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Consumerism, Moralism and the Law

Governmentalities and spatial displacements of men who pay for sex
in Sweden and the Netherlands

Doctoral dissertation by

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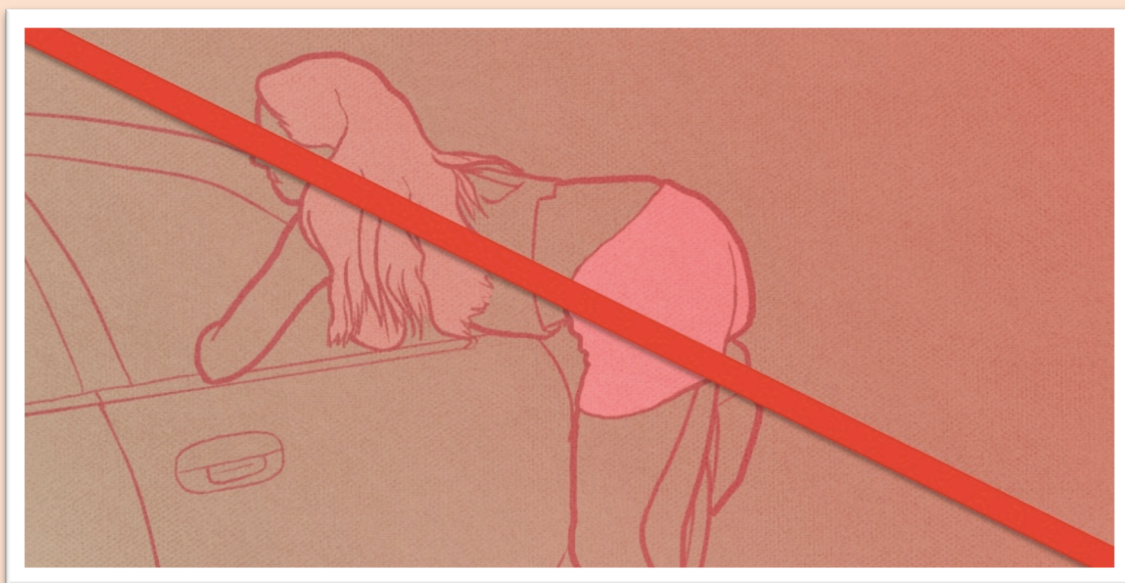
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Preface

The right time

In the acknowledgements I have thanked those who gave their time to me, by means of an interview, their guidance, or their unconditional support. In this preface I want to address the time in which this thesis has been written, both within academia and in the social and political field of sex work.

When I arrived for my fieldwork in Sweden in the summer of 2015, Amnesty International had just published their report on the protection of sex workers' human rights.¹ Amnesty made recommendations to decriminalize consensual sex work and made suggestions to reduce or remove all other punitive laws and activities that violated the human rights of sex workers. These recommendations were addressed to all world nations. The Swedish section of Amnesty International was one of few member states that voted against these recommendations, with the effect that many of their members revoked their membership, since: 'buying sex cannot be a human right'.²

Despite the recommendations of Amnesty International and protests of sex workers right organizations France partially criminalized the purchase of sex in 2016. Their prostitution policy model shows similarities with the Swedish sex purchase ban (*sexköpslagen*) where the payment for sexual services was made illegal in 1999. Germany, which has regulated sex work in 2002 has been coined as 'the European Brothel' for years but implemented a law in 2017 for further regulations that require sex workers to register, have forced medical checks and require the men to wear condoms. In Sweden the ban to purchase sex will be made extraterritorial and in the Netherlands further regulations led to the closure of many window brothels and other sex venues.

All the mentioned legislative and regulatory changes will have an influence on the way the European Union and its individual member states will address 'the problems of prostitution'. Sweden and the Netherlands, the two countries that have a leading role in this dissertation, are often described as having two oppositional prostitution regimes, where 'legalization' in the Netherlands is placed in sharp contrast to the 'partial criminalization' in Sweden. In this thesis I will be making several claims that they should not be perceived as opposites and when comparisons are made one should always keep in mind from which perspective these comparisons are framed and who are ultimately affected by laws and regulations.

Social scientists make analyses and it is often beyond their abilities to make predictions, probability calculations aside. So, I will not. Nevertheless, the freshly installed government in the Netherlands is aiming to adopt similar laws that recently became implemented in Germany and the majority of the chambers are in favour of

implementing the Swedish model³. Whilst these suggestions are made brothels are closed down without court hearings, zones where street prostitution were condoned are eliminated, licenses are withdrawn and registrations limited. While a new sex worker rights association, called PROUD, has been founded (2014) in the Netherlands, the abolitionist perspectives shared by Christian Democrats have never been so explicitly outspoken as before the enactment of lifting the ban on brothels in the Netherlands. The changes in the political landscapes as well as the media debates that stir them have resulted in a rise in sex work rights movements throughout the globe, funds are being raised by global foundations⁴ to enable those working in the sex industry to join their forces and raise their voices.

Within academia more research is carried out by and together with sex workers to address the shortcomings of policies as well as gaps in scientific knowledge. And a growing number of sex work researchers have been addressing the complexities of regulatory frameworks from the perspectives of the sex workers, pointing out the global displacements of the sex industry despite national regulations and the need to contextualize sex work before taking any further steps to (partially) criminalize sex work. Therefore, besides a theoretical framework that serves as a building block for this dissertation I have tried to incorporate the most recent publications, especially those from Dutch and Scandinavian scholars. This dissertation is written in alignment with their work and a contribution to current legislative debates when an emphasis is placed on the history and context in which the payment for sexual services takes place.

Abbreviations, acronyms and sex work jargon

Bareback	Bareback is a slang term of sexual penetration (anal or vaginal) without the use of a condom. It mostly refers to anal sex between men who have sex with men but it has become widely used with heterosexual sexual activities more recently. Bareback refers to the practice of riding a horse without a saddle, it therefore has the connotation of dangerous and wild.
CMC	CMC stands for Computer Mediated Communication and is the interaction facilitated through communication technologies. CMC is not limited to computers, e-mail, chat(rooms), messenger services, but also an umbrella term for social media on other digital devices, like SMS and Whatsapp.
Gangbang	A Gangbang is a situation where several people engage in sexual activity with one individual, mostly a woman, sequentially or all at the same time. Gangbang is a common pornographic theme, recently Gangbang events are hosted in clubs in Europe, mainly in Germany and the Netherlands and those countries where sex is regulated and brothels and clubs are allowed to facilitate these events.
GFE	GFE stands for 'Girlfriend Experience' and is a common term for a sexual encounter in which the client and sex worker are willing to engage in sexual reciprocity and to some degree emotional intimacy, blurring the boundaries between a financial transaction and a romantic relationship. <i>In Chapter 6 the complexity of this term and the limitations of treating it as a universal term is explored.</i>
Incall	The client will come to the place where the sex worker works at the time of the encounter, this might be her own house or one that is only devoted to receiving clients.
FKK-clubs	FKK is the German abbreviation of <i>Frei Körper Kultur</i> 'Free Body Culture' and is derived from the culture of Nudism in Germany in the 1970s. An FKK club (Sauna Club, PartyTreff or Pauschal) is a club with sauna facilities. After paying an entrance fee – for several hours or a whole day – like as in a regular sauna one can have sex in (most often) separate rooms with sex workers that is either included in the fee or by paying a small additional fee.
Klinik(ken)	<i>Klinikken</i> is slang for brothels in Denmark. In contrast to window brothels in the Netherlands, there are, on average, fewer women working in the same facility, which might have an entrance (with a hostess) and two or three rooms where women work individually.
Lauf Haus	A <i>Lauf Haus</i> is an apartment block or flat in big cities in Germany with several floors of individual small studios from which sex workers (M/F/T) work. The most well-known are those in

Cologne and near the *Hauptbahnhof* (Central Station) in Frankfurt-am-Main.

Line-Up	A line-up commonly refers to the row sex workers 'lined-up' at a sex club when a new client arrives. During a line-up sex workers present themselves to the client, so he could make a selection. Yet it is also commonly used or referred to those sex workers that are present at an event or club.
Massage Parlours	In countries where sex work is regulated as well as those where sex work is (partially) criminalized massage parlours mushroomed. As its name indicates one could have a massage at a parlour. However, in most Chinese and Thai facilities sexual services are offered, depending on the facility this can vary from stimulating the penis by hand, oral or coital sex.
M\$M	M\$M or MSM is the abbreviation for Men who have Sex with Men. The Dollar sign indicates that the sex is linked to a financial transaction between the men having sex with men.
Outcall	The sex worker will come to any requested place of the client (see incall for the reverse)
PSE	PSE is the abbreviation for Porn Star Experience and is universally used to describe a variety of acts during a paid sexual encounter to live out certain fantasies a client might have from watching pornographic movies, including: sex in adventurous positions, loud moaning, dirty talk and costume plays.
Pre-Sales	Pre-sales signify all the sexual activities that are carried out between the client and sex worker before an actual financial transaction takes place, these activities range from French kissing to physical stimulation.
Sugar Dating	Sugar Dating is a mutual agreed, 'no strings attached' dating for Sugar Daddies (often older, upper-class men) and Sugar Babies (often younger, physically attractive women). Despite the referral to 'dating' research indicates that it is often sugar coating sex work. <i>In Chapter 5 the displacements of class and sex work with this type of 'dating' will be addressed.</i>
T-girl	T-girl is short for 'trans girl' and is urban slang for a transgender girl or transsexual girl. It is a term that covers a wide range of people from cross dressers to girls in transition. It is used instead of the more offensive phrases such as she-male or 'tranny' when talking about female transgender sex workers
Vanilla	Vanilla sex in sex work jargon is a signifier for conventional sex and within the range of 'normality' is often described as the opposite of any kinks, fetish or alternative forms of sex. The missionary position is one of the most practiced positions in vanilla sex. The term 'vanilla' refers to vanilla ice cream as a basic flavour and by extension meaning plain or conventional.

1.1 Assumptions and binary positions

The most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community do not split their work from their lives. They seem to take both too seriously to allow such dissociation, and they want to use each for the enrichment of the other.

(C. Wright Mills, 1959: 195-196)

Introduction

Central in this thesis will be the governmentality of Swedish and Dutch heterosexual men that pay for sex, or rather 'sexual services'. This qualitative study will be mainly based on in depth interviews with men that pay for sexual services in these two differing countries. But before being able to describe what I mean by 'governmentality' exactly, or the methods employed to get into contact with these hard to reach research subjects, I will devote some pages on how this research is embedded in the social sciences and more specific research on sex work. This chapter will also enable the reader to understand the complexities of prostitution regimes when making international comparisons. An understanding of these regimes will be of great value before I will elaborate the specific genealogies of the prostitution policies in Sweden and the Netherlands in one of the following chapters.

This chapter therefore has the following functions:

(1) To situate myself as a researcher in this field and additionally the terminologies I will employ. (2) To create an understanding of contemporary research studies on sex work and those on clients in particular and (3) to accentuate the importance of contextualizing sex work by disentangling certain assumptions in the study of sex work.

Inevitably engaged and inherently biased

'Who is that man mother?' I must have been about five years young when I probed her with that question in the middle of a crowded shopping street. Instead of answering all the curious questions that I asked her all day long – like a five-year-

old can do – she stayed silent. She wanted to stay silent until I was the right age to understand who that particular man was. I am 30 now and by coming of age and making this academic *début* by writing this thesis, I have reached that proper age. That man was one of my mother's high-end clients.

As a poststructuralist feminist, raised in social sciences, who admires standpoint theory, I bring with me a particular understanding and influence into the research process, which often comes with a profound retrospection towards my research interests and its developments. During these processes I came to the acknowledgement that my own background had not only led to a profound interest in the study of sex work but also navigated my research questions, relationships with the research participants and the analysis of this thesis. I became aware that my previous knowledge of being a daughter of an ex-sex worker was a merit. Therefore the production of this valid qualitative knowledge that this thesis will bring forth rests upon a certain reflexivity about my personal background and experiences which developed a change within myself, a change in understanding the subjects I study as well as a change in how I develop research and write down its results. With this reflexivity, the process of writing this thesis became an 'art of discovery' (Carver, 1989: 25).

Like many scholars before me I argue that, especially in the light of sex work research, one cannot hold a neutral position. Like Bjønness who, through retrospective accounts on her research with sex workers, understood the complexity of her subjectivity towards her research subjects, I also emphasize that all research is inevitably 'engaged' and inherently 'biased' (Bjønness, 2017: 153) by breaking with what Harraway (1988) terms the 'God trick', which means as much as having a helicopter view and hold on to neutral knowledge production by placing yourself outside of what is analysed. Instead I acknowledge that all knowledge is situated. This (feminist) poststructuralist position has become widely embraced by other scholars and has resulted in a wider understanding of the complexity of sex work, on local and global levels. Moreover, in the last 15 years we could even speak about an explosion of research on sex work (Kingston and Sanders, 2010).

As recently argued by Isabel Crowhurst: 'despite this broadening scope and analytical perspectives, many scholars concede that commercial sex remains a

particularly challenging area of study, and one in which research is not easily conducted' (Crowhurst, 2017: 48).

Although the 'problem of prostitution' has long been a focus of attention particularly in the Western part of the world, debates over prostitution and especially how to conceptualize and accordingly how to regulate prostitution have intensified. During the process of studying and writing this dissertation laws have changed in several countries, regulations have been intensified, protests have escalated and many national and international organizations that advocate for sex work rights as well as those that advocate for its prohibition have found international partners to share their knowledge.

Research on sex work is a field of study that has placed academics, advocates, allies and sex workers inevitably into two camps. Those with an abolitionist mind-set who are in favour of restrictive policy regimes on one side and those who take a stance towards decriminalization on the other. They discuss through research whether prostitution is inherently a form of violence or if it is a form of labour by which implementing rights would be the best means to combat 'its problems'. Since scholars who write on sex work cannot escape this polarizing debate it still is a rather contested field of study. One in which the whore stigma (Pheterson, 1993) that depicts women who sell sexual services as immoral and deviant, becomes reflected upon those who conduct research into sex work, generating a stigma by association (Hammond and Kingston, 2014). This stigma by association is further enhanced by the inability to step aside from the two dichotomies that shape the recent debates around sex work. These dichotomies lead to a different choice of wording that ultimately reflects one's moral and political standpoint regarding the agency of the subjects.

Brainless dicks and the oldest profession

Before I will, by means of transparency, describe the definitions that I will use throughout this thesis I would like to briefly explore the stigma by association when assumptions are made due to a lack of agency and when essentialist and functionalist ideas take over.

In particular, there are the assumptions about men who pay for sex, assumptions that have often been made with little reference to men's own narratives. As Monto (2000) describes, the question 'why men pay for sex' is quite a difficult one to answer since our very knowledge of men who pay for sexual services is limited. This is partly because lay people as well as sex workers seem to already know the reasons why men consult the services of a sex worker. Monto argues that 'people tend to assume that the motives are obvious and not worthy of serious exploration' (Monto, 2000: 76). Following Earle and Sharpe (2007) in their research on 'sex in cyberspace' I argue for the attribution of agency in the analysis of men who pay for sex who have, for too long, been portrayed – at best as 'brainless dicks' or 'those who brutally use and abuse women and children' (Earle and Sharpe, 2007: 15). To join a growing number of studies that provide insights that challenge the dominant public images of clients, which are mainly based on moral judgements and the stereotypes instead of evidence based research (see for a discussion Campbell and Storr, 2001: 98-99).

Another assumption that I would like to dismantle is that 'prostitution' is often described as one of worlds 'oldest professions'; if one is to believe this cliché it is the same as suggesting that sex work is a single trans-historical and trans-cultural activity (Scambler and Scambler, 1997). It further suggests that women 'have always done it, will always do it and will always choose to do it' (Overall, 1992: 719). Implying that 'women' are always willing to sell sexual services to 'men' independently of any cultural conditions. Like Kempadoo (1998) I emphasize that sex work is not a universal or a historical category, but is subject to change and redefinition (Kempadoo, 1998: 8). The 'changeability' of sex work affects the movements of clients and sex workers online and offline, where to seek, where to advertise, where to find information and where to travel for specific services. Sex work has a global character in which sex workers and clients travel to other countries creating a diverse and global market based on the prostitution regimes in specific countries, the availability of the sex workers, the set prices and even the history of professionalization of sex work in a given country. Prostitution is therefore never solely about 'sex' but defines middle class sexuality, confronts national purity, challenges gender and sexual hierarchies, and is often seen as an entity that must be controlled (Grant, 2008: 67). To define 'prostitution' as 'the

oldest profession' is therefore an essentialist and functionalist perspective that neither takes any of its developments and context nor its global complexity into account and thus hold an assumption that 'prostitution' has a stable meaning across both time and Space (Zatz, 1997).

