

## Justice Committee

### Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Bill

#### Written submission from academics

##### Summary

1. We welcome the publication of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Bill. However, we believe the bill is currently ill equipped to prevent trafficking for sexual exploitation because it fails to sufficiently tackle the demand from sex buyers which drives sex trafficking. The trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation is underpinned by the principles of supply and demand: it is the demand from a minority of men to pay for sex which fuels the prostitution trade into which women and girls are trafficked. Therefore, preventing sex trafficking requires reducing and ultimately ending the demand to pay for sex.

2. The Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Bill should be amended to include measures that tackle demand for sex trafficking. Specifically, the bill should criminalise paying for sex, decriminalise selling sex, and ensure the provision of support and exiting services for people exploited through prostitution. This is a measure known as the 'Sex Buyer Law' and there is significant evidence of its effectiveness in reducing demand for sexual exploitation, changing public attitudes and making countries more hostile destinations for traffickers.

##### About this submission

3. This evidence has been submitted jointly to the Justice Committee by the following academics:

Dr Nicola Abram, Lecturer, University of Reading

Phil Banyard, Reader, School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University

Dr Heather Brunskell-Evans, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Medical Humanities, University of Leicester

Helen Easton, Senior Lecturer, Criminology, London South Bank University

Dr Elizabeth Evans, Lecturer, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, University of Bristol

Dr Karen Evans, Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Liverpool

Dr Aisha K. Gill, Criminologist, University of Roehampton

Dr Miranda Horvath, Reader in Forensic Psychology, Middlesex University

Joanna Lovett, Senior Research Fellow, London Metropolitan University

Professor Roger Matthews, Professor of Criminology, University of Kent

Dr Melanie McCarry, Guild Senior Research Fellow, Connect Centre for International Research on Gender and Harm, University of Central Lancashire

Professor Emeritus Keith Pringle, Professor Emeritus, London Metropolitan University and Uppsala University, Sweden

Dr Heather Savigny, Senior Lecturer, Bournemouth University

Nicola Sharp, Research Fellow, Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University

Dr Olivia Smith, Lecturer in Criminology, Anglia Ruskin University

## Evidence

4. Sex trafficking is underpinned by the principles of supply and demand. During the 1990's the proportion of men in the UK who pay for sex increased from one in 20 to nearly one in 10 men<sup>i</sup>. It is the demand from a minority of men that traffickers and other facilitators are responding to and profiting from when they supply people into the prostitution trade. Therefore, tackling the demand to pay for sex is critical in reducing and preventing trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

5. The European Union (EU) Commissioner for Home Affairs has stated, *“only by addressing demand for all forms of exploitation can we can begin <to> address trafficking in human beings... we cannot address the sexual exploitation of victims (the overwhelming majority being girls) without addressing the users.”*<sup>ii</sup> The EU Anti Trafficking Co-ordinator, Myria Vassiliadou, has further commented, *“There is a link between prostitution and trafficking. The European Commission recognises this.”*<sup>iii</sup> An inquiry into human trafficking in Scotland in 2011 by the Equality and Human Rights Commission concluded that *“Demand is a key driver for human trafficking. This fact underlines the need for ‘destination’ states, such as the UK and Scotland, to take responsibility to act to tackle trafficking through targeting demand.”*<sup>iv</sup>

6. Scotland has multiple international obligations to reduce demand for sex trafficking. Article 9.5 of the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children<sup>v</sup> 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”*<sup>vi</sup>. The EU Directive on trafficking in human beings requires member states to take action to reduce demand in order to prevent trafficking<sup>vii</sup>. Article 6 of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings requires member states to *“discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking”*<sup>viii</sup>. Furthermore, the Convention to Eliminate All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)<sup>ix</sup> requires signatories to *“take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women”*<sup>x</sup>.

7. Research assessing potential deterrents to paying for sex, thereby reducing demand, suggests criminal sanctions are a key method. Research conducted with 110 men in Scotland who paid women for sex found 79% of the respondents said having to spend time in jail would deter them from paying for sex, while 72% reported that greater criminal penalties would do so<sup>xi</sup>. Interviews conducted with 113 men who paid for sex in Chicago (US) found 83% of the men said that a potential consequence of jail time would deter them from paying for sex. 75% of the men said greater criminal penalties in general would deter them from paying women for sex<sup>xii</sup>. Additionally, research undertaken by the Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit at London Metropolitan University with 137 men who paid for sex concluded, *“the accounts of men who had paid for sex overseas confirm that legality contributes to normalisation, which in turn increases the likelihood of paying for sex.”*<sup>xiii</sup>

8. In recognition of the Scottish Government's international obligations to reduce demand for trafficking and the critical role of criminal sanctions as a deterrent to

paying for sex acts, we strongly urge the Scottish Parliament to amend the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Bill so that paying for sex becomes a criminal offense, while selling sex is decriminalised. This legislative change must be accompanied by the provision of support and exiting services for people exploited through prostitution. This legal framework is commonly referred to as the Sex Buyer Law or 'Nordic Model'. Consistent with Scottish Government policy, it recognises prostitution is a form of violence against women<sup>xiv</sup>. The Sex Buyer Law has been adopted by three out of the four countries with the highest ratings for gender equality worldwide: Sweden, Iceland and Norway.<sup>xv</sup>

9. There is substantial evidence that the Sex Buyer Law is effective in reducing the demand that underpins sex trafficking. Sweden was the first country to introduce the legislation in 1999. An investigation of the law by the Swedish Government reported, *"[a]ccording to the National Criminal Police, it is clear that the ban on the purchase of sexual services acts as a barrier to human traffickers and procurers considering establishing them-selves in Sweden."*<sup>xvi</sup> Simon Häggström, Detective Inspector at the Prostitution Unit of the Stockholm Police reports, *"We've had wiretapping cases where pimps say they don't find Sweden attractive"*.<sup>xvii</sup>

10. The number of men paying for sex in Sweden has declined since the Sex Buyer Law was adopted. Between 1996 and 2008 the proportion of men who reported paying for sex declined from 12.7% to 7.6%<sup>xviii</sup>. Street prostitution in Sweden halved during the period 1999-2008 and there is no evidence that women were simply displaced to indoor prostitution or prostitution advertised online<sup>xix</sup>. Despite Sweden having 3.8 million more inhabitants than neighbouring Denmark, the number of people involved in prostitution in Sweden – its 'prostitution population' – is approximately a tenth of Denmark's, where paying for sex is legal<sup>xx</sup>. Public attitudes have also changed. In 1996, 45% of women and 20% of men in Sweden supported criminalising paying for sex. By 2008, support for this legal principle had risen to 79% among women and 60% among men<sup>xxi</sup>.

11. Norway adopted the Sex Buyer Law in 2009 and an evaluation of the law's impact commissioned by the Norwegian Government reported, *"A reduced market and increased law enforcement posit larger risks for human traffickers...The law has thus affected important pull factors and reduced the extent of human trafficking in Norway in comparison to a situation without a law."*<sup>xxii</sup> The prostitution market has also shrunk. Systematic field observations of the street prostitution market in Oslo reveal it has declined by 40%-65% since the law was adopted<sup>xxiii</sup>.

12. There is growing international recognition that the Sex Buyer Law is an indispensable tool for tackling sex trafficking and exploitation through prostitution. In 2014 the Sex Buyer Law was adopted in Northern Ireland as part of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Further Provisions and Support for Victims) Bill. In Ireland, the Houses of the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality recommended in 2013 that the Sex Buyer Law be introduced<sup>xxiv</sup>. In addition, the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade recommended in April 2014 that the Westminster Government adopt the Sex Buyer Law in England and Wales<sup>xxv</sup>.

13. In 2014 the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, representing 47 countries, passed a resolution citing the Sex Buyer Law as *"the most effective tool for preventing and combating trafficking in human beings"*<sup>xxvi</sup>. José Mendes Bota, the Council of Europe's Rapporteur on violence against women, stated, *"I have come to the conclusion that prostitution policies are the most effective tool in the prevention and countering of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation"*<sup>xxvii</sup> and *"I personally consider the Swedish model as the most successful in the context of tackling human trafficking."*<sup>xxviii</sup> In February 2014 the European Parliament passed a motion which highlighted evidence showing the Sex Buyer Law has had a *"deterrent effect on trafficking into Sweden"*<sup>xxix</sup>. The European Women's Lobby is also urging members of the EU to implement the Sex Buyer Law in order to prevent trafficking and sexual exploitation. The 'Brussels Call' issued by the organisation is backed by over 200 women's rights organisations from 25 member states<sup>xxx</sup>.

14. As highlighted in this evidence, reducing demand is crucial to preventing sex trafficking. Criminalising paying for sex and decriminalising selling sex has been shown to be effective in reducing demand for sexual exploitation, changing public attitudes and making the country in question a more hostile destination for traffickers.

### **Recommendations**

15. We urge the Scottish Parliament to amend the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Bill to include provisions that:

- Criminalise paying for sex acts, thereby tackling the demand that fuels sex trafficking;
- Decriminalise selling sex acts; and
- Provide support and exiting services for people exploited through prostitution.

23 February 2015

## References

- <sup>i</sup> "Twice as many men' pay for sex', BBC News, 1 December 2005. Accessed at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/4482970.stm>
- <sup>ii</sup> 'Trafficking in Human Beings and Gender – the EU Perspective', Cecilia Malmström, EU Commissioner for Home Affairs, 30 September 2013. Accessed at: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_SPEECH-13-763\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-763_en.htm)
- <sup>iii</sup> Comments made on October 18th 2013 at the 7th EU Anti-Trafficking day conference in Vilnius; cited in 'Submission to the Justice Committee Northern Ireland Assembly: The Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Further Provisions and Support for Victims) Bill 2013: Clause 6', Ruhama, 2013. Accessed at: <http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/justice/human-trafficking-bill/written-submissions/ruhama.pdf>
- <sup>iv</sup> Inquiry into Human Trafficking in Scotland: Report of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011. p.52
- <sup>v</sup> Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. New York, 15 November 2000. Accessed at: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202237/v2237.pdf>
- <sup>vi</sup> United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2013) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons. UNOHCHR: Geneva. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ProtocolTraffickingInPersons.aspx>
- <sup>vii</sup> Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA. Accessed at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:101:0001:0011:EN:PDF>
- <sup>viii</sup> Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, Warsaw, 16.V.2005. Accessed at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/197.htm>
- <sup>ix</sup> Equality Now highlight the following recommendations issued by the CEDAW Committee: CEDAW Committee, Concluding Observations: Republic of Korea, para. 23(f), U.N. Doc.CEDAW/C/KOR/CO/7 (2011) (calling on the Republic of Korea to "[t]ake appropriate measures to suppress the exploitation of prostitution of women, including by discouraging the demand for prostitution"); CEDAW Committee, Concluding Observations: Botswana, para. 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BOT/CO/3 (2010) (calling on Botswana to "take appropriate measures to suppress the exploitation of prostitution of women, including through the discouragement of the demand for prostitution"); CEDAW Committee, Concluding Observations: Denmark, para. 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DEN/CO/7 (2009) (calling on Denmark to "strengthen measures aimed at addressing the exploitation of prostitution in the country and, in particular, the demand for prostitution").
- <sup>x</sup> Article 6, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Accessed at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm#article6>
- <sup>xi</sup> Macleod, J., Farley, M., Anderson, L., & Golding, J. (2008) *Challenging Men's Demand for Prostitution in Scotland*, Women's Support Project. Available at: <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/pdfs/ChallengingDemandScotland.pdf>
- <sup>xii</sup> 'Deconstructing the Demand for Prostitution: Preliminary Insights from Interviews with Men who Buy Sex', Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation, May 2008. Available at: [http://g.virbcdn.com/\\_files/40/FileItem-149406-DeconstructingtheDemandForProstitution.pdf](http://g.virbcdn.com/_files/40/FileItem-149406-DeconstructingtheDemandForProstitution.pdf)
- <sup>xiii</sup> Coy, M. et al (2007) 'It's just like going to the supermarket': Men buying sex in East London, Report for Safe Exit, Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit: p.25
- <sup>xiv</sup> Violence Against Women, The Scottish Government. Accessed at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Equality/violence-women> Content accessed 3 February 2015.
- <sup>xv</sup> 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2012', World Economic Forum. Available at: [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GenderGap\\_Report\\_2012.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf).
- <sup>xvi</sup> Summary: Evaluation of the ban on purchase of sexual services, Ministry of Justice, Government Offices of Sweden, 2 July 2010, p.37. Accessed at: <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/15/14/88/6dfbbdbd.pdf>
- <sup>xvii</sup> 'Why the game's up for Sweden's sex trade', the *Independent*, 26 March 2013. Accessed at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/features/why-the-games-up-for-swedens-sex-trade-8548854.html>

- 
- <sup>xviii</sup> Waltman, M. (2011) *Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential*. *Women's Studies International Forum* 34: 449-474
- <sup>xix</sup> Waltman, M. (2011) *Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential*. *Women's Studies International Forum* 34: 449-474
- <sup>xx</sup> Waltman, M. (2011) *Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential*. *Women's Studies International Forum* 34: 449-474
- <sup>xxi</sup> Waltman, M. (2011) *Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential*. *Women's Studies International Forum* 34: 449-474
- <sup>xxii</sup> 'Evaluering av forbudet mot kjøp av seksuelle tjenester', Rapport nummer 2014/30, VISTA ANALYSE. p.14
- <sup>xxiii</sup> 'Evaluering av forbudet mot kjøp av seksuelle tjenester', Rapport nummer 2014/30, VISTA ANALYSE
- <sup>xxiv</sup> 'Justice Committee recommends law banning the purchase of sexual services', Houses of the Oireachtas, 27 June 2013. Accessed at: <http://www.oireachtas.ie/parliament/mediazone/pressreleases/name-17366-en.html>
- <sup>xxv</sup> 'Shifting the Burden: Inquiry to assess the operation of the current legal settlement on prostitution in England and Wales', All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2014. Accessed at: <http://appgprostitution.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/shifting-the-burden1.pdf>
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 1983 (2014) 'Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe'. 12.1.1
- <sup>xxvii</sup> 'Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe', Council of Europe, Doc. 13446, 20 March 2014. p.22 Accessed at: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewPDF.asp?FileID=20559&>
- <sup>xxviii</sup> 'Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe', Council of Europe, Doc. 13446, 20 March 2014. p. 23 Accessed at: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewPDF.asp?FileID=20559&>
- <sup>xxix</sup> European Parliament resolution of 26 February 2014 on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality (2013/2103(INI)). Accessed at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2014-0162+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>; See also: 'Nordic Model of Prostitution Approved by European Parliament', *International Business Times*, 26 February 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/nordic-model-prostitution-approved-by-european-parliament-1438009>
- <sup>xxx</sup> European Women's Lobby. Accessed 4 February 2015: <http://www.womenlobby.org/get-involved/ewl-campaigns-actions/together-for-a-europe-free-from/the-brussels-call-together-for-a/?lang=en>