adolescents," Behavioral Sciences and the Law 36 (2018):182–197, doi: 10.1002/bsl.2333.
- ¹⁵ Lim et al., ibid; Clarke et al, ibid; Drückler, ibid; Hilary L. Surratt et al., "HIV Risk among Female Sex Workers in Miami: The Impact of Violent Victimization and Untreated Mental Illness," *AIDS Care* 24, no. 5 (2012): 553-561, doi:10.1080/09540121.2011.630342; Tara S. Beattie et al., "Mental health problems among female sex workers in low-and middle-income countries: A systematic review and meta-analysis," *PLoS Medicine* 17, no. 9 (2020): e1003297; Jenny Coetzee, et a., "Depression and Post Traumatic Stress amongst Female Sex Workers in Soweto, South Africa: A Cross Sectional, Respondent Driven Sample," *PLOS ONE* 13, no. 7 (2108), doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0196759.
- ¹⁶ Ane Mathieson, Easton Branam, and Anya Noble, "Prostitution Policy: Legalization, Decriminalization and the Nordic Model," Seattle Journal for Social Justice 14, no. 2 (2015): 367-428, https://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/sjsj/vol14/iss2/10; Ministry of Justice, "Prostitution Reform Act of 2003," New Zealand Legislation (June 27, 2003) legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2003/0028/latest/whole.html#DLM197821 (accessed October 6, 2021); Bill McCarthy, Cecilia Benoit, Mikael Jansson and Kat Kolar, "Regulating Sex Work: Heterogeneity in Legal Strategies," Annual Review of Law and Social Science 8, (2012): 255-271, doi: 10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102811-173915.
- ¹⁷ Michael Shively et al., Final Report on the Evaluation of the First Offender Prostitution Program (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc., March 7, 2008), ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/221894.pdf (accessed October 6, 2021); Andreas Kotsadam and Niklas Jokobsson, "Shame on you, John! Laws, Stigmatization, and the Demand for Sex," European Journal of Law and Economics 37 (2014): 393–404, doi: 10.1007/s10657-012-9339-y; Demand Abolition, Who Buys Sex? Understanding and Disrupting Illicit Market Demand (2018), www.demandabolition.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Demand-Buyer-Report-July-2019.pdf (accessed October 6, 2021).
- ¹⁸ Melanie Shapiro and Donna M. Hughes, "Decriminalized Prostitution: Impunity for Violence and Exploitation," Wake Forest Law Review 52, no. 2 (2017): 533-560, works.bepress.com/donna_hughes/94/ (accessed September 29, 2021).
- ¹⁹ Kotsadam and Jokobsson, ibid.; Demand Abolition, ibid.
- ²⁰ Jonas Poelmans et al., "A Concept Discovery Approach for Fighting Human Trafficking and Forced Prostitution," Conference Paper (July 2011), doi: 10.1007/978-3-642-22688-5 15 (accessed October 13, 2021).
- ²¹ Julie Bindel, *The Pimping of Prostitution* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 100–101.
- ²² Thorburn, ibid
- ²³ New South Wales. Parliament, ibid, "As the Deputy Commissioner for Police, Mr Nick Kaldas, told us, under the current NSW system there is more regulatory control devoted to the ownership and registration of a dog than there is to the protection of sex workers. . . . The absence of regulation is particularly surprising when reliable evidence to the Committee has shown that sex workers are often (but by no means always) vulnerable by reason of sex trafficking and workplace exploitation, or have diminished life control because of drug addiction and/or mental health issues. Extreme deregulation is also surprising because large cash industries like prostitution have always been particularly attractive to organised criminal groups who can wash money obtained from illegal activities like drug distribution" p. iv–x;
- U.S. Department of State, ibid. Shapiro and Hughes, ibid.
- ²⁴ Mary Graw Leary, Statement of Mary Graw Leary, Professor of Law, The Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law, Hearing: "Community Safety and Health Amendment Act of 2019," (October 17, 2019), endsexualexploitation.org/wp-content/uploads/LEARY 2019 DC-Council-Testimony-FINAL.pdf (accessed October 13, 2021); Donna M. Hughes, "Analysis of the Arrest of a Pimp and the Identification of a Victim," Citizens Against Trafficking (July 3, 2009), https://works.bepress.com/donna_hughes/57/ (accessed October 12, 2021); Dani Pinter, "Testimony on Behalf of the Coalition to End Sexual Exploitation to the D.C. Council, Judiciary Committee Hearing on the Community Safety and Health Amendment Act of 2019" (October 17, 2019), endsexualexploitation.org/wp-content/uploads/Pinter_DC-Council_Testimony-for-CESE_10-17-19.pdf (accessed October 13, 2021); Shapiro and Hughes, ibid.
- ²⁵ Shapiro and Hughes, ibid.
- ²⁶ New South Wales. Parliament, ibid.
- ²⁷ Niklas Jakobsson and Andreas Kotsadam, "The Law and Economics of International Sex Slavery: Prostitution Laws and Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation," *European Journal of Law and Economics* 35, no. 1 (2013), doi:10.1007/s10657-011-9232-0; Seo-Young Cho, Axel Dreher, and Eric Neumayer, "Does Legalized Prostitution Increase Human Trafficking?," *World Development* 41 (2013), doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.05.023. See also Gergana Danailova-Trainor and Patrick Belser, *Globalization and the Illicit Market for Human Trafficking: An Empirical Analysis of Supply and Demand. Working Paper No. 78*, (Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organization, 2006) which found that countries with more prostitution are more likely to be destinations for victims of sex trafficking.
- ²⁸ Michael Shively, "Support for Prostitution Decriminalization Among Convicted Sex Traffickers," manuscript in progress, embargoed, draft available on request.
- ²⁹ TAMPEP, *TAMPEP National Mapping Reports* (2010), <u>tampep.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/ANNEX-4-National-Reports.pdf</u> (accessed October 5, 2021).
- ³⁰ Larry Celona, Steven Vago, Gabrielle Fonrouge, and Aaron Feis, "NYC Sex Workers Rampant in Open-Air Prostitution Market amid Lax Enforcement," *New York Post*, July 15 (2021), https://nypost.com/2021/07/15/prostitution-runs-rampant-in-brooklyn-amid-declining-enforcement/.
- ³¹ Otilla Steadman, "More than 1,000 Open Prostitution Cases In Brooklyn are Going to be Wiped from the Files," *BuzzFeed.News* (January 28, 2021), buzzfeednews.com/article/otilliasteadman/prostitution-loitering-cases-brooklyn (accessed October 6, 2021).
- ³² Roger Matthews, "Policing Prostitution: Ten Years On," *The British Journal of Criminology* 45, no. 6 (2005), jstor.org/stable/23639285; Jason Green, "San Jose Neighborhood Bands Together to Push Out Prostitution," *East Bay Times* (June 30, 2017), eastbaytimes.com/2017/06/30/san-jose-neighborhood-bands-together-to-push-out-prostitution/ (accessed October 6, 2021); David Gotfredson, "Prostitution operates at all hours near Naval Base San Diego," *CBS 8 Local News*, August 2, (2021), cbs8.com/article/news/local/prostitution-operates-near-naval-base-san-diego/509-cfb569e6-ef7e-4619-bad6-c44fe5c6f17a (accessed October 6, 2021).
- ³³ Corey S. Shdaimah et al., "Neighborhood Assessment of Prostitution as a Pressing Social Problem and Appropriate Responses: Results from a Community Survey," *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 25, no. 3 (2014): 275–298, doi: 10.1177/0887403412466671; Sarah Kingston, "The Impact of Prostitution on Communities," in *Prostitution in the Community: Attitudes, Action and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2013), ISBN 9781138922402; Jason Prior, Spike Boydell and Philip Hubbard, "Nocturnal Rights to the City: Property, Propriety and Sex Premises in Inner Sydney," *Urban Studies* 49,

no. 8 (2012): 1837-1852, doi:10.1177/0042098011417019.

- ³⁴ Kingston, ibid; Prior, Boydell, and Hubbard, ibid; Alexis S. McCurn, "'I Am Not a Prostitute': How Young Black Women Challenge Street-based Micro-interactional Assaults," *Sociological Focus* 50, no. 1 (2017): 52-65, doi:10.1080/00380237.2016.1218216; Shdaimah et al., ibid.
- 35 Kingston, ibid.
- ³⁶ John J. Chin et al., "Do Sexually Oriented Massage Parlors Cluster in Specific Neighborhoods? A Spatial Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in Los Angeles and Orange Counties, California," *Public Health Reports* 130 (2015): 533-542, doi:10.1177/003335491513000516.
- ³⁷ Michael Shively et al., A National Overview of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts, Final Report (Cambridge, MA: Abt | Associates, April 30, 2012), ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/238796.pdf (accessed October 15, 2021); David Weisburd et al., "Does Crime Just Move around the Corner? A Controlled Study of Spatial Displacement and Diffusion of Crime Control Benefits," *Criminology* 44, no. 3 (2006), doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.2006.00057.x; Fiona Poland, Gwyneth R. Boswell, and Anne M. Killet, Evaluation Research Report: Ipswich Street Prostitution Strategy 2007-8 (Norwich: University of East Anglia, October 1, 2008), research-portal.uea.ac.uk/en/publications/evaluation-research-report-ipswich-street-prostitution-strategy-u (accessed October 15, 2021); BBC News, "Project Cuts Down Prostitution: Street Prostitution Has Been Virtually Eradicated from a Town Where Five Women Were Killed a Year Ago, a Charity Says," December 26, 2007, news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/suffolk/7160354.stm (accessed October 15, 2021); BBC News, "Ipswich Prostitution: New Approach Key to Making Practice 'Disappear," July 8, 2014, bbc.com/news/uk-england-suffolk-28213511 (accessed October 15, 2021).
- ³⁸ Michael Shively et al., 2008, ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibid. Total fee amount generated during the life of the program through the date of the program evaluation.
- ⁴⁰ Poland, Boswell, and Killett, ibid.
- ⁴¹ Dominique Roe-Sepowitz, Stephanie Bontrager, Justin T. Pickett, et al., "Estimating the Sex Buying Behavior of Adult Males in the United States: List Experiment and Direct Question Estimates" *Journal of Criminal Justice* 63 (2019): 41-48, doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjust.2019.04.005.
- ⁴² Caroline Norma and Melinda Tankard Reist, eds., *Prostitution Narratives. Stories of Survival in the Sex Trade* (North Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex, 2016); Jade Kake and Fern Eyles, "The Failure of the 'New Zealand Model' according to Māori Women," *AF3IRM Hawai'i*, February 2, (2021), hawaii-78988.medium.com/so-you-wanna-talk-sex-work-policy-the-failure-of-full-decrim-according-to-māori-women-4f46c1cb7a98; Wahine Toa Rising, "Survivor Stories," Wahine Toa Rising, (2021), wahinetoarising.nz/survivors-stories/ (accessed October 3, 2021); Julie Bindel, "My Work as a Prostitute Led Me to Oppose Decriminalization," *BBC*, (October 2, 2017), https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-41349301 (accessed October 6, 2021), Rachel Moran, "The Evidence about Prostitution that the New York Times Ignored," *Truthdig* (n.d.), https://www.truthdig.com/articles/the-evidence-about-prostitution-that-the-new-york-times-ignored/page/1/ (accessed October 14, 2021).
- ⁴³ Caroline Norma and Melinda Tankard Reist, eds., Prostitution Narratives. Stories of Survival in the Sex Trade (North Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex, 2016); Jade Kake and Fern Eyles, "The Failure of the 'New Zealand Model' according to Māori Women," AF3IRM Hawai'i, February 2, (2021), hawaii-78988.medium.com/so-you-wanna-talk-sex-work-policy-the-failure-of-full-decrim-according-to-māori-women-4f46c1cb7a98; Wahine Toa Rising, "Survivor Stories," Wahine Toa Rising, (2021), wahinetoarising.nz/survivors-stories/ (accessed October 3, 2021); Julie Bindel, "My Work as a Prostitute Led Me to Oppose Decriminalization," BBC, (October 2, 2017), https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-41349301 (accessed October 6, 2021), Rachel Moran, "The Evidence about Prostitution that the New York Times Ignored," Truthdig (n.d.), https://www.truthdig.com/articles/the-evidence-about-prostitution-that-the-new-york-times-ignored/page/1/ (accessed October 14, 2021).