Choice of terminology

How 'prostitution' is defined is at the heart of all debates on the topic whether this is among scholars, feminists or (non)governmental organizations (Outshoorn, 2011: 127). The choice of terminology, has a perceived relevance and by its very use reflects one's moral and political standpoint (McCracken, 2013; Munro and Della Giusta, 2008). The language of 'prostitution' and 'prostituted' has been aligned with those who would like to abolish or prohibit sex work. In contemporary discussion the most common understanding of the concept of prostitution involves the use of the word as both a noun and a verb: the noun indicating the identity and the verb for participating in the activity of having sex for money. According to Anthropologist Laura Agustín (2005) the term prostitute was invented to create a 'victim' who needed 'saving' when middle class women created the classifications of prostitution and prostitute in order to have someone to 'help' (Agustín, 2005: 9-10). Which evolved into derogatory representations of (especially) women who worked in the industry.

To challenge the term prostitution, Carol Leigh coined the term 'sex work' in the late 1970s (a.k.a. Scarlet Harlot) (Kempadoo, 1998; Berg, 2013). Carol Leigh invented the term to 'create an atmosphere of tolerance within and outside the women's movement for women working in the sex industry' (1977: 225). This defines sex workers as working people, emphasizing the labour aspect to, as Leigh argues, 'acknowledge the work we do rather than define us by our status' (1977: 203). The term sex work is now widely used as an umbrella term for all those who work in the divaricated market and a growing number of scholars regard it as an occupation (Weitzer, 2007). As one could have already gathered from the previous four pages of this introductory chapter I use the term 'sex work', as a respectful recognition of subjectivity and personal agency of those who work as sex workers. For the definition of 'sex work' I turn to Vanwesenbeeck (2001) who defines sex

work as 'the explicit and direct exchange of sexual services for monetary gain' (242).

Throughout the following chapters of this dissertation the sensitivity of the words used, especially within the different contexts in which this research takes place, the Netherlands and Sweden, will be made clear. In those different situations it seemed only appropriate to adopt the linguistic constructions of the interviewees I have spoken to and the text that I derived my information from.

Although in many texts the words prostitute and sex worker are used interchangeably. Albeit, by describing the above definition and the value I place on its usage automatically places me in one of the two binary positions. As said, a binary position one cannot escape from. Besides the usage of the term 'sex work' I will often use terms like 'sexual services' and 'sexual service providers', following Boris and Parreñas who, in line with Hochschild's 'emotional labour' (1983) perceive sex work not only as labour but as intimate labour. In this regard I will also use the terminology of 'paying for sexual services', 'clients of sex workers' and 'sex buyers' when appropriate.

1.2 Limitations and inaccuracies

Whores are being reduced to one image, that neither encompasses mother nor wife, while clients are supposed to represent 'the secret side' of every man. While prostitutes are being reduced to 'whores', the 'john' is being seen as an individual with a certain identity, who also visits prostitutes.

(Vanwesenbeeck, 2001: 246)

Limited research on men who pay for sex

The literature on sex work has grown tremendously in the past decade, resulting in various qualitative and quantitative analysis of different aspects of sex work around the globe. Although disproportionate attention is given to certain types and much less to other types and more to certain actors and less to others. Yet acknowledging 'the sex market' is diversifying as well as specializing for a broad group of sexualities and sexual orientations. There is a varied collection of testimonies from sex workers in different sectors (Chapkis, 1997; Johnson, 2003). Strip clubs and other forms of dancing have received a growing interest in the interactions between clients and sex workers (Montemuro et al, 2003; Frank, 2002). Research like this has given the opportunity to broaden up the scope of the field, taking an overarching global perspective (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003) or specific case studies in Asia (Zeng, 2009b). Sex tourism in Thailand (O'Connell Davidson, 1998), the Caribbean (Kempadoo, 2001) or specific parts of Africa (Albuquerque, 1985). The last mentioned placed a specific focus on female clients or tourists, seeking 'love' and 'sexual adventures'.

Although it is not in the scope of this research it is needless to say that the studies on female clients are a very small fraction of the studies on sex work and despite the mosaic of knowledge that all this research has revealed, the majority of the studies on sex work still heavily draws on female sex workers. Creating a gender disparity in the research on sex work, which inevitably seems to reproduce stereotypes about women being sex objects and men being 'sex predators', a perspective that prevails inside and outside academia. Only a handful of studies have moved beyond these out-dated stereotypes and focused on female clients (van Mansom, 2015). Yet, knowledge about clients in general, male as well as

female is marginal in comparison to the focus on female sex workers as Weitzer (2005) describes in jest 'When we think of prostitution and other sex work, we tend to think of female actors, despite the fact that prostitution involves at least two parties and despite the fact that customers far outnumber the workers who service them (223). Perkins (1991) estimated that less than 1% of all studies of prostitution focused on clients. I could not find a more recent estimation of these figures but it could still be accurate. And most of this research often involves a search for pathology or selected personality characteristics (Xanditis and McCabe 2000).

As previously mentioned, sex work research is quite a niche research area and not always a respected research field. The taboo that this might generate when showing an interest in the study of commercial sex undoubtedly discouraged some to even begin to tackle those pathologies and characteristics. Researching male clients is even assumed to go hand in hand with an idea of legitimizing the sex industry, therefore researchers who do engage in studying clients are considered to be anti-feminist and in favour of loose sexual mores (Kulick, 2005). When one has overcome this obstacle the main obstacle is to identify and get access to clients. In many countries it is illegal to sell and/or pay for sexual services, like in Sweden. But even when it is not illegal to pay for sexual services in a country, clients remain heavily stigmatized and therefore largely hidden (Birch, 2015; Earle and Sharpe, 2007; Hammond, 2015; Peng, 2007). This stigma revolves into secrecy, which makes it hard for them to cooperate in a study, especially when the study involves interviews. Shame and fear that their partners, their boss or colleagues will find out, often predominates. As Soothill and Sanders (2005) note, the sex industry is defined by anonymity and therefore to make sure one cannot be exposed, this counts for those who sell sexual services but also for those who pay for them. Being exposed as someone who pays for sexual services invites the labels of being a 'deviant', a 'pervert', 'dangerous' or even a 'criminal'. As will be described in depth in the methodological chapter of this dissertation, ethical considerations to be able to preserve the anonymity of the clients I have been able to talk and spend time with has received top priority. Nevertheless as Chancer (1993) describes it does not seem persuasive to ascribe the lack in literature on (heterosexual) male clients on methodological difficulties trying to

get into contact with male informants. According to Chancer, interviews would lead to a snowball sample (151-152).

Already in 1982, Mcleod (1982) stated that the invisibility of male clients in academic literature and beyond means that there is a limited view on sex work when it is only informed by one side. However, most studies done are either quantitative or use mixed methods and often lead to descriptions about their age, marital status, education or social status, how often they have visited a sex worker in the past year(s) or month(s), whether they have paid for sexual services in their own (home) country, why they buy sex and what kind of sexual services they pay for. To be able to answer questions like: 'Who are these men who buy sex?' 'Are these men from a specific social class?' 'When does the buying occur?' 'Where does he buy from?' and 'what lies behind the buying'. From which logistic regressions (Pitts. et al., 2004) and factor analysis have been drawn (e.g. Holzman and Pines; Monto, 2000) but we are only at the beginning to understand the motivations of paying for sexual services as well as their attitudes towards sex workers and their behavioural patterns, if we can even speak about patterns. Yet a recent literature review by Wilcox et al. (2009) found that the majority of these studies only studied male clients of street sex workers, rather than clients of indoor (clubs, private houses) or escorts.

Demographics of men who pay for sex

A vast amount of the studies on men that pay for sexual services start with some demographics and describe the percentage of men that have reported or admitted to having paid for sexual services at least once in their lifetimes or during a specific time period. These figures, or estimates vary dramatically depending on the country and sample size of the studies. In some countries it might be a small minority while in other countries estimations might describe that up to one fifth of men (sample or an estimation of the population) has paid for sex at least during one point in their lives.

In a recent study, carried out by the general social survey in America, 17% of American men had paid for sexual services at least once in their life while only 3% had done so in that specific year (Weitzer, 2007: 4). In a very recent study by Rissel

et al. (2017) they found that merely 2.2% of a representative national sample of 8074 Australian men had paid for sex in the past 12 months.

Looking at Europe, the percentages of men who pay for sexual services seem to vary as well depending on country, year of study and sample (sizes).

When the British sexual attitudes and lifestyles survey was compared with the results of the first national survey there seemed to have been an increase in men paying for sexual services. In 1990 2.1% of the men reported to have paid for sex in the last five years, in 2000 this number increased to 4.3% (Pitts et al., 2004). Yet, there is no specific explanation given why these figures increased. I should take note here that in the UK it is not illegal to pay for sexual services. It could be that during this scope of ten years the stigma on paying for sexual services has decreased, which has led to an ability to step forward as a man who pays or has paid for sexual services in the last five years.

Given the criminalization on the purchase of sexual services, scholars in Norway (Kotsadam et al., 2002) and Sweden (Kuosmanen, 2008) took a closer look at the influence that making it illegal to pay for sexual services might have on the quantity of services that has been paid for. In Sweden a national survey carried out by the Folkehälsinstitut (the Institute of National Public Health), which was conducted in 1995, five years before the enactment of the Swedish *sexköpslagen*, found that 12.7% of men between the ages of 18-74 had paid for sex at least once in their lifetime. While a study conducted in 2008 by Kuosmanen found a decrease of about 3% when 7,6% of men from the same age bracket answered positively to the same question (Kuosmanen, 2008: 368).⁵

In all these studies the age brackets used as well as how the questions are addressed might differ. This makes comparison between countries fairly impossible. It also has an influence on the ability to exaggerate 'the problem' of paying for sexual services when percentages are elevated. It is also very difficult to obtain representative samples of heterosexual men to pay for sexual services (Dewey and Zheng, 2013; Harding, 2011; Sanders, 2008) to make specific generalizations, even at country level, or by developing a before-and-after perspective when prostitution policies changed in a specific period of time.

The idea that the ability to pay 'legally' for sexual services in countries like Germany and the Netherlands would lead to an increase in the quantity of sexual

services bought stands in sharp contrast to the percentages shared by Vanwesenbeeck in a study in 2001 when she described that (only) 3% of the surveyed men between the ages of 18 and 50 'admitted' that they had paid for sexual services (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001: 271). Which is – even when compared to Sweden – a low percentage. Nevertheless, Vanwesenbeeck uses her words wisely when she described that this is the percentage of men that had 'admitted' to having paid for sexual services and therefore most probably might not even be a proper indication. However, she describes that the estimation based on a calculation of the number of sex workers, the average numbers of clients served and the average frequency of visiting, results in an estimate of about 16% of the Dutch male population visiting yearly. These differences could be an outcome of the stigma perceived by clients when giving an answer to these specific questions.

Northern Ireland is the latest region in the EU that has implemented the (Swedish) sex-purchase ban. Considering the stigma attached to commercial sex Huschke et al. (2016) conclude in their study on Irish clientele that paying for sex already felt illegal for them before the new law was implemented. Taking this perspective together with a very strong personal motivation to pay for sexual services makes it according to them very unlikely that a sex purchase ban will change clients' attitudes and practices, and thus the number of men that pay for sexual services (883-884).

Besides law, Sullivan and Simon (1998) describe that the demographic characteristics, like ethnicity, social-economic status and marital status are also no determinants for the encounters men have with sex workers. Studies on clients – depending on the country in which the study takes place – have two ideal typical or distinctive perspectives according to Monto and McRee. Firstly, 'the everyman perspective' which implies that clients are no different from men in general and a second perspective, which they call the 'peculiar man perspective' implying that customers of prostitutes are characterized by social or personal deficiencies, or other distinctive qualities (Monto and McRee, 2005: 506). It should not come as a surprise that the 'peculiar man' perspective prevails in Sweden. Scholarly and policy discourses treat 'sex buyers' as an internal 'other', Swedish but not quite Swedish: they must be dealt with by coercive means (Harrington, 2012: 344).

Typologies of men who pay for sex

Sven-Axel Månsson, who is considered the 'Swedish grand old dad in research on gender, violence, sexuality and sex work' started his research on sex work in the mid-1970s by receiving public funding that consistently criticized 'prostitution' as a 'male problem' (Jacobsson, 2002: 23-24). According to Don Kullick one of the most famous research studies – one that is still often referred to by social workers as I will describe in the third chapter of this thesis – is the book 'the sex buyers' which gives the fullest expression to the Swedish category of a person requiring investigation, discipline and rehabilitation. (Kullick, 2005: 215).

One of the most recent Dutch public funded research studies on male clients by the Municipality of Amsterdam (2014) explicitly describes in its introduction that they will not focus on the possible differences between clients and 'ordinary men' but rather perceive them as a dynamic and heterogenic group of men (GGD, 2014: 33). While at the same time they do emphasize that one of the reasons they facilitate their study is that they would like to investigate if clients would be able to play a pivotal role in informing the authorities about the maltreatments in the industry. As reflected upon by Sanders, when a focus in research has been considered acceptable this might be actually used to generate 'knowledge' about men for the purpose to further criminalize them (Sanders, 2008: 7). Without being speculative it is interesting – as a side note – that this research was carried out in 2014 and in 2015 Christian democratic parties started another debate in the Netherlands to further regulate and restrict the sex market in the Netherlands. With the current coalition of political parties in the Netherlands these restrictions might actually become reality. These means of knowledge production and recent political developments shed light on the perspective that research on sex work and sex buyers should always be contextualized.

Even though Winick (1962), who was one of the first to undertake a (large) snowball sample of 732 clients in five major cities in the USA, described that the motivations to pay for sexual services are complex with no defining reason. Scholars in the 1960s like Edward Glover, a researcher at the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, was one of the first UK researchers who

investigated the motivations of male clients in Great Britain when he published the book 'The Psychopathology of Prostitution'. Like the title seems to suggest he argued that men who pay for sexual services suffer from a 'psycho-pathological condition. Similar accounts can be found in the work of Gibbens and Silberman (1960) and Stoller (1976) who explicitly pathologize men who pay for sexual services by implying that it is a perversion stemming from internal anxieties towards their painful sexual history which results in an erotic manifestation of hatred and revenge. Winick who suggested that there is no defining reason to pay for sexual services and emotional meanings often seem to surpass the desire for sex, received a wider understanding in the 1980s and 1990s when – as mentioned – research on heterosexual male clients began to grow, but these studies rely heavily on a naturalized discourse of a sexual urge (Hollway, 1984).

In 1982 Holzman and Pines found that a substantial number of their interviewees liked 'the thrill of it' besides fulfilling their emotional and sexual needs. One of the studies that is most often referred to, even to this day, on the research on heterosexual male clients who pay for sexual services, is the research by Monto (2000), who like Holzman and Pines (1982) found that 47% of his respondents were 'excited by the idea of approaching a prostitute', which is a comparable percentage of those that 'want a different kind of sex' than their 'regular' (conventional) partner can provide. These two distinctive motivations also seem to be the core motivations of the men taking part in the studies of Sullivan and Simon (1996) and McKeganey and Barnard (1996). And it has been further identified that many heterosexual men who pay for sexual services are attracted to a non-emotional and non-committed relationship (Plumridge et al., 1997, in: Månsson) because of the ability to avoid emotional involvement free from social and conventional norms and expectations (Atchinson et al., 1982). Although some motivations might have been widely shared within certain groups of respondents, all mentioned scholars do acknowledge that the motivations vary widely. Drawing upon the field data that each of these scholars have gathered from surveys and interviews they often generated typologies of clients and their motivations, highlighting differences between men. This frequently leads to a set of typologies often ranging from five to ten different motives; the following list is from Elisabeth Bernstein (2010), who like many other scholars reflected upon

these typologies, yielding one of the most comprehensive lists of possible motivations. One that is clear and not overly pathologizing. Her list builds on the research of Høigard and Finstad (1986) and defined the following motives: (1) the desire for sexual variation; (2) sexual access to partners with preferred ages; (3) racialized features and physiques; (4) the appeal of an emotion-free and clandestine sexual encounter; (5) loneliness; (6) marital problems; (7) the quest for power and control; (8) the desire to be dominated; (9) to engage in exotic sex acts; (10) the thrill of violating taboos.

One list of motivations or rather client typology that is pathologizing is the recent description of Berger (2013) who describes the following: 'Clients of sex workers may purchase for a wide variety of reasons; because they are disabled, travellers, addicted to sex, or have the desire for a particular kind of sexual experience; the desire for a particular kind of sexual partner; the desire for control over when and how to have sex', thus far this is fairly comparable with the typology of Høigard and Finstad, yet Berger ends the list with 'or are in search of companionship what they take to be intimacy' (541). It is my belief that it should not be up to the researcher to define what intimacy should be and any companionship that these clients find, however brief, cannot be defined as such. Although insightful, confronting and somewhat patronizing these typologies take certain aspects for granted. Firstly, it is their status as a client that is taken for granted, as Kempadoo (2001) in her study on the discourses of sex work in the Caribbean proposes that not all men who pay for sex abroad consider themselves clients or 'sex tourists'.

A second point that is ignored, or taken for granted, is that these typologies do not necessarily create a difference between men. Campbell (1998) claims for instance that the majority of men have more than one motivation for paying for sex. In addition, I would like to claim that sex during the encounters with sex workers is somewhat reduced to the actual sex act that one has paid for. Like for instance, fellatio. Monto (2001) wrote a full article about the importance of oral sex during a sex work encounter. This supports the idea that men pay for specific sexual acts that they are less likely to get 'at home' (Earle and Sharpe, 2007: 51). Yet, from his own analysis only 12% of the respondents (N=1191) 'strongly agree' with the item 'I want a different kind of sex than with my regular partner'⁶. There

are always exceptions and the work of Elisabeth Bernstein (2001) 'Temporarily yours' in which she unravels the motivations of heterosexual male clients placing an emphasis on the bounded authenticity and Girlfriend Experience (GFE) that they seek. Bernstein is one of the very few scholars who probed the meanings of what is actually exchanged during sexual encounters with a sex worker. The universality of this experience and terminology will be addressed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. In general typologies on the motivations of heterosexual male clients are ideal types that seem to be based on a trans historical male sexual urge (Hollway, 1984; Bernstein, 2010) without taking the social and cultural context of the men that pay for sexual services into consideration (Sanders and Campbell, 2008: 164).

With the knowledge that stems from decades of – although minor – research on clients, some contemporary research challenges the possible relationships between social and political contexts in which heterosexual men who pay for sexual services as well as their attitudes, motivations and behaviours. Sanders (2008) for example, takes a close look at the sexual scripts of men who regularly pay for sexual services, and perceive themselves as a 'regular client', and how they might differ from men that have conventional sexual relationships. Zheng (2009) delved into clients' motivations by demonstrating how the relationships between male clients, female sex workers, their wives and the state are interrelated. The complexities of the influence of the state, and its policies and restrictions is further elaborated in a very recent study of Huschke (2016) who argued that the policy changes in Northern Ireland did not have an effect on the attitudes and perspectives of Irish men on sex work but instead his results reveal that most desires and values are shaped through the dominance of a repressive sexual culture with conservative Christian moral values, concluding that moral messages seem to have a bigger impact than punitive laws.

In this section I placed the research on clients in a historical and transnational perspective whilst problematizing comparison between countries and the ability to generalize specific findings when one wants to draw attention to the increase or decrease in percentages of men who pay for sexual services. In the following sections I will draw attention to the complexities of different prostitution policy regimes, their development over time and current insights when policies are being

approached from the perspective of those that might be repressed and restricted by criminal and punitive laws.

1.3 International prostitution policy models

Researchers have used several different concepts when categorizing prostitution policy regimes and this variation in terminology has often provoked some confusion in the literature, which has made international comparison quite a challenging undertaking. Social scientists have the privilege to create these classifications and it is sensible that there are competing categorizations considering the developments of sex work research. Bearing in mind that these typologies of prostitution regimes inform and determine policies of national states we might have to be wary about their usefulness.

Moral descriptions and ideal types

With prostitution policy I would like to refer to ways in which the public regulates prostitution through laws and regulations by governmental as well as municipal programmes. Joyce Outshoorn (2004c) defines prostitution regimes as: 'sets of laws and practices governing prostitution that shape prostitution in their respective jurisdictions in distinctive ways' (6). As several recent sex work research scholars have argued, there is a danger in the delineation of prostitution policy regimes hiding more than it reveals (Agustin, 2007; Wagenaar and Altink 2012).

The term policy regime is commonly used in policy literature to express a certain coherence and continuity in a policy field. These stem from the way the problem of 'prostitution' is formulated, the actors (sex workers, clients and other third parties like brothel owners) and organizations that are involved and the kind of instruments and solutions that are favoured (Altink and Wagenaar, 2012).

In the last decade there has been considerable debate about proper terminology of different prostitution policy regimes (see for discussions for instance Abel et al., 2010; Agustín 2008; Scoular 2010). Especially when these typologies that often function as 'ideal types' seem to overlap when making international comparisons of the enactment and implementation of prostitution policies models. Prostitution policies in any given country highly depend on the moral (un)acceptability of the payment for sexual services (Brants, 1998: 623).

This kind of 'morality politics' is what according to Wagenaar et al. (2017) and Weitzer (2009) makes prostitution policy regimes challenging when the policies tend to be more symbolic descriptions than pragmatic solutions as policies become formulated in such a way that they become almost impossible to implement. Moreover, regimes are often perceived as distinctive regimes while they might actually overlap on certain accounts, also when local measurements seem to differ a regime cannot be perceived as state specific.

Without going into country specific details at this point it is feasible to say that two specific developments have shaped prostitution policy regimes: growing migration (Outshoorn, 2011: 139) and the emergence of social movements and identity politics (Kilvington et al., 2001: 80). With the rise of a new global sex industry in the 1970s, which has led to 'sex tourism' and increased 'trafficking of women' EU member states had to accommodate to the consequences. In this light new perspectives and voices of sex workers joined older perspectives which inevitably led to a revision of prostitution policy regimes. During the 1970s models based on prohibitionism and abolitionism predominate in many European states, making a distinction between four different types of prostitution regimes, the prohibitionist, the abolitionist, the regulationist and legalization. The prohibitionist view perceives prostitution as immoral, even criminal and prohibitionist would like to eradicate the whole 'industry' by making all parties, the sex worker, client and facilitator criminals.

With the abolitionist perspective the sex worker is not perceived as a criminal, yet its main aim is still to eradicate prostitution. In the regulationist perspective, sex work is 'accepted' as something inevitable, which should be regulated by law. Germany, Austria and the Netherlands are examples of countries that to this day have regulationist perspectives, which often include zoning and mandatory medical inspections. Nonetheless, the Netherlands is often described as a country that 'legalized' prostitution. As a fourth category in this old classificatory system there is legalization. In a regime of legalization prostitution is seen as regular labour, governed by the market. Since the mid-1990s many European Union member states have changed their regimes, primarily by moving away from prohibitionism and abolitionism towards some kind of legislation and different forms of regulation (Outshoorn, 2011: 131).

The most noteworthy countries that have changed their prostitution policy regimes are the Netherlands and Sweden. Sweden was the very first country to introduce legislation that criminalized the purchase of sexual services. They introduced the Sex Purchase Act, *sexköpslagen*, in 1999 and it was said to be a unique measure when only those who buy sexual services would be punished and not those who would sell sexual services (Dodillet and Ostergren, 2011: 1). The implementation of this policy was preceded by years of lobbying by women's organizations and a coalition of feminists in the Swedish parliament.

The Sex Purchase Act was part of a proposition with the overall purpose to increase gender equality and to end men's violence against women. The intentions of the law were two-fold: first, to fight against, decrease and ultimately eliminate prostitution from Swedish society and secondly, to create a societal norm that condemns men who 'buy women's bodies for their own pleasure' (SOU, 2010: 49). In Sweden it was (and it is) understood that selling sexual services is ultimately physically and psychologically damaging for women, therefore no woman could voluntarily choose to sell sexual services.

Creating a distinction between voluntary and forced prostitution was one of the main aims of Dutch legislation that was implemented in the same year, before the turn of the century. Since 1911 prostitution as such became legalized, but all forms of exploitation were forbidden (de Vries, 1997).

By the turn of the century the Netherlands had lifted the brothel ban. By regulating the commercial operation of prostitution in the same ways as any other business it was hoped that the stigma of prostitution could also be addressed and gradually removed by legalizing prostitution as a profession. The regulation of the Dutch sex facilities had four broad goals: to separate voluntary from forced prostitution; protect the position of sex workers (Outshoorn 2004b: 189); to fight sex trafficking and other crimes that are associated with the sector and to prevent under-aged sex workers from entering the field (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 87). The stated aims of the new legislations seemed clear, but it is up to the local authorities that need to tailor the legislation to the local circumstances to control and regulate all conditions under which sex work is permitted in their municipalities (Agustín, 2005; Kilvington et al., 2001; Outshoorn, 2012; Zuckerwise, 2012).

Just like in Sweden this bill was introduced after years of parliamentary debates influenced by women movements. A full genealogy of the law and the social, cultural and political contexts in which these laws were shaped will be described in the third chapter. For now I have introduced these two seemingly opposite instances of prostitution legislation as a part of a wave of European Union member states changing their focus on regulation, implementation of laws and a sequential criminalization of specific parties. Since these new sets of legislation were introduced the classification of regimes that became more commonly described were: complete criminalization, complete decriminalization, partial decriminalization and (conventional) legalization (Halley et al., 2006: 338-339).

With complete criminalization all aspects and actors are criminalized through specific criminal laws. With complete decriminalization the opposite is the case in that sex work has no specific laws, all general laws that are applicable to all citizens, including the general law are also applicable to sex workers. Partial criminalization, as the name suggests holds that only the client, so not the sex worker, is perceived as a criminal (Ibid.). Sweden's Sex Purchase Act is a partial criminalization policy. Finally, conventional legalization is comparable with the previously formulated 'regulation' as it often involves 'zoning, registration and even compulsory STD testing as well as allowing brothels and/or Red Light Districts.

As Kotiswaran (2014) argues it is needless to say that the latest mentioned typology is very broad when one is comparing different countries (566). Especially when regulation and legalization of sex work seem to be drawn close together, the main difference between legalization and regulation is moral acceptance. Regulationists, like the Netherlands, accept the existence of sex work, but this does not mean they perceive it as a legitimate occupation. Legitimacy is what legalization implies (Brants, 1998: 623). I have come across literature of contemporary sex work scholars that does not propose or use a four type classification model, but a three-fold prostitution policy regime categorization using the models 'criminalization', 'legalization' (or 'regulation') and 'decriminalization' (Bernstein, 2007; Munro and Della Giusta 2008).

International comparisons and local implementations

Although the prostitution regimes that have been mentioned up till now look quite straightforward, a complete picture of what these regimes entail for a specific country or how a country might differ from another country is quite vague when this terminology is used without country specific explanations. Whilst it is not uncommon to find studies that describe that a country 'legalized prostitution', 'criminalized prostitution' or 'prohibited prostitution' without being given any explanations about the activities or persons that are not allowed to buy or sell sexual services (Östergren, 2017a: 2). Considering the countries that implemented a '(partial) criminalization', one needs to wonder who is criminalized by law. Are these the sex workers, the clients and/or the third parties? As mentioned, because of the moral concerns that might prevail in countries that regulate sex work, equating regulation with legalization is problematic. Prostitution policy regimes are seldom homogeneous and cannot be seen as a fixed entity. Nor do policy regimes solely convey legislation that either prohibits or regulates prostitution.

According to May Len Skilbrei and Charlotta Holmström (2013) an analysis of prostitution policies or regulatory frameworks only pointing at the legislation directed to prostitution is extremely problematic because laws alone do not make up prostitution policy. Emphasis should be placed as well on who implements those policies and how norms and ideologies are (re)produced that ratify legal measurements. Also, a state-centric approach to prostitution falls short according to Scoular (2010) when the impact of local regulations does not meet with the national policy regime.

Almost straight after the Brothel ban was lifted in the Netherlands the Dutch municipalities began to use the licensing systems for brothels as a tool to discourage or close down brothels (Wagenaar et al., 2017; 65) and only permitted sex work in specific zones and brothels that would not disturb public law and order (Munro and Della Giusta, 2008: 1-2). In several cities and especially in Amsterdam licenses have been revoked for brothel owners who allegedly employed illegal migrants, laundered money or failed to declare earnings (Hubbard and Whowell, 2007: 1748). In the Netherlands and Sweden two

contrasting policy models became dominant that were enacted in national legislation and local policing. Where the Netherlands intended to normalize aspects of the industry by regulation the Swedish reform criminalized those who purchase sexual services along with a more sympathetic approach to those whom they consider victims i.e. the sex workers. While the approaches are counter posed, to make use of the previously mentioned policy regimes: the Netherlands regulated the industry while Sweden introduced a model of partial decriminalization, yet they start from a common understanding that prostitution is a problem that needs state intervention. Moreover, by the criminalization of clients in Sweden as well as the closure of many facilities in the Netherlands many sex workers and clients have moved underground to become less visible to authorities and to avoid possible sanctions. Comparing prostitution policy regimes therefore should depend on from which position one would try to understand the impacts of a specific regime.

From a different angle

Daniela Danna (2014) takes the perspective of the sex worker as a point of departure when categorizing the European regimes. Based on this perspective she rather uses a model of five regimes based on the three previously mentioned policy models, 'prohibitionism', 'regulationism' and 'abolitionism' she adds 'neo-prohibitionism', which involves client criminalization, and 'neo-regulationism' which involves the non-punitive restrictions that sex workers face. Following Danna (2012), Petra Östergren (2017a), Swedish scholar and activist, proposed a reformulation of the prostitution regimes when she examined the impact of different prostitution policies when tackling 'the demand'. These three typologies, which she phrased as: 'repressive', 'restrictive' and 'integrative', are still considered as ideal types, the repressive policy type considers the sale as well as the purchase harmful for society because it hurts individual woman and gender equality and has the main aim to eradicate prostitution. Östergren (2017a) describes that the intention of the law might be to criminalize the client alone, as in Sweden, but it might also involve criminalizing client, sex worker and all intermediaries. Consequently when there are no houses, clubs or brothels to work

from and you would not be allowed to have security or a driver who could profit from the income of a sex worker, the sector would run illegally (13). The second type she describes is the restrictive policy, which could be compared with a regulationist prostitution policy model, yet it is more accurate to describe it as 'restrictive' when taking the perspective of the sex worker and client, especially when, as I have mentioned previously, 'regulation' is too often confused with 'legalization', yet as its name gives away, a restrictive policy type has the aim to restrict the sector to protect society and/or those selling sex from harm in which selling sexual services is considered a negative social phenomenon, which needs sector-specific legislation and regulations with an essentialist notion that it will always exist within any given society and all possible related harm should be reduced (14-15).

The last and third type is the integrative type in which, differently from the restrictive type, no sector-specific laws should exist. In this type the labour, administrative and commercial laws are applied to sex work as they are applied to any given service sector, ideally the integrative approach has extra specific legislation that would protect them from exploitation, such as the right to refuse and withdraw consent at any point during the encounter (Östergren, 2017a: 15-16).

This three-fold typology is built on years of knowledge of sex work in which changes in national legislation and local regulations have made the sectors extremely complex, especially for those that sell and buy sexual services. It therefore fits neatly into contemporary scholarly thought about the sector in which scholars have become more aware of their own situated knowledge, scientific paradigms and the influence they have as well as the impact they can make when pointing out the complexity of sex work when it has grown into a global venture.

This typology also provides an important framework for scholars who, during this time in which European Union member states are changing their policies, undertake comparative research or specific case studies in sex work venues and/or advocate for a more integrative sex work policy model. What makes this model interesting for me in the light of this dissertation is that it gives a possibility to surpass labelling the Netherlands and Sweden as opposites when

they are framed as countries that '(partially) criminalized' and 'legalized' sex work when allowing for an understanding of the complexity of the legislation from the standpoint of sex workers and their clients. Given the genealogy of the regimes in the Netherlands and Sweden – which will be elaborated in Chapter 3 – and especially the current objectives of the Dutch coalition in 2017 this opposition does not hold any longer.

1.4 Practicing Sex Work Research

Aims and goals

By means of this dissertation I do not aim to evaluate which prostitution model would produce better outcomes or mostly deserves academic or feminist support. Instead, I aim to place an emphasis on the culturally embedded perspectives and discursive formations in countries with restrictive and repressive prostitution models. Throughout the chapters that will follow I aim to shed light on the context specific mechanisms of stigma, social exclusions as well as specific homosociality and localized forms of brotherhood. Whilst acknowledging the heterogeneity of clients I aim to describe their country specific commonalities. With this thesis at hand I hope to inspire other scholars to contextualize sex work before offering solutions to undefined problems.

Despite these aims and goals I do acknowledge that important moral and ethical issues are inherent to sex work and there can be a widespread injustice found in the sex industry. It is without doubt that there are many sex workers who have been forced, work involuntarily, are maltreated and work under poor conditions. There are many women, trans or male sex workers who have no other possibilities then selling sex as the main source of their income. And I do acknowledge that there can be violence within this specific industry. While the latter will be discussed through the many reflections that Swedish and Dutch men make during the processes of getting acquainted with the field of sex work, severe maltreatments are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Although one can never be sure, I dare say that all the sexual encounters that have taken place between the clients interviewed in this thesis and the sex workers they describe have been consensual. This said, this dissertation will only focus on the heterosexual spectrum of paid sexual encounters.

Chapter outline

The first part of this thesis involves the position of the researcher, the shift of paradigms and recent developments in sex work followed by the theories that work as a foundation or rather building blocks of this thesis, as well as the

methods used, which enabled me to grasp the understanding of sex work and purchase behaviour of those paying for sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands.

The following chapter of the first part of this thesis, Chapter 2, will describe the emergence of the respectable heterosexual man by using the theory of governmentality of Michel Foucault who analysed power not from the standpoint of the law itself but from the perspective of power relations. His key philosophies will be addressed in which he perceived power not as something restrictive or dominating, but as dispersed and pervasive, creating specific discursive formations. Discursive formation is a semantic perspective on common vocabulary that produces or reproduces specific discourses. The law must therefore, in the latest perspectives of Foucault, be analysed from the standpoints of power relations and not from the standpoint of the law itself, but the internalizations of the modes of government.

Chapter 3 describes the genealogy of restrictive and repressive models in Sweden and the Netherlands where by the turn of the century both countries implemented different laws with the help of feminist movements. In this chapter the perspectives and moralities that enabled these laws to be implemented as well as a selection of the developments in the last seventeen years will be described. Likewise, the political and culturally embedded values that often came along with the implementation of these country-specific policies will be addressed.

The methods used in this qualitative study that look at these discursive formations are considered in Chapter 4. Given that, as mentioned in the previous sections, sex work research is a highly contested research field all the methodological and ethical dilemmas that this research brought up will be addressed, not only from the perspective of the researcher, but also from the perspectives of the participants and all deliberations they had to make to secure their contribution.

The second part of this dissertation revolves around the analyses of the interviews with heterosexual male clientele of sex workers in these two differing countries enabling us to understand the different processes, trends and justifications influenced by the repressive and restrictive policy models. These chapters are written down in such an order that, as a reader, you would get an

idea of the processes that clients go through before, during and after the sexual encounter with a sex worker from browsing through advertisements to getting caught by the local police departments. Throughout these chapters the differences between Swedish and Dutch men will become evident by their different jargon, logics and deliberations.

In Chapter 5 the purchase of sexual services becomes understood as a process by different spatial displacements from offline to online as well as from national to international venues by different push and pull factors based on the motivations as well as a global professionalization of the sex industry. While describing different grey zones and country-specific trends this chapter will raise questions about the limits of sex tourism and sexual surrogacy.

In Chapter 6 emphasis is placed on the regularity of visiting sex workers and other trajectories because of spatial displacements and the nature of sex work as a temporary occupation. In this chapter an understanding is created in the differences in emotional labour whilst questioning the universality of common descriptions like the Girlfriend Experience (GFE). Given the different descriptions and expectations by Swedish and Dutch sex buyers emphasis is placed on their ideas about commoditization of sex as well as the commodification of the female body.

Given the criminalization of clients in Sweden Chapter 7 will describe what happens after men get caught or when they perceive themselves as having a 'problem' with paying for sexual services. Their disassociation from other clients because of their involvement with and advocacy for sex workers by becoming a respectable client as well as problematizing their own purchase behaviour will be debated extensively.

Chapter 8 will describe reflexive accounts of clients on the prostitution models and policy developments in Sweden and the Netherlands. Reflections that they can only make with the knowledge they gained from all steps made in the processes of paying for sexual services.

In the last and final part of this thesis one can find the conclusion and the summaries of this dissertation.

2.1 Governmentality

All the World's a stage, and all the men and women merely players.
(Shakespeare)⁷

Introduction

At the core of much sociological thinking about sexuality lies the analytical work of what is often referred to as the 'social constructionist turn' (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Instead of thinking about sex and sexuality as something essentially biologically driven, sexuality is grounded in wider material and cultural forces. Human sexuality is socially produced, organized and transgressed over time and space. The analytical tools presented in this chapter are all derived from and build upon this social constructionist turn.

Contemporary discussions about sex work, from which some have been presented in the preface of this dissertation and others will be addressed in the following chapter, rest not only upon whether to partially criminalize, decriminalize or regulate prostitution, but also on the truths told. What kind of truths about prostitution are claimed and by whom? Who has the knowledge and the power to claim those truths? On what kind of dispositions of the truth are prostitution laws and regulations built? And, furthermore, how are these laws and regulations produced, re-produced, internalized and contested by the populations that are governed by them? Throughout this thesis I will try to complicate the relationships between the regulatory frameworks, or prostitution regimes, that heterosexual men (and the wider populations) are exposed to and controlled by. To disclose this complex dyadic relationship between the 'powerful institutions' and the 'powerless subjects' of this study I seek to contextualize the contingency and instability of power and to an extent the resistance of certain subjectivities. This specific paragraph will be devoted to theories and analytical tools that work as a foundation for the rest of this thesis.

I begin with a fairly brief description of how I understand power drawing on Foucault's analytics of power. His conceptualizations of power led him to the development of the term governmentality in which he further developed his

understanding of the working of power relations. I bring together Foucault's analytics with concepts like heterosexuality and heteronormativity from more recent feminist scholarship. On the last pages of this brief chapter I will emphasize the importance of using heteronormativity that generates rules of sexual conduct - or scripts - that can be conformed or transformed.

Power is productive

Power and the ways in which power is expressed and what it actually entails and how it should be conceptualized and theorized has been a lengthy study of many scholars in different fields of the social sciences. How power works and how it is manifested lies at the heart of many works from Foucault and has had an influence on many feminist and sexuality scholars since the early 1970s. As such, Foucault's analytics of power provide a useful approach to consider how power works to restrain, normalize and discipline human bodies. He was preliminary interested in how power is exercised in relations, he therefore does not offer a context free, ahistorical, 'objective' analytic description or theory of power (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 184) and the same seems to count for many of his concepts.

Foucault (2002) described in his powerful essay 'The Subject and Power' that his thoughts about power were due to a lack of tools for the study:

We had recourse only to ways of thinking about power based on legal models, that is: What legitimates power? Or, we had recourse to ways to thinking about power based on institutional models, that is: What is the state?

(Foucault, 2002:327)

Foucault wanted to develop a way of thinking about power that would step aside from thinking about power as something repressive, as a complete domination from one or several institutional oppressors and to place power in the context of 'global problems of the regulation and ordering of society' (Pasquino, 1993:79). With these thoughts Foucault (1980) described two seemingly heterogeneous forms of power as domination and/or repression (a) the juridical power, as a force from the oppressor installed to be submissive to. In this juridical

conceptualization of power, 'power is taken to be a right, which one is able to possess like a commodity, and which one can in consequence transfer or alienate' (Foucault, 1980: 88). In this form of thinking, power is something that is held by the sovereign or government and used against its subordinates. It is a form of power that is dominating and repressive and operates in negative ways, through prohibition (Foucault, 1998: 83–84). This juridical power is the way in which the 'power of law' is often depicted: 'if we speak of the power of laws, institutions, and ideologies, if we speak of the structures or mechanisms of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain persons exercise power over others' (Foucault, 2002: 337). And (b) with power as repression, Foucault takes 'war' as an example in which he draws on the work of Nietzsche who looks to the ways in which 'the relationship of power lies in the hostile engagement of forces' (Foucault, 1980: 91).

Both of these descriptions of power were perceived as waning by Foucault who rather perceived power as normalizing instead of (solely) repressing and dominating, in his new perspective on power the disciplinary nature of power becomes the schema for thinking about power, through examples such as psychiatric power or the control of sexuality (Foucault, 1980: 92). Through this focus on the disciplinary mechanisms of power – power as normalization – Foucault identified power as technical, creative and productive (Foucault, 1979). In identifying this 'new' analytics of power, Foucault pleads that:

We should direct our researches on the nature of power [...] towards domination and the material operators of power, towards forms of subjection and the inflections and utilizations of the localized systems, and towards strategic apparatuses to base our analysis of power on the study of the techniques and tactics of domination.

(Foucault, 1980: 102)

Law must therefore, in the perspectives of Foucault, be analysed from the standpoints of power relations and not from the standpoint of the law itself. It must be analysed by a bottom-up approach instead of a top-down focus. Since

power is not applied by a single state, or sovereign. Power is omnipresent 'down to the tiniest capillaries of the social body' (Fraser, 1981: 280)

Extending his thoughts about power as normalizing led to Foucault's work on the history, or rather genealogy of 'governmentality' examining the rationalities governmental institutions, or ways or systems of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (Gordon, 1991).

Governmentality ≠ Government

Foucault started his work on governmentality by introducing the concept in a series of lectures in 1978. He argued that the same style of analysis, which he developed on power – throughout every day relations and practices – could be applied to the techniques and practices of governing populations and subjects (Macleod and Durrheim, 2002: 41). With the introduction of his new concept it seems as if he moved away from his power/knowledge framework to what he called the 'government of human beings through truth' (Gordon, 2015: 247-248). According to Gordon this change comprised two linked parts, namely the shift from power to the notion of government and from knowledge to truth (Ibid.) Yet, there are many commentators who do not perceive this as a 'shift' but rather perceive governmentality to remain entwined with his previous concepts (Bevir, 2010: 423).

In these lecture series in 1978 which were called 'Security – Territory and Population' Foucault tried to 'cut the Gordian knot of the relation between micro and macro levels of power' (Dean, 1994:179). The lectures also performed a role in contemporary reality when Michel Foucault used genealogy to cut diagonally through the present-day reality. He could speak according to Ewald and Fontana – who have written the preface of the English translation by Graham Burchell from his lectures – 'about Nietzsche or Aristotle, of expert psychiatric opinion or about the Christian pastoral but those who attended his lectures always took from what he said a perspective on the present and contemporary events' (Ewald and Fontana, 2008: 11). During his most famous lecture on the 1st of February 1978⁸ Foucault offered a threefold definition of governmentality, firstly a type of power, secondly the pre-eminence of governmental power over time and lastly the

governmentalization of the state (Legg, 2016: 2). During his lecture he substantiated governmentality as:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatus of security.

(Foucault in: Burchell et al., 1991: 87)

The concept of governmentality demonstrates Foucault's hypothesis on the omnipresence of power techniques in which he links governing and modes of thought. It was not possible for Foucault to study the technologies of power without analysing the political rationality that undermine them (Lemke, 2001: 191). Just like with his conceptualizations of power, Foucault did not have a fixed theory or definition of 'governmentality'. In the years after his famous lecture Foucault presented other – more dense – definitions of governmentality. For instance, during a seminar in Vermont, he defined governmentality as 'the contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self (Foucault, 1988a: 19). And after the publication of a 2nd and 3rd volume of *The History of Sexuality*; 'The Use of Pleasure' and 'The Care of the Self' Foucault suggested that 'governmentality implies the ethical relation of self-to-self concerning strategies for the direction of conduct of free individuals' (Foucault, 1988b: 19-20) or a 'criss-crossing of connections between the government of oneself and the social' (Carrington and Watson, 1996: 267) or the widely used 'conduct of conduct' yet all definitions have in common that it captures the way governments, other institutions and actors draw on knowledge to make policies that regulate and (re)create subjectivities.

It should be noted by now that Foucault made a clear distinction between 'government' and 'governmentality'. And his lectures and essays have therefore given rise to the 'rethinking of the notion of government' (Dean, 1999:1). Governmentality focuses on the 'how' of governing instead of governing as an act of 'doing'. Thus, as noted by Harding 'governmentality looks to the half-way

ground between power as domination and power as creative, technical, productive' (Harding, 2011: 39). Government is therefore treated as a process that shapes human conduct and not as a synonym for the state by avoiding dichotomies of the public/private, state/non-state (Harrington, 2012: 338) whilst including security apparatuses and strategies of control that are dispersed across all domains of life (Holmer Nadesan, 2008: 9).

As mentioned in the introductory note of this chapter it is for this reason that I consolidate Foucault's analysis of power and governmentality not as theories but as a 'renewed perspective and a productive concept' (Zuckerwise, 2012: 147) on how governments, by avoiding the dichotomies of state/non state have an influence on the everyday life of those that pay for sexual services by creating technologies of the self that are part of the creation of specific subjectivities. In the following chapter this will be made rather more clear when the rational of specific 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky, 2010), those local institutions that have an influence on the social constructions of men who pay for sexual services, are clarified. These bureaucrats, together with elected officials and media form what Foucault would describe as 'discursive formations' (1971; 2012) 'an interconnected set of statements, knowledge, facts, procedures, routines, organizations, metaphors and ways of speaking, that, taken together, define prostitution' (Wagenaar et al. 2017: 138).

Studies of governmentality aim to unpick why we are governed in the ways we are, and what it means to be governed in these particular ways (Rose, 1999). A perspective like this allows for an understanding of how critical knowledge is able to achieve governmental authority (Harrington, 2012: 338).

In light of this thesis, employing a governmentality perspective attempts therefore to understand the 'problem of prostitution' and the ways in which governments come up with solutions by exposing the contingency of particular modes of being 'a sex buyer' and how governmental aims have an impact on the daily lives and purchase behaviour of these clients.

Governmentality explores how individuals are privileged as autonomous self-regulating agents or are marginalized, disciplined or subordinated as invisible or dangerous (Holmer Nadesan, 2008: 1). Governmentality is the perspective that the individual is implicated in large-scale normalizing structures and regulatory

controls. Governmentality analysis thus attempts to interlink micro-effects with macro strategies of power without privileging one or the other (Macleod and Durrheim, 2002: 45).

2.2 Heteronormativity

Heterosexuality is a state of becoming

During the formation of his governmentality analysis Foucault wrote his three volumes of the 'History of Sexuality'. In these volumes Foucault traces how sexuality, and evidently 'heterosexuality', has been produced in history through social meanings and discourses. Foucault identifies how religion, medicine, education, welfare and even scientific discourse have contributed to dominant perspectives about sexuality.

What 'we' experience as sexuality Foucault (1979) argues is both the product and process of the representations of (hetero)sexuality. Just as we are born into systems of gender, class and race, we are also born with heterosexuality as the dominant institutionalized norm of sexuality. Heterosexuality gives legitimacy through repetition of certain values placed on sexual behaviour, thoughts and expressions to which we are subjected on a daily basis. Heterosexuality is therefore the acceptable, dominant and for some the only known way of speaking about sexuality (Skeggs, 1997: 119). Hence, sexuality becomes a matter of what can and cannot be done, what can and cannot be said. What we sexually are allowed to do, what is forbidden, obliged and expected. Heterosexuality therefore gives a certain 'authorization' to valid and acceptable forms of sexuality. But just like whiteness, class and gender heterosexuality is often taken-for-granted, which results in a dominant and universalizing truth (e.g. Butler 1993; Ingraham 2001; Skeggs 1997).

Relying on Foucault's genealogies of sexuality would mean that sexuality, or rather 'heterosexuality' is always in motion. The discourses of what are perceived as acceptable sexual acts and relationships differ over time and specific cultural contexts. For example, rape within marriage was criminalized as early as 1965 in Sweden but there were no specific penal codes on marital rape or forced sex within a relationship in the Netherlands before 1991. It was implicitly assumed that marriage came with certain marital obligations. One of them was having sex. These new perspectives led to different descriptions between forced and voluntary sex, indecent assaults, domestic violence and 'gender based' violence (see for a full discussion Hofer 2000; Römken, 2009).

So, despite its universality heterosexuality can never be perceived as something 'constant'. It has no reality *sui generis* as sexuality has and should always be contextualized. In the later works of William Simon he describes heterosexuality not as a constant but rather as a dependent variable when he explains that 'all discourses of sexuality are inherently discourses about something else, rather than serving as a constant thread that unifies the totality of human experience, sexuality is the ultimate dependent variable, requiring explanation more often than it provides explanation.' (Simon, 1996: VI).

Nevertheless, heterosexuality is in my understanding often used in reference to homosexuality whereby heterosexuality is described as the norm from which homosexuality deviates. Establishing an understanding of heterosexuality as creating certain boundaries as well as marginalizing and sanctioning those outside them (Jackson, 2006: 105). Heterosexuality is a state of becoming within the limitations of the heterosexual framework in a given place and time (e.g. Halley, 1993 'the construction of heterosexuality'). Yet to the extent of the limitations of the heterosexual boundaries, the limitations for those inside are rarely challenged, but the contrast with homosexuality still proves profound, especially in works of Adrienne Rich and other lesbian feminists who tried to problematize, contest, and subvert heterosexuality. Adrienne Rich's (1980) concept of 'compulsory heterosexuality' could be seen as one of the forerunners of the concept of heteronormativity, but her parallels with heterosexuality are limiting its usage. I would therefore like to draw attention to the concept of 'heteronormativity' as a hegemonic power of sexual differences, not in the sense of sexual orientation but in setting norms of sexual acts; rules of conduct.

I use the term heteronormativity quite consciously in this dissertation as an attempt to designate both the power relations and social structuring effects – or 'governmentality' – that heterosexuality has when it operates as a norm for those heterosexual men that are placed within its structures.

Heteronormativity consists of the powers of heterosexuality when it operates to normalizing structures. I take this interpretation of heteronormativity from Samuel Chambers who clarifies in the following that heteronormativity:

Heteronormativity means, quite simply, that heterosexuality is the norm, in culture, in society, in politics. Heteronormativity points out the exception of heterosexuality as it is written into our world. It does not, of course, mean that everyone is straight. More significantly, heteronormativity is not part of a conspiracy theory that would suggest that everyone must become straight or be made so. The importance of the concept is that it centres on the operation of the norm. Heteronormativity emphasizes the extent to which everyone, straight or queer, will be judged, measured, probed and evaluated from the perspective of the heterosexual norm. It means that everyone and everything is judged from the perspective of straight.

(Chambers, 2003: 26)

Heteronormativity is therefore a concept quite distinct from heterosexuality 'because it has no parallel which organizes homosexuality as its opposite'. (Berlant and Warner, 1998: 548). Heteronormativity in its broadest sense affects daily life, shapes social norms, and impacts (public) policies by reproducing implicit notions of heterosexuality into those practices, norms and policies. By employing heteronormativity as a conceptual lens one is able to reveal the legal, institutional, and cultural norms that entrench the normativity of heterosexuality. To quote Chambers again:

Heteronormativity tells us that heterosexual desire and identity are not merely assumed, they are expected. They are demanded. They are rewarded and privileged. Heteronormativity must not be reduced to the idea of an assumption in the heads of individuals that say "my guess is that you are straight". Heteronormativity is written into law, encoded in the very edifices of institutions, built into an enormous variety of common practices

(Chambers, 2007: 664–665).

Heteronormativity ≠ Heterosexuality

Because of its regulatory practices heteronormativity is very much about possible practices that enforce heterosexual ideas, beliefs and desires. A very common example would be marriage, but what to think of taxes and insurances – especially

in the case of the Netherlands and Sweden with specific welfare states. Any law or custom like this points to the fact that heteronormativity generates privilege to specific practices, and more so, specific relationships that approximate the norm while marginalizing, discriminating and stigmatizing those that deviate from the norm with different practices. It must be said that the current hegemonic norm – and this exemplifies the non-static characteristic of heteronormativity – is no longer marriage, but nonetheless a monogamous heterosexual relationship is seen as an ideal which is deeply rooted in policy and institutional practices (for a discussion see: Richardson, 2005).

It will be brought to attention throughout this thesis that although sexuality is constructed through various discourses and art(s) of government, individuals are not passive recipients of any heteronormative constructions. They might use them creatively by accepting specific parts of normative discourses, while rejecting others, find exceptions to those norms or transform them.

The role of a sociologist – or at least those with an interpretive sociological tradition – in unravelling these constructions is according to Plummer to look at how identities are constituted in cultural practices and everyday life (Plummer, 1994: 184) (For a broader discussion: Kitzinger, 2005).

One way to do this is to look at ‘the changes’ in sexual scripts that might create conflicts at personal and collective levels. At a collective level heteronormative scripts of relationships have undergone significant changes since the 1960s and it has been theorized through concepts like ‘plastic sexuality’ (Giddens, 1992) and ‘liquid love’ (Bauman, 2003) that contemporary relationships are more fluid. Even though other relationships forms seem to be more accepted sex is still perceived as something one does or has within a monogamous relationship. There are still norms, ideals and customs. As Brooks-Gordon and Gelsthorpe note, ‘to go outside a monogamous relationship and purchase intimacy or sexual practices violates these contemporary ideals and cultural customs’ (2003: 442)

2.3 Sexual scripts

Cultural, interpersonal and intra-psychic scripts

The development of sexual scripting theories took place in the 1970s, that these years have other crucial genealogical importance will be elaborated in the following chapter, But first, these scripting theories were embedded in larger intellectual efforts to reject traditional views about sexuality by 'proposing alternative conceptions that all anticipated on the emerging social constructionist and postmodernist tradition' (Gagnon, 1990: 3). Comparable with the analysis and further developments of the conceptual tools of Foucault, script theories rest on the foundations of social constructionism (Wiederman, 2015:11).

Simon and Gagnon developed the well-known sexual script theory, first published in 1973 in their book 'Sexual Conduct'. In their earliest formulation of their theories sexual scripting was perceived as operating on two distinct levels, the intra-psychic and the interpersonal, that is, on the level of the mental life and on the level of social interaction (Gagnon, 1990: 6). This led to a pile of criticism of failing to address where sexual scripts come from. These problems were, according to Jackson and Scott overcome in their later work when they introduced the third dimension of their script theory, 'the cultural scenarios' (2010: 815) The levels of sexual scripts were in their latest work addressed in the following order: the intra-psychic, the interpersonal and the cultural scenario.

At the intra-psychic level, scripts represent an important part of the social constructionism of the self, producing a commitment to desire and act sexually in a certain way. The intra-psychic scripts include fantasies, memories and mental rehearsals; these fantasies are personal, but in essence linked to social meanings (Simon and Gagnon, 1984a: 54). Interpersonal scripts operate at the level of social interaction and the acceptance and use of such scripts are the basis for the reproduction of heteronormative structures. On this level the individual is an agent who meets with all expectations of others, guiding his/her conduct in terms of the conduct of the others. In Gagnon's (1990) descriptions this level is the most cognitivist as it involves an interplay between interaction and mental life. (Gagnon, 1990: 10). And lastly the cultural scripts are the general scenario's that

work as a guide defining the boundaries of what is sexually permitted to make sense of individual experiences (ibid.).

Each level, the interpersonal, intra-psychic and cultural reciprocally influences the others and scripts on all three levels are important determinants of individuals' sexual beliefs and behaviour. Sexual scripting offers therefore a 'conceptual apparatus with which to examine the development and experience of the sexual' (Simon and Gagnon, 1984b: 40).

Conforming and transforming scripts

In one of the most recent and most thoughtful studies on heterosexual male clients in the UK, which I made a reference to in the previous chapter, Teela Sanders (2008) describes the lack of making proper connections between studies on commercial sex and the sexual scripting theory. In her study 'Paying for Pleasure: Men Who Buy Sex' she makes an attempt by analysing the narratives of regular clients of commercial sex and non-clients on the notion of male sexual scripts. By making use of scripting theory she made an effort to look at the interplay between changing sexual scripts, the expansion of the sex industry and the very complex relationships between sex workers and their clients (Sanders, 2008a: 401).

As Bernstein (2007) has pointed out, changes in the meanings of commercial sex are related to more structural dimensions, including the precariousness of life, which for men, has meant the disruption not only of lifelong marriage, but also of a lifelong breadwinner role.

Taking a Foucauldian understanding of power that does not repress but also has the ability to transgress, resist and re-interpret heteronormative sexual scripts, I adopt the analytical perspective on the inter- and intra-personal sexual scripting levels of Masters et al. (2013) of either conforming, exception-finding or transforming gender norms (scripts). Conforming is when personal gender scripts of sexual behaviour overlap with traditional scripts. Exception-finding is when persons accept culture level gender scripts as reality, but create exceptions to gender for themselves, and transforming is when scripts are interpreted in their own non-traditional styles as equally normative (Masters et al., 2013: 410).

An example of transforming non-traditional scripts and treating them as equally normative is the ethnographic research of strip clubs from Katherine Frank (2003). Frank interprets the diversity of male desires as different masculine practices as she describes the contradictions and ambivalences of men's understanding of sexuality as committed husbands while building specific relationships with the strip club dancers.

In the following chapter the genealogies of prostitution policies in the two countries of this study, Sweden and the Netherlands, are elaborated as arts of government in which regulations and policies are shaped, specific truths are made coherent and norms are adopted by different institutions, while creating specific 'discursive formations'.

Remark

On the previous pages I addressed two main perspectives from three well-known theorists, namely the social constructionist perspectives of Foucault and the interactionism approach of Gagnon and Simon's work on intra-psychic, interpersonal and cultural scripts. In this 'remark' I would like to briefly create an understanding why I have decided to make use of both theories as conceptual and analytical tools in this dissertation, whilst acknowledging their differences. Given the timeline in which I have suggested that these theories have been presented and further developed it must be said that up until Foucault's work of the history of sexuality became widely available in English, the work of Simon and Gagnon was offering the then only available theory of the social construction of sexuality (Jackson and Scott, 2010: 816). And well before Foucault's critique on power as repressive but rather as constructive, Simon and Gagnon questioned the concept of repression in itself, creating a positive conceptualization of the social – as producing sexuality rather than negatively moulding or modifying innate drifts (Ibid: 814). Especially when Simon and Gagnon added the third level, the cultural script, to their theory, they, equivalent to the theories of Foucault, perceive sexual desire and conduct as social and therefore embedded in wider patterns of sociality. But what is, in my understanding, the most distinguished difference between Foucault and Simon and Gagnon, is that for Foucault sexuality comes in

to being as an object of a specific discourse that allows for the (re)production of the subject. For Gagnon and Simon cultural scenario's, instead of 'discourses' create instead of restrain the possibilities wherein the subjects make sense of their everyday lives. Important therefore is to emphasize that on the level of culture concepts of scripts and discourses can be used synonymously but with a different outcome for sexual subjects and their practices. Discourses create subject positions from within the context that these subjects are embedded, whether they conform or resist their subjectification, in respect to this thesis the men (subjects) that pay for sexual services (practices) are embedded in and (re)produced by the regimes (discourses) and truth and knowledge about 'prostitution' and 'sex buyers' (discursive formations) in the two distinctive countries. Whereas the cultural level of Simon and Gagnon enable actors to locate themselves within the cultural while making sense of everyday life and social scenarios that they can resist, constrain or be given the ability to create other sexual possibilities. These possibilities, or rather 'individual agency' is from a Foucauldian perspective tentative since subjects are always positioned within a given discourse.

In this dissertation the theoretical concepts of Gagnon and Simon that can be employed on the micro level, the intra-psychic scripting and interpersonal scripting, will be used allowing for an analysis of how cultural scenarios are embodied within their personal deliberations and their communication with sex workers. Although I acknowledge their different perspectives I perceive, like Plummer (2003) interactionism as a 'modest' theory, that can be used in conjunction with Foucault on the micro level which enables me to structure the analysis of my data along the line of the processes that the men go through of a (constant) becoming that often involve personal and interpersonal communication, nevertheless these personal perspectives and reflexive notions of individual men are in my understanding, always related macro levels of power as the totalizing theory of Foucault intended.

3.1 The Netherlands: Pragmatism and regulated tolerance (1960s –1990s)

Introduction

In the following sections it will be made clear that Sweden and the Netherlands have different cultural and historical points of departure to come to the establishment of their prostitution policies. By describing their historical time line before the enactment of the Swedish *sexköpslagen* and the Dutch abolition of the brothel ban it becomes apparent that their genealogy from which current discourses are shaped both stem from extensive feminist lobbying in parliamentary debates since the 1970s.

During the era of sexual liberation in the 1970s the truths told about prostitution become consistent due to the coalitions that had been built between women's movements and political parties. The difference between these countries is that in the Netherlands other stakeholders, like sex workers, also had a voice during decision making processes. Where the distinction was soon made between forced and voluntary in the 1980s this distinction is currently not as widely shared as before the enactment of lifting the brothel ban. Where sex work was a matter of emancipation and labour rights it soon became a matter of justice and criminality in the Netherlands. Noteworthy, Amsterdam had and still has a leading role in developing new regulations.

In Sweden those women's movements that have placed prostitution on the political agendas still have a strong relationship with policy makers. This relationship enables them to stay consistent about their perspectives on sex work. However the perspective on sex work changed from one of social engineering to a global perspective in which prostitution becomes equated with human trafficking.

The first two sections of this chapter will describe the genealogy of the prostitution policies in the Netherlands, before and after the enactment of lifting the brothel ban. The third and fourth sections of this chapter will describe the genealogy of Sweden in the same order, before and after the enactment of the sex purchase ban. What becomes apparent is that, from the perspective of sex buyers and sex workers, the two 'distinctive' prostitution policy regimes cannot be seen as opposites and regulation is not the same as legalization, nor does the

criminalization of one party not have an influence on other parties involved. Both countries have a variety of repressive and restrictive measures against those who provide sexual services and those who solicit and pay for them.

Turning a blind eye

Just like in most European countries the national legislation of prostitution had been abolitionist at the beginning of the 20th century. In the Netherlands the abolitionist thoughts were the outcome of abolitionist campaigns of feminists and Protestants, these campaigns had led to the 'morality act' of 1911 (Outshoorn, 2004b: 174). This act criminalized abortion and contraceptives as well as homosexuality. And those who were able to make a living out of the earnings of sex work, like pimps and brothel owners, were criminalized. The sex worker was not criminalized as she was seen as a woman who needed to be saved (De Vries, 1997). These morality laws reflected the morals of the religious parties that had a majority in the Dutch parliament since the early 1900s (Outshoorn, 2012: 234). However, in the case of sex work, these laws have not been effective. After the introduction of the morality act brothels and specific prostitution zones were openly or tacitly condoned, creating an unofficial form of regulation (van Doorninck et al. 1998) and as long as public order was not threatened, authorities turned 'a blind eye' (Outshoorn, 2012: 234).

The secularization in the 1960s began to challenge these morality laws, especially when the religious political parties lost their majority in the Dutch parliament in 1967. During the end of the 1960s the Netherlands were at the wake of 'sexual freedom', wherein new political ideologies were shaped and sexual mores began to loosen up. These ideologies stood in sharp contrast to the morality laws, which were perceived as undesirable state intervention. And when the religious parties lost their majority their political opponents seized the opportunity to repeal the laws. After intense and prolonged debate, contraceptives⁹ and abortion¹⁰ became legalized and homosexuality became decriminalized in the Netherlands, but the ban on brothels was left untouched (Outshoorn, 2012: 234).

These legalizations and decriminalisations enabled a far reaching sexual liberty in the Netherlands, together with a rise of prosperity in the Netherlands new (inter)national sex markets were fuelled (Outshoorn, 2004a: 167). These liberal perspectives also had an influence on the second wave feminists of the Netherlands. These feminists developed a pro-sex work position, claiming women's sexual and occupational self-determination. This in contrast to the feminist discourses on prostitution in other European countries. These perspectives on women's self-determination, as opposed to perceiving all prostitution as a form of violence, were developed during the first world whore congress in Amsterdam, in 1985. During this convention it was the first time a clear distinction was made between 'forced' and 'voluntary' forms of prostitution. By making this clear distinction they opposed the notion that all sex workers were victims. The attendees of the convention also proclaimed that those who pay for their services as well as third parties that secured the work of sex workers should not be defined as pimps and traffickers (Chapkis, 2005: 57). Their main standpoint was that voluntary prostitution had to be legalized and recognized as a form of work (Outshoorn, 2004b: 186).

Forced versus Voluntary

In the years that followed Dutch sex workers set up their own sex work rights organization – originally set up as a trade union – called the Red Thread (Rode Draad), which together with the Association against the trade in women (Stichting tegen Vrouwenhandel, STV) became one of the main associations that pushed the feminist lobby to develop an understanding between forced and voluntary forms of sex work (Outshoorn, 2012: 234). By revoking the brothel ban a first step would be made in legalizing its voluntary forms.

Sex workers and feminists were not the only ones who demanded a reform of the ban on brothels. What was not foreseen was a huge growth of the sex industry in the late 1970s and condoning certain brothels and zones seem no longer effective. In Rotterdam this led to protests of residents. In an effort to calm down these uprisings the municipality of Rotterdam tried to set up an 'eros

centre', to assign prostitution to specific parts of the city. Inevitably these ideas could not be brought into effect because of the ban on brothels (van Mens, 1992). With the growth and diversifications of the sex industry other Dutch municipalities all faced similar problems, the association of Dutch municipalities therefore began to lobby for the repeal of the ban to regulate the industry (Outshoorn, 2004b: 186).

This new 'sex work' discourse, making a distinction between forced and voluntary forms of sex work, developed into quite a dominant discourse in the 1980s in the Netherlands and effectively displaced the older moral abolitionist discourse (Outshoorn, 2001: 485). This change in discourse was even present among feminists who first regarded prostitution as a form of sexual violence, along with rape, domestic violence, incest and sexual harassment (Outshoorn, 2004a: 168). The sex work discourse caught the attention of the junior minister for Equality Policy, the feminist Hedy D'ancona of the Dutch Labour Party in 1981. A year later she organized a conference on sexual violence for the Directorate Coordination of Emancipation Policy (Directie Coordinatie Emancipatie beleid – DCE) in The Hague and included – after some debate – prostitution in the programme. During this conference the two frames, 'forced' and 'voluntary' competed. It was also the first time that trafficking was debated as a growing problem (Outshoorn, 2004b: 168). Trafficking was, however, framed as a threat to the business of those who would work voluntarily during these debates in the 1980s (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 154). Because of these debates in The Hague led by the DCE the distinction between forced and voluntary found its way into official parliamentary documents with three carefully phrased demands when taking the forced-voluntary division as well as cases of trafficking into consideration. These demands were: the repeal of the brothel ban to strengthen the position of prostitutes; higher penalties for traffickers so that offenders could be held in remand custody and temporary residence permits should be issued for trafficked women in order to enable them to testify against their exploiters (Outshoorn, 1998: 195).

In 1983, a first bill was drafted to lift the ban on brothels to give cities the appropriate administrative tools for the problems they were facing with a rise in sex work and all its consequences (Kilvington et al., 2001: 81). The Second (lower)

Chamber of the Dutch Parliament passed the bill in 1987. Despite secularization, the vote split nearly along the religious/secular divide in the Dutch party system. It must be noted that after secularization Dutch politics became a proportional election system where no party can ever hope to attain a parliamentary majority. As a consequence Dutch politics is by definition coalition politics (Wagenaar, 2017: 152). Subsequently, the vote to lift the brothel ban was suspended in the First Chamber since the definition of 'coercion' was not held to be consistent with a pending bill on 'human trafficking'. In 1989 a Christian Democrat, Ernst Hirsch Balinn, became the Minister of Justice in the Netherlands and seized the opportunity to amend the trafficking bill by mixing up elements from the brothel bill, furious yet fearful to disrupt a stable cabinet, the social democrats voted in favour of the revised version of this human trafficking bill in 1992. This was then debated in the First Chamber together with the postponed bill to lift the ban on brothels (Outshoorn, 2004a: 170).

When the Christian democrats were excluded from the cabinet after the elections of 1994, the new cabinet that consisted of liberals, social democrats and social liberals took the opportunity to draft a new bill in 1997 wherein they promised a more 'realist approach without moralism' retaining the earlier draft with a distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution (Outshoorn, 2004a: 171).

Unofficial legislation

Without any legislation at hand Amsterdam was, like Rotterdam, caught in a dilemma when they were still faced with a growth of the sex industry while there were no means to improve their situations, at least not legally. Turning a blind eye and condoning the existing brothels was no longer tenable considering the expansion of the sex industry. While procuring and operating a brothel were still considered crimes, closing them down was politically unacceptable in the given climate in which a distinction was being made between 'forced' and 'voluntary' in the 1980s. The municipality of Amsterdam therefore came with the solution to design an unofficial model of regulation, based on the ideas that were being discussed in political circles at that time. By imposing a set of rules on brothels it

would, according to the Municipality of Amsterdam in the early 1990s, be possible to create a monitored sector with voluntary sex workers and prosecute those who take advantage of sex workers. This kind of informal regulation became known as 'regulated tolerance' (Brants, 1998). Regulated tolerance is according to Brants:

not merely a matter of the police turning a blind eye. It is a well-trying policy strategy that sometimes develops gradually at a local level, but may well be deliberately designed by the central government. It is often deliberately described in policy documents from the Ministry of Justice and, as such, subject to certain degree of political control.

(Brants, 1998: 624)

Other Dutch municipalities were faced with the same difficulties, which led to another association to lobby for a repeal of the brothel ban to regulate the industry, the Association of Municipalities (Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten, VNG) (Outshoorn, 2004b: 186). They asked the Red Thread association to contribute to a handbook of prostitution policy that was to serve as a model for Dutch municipalities. Within this culture of collaboration, – also commonly referred to as 'Dutch polder politics' – regulated tolerance at a local level became more than a policy instrument. According to Wagenaar (2017) polder politics was a 'configuration that worked; an assembly of understandings, routines, actors and agencies, mutually understood roles, spatial distributions, relations, identities, values and feelings about prostitution' (90).

The city of Amsterdam acted as the forerunner for the rest of the country when in 1999 the bill passed in both houses of parliament. The bill passed with the prior distinction between forced and voluntary: the Dutch state had to permit and normalize voluntary forms of prostitution while combating forms of exploitation. The bill left all the details, and more importantly, its enforcement to the local authorities (Outshoorn, 2001: 483). What these enforcements, or rather regulations, entail as well as their developments will be elaborated in the following section of this chapter. What became apparent from this brief description of the wobbly road that lifting of the brothel ban had to make before it got passed in parliament is that three factors contributed to its enactment

according to Outshoorn (2004b). Firstly, at the political level it was the favourable political circumstance that the Christian Democrats did not take part in the Dutch coalitions 1994-1998 that enabled the governing parties to re-write the bill in their favour; secondly, the bonds that were made between the pro-sex feminists and those feminist seated in parliament; lastly, the pragmatic approach to moral issues in the Netherlands.

3.2 The Netherlands: Licensing, enforcement and monitoring (2000s – 2010s)

Revoking the brothel ban

In October 2000 the new bill was enacted and the brothel ban revoked. With the disappearance of the ban on brothels from the criminal code the Dutch parliament legalized the ownership and management of sex facilities from then on. It set out four distinct but interrelated goals: (1) to separate voluntary from forced prostitution' (2) 'protect'¹¹ the position of sex workers; (3) fight trafficking and all possible other crimes associated with prostitution; (4) prevent prostitution among minors (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 87).

Although the ban was lifted, no legislation governing prostitution was introduced, as mentioned in the first chapter; it is therefore inadequate to perceive prostitution as 'legalized' after the brothel ban got revoked. It has been completely left to local authorities to formulate and implement policies to tailor them to their local circumstances. The rather pretentious novelties they had to implement were: running a brothel was legal, as long as they comply with the requirements of having a license; sex workers should be able to have an employment contract; if employed they should get access to the social security schemes.

According to Wagenaar et al. (2017), the (liberal) assumptions about enacting the bill was that by normalizing the business of sex work it would be easier to crack down on the illegal and criminal aspects of the prostitution sector and labour rights would follow more or less automatically as they would in any other business sector. The legalization set out a clear and coherent prostitution policy, but local authorities have to control and regulate the conditions from which selling sex is permitted, make a clear(er) distinction between 'forced' and 'voluntary' possible and to enable these municipalities to implement the above mentioned policies. These specific conditions included the geographical locations, health and safety regulations (presence of shower, condoms, fire escapes etc.) and the status of the sex workers (residence permit). Since the enactment of the bill local authorities, policy, health and social workers are working collaboratively to meet the obligations of the law (Kilvington et al. 2001: 82). Sex work became only

permitted in licensed brothels and specific zones, as long as it would not 'disturb public law and order' (Munro and Della Giusta, 2008: 1-2). When brothels were legalized as 'regular business establishments' the bill became an incentive for Dutch municipalities to use the licensing system as a tool to discourage sex facilities (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 65). This licensing system became the central policy instrument in the implementation of the policies. The Dutch approach was thus, according to Wagenaar et al., who have evaluated the effects of lifting the brothel ban for 17 years, 'a mixture of regulating and decriminalizing impulses' (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 95).

An effect of these regulatory and controlling frameworks is that it inevitably created categories of eligibility and non-eligibility, creating according to Outshoorn (2012; 2014) four distinct categorizations of sex workers who were either eligible to work legally in the Netherlands or not. These categorizations have, as will be presented in Chapter 5, an effect on the selection processes of the clients and what they in effect perceive as 'good' and 'genuine' and therefore 'respectable' sex workers. The first category is the ethnically undefined Dutch sex workers who choose to work voluntarily. The Second is the EU citizens who have the right to work in the Netherlands. The third category is citizens from other countries who have access to the Netherlands (Eastern European women, mainly from Bulgaria and Romania, see Chapter 5) who are allowed to work in the Netherlands but not as employees. The last and fourth category is non-EU citizens who, because of their undocumented status in the Netherlands are not allowed to work in the Netherlands and can therefore only work illegally (Outshoorn, 2012: 236). Primarily the third category has become central in the public and political debates about sex work since the turn of the century, when young Eastern European women are lured into prostitution by ruthless criminals (Outshoorn, 2014: 181).

Given these categorizations of eligibility, a significant proportion of sex workers in the Netherlands were likely to be excluded by the new legislation in so far as that they had to move underground to become effectively invisible to the authorities, when they were either underage and/or work as illegal migrants (Kilvington et al., 2001: 89). In 2002, The Dutch Centre for Scientific Research and Documentation (Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek en Documentatie Centrum, WODC)

conducted a first evaluation report about two years after lifting the brothel ban. They concluded that the effects were moderately positive, but that it was too early to be able to see observable effects since the majority of municipal authorities were still in the process of granting (renewing) licenses to brothel owners that would meet all new rules and restrictions (Daalder, 2002).

From emancipation to fighting crime

During the first years of monitoring and evaluating the enactments of the new municipal frameworks it was still quite common that representatives of interested parties would gather and talk about specific political difficulties or concerns together in order to achieve consensus and compromise about policy in a certain area. Outshoorn (2004) describes the following about a conference about sex work in Amsterdam in the autumn of 2001:

Behind the microphones at the tables at the top end are seated officials from the international revenue service, the inspection of work conditions, social security, the municipal health authority and the Fire and Security department. In the audience there are representatives from the prostitutes union the Red Thread (de Rode Draad), the confederation of Dutch Trade Unions (Federatie Vakverenigingen, FNV) and the Foundation against Trafficking of Women (Stichting Tegen Vrouwenhandel, STV). Also present are employers in the sex branch industry, such as the association of Entrepreneurs of Relax Businesses (Vereniging van Exploitanten en Relaxbedrijven) and the Association of Window Prostitution Owners (Vereniging van Raam exploitanten). There is even a man from a clients' organization, The Foundation Man, Woman and Prostitution (Stichting Man, Vrouw en Prostitutie). They are all united in the National Platform for Prostitution Policy (Landelijk Platform Prostitutiebeleid, LPP). Several interested scholars and journalists make up the publicised legislation of brothels in the Netherlands in 2000.

(Outshoorn, 2004: 165)

As I have mentioned in the previous section it were these 'polder politics techniques' as well as having STV as an ally of The Red Thread to have the labour

party draft the bill with a clear separation between forced and voluntary. I am therefore mentioning this summary of attendees to bring forward their role and this Dutch way of formalizing politics. In the Netherlands the women's policy networks that were created in the 1980s soon disappeared in the early 2000s, which made women's emancipation a peripheral issue and many women's movements that had an entrance in decision making areas have been brought to an end. As a result the networks that had been important to bring and keep the issue of sex workers rights on the political agendas have disintegrated and lost their political influence (Outshoorn and Oldersma, 2007: 197-198; Wagenaar et al., 2017: 159). STV for instance lost its status as a part of the women's movements when it had to merge into a semi-state centre CoMensha, a centre of expertise in human trafficking (Outshoorn, 2012: 238).

When the funds of The Red Thread became unstable it had to close down several of its operations, like their position in the municipal Prostitution Advisory Commission. This had by then already begun to take certain repressive forms. The commission was replaced by one of the chain management arrangements aimed at enforcing anti-trafficking measures (for a full discussion: Wagenaar, 2017: 251). These anti-trafficking measures were influenced by a report from a social democratic member of the Amsterdam city council, Karina Schaapman who, as a former sex worker, published a 'policy' report together with her colleague Amma Asante (2005) for the Social democratic party. Based on her personal perspectives and references of ex-sex workers who had been maltreated in the industry she was questioning – rather tendentious and moralising – the clear distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution (Schaapman and Asante, 2005). Her main recommendations, from a total of 26, were to license the escort services, criminalize 'pimping' and raise the minimum age for sex work to 21, instead of 18. She also insisted that customers should be made aware of their social responsibility when paying for sex (Schaapman and Assante, 2005: 3). Schaapman took up the issue of clients in another book in which she described that it is 'not normal' to pay for sex (Schaapman, 2007). The escort agencies were eventually obliged to obtain licenses in 2008. Her report, lobbying and media appearances caught the attention of many city councillors, among which the then leading social democrat alderman in Amsterdam Lodewijk Asscher (Weitzer, 2012: 160-161).

Gentrification and regeneration

Influenced by the report of Schaapman, Asscher started the project '1012'¹² in 2007 gentrifying the area of the Red Light District in Amsterdam to attract more upscale tourists under the guise of fighting forced prostitution. The policy instrument used is the law Bibob.¹³ The core of this law is to interconnect the large national databases of the tax department, the immigration and naturalization services and the criminal justice system.

Before a brothel license in the Red Light District can be renewed – the municipality in Amsterdam does not issue new licenses for brothels, clubs and sex shops – the municipalities will ask the national Bibob office to start a research on any irregularities or improprieties that might link to criminal activities¹⁴. These can be unpaid tax bills, suspicion of money laundering, prior convictions or irregularities of ownership for instance. If such improprieties are found, the municipality can issue an administrative measure; this mainly results in denying the license and the closure of, in the case of the Red Light District, the brothel, club or shop. The Red Light District of Amsterdam became target of gentrification and regeneration, according to Jan Visser (2008) this was a consequence of the inability of (local) politicians to disconnect crime with all forms of prostitution: 'Prostitution is often connected to criminality, trafficking of women and pimping. [...] More and more we witness a tendency to make an automatic connection. Or in other words: in the eye of the public and politicians, it seems not possible to have prostitution without crime' (Visser, 2008).

In 2009 municipalities submitted 23 requests to run an investigation into brothel owners. In 2010 this number was 19 (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 110-111). Since 2010 municipalities have issued over 300 sanctions and written over 2000 administrative reports, the majority against unlicensed home prostitution (van Wijk et al., 2015: 112). These sanctions on individual sex workers, who work without a license from their home, could be a direct consequence of the closure of many brothels, as an effect of the enforcement of Bibob. In 2007, Hubbard and Whowell count that the city closed 130 brothels (amounting to 350 windows, each window would represent a working place for a sex worker) by 2007, 57 sex video shops and 16 sex clubs, a majority of these closures was in the Red Light District (Zeedijken/Wallen) (Hubbard and Whowell, 2007: 1748). From the year 2000 to

the year 2016 a total of 729 windows have been closed in 18 cities, 510 of these windows were closed down in the city centre of Amsterdam.¹⁵ When a brothel closes (down) prevention, harm reduction, social services and exit programmes are usually not part of formal policy plans (van Wijk et al., 2015: 109). In an evaluation report by the WODC it became apparent that only 6% of the Dutch municipalities offered an exit programme (Daalder, 2007: 15).

In the meantime Amsterdam has taken the lead to raise the legal age to work behind window brothels to 21 and introduced another set of administrative measures to tackle possible abuse in the industry by giving brothel owners a new set of rules so they could take greater responsibility to tackle possible abuses in the industry. Examples are mandatory intake interviews with new sex workers that rent a window, a ban on double shifts for sex workers and new hygienic guidelines. All these measures had to be written down in their (renewed) business plans. When they would fail to comply with these obligations they would risk losing their licenses (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2012).

It seems that, especially in the context of Amsterdam's Red Light District the municipality has replaced regulated tolerance before the lift of the brothel ban with the rationality that reducing brothels would lead to an overall reduction of all possible criminality that had become associated with prostitution. Amsterdam is not the only city (municipality) that has rapidly closed down brothels or clubs on the grounds of the Bibob law. Another well-known example is the closure of 'het Zandpad' in Utrecht. Zandpad was one of the major licensed window sectors in the city of Utrecht. It is a narrow lane along the river 'de Vecht' with a total of 35 houseboats that contained 140 windows (Wagenaar, 2017: 103; Siegel, 2015). Zandpad was closed down on July 2013. The 48 women working behind those windows were not offered any other facilities after its closure.¹⁶

It seems that many of the recommendation of Karin Schaapman have found their way into the local prostitution policies of Amsterdam, which in their turn set examples to other municipalities on how to monitor, enforce and combat (forced) prostitution. In contemporary debates the distinction between forced and voluntary, once the cornerstone of the Dutch national prostitution policies, seems to be fading away. According to Wagenaar the current key words are 'licensing' (vergunnen), 'enforcement' (handhaving) and 'monitoring' (toezicht) (Wagenaar,

2017: 91). Where interest groups and stakeholders were, before these repressive administrative instruments, invited to be present at and take part in debates about policy measures, many stakeholders are currently left out and they, like the sex workers whose working places have been closed, can only watch from the side line. It must be said that currently the Dutch Aids organization (Soa Aids Nederland) together with PROUD,¹⁷ the newly founded sex work association, are conducting a study on violence among sex workers to contribute to new methods to end violence against sex workers. This study was commissioned by the ministry of Security and Justice. But this collaboration cannot be compared with the coalitions during the 1980s and 1990s of the previous century. Although it can be perceived as a gesture to reach out to sex workers, by placing sex work under the Ministry of Security and Justice instead of the ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, which had previously provided (financial) support in the 1990s and 2000s (for a discussion Pheterson, 1989: 26) further enhances the idea that prostitution is an issue of 'criminality' and not a labour or emancipation issue. The media have an important role in reframing the issues of sex work as well and this will be addressed in Chapter 7 when the clients spoken to reflect on (specific) media outlets.

Currently a new bill is being debated in the Dutch parliament, the 'Law on regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry' (wet reguleren prostitutie en bestrijding misstanden seks branche), in which another abolitionist perspective of Karina Schaapman is incorporated, namely to address specific roles to the clients of sex workers. This proposal is written as a means to fight trafficking and organized crime. Besides the desire that sex workers need to register with (local) authorities, and the age of work will be raised to 21 years, clients would be obliged to report if they come across any possible forms of abuse (Outshoorn, 2012: 223). A first bill was drafted in 2009, after several adjustments it has been postponed. One of the main concerns of the first chamber is the inability to work anonymously in the sex industry when sex workers would be obliged to register in the municipality they work. This law, and especially the obligation clients would have when they might encounter abuse will be further elaborated in Chapter 7.

3.3 Sweden: The welfare state and gender-equality (1960s – 1990s)

Vagrancy and the patriarchy

Just like the Netherlands, Sweden changed its prostitution policies at the beginning of the 20th century. And likewise they had a strong coalition of women movements who lobbied for a change in legislation. Their perspectives on prostitution eventually led to the criminalization of its purchase in 1999. In the following pages the genealogy of their perspectives, changes in national legislations and responsibilities on county levels will be addressed.

In 1918 prostitution became a national responsibility with the Lex Veneris (Contagious Disease Act). With this act brothels and procuring were considered a crime but the selling of sex was not, further it implied a national STI prevention regime, while the Vagrancy Acts (1885) were still in force and rigorously used against prostitutes (Svanström, 2006; Edmand, 2008). 'Vagrancy' was according to Östergren (2017b: 169) considered a dispersed condition, related at once to occupation, financial means, and an allegedly harmful situation. The vagrancy act was part of Sweden's social engineering when, from the early 20th century Sweden desired to achieve a '*folkhem*' – a people's home – in which it was from the 1930s onwards desired to build a strong and prosperous welfare state with high levels of education and periods of full employment (Svanström, 2006). A *folkhem* was made possible according to Gould (2001) because Sweden has been, until relatively recently, a very homogenous and agricultural country. Therefore strong liberal ideas that have influenced many other European public thoughts have been less evident in Sweden. As I have mentioned in the previous sections, the Netherlands was far from a homogenous population, which has resulted in a fragmented political field since the secularization.

This homogeneity of the population in Sweden enabled a greater confidence in the state with a broad consensus in the state's intervention and determination in defence of any public good (Gould, 2001: 453). According to Kulick (2003) it is therefore that both citizens as well as politicians see the role of the state as a 'fostering one, one of legislating particular moral stances that the populace, guided by them in this way, will come to adopt' (Kulick, 2003: 228). It

meant that the state would care for the health and happiness of its people. According to Hirdman, this was underlined by politicians in addressing the basic needs of citizens: food, warmth, clothing, housing etcetera. Needs that the Social Democrats in Sweden began to highlight as basic rights in the 20th century. 'A socialist society was a society that would see to it that these needs were met' (Hirdman, 1994: 77-78). *Folkhemmet* has been widely addressed as social engineering (Gould, 2001) and paternalism (Scoular, 2004) that creates a sense of national identity that is tightly connected to ideas on social security and gender equality (Amberg and Marklund, 2016: 186) in a social welfare state.

The logic of the social welfare state required to correct its citizens by promoting specific goals of public hygiene (*folkhygien*) and social norms. In this framework prostitution came to be perceived as something anti-social. Although prostitution was not considered a criminal act, the vagrancy act led to 1200 charges of these kinds of anti social behaviour, putting women into forced labour in the period 1920-1940. Although in the 1950s women were more warned for vagrancy offences than forced into labour, these kinds of forced labour orders are known up to 1963 (Östergren, 2017b: 169).

During the late 1950s and 1960s the main focus of feminist political activity was placed upon the ability to increase the Swedish female labour market participation by advocating for policies like parental leave and state funded childcare facilities (Harrington, 2012: 344). This Swedish woman-friendly welfare state would rely on gender equality through their labour market participation as well as men's entry into the home as caretakers. These thoughts were according to Yttergren and Westerstrand combined with a sexual politics of 'free and equal sex' to suggest that men and women were in essence alike and in need of the same rights and benefits. Since 'prostitution' was not perceived as a job to maintain a living it was perpetuating gender inequality (Yttergren and Westerstrand, 2016: 48). It was through these insights that prostitution came to be considered as the most important social problem of all time (Svanström, 2006).

Just like in the Netherlands, Sweden celebrated sexual liberty during the 1970s, resulting in a steady growth of sex clubs, strip club, live-sex performances and pornographic movies in the 60s and 70s (Östergren, 2017b: 169). As for pornography, Swedish erotica might be the most successful pornography of all

times (Paasonen, 2017). Swedish 'pornography' was often referred to as 'the Swedish Sin' (Arnberg and Marklund, 2016; Björklund, 2011; Paasonen, 2017) with their shots of summer nights, swimming scenes and young blond women. According to Arnberg and Marklund, Swedish officials tried to reshape these international ideas to protect the national image of Sweden as a morally just country by linking free sexual morals to their increasing progressive gender equality legislation (Arnberg and Marklund, 2016: 194). Yet despite its title, Don Kulick points out that the actual sex that was shown in these pornographic movies that were marked as 'Swedish Sin' were far from sinful, these movies were according to him 'never decadent or perverse. On the contrary, such films commonly represented sex by lingering on clean, fresh, svelte women who without hesitation or guilt had intercourse with their clean, fresh, svelte boyfriends. The Swedish sin was healthy, natural, good sex' (2005: 210). According to Kulick 'good sex' in Sweden entails the following:

It has to be socially approved, mutually satisfying sexual relations between two (and only two) consenting adults or young adults who are more or less sociological equals. It must not involve money or overt domination, even as role-playing. It should occur only in the context of an established social relationship. (Kulick, 2005: 208)

While the 'pornography paragraph' that was lawfully concerned with 'good order and morality' was revoked in 1970 and became somewhat more liberal in praxis pornography was never completely legalized as it has always been censored (Lennerhed, 2014: 38). According to Kulick (2005) pornography has therefore always been restricted to regulations about where one can see it and what is allowed to be seen.¹⁸

These signs of a sexual liberation in Sweden got the Swedish doctor Lars Ullerstam interested in people that were less 'erotically privileged'. His curiosity resulted in a book in which he suggested the usage of mobile brothels to relieve the loneliness for all minorities with sexual deviances or social inadequacies (Ullerstam, 1964: 152). According to Lennerhead the common reception of the book was that 'Ullerstam might not be right in everything that he proposed, but

what was important was his agenda: to plead for tolerance' (Lennerhed, 1994: 2014).

These kinds of sexual liberal thoughts together with ideals for a more inclusive tolerance seem to be more debated in other European countries, like in the Netherlands where feminists were differentiated from voluntary prostitution by emphasizing the bodily integrity and self-determination of women. These sex wars never occurred in Sweden among feminists (Lennerhead, 2014: 39; Kulick, 2005: 211). Instead women's movements developed a criticism towards these sexual 'liberties' that had been occurring in Sweden, criticizing sex liberalism for having lacked a gendered analysis of many phenomena, such as pornography. This lack, they argued, paved the way for an immoral movement that did not liberate women but further enslaved them (Lennerhead, 2014). Their feminist critiques can be best associated with the radical feminist thoughts of Dworkin (1987), MacKinnon (1987) and in particular Barry (1979; 1995), who wrote the following: 'the legacy to women of the sexual liberation movement and the legitimation of pornography in the 1960s has not been women's liberation but rather the prostitution of sexuality' (Barry, 1995: 59).

Radical feminists perceived pornography and prostitution as the oppression of women. As a consequence of these criticisms the Swedish government established a new commission on prostitution, wherein the problem of the growing sex industries in Sweden was linked with male violence and male sexuality. The first commissioned report in the mid 1970s concluded that prostitution was inextricable from patriarchal gender relations (Svanström, 2004: 227).

In 1973, sex clubs were required to obtain a license and newspapers were obliged to stop placing advertisements for (massage) parlours (Östergren, 2017: 169). Increasingly municipalities refused to hand out and/or renew these licenses with the effect that they eventually disappeared. As mentioned prostitution was perceived as an obstacle to gender equality; this argument became even more central in the parliamentary debate from the 1970s onwards (Dodillet, 2009; Eriksson, 2011). Since the beginning of the 1980s Swedish feminists have consistently argued that men who buy 'prostituted' women should be criminalized, and 'prostituted women should be seen as victims of male violence'

(Ekberg, 2004: 1191), prostitution therefore came to represent the 'absolute embodiment of patriarchal male privilege' (Kesler, 2002: 19).

In 1982, after one of the first government inquiries on prostitution, live sex performances were forbidden (Östergren, 2017: 170). Between 1983 and 1993 about 50 bills were presented dealing with prostitution, many of them were already in favour of criminalizing its purchase. It should be noted that, as Kulick brings forth in his analysis of specific Swedish discourses, those women that were active in feminist organizations during the 1970s and strongly opposed sexual liberal thoughts evidently moved into powerful positions in politics, trade unions, academia and the media (2005: 211).

Media is, especially in debates about prostitution, a third leg of national politics, as will be exemplified in Chapter 7. The influence that their radical feminist thoughts have in powerful institutions in Sweden should therefore not be forgotten. Especially given the Swedish *jämställdhet*, or gender equality. A specific gender equality division (*jämställdhetsenheten*) was established in 1982, to assist the minister in the development, preparation and condition of future gender equality legislation (Berqvist et al., 2007: 229).

Objectification and commodification

Just like in the Netherlands, specific feminist groups lobbied for new prostitution legislation, the group in Sweden that was a profound lobbyist was ROKS (Riksorgan för Kvinnojourer et Tjejjourer i Sverige) the national organization for women's shelters. This group was a pioneering advocate for legislation that would criminalize men who pay for sex, and was instrumental in building support with the parties in parliament (Eriksson, 2011). By 1987 ROKS made the demand for the criminalization of sex buyers part of their yearly plan of action (Gould, 2003). Even though the governmental inquiry from 1993 estimated that merely 2,500-3,000 women were selling sex in Sweden that year, ROKS, to everyone's surprise, made the suggestion to criminalize both the purchase as well as the selling of sex a crime (Östergren, 2017b: 174).

Estimations of the number of women that sell sexual services is one of extremely poor scientific rigour. According to Östergren this estimate is derived

from the social services estimates of the number of women in street prostitution and was simply doubled to account for indoor prostitution and doubled again to account for 'unknown cases' (Ibid.). In an earlier published article she explains, together with Susan Dodillet, that these kinds of estimations only lead to more methodological difficulties if we ever want to understand them and how they have been derived: 'The sources do not state if the number 650 is an exact headcount on the street on any given day, or if it is an annual estimate on how many women sell sex during a year – and if so, if these women sold sex full time or part time, for what duration, reasons and under what conditions. We also do not know who made the 'twice or three times as many indoors' estimate – and on what grounds'. These estimations have many implications for future comparisons as well as policy descriptions, aims, goals as well as the discourses they adhere. Even though these estimations are methodologically suspicious, 2,500 is not a large number of sex workers in comparison to the Netherlands, where the same rigorous estimations indicate 25,000 sex workers on a yearly basis. To counteract the problems of methodological rigour and other statistical analysis derived from these kinds of estimations, the Dutch researchers

Wagenaar and Altink (2013)¹⁹ tried to calculate the number of sex workers who work in four of the largest cities in the Netherlands in clubs and brothels per day themselves. This was an actual count of heads during the scope of four years (2006-2010) and excludes all sex workers who work in escorts and all other (window)brothels and clubs around the country. The authors had to conclude that the turnover rate in sex work is very high which has an influence on counting sex workers. Some women only worked for two hours while others have full shifts or work throughout the country, which makes an exact count very difficult to assess.

In 1997 the Swedish women's lobby was founded, a non-governmental umbrella organization that consist of about 45 women's rights organizations in Sweden. The aim of the organization is to ensure the human rights of women in Sweden are met. the Swedish Women's Lobby is the national consultant for the Swedish government (*Sveriges Kvinnolobby*, 2013). And one of their main aims since they united was to combat prostitution, which they understood as the 'objectification and commodification of women and children'. Hence prohibiting

prostitution became a way to address structural inequalities between men and women for a more gender equal society (*Sveriges Kvinnolobby*, 2017).

During their annual meeting the representatives of the Swedish Women's Lobby discussed which proposals were to be brought to the general assembly of the European Women's Lobby later that spring. Chairpersons of ROSK suggested placing prostitution on the agenda. According to Ekberg (2004) it was only after the speech of a member from Enköping that the proposal passed unanimously. Yet this can be doubted as their fights against prostitution and their aims to change the policy were part of their yearly plan of action. A part of this speech went as follows: 'Remember, all women can become prostituted. What if our country is invaded, do you really think that the women in Yugoslavia were imagining a future in prostitution before the war started?' (Ekberg, 2004: 1209). This speech is indeed quite telling, not only about the emphasis that the Swedish Women's Lobby places on the importance of fighting against prostitution, but more so on their linking of prostitution with hardship – because no women could possibly consent to prostitution when it would not be out of sheer necessity, like a war.

Eventually the sex purchase ban was passed on June 4th 1998 as a part of the Kvinnofrid bill (women's peace act). The government decided to solely criminalize the purchase of sex as a measure to be able to reduce prostitution by scaring of sex buyers and shaping general public norms. (Prospective) Clients had to be scared off with the possibility of being fined or with the threat of a jail sentence. It was suggested that by addressing the root cause of prostitution, 'the men who assume to have the right to purchase female human beings to sexually exploit them' prostitution would reduce (Ekberg, 2004: 1209-1210). It was further believed that by enacting the sex purchase ban 'the number of men who buy prostituted women would decrease' (Ibid.). The law was approved by 181 votes in favour, 92 opposed the law and 13 members abstained from voting (Kulick, 2003; Ekberg 2004; Svanström 2004). As I highlighted there were strong alliances between women's movements and members of the parliament. It is therefore important to emphasize that by 1998 more than 40% of the Swedish parliament and about 50% of the governmental ministers were women. These women were able to maintain these strong connections since many of them were also members of S-Kvinnor (The Swedish democrat feminists) (Gould, 2001: 450).

3.4 Sweden: The social – the individual – the world (2000s – 2010s)

The Swedish sex purchase ban

On the first of January 1999 the Swedish *sexköpslagen*, the law that prohibits the purchase of sex, came into force. From then on having a casual sexual relation with an adult person in return for payment in cash or of any other kind of remuneration became prohibited. When one breaks the law and gets caught one can at least expect a fine and at most an imprisonment of one year.²⁰ Additionally, making an attempt to pay for sex is also considered a crime, for which the penalties are the same (Östergren, 2017b: 171).

There are two main intentions of the law: firstly, to fight against and decrease the prevalence of prostitution in Sweden. Secondly, to establish a social norm that condemns men who ‘buy female bodies’ for their own pleasure, which should be considered unacceptable in a society that is characterized by tolerance and (gender) equality (SOU, 2010: 49, 75). According to Sven-Axel Månsson (2002), the rationale behind the law was the following: ‘the law presupposes that a real change in gender relations calls for a radical consideration of men’s responsibility of prostitution. The basis of such a reconsideration is that prostitution must be defined as a male issue: that prostitution is about men’s sexuality, not women’s. And as Gunilla Ekberg, the Swedish government expert on prostitution, notes:

As with all laws, this law has a normative function. It is a concrete and tangible expression of the belief that in Sweden women and children are not for sale. It effectively dispels men’s self assumed right to buy women and children for prostitution purposes and questions the idea that men should be able to express their sexuality in any form and at any time.

(Ekberg, 2004: 1205)

As noted by scholars (for example Dodillet and Östergren, 2011) the Swedish sex purchase ban is not the only prostitution related law in Sweden, other laws like the Pandering law, the Land Code, Aliens Act, Tax Laws as well as the Health and Medical Service Act and the Social Services Act all have influence on the sex

worker as well as the sex buyer. For the brevity of this chapter and to stay in line with the overall emphasis of this thesis on the 'sex buyer' the only additional laws that I will mention are the Pandering law, the Land Code and the Tenant Ownership Act.

Pandering, in the light of prostitution, is when a person promotes or financially exploits a person's engagement in casual sexual relations in return for payment (SOU, 2016: 42). Breaking the law on pandering could result to a fine and an imprisonment of up to eight years (Dodillet and Östergren, 2011: 4). A result of this pandering law is that it makes it difficult for sex workers to advertise their sexual services. A discussion about this and its implications for sex workers as well as their clients can be found in Chapter 7. To prevent the use of an apartment and rooms for prostitution there are several criminal sanctions that can be made, these include the Land Code (SOU, 1970: 994) and the Condominium Act (SOU 1991: 614). When a landlord would find out that a sex worker is working from her (rented) home and uses the accommodation to meet her clients, these acts could lead to a termination of her contract. As a small side note, although there is no law in the Netherlands specifically comparable with the Land Code and Condominium act in Sweden, the obligation to have a licence in one's municipality can have similar outcomes.

The inevitable consequences of the above mentioned laws are that women cannot work from any property they rent (nor a hotel room), have any sort of assistance with their work and are not allowed to advertise their services (see for a full discussion: Dodillet and Östergren, 2011: 4). The law, with the above mentioned additions, therefore has consequences for sex workers as well, although the legislation is claimed to target only men as Ekberg comments on the Kvinnofrid (Women's Peace) law:

It is important to note that this legislation only targets buyers of persons in prostitution. The persons who are in prostitution, the victims of male violence, are not subject to any kind of criminal or other legal repercussions. The government pledged money and assistance to women who are victims of male violence, including prostituted women. Thus the state to a certain extent, is responsible for

assisting women to leave violent situations, including prostitution, and for providing women with access to shelters, counselling, education and job training. (Ekberg, 2004: 1192)

Just like in the Netherlands the direct responsibility for the provision of the allocation and therefore provision of the above mentioned 'services' are the municipalities (Swedish Ministry of Social Affairs, 2001, in Ekberg).

When a 'male disciplinary model' like the Swedish sex purchase ban is utilized it is, according to Scoular and O'Neill (2008), very likely that all responsibilities become increasingly narrowed to the client's mores and individual sexual ethics, which become pathologized (20). Yet, the idea of disciplining is not only manifested in the possibility to receive a fine or imprisonment. Since, social services in the three biggest cities, Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö started with services specifically devoted to men that pay for sex. These services cooperate with the health service and with police departments. They engage in outreach work, counselling (therapy) and practical assistance. Their mission is to help people give up selling or buying sexual services voluntarily (Florin, 2012: 274). Especially since the turn of the century these social welfare services have directed their work particularly to men who pay for sex to be able to change their behaviour (SOU, 2010: 49). By the time of writing these social services were named *Köpa av Sexuella Tjänster* (KAST, in English it is referred to as BOSS: Buyers of Sexual Services, based in Stockholm and Göteborg) and *Kompetenscentrum sexuella tjänster* (KST, Centre for Sexual Services, based in Malmö).

The need to rehabilitate clients is also visible in the ruling of the Supreme Court of Justice in Sweden which declared a year after the enactment of the ban that 'buying sex is an offence against (Swedish) public order rather than against a (single 'prostituted') person' (*Nytt Juridisk Arkiv*, 2001). Where the building of a strong welfare state was the central theme of the vagrancy act, as described in the previous section, the theme of the *sexköpslagen* became one of 'gender equality'. This became evident in various speeches of Swedish politicians (Dodillet, 2009).

National pride and identity

There are two broad ideas that, according to Scandinavian scholars helped to achieve the popularity of the Swedish sex purchase ban among politicians and citizens. These are firstly based on the importance of having a gender equal society and secondly by setting an example for the rest of Europe by distancing themselves from the other prostitution regimes in other EU member states. According to Yvonne Svanström (2004), the ban gained popularity because of the great importance waged work had for Swedish women since the 1960s. In more public debates, women who supported the law declared it a matter of gender equality when they claimed that until even one single woman was forced to prostitute herself, women could not be free. Other commentators described the importance of creating and maintaining a coherent national identity as a backdrop to an increased national anxiety about the entry into the European Union (Gould, 2001; Kulick, 2003).

The fact that Sweden was the first country in Europe to criminalize the purchase of sex also contributed to a national pride, as the minister of Gender Equality describes even before the enactment of the bill: 'There is no other country which has tried the road we are now entering. We shall set an example in gender equality questions by criminalizing prostitution in the way we do' (RP 1997/98: 114).

With the expert Gunilla Ekberg, whom I have cited on the previous pages, in the Persons cabinet of 1996-2006, the framing of 'prostitution is men's violence against women' was widely embraced. Internationally, the Swedish members of the European Parliament proclaimed that the criminalization of the purchase of sex should be a top priority throughout the rest of Europe. With this thought the government assigned a specific role to marketing to share their perspective with governments abroad (Östergren, 2017: 174). In less than two years after the *sexköpslagen* was enacted, international marketing campaigns became an official priority until the time of writing, to encourage other countries to introduce similar prohibitions regardless of their social and economic context (Florin, 2012: 276).

Governments, political actors as well as Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) devoted their time and money to market the Swedish sex purchase ban abroad. Sweden invested in pamphlets, websites, articles, books and movies to

campaign for their prostitution model (Danna, 2012; Kulick, 2005) and they even invested in workshops, seminars and debates. Several countries that were considering changing their own prostitution policy models have turned to Sweden for inspiration (Dodillet and Östergren, 2011: 2). One of these countries was the Netherlands, Gert-Jan Segers member of the Christian Democrats, together with Myrthe Hilkens (former) member of the Labour Party made a visit to Sweden in February 2013,²¹ to 'learn' from the Swedes.

The first national campaign of Sweden was based on one of the outcomes of a report from 1998, commissioned by the Swedish government wherein 12.7% of the male respondents answered 'yes' to the question if they had ever paid for sexual services. Translated into sheer numbers of the Swedish population (by then about 9 million) this number was converted to say that 'more than four hundred thousand men over eighteen years of age have at some point in their lives paid for sexual services' (Kulick, 2005: 205). This number was subsequently generalized so that at least one out of eight men in Sweden had bought sex, which became the theme of the poster campaign in 2002.

Before and after the enactment of the ban several polls were carried out asking the Swedish population if paying for sexual services should be considered a criminal act. Interestingly the poll carried out in 1996 showed that 67% thought that paying for sex should not be a criminal act, whereas the poll that was conducted in 1999, just a few months after the enactment of the ban, showed that 76% were in favour of criminalizing the purchase of sex. Similar polls in 2002 and 2008 showed comparable figures, 76% and 71%. The last study was carried out by Jari Kuosmanen and he also raised the question to his respondents whether the sale of sex should be criminalized, a majority of 59% were in favour of doing so. This led Kuosmanen to draw the conclusion that most people did not perceive prostitution as a problem of gender equality but a general problem.

Besides the gender-equality impetus, the sex purchase ban became more and more campaigned as the tool to put an end to sex trafficking. This became even more evident during the liberal-conservative Swedish Reinfeldt administration (2006-2014) that drew up an action plan against 'Prostitution and trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation' (GoS, 2008).

Human trafficking – often without making specific references to sex trafficking – and prostitution became inseparable in policy documents, and according to the Swedish expert on prostitution: ‘In Sweden prostitution and trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes are seen as issues that cannot, and should not be separated’ (Ekberg, 2004: 1189). This ‘trafficking panic’ (Levy, 2015), occurred despite of the low levels of prostitution (Danna, 2012; Kulick, 2003) and without clear evidence of an increase in trafficking.

Ambiguous calculations and extraterritorial laws

As for a possible increase or decrease in prostitution, the Swedish national board of healthcare has the overall responsibility to monitor the extent as well as the spread of prostitution in Sweden. These studies have been carried out every three years and were published in 2000, 2004, 2007, 2011 and 2015. These studies monitor the impact of the sex purchase legislation in Sweden. The problem with these studies is, according to Kuosmanen that they are based on the perspectives of the ruling authorities, with the consequence that a large part of sex work that takes place out of the control of such authorities, like for example hotels, night clubs, flats and even the purchases abroad are neglected (Kuosmanen, 2011: 250). This is something that the authorities have started to address themselves, although not always as consistently as one can read in the following conclusions of evaluation reports.

It is difficult to discern any clear trend of development: has the extent of prostitution increased or decreased? We cannot give any unambiguous answer to that question. At most, we can discern that street prostitution is slowly returning, after swiftly disappearing in the wake of the law against purchasing sexual services. But as said, that refers to street prostitution, which is the most obvious manifestation. With regard to increases and decreases in other areas of prostitution – ‘hidden prostitution’ – we are even less able to make any statements. There are voices that say boundaries have been moved and thresholds lowered, which could make it easier for people to both buy and sell sex. But we do not know whether or not more people are in fact selling or buying sex due to this. What we do know is that prostitution has developed along with

society otherwise. New technology is leaving its mark on the modes of contact and organization of prostitution – buyers and sellers of sexual services now make contact with each other by multifarious means.

(Social Styrelsen, 2007: 63)

Still national authorities state the success of the Swedish sex purchase ban in national and international reports and campaigns. And it is said that the ban has led to a decrease in the purchase of sex as well as human trafficking. These claims were also made in the official national evaluation of the sex purchase act in 2010:

The overall picture we have obtained is that, while there has been an increase in prostitution in our neighbouring Nordic countries in the last decade, as far as we can see, prostitution has at least not increased in Sweden. There may be several explanations for this but, given the major similarities in all other respects between the Nordic countries, it is reasonable to assume that prostitution would also have increased in Sweden if we would not have a ban on the purchase of sexual services. Criminalization has therefore helped to combat prostitution.

(SOU, 2010, 49: 36)

Their conclusion is that since they do not see it, based on the reports from police and social services, there is no increase. However it also means that there is no data that could confirm prostitution has decreased. This report has been heavenly critiqued for its lack of scientific rigour, especially when the minister of Justice, Beatrice Ask wrote in (inter)national media:

Now, after ten years, the effects of the law have been evaluated. The evaluation shows that the prohibition on the purchase of sexual services has had the intended effect and is an important instrument for preventing and combating prostitution and trafficking for sexual purposes.

(Aftonbladet, 10th of July 2010)²²

The 2010 evaluation report also stated that the sex purchase ban had a positive effect on the decrease of human trafficking: ‘according 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 to establish themselves in Sweden’.

Yet, their reports were built with the starting point that 'the purchase of sexual services is to remain criminalized' (SOU, 2010, 49: 36). Furthermore the report advised setting up a national centre against prostitution and human trafficking (SOU, 2010, 49: 41). Doddillet and Östergren (2011) summarize the scientific rigour as follows:

It did not have an objective starting point, since the terms of reference given were that the purchase of sex must continue to be illegal; there was not a satisfying definition of prostitution; it did not take into account ideology, method, sources and possible confounding factors; there were inconsistencies, contradictions, haphazard referencing, irrelevant or flawed comparisons and conclusions were made without factual backup and were at times of a speculative matter.

(Doddillet and Östergren, 2011: 2)

Empirical evidence, or the lack thereof, seems to be immaterial when justifying the sex purchase ban. Overall the monitors and evaluation reports raise certain issues. How do we measure the success of a law? Will this be in terms of the number of men that will be caught, fined or incarcerated? Or is a success rate based on the decrease in sex workers that work from the streets? Although humble, the report of Social Styrelsen did mention 'hidden prostitution'. This hidden prostitution was perceived as 'other forms of prostitution' and therefore cannot be rightfully assessed as decreased since the enactment of the sex purchase ban. Yet, the county administrative board of Stockholm did mention in their report in 2014 that there has been an increase in the number of escort advertisements in the period from 2006-2014. According to their counting it has increased from 205 to 6,965 advertisements (Holmström and Skilbrei, 2017: 90). Therefore, as Holmström and Skilbrei note the national as well as county reports can be interpreted in various ways. If the research is only based on women working in the streets it is possible to conclude that the market has declined while if we would only look at the indoor markets it might be the opposite (Holmström and Skilbrei, 2017: 94).

It is generally assumed that men have been put off kerb crawling by the threat of arrest and incarceration, while the lack of knowledge about the 'spatial

displacements' (Levy and Jakobsson, 2014: 595), or 'spatial switching' (Hubbard et al. 2008), in which both clients and sex workers move from outdoor to indoor forms of sex work makes it difficult to corroborate these claims.

At the time of writing, the Swedish *sexköpslagen* is not as unique when various European countries have recently adopted similar legislations. The model has been adopted in Norway and Iceland (2009), Northern Ireland (2015) and France (2016). But Sweden is making progress to install a *sexköpslagen 2.0*. As mentioned, ROKS, the national organization for women's shelters and an active member of the Swedish Women's Lobby has been a pioneering advocate for the sex purchase ban and has the last years advocated making the law extraterritorial so that those men that purchased sex abroad could be criminalized as well. Their campaigns have paid off, the social democratic Löfven administration (2014) will realize this proposal, for the '*sexköpslagen 2.0*' (Sverigeskvinnolobby, 2017) on the 1st of July 2018 (Lagrådsremiss, 2017). In Chapter 8 the thoughts of my interviewees on this specific law proposal will be shared. Without a doubt these proposals are made with the knowledge that Swedish men might actually go abroad to pay for sexual services.

What throughout this historical account of the development of the sex purchase ban as well as all additional laws and regulations becomes clear is that individual men – who pay for sexual services – ought to be blamed for prostitution and additionally human trafficking, first for all the wrongs it brought to Sweden and in more recent rhetoric for the worldwide problems of prostitution and human trafficking. This becomes even more evident in the most recent campaign 'You decide!' (Du avgör!) wherein sex buyers are held responsible for (worldwide) human trafficking. The campaign, which will be evaluated in Chapter 7, is a cooperation between the counties' administrative boards and the mentioned social services that work with men. In 2016 I had the opportunity to meet several social workers from each of these cities. In the following chapter I will introduce all my interviewees that have to work within and move through the specific prostitution regimes in Sweden and the Netherlands and therefore have an influence on how norms and discourses are transgressed in a governmentality on prostitution.

4.1 A feminist methodological approach

Frequently writers are positioned outside yet alongside those others who are written about, never making clear where they stand in these hyphenated relationships that connect the other to them. When others are not allowed to speak, they remain an absent presence without a voice.

(hooks, 1990: 26)

Introduction

In the previous chapter the numerous feminist standpoints towards sex work in the Netherlands and Sweden have been elaborated. The influence of these feminist voices depicting sex workers as either victims or liberated women have influenced the kind of research sex work researchers were able to carry out and how they theoretically phrased their research questions (Dewey and Zheng, 2013: 24) as well as the methodologies employed and the epistemological positions held. In the first chapter of this doctoral dissertation I have situated research on clients within the developments of contemporary research on sex work. In this chapter I will situate myself as a researcher within the different research contexts and interviewees whilst being quite reflexive about my role as a researcher. Donna Harraway (1988) was the first to express the importance of situating knowledge and reflexivity. As I addressed previously according to Harraway, all knowledge is limited, specific and partial (Harraway, 1988: 190).

Since I was interested in the situated knowledge of my respondents I had to acknowledge that mine was just as much situated. I did not enter the research field as a *tabula rasa* without any previous knowledge; I was shaped and moulded by my personal history, my educational background, which is Sociology, and even the location of my former university, the Red Light District of Amsterdam. During the many processes of conducting research, from placing calls, through conducting interviews, to transcribing the interview recordings I became more aware of my own perspectives, thoughts, feelings and even various prejudices towards sex work and the people that pay for all the different forms of sexual services.

This chapter will therefore not only describe the research questions and goals, the various ways in which I recruited my research participants, the structure of the interviews or other methods used, but I will also turn to the reflexive accounts of the research process that generated a change in how I came to understand the subject matter and the ways I conducted the research. The following sections will describe these reflexive accounts in the order of the methodological processes in which I was able to obtain my data. I will start with the feminist perspectives I choose, followed by the way I carefully approached the field by taking specific precautions. In the third section I will describe the ways in which I conducted the interviews, followed by reflexive accounts on how I perceived my role as researcher after the interviews had taken place.

Prescientific reasoning and feminist standpoint theory

Feminist methodologies were developed by social scientists who became frustrated with a positivist epistemology (Harding, 1998; Kitzinger, 2004). I fought against comparable frustrations about the research carried out on the sex industry that still dominated in the previously mentioned policy reports. These positivist approaches towards sex work as a field of study developed into a what Ronald Weitzer (2010) refers to as 'pre-scientific reasoning' when he describes the various implications of policies that are built upon ideological frameworks without proper analysis. Feminist researchers started to raise questions in the 1980s on how knowledge was produced within the social sciences, whose lives were represented and who would benefit from the knowledge obtained from the research subjects. These feminist perspectives had an influence on how I approached the field, the formulation of the research questions and the aims of the study as well as the relationships build between the male research participants and me.

Within a feminist methodological framework, there are four themes that separate them from other qualitative methods. The first theme is often described as the acknowledgement of a gender asymmetry in society. The second theme is placing an emphasis on the validity of personal experience against the conventional emphasis on the masculine (scientific) method. A third theme is the

rejection of a hierarchy between the researcher and those studied. As a last theme feminist scholars place an emphasis on empowerment or emancipation of their research participants, instead of accumulation and production of valid knowledge (Hammersley, 1992; Brown, et al. 2013). Underlying the question of this knowledge production is an explicit epistemological question of how (and by and for whom) knowledge is generated (O'Shaugness and Krogman, 2012: 494).

In the 1980s, when feminist methodologies were widely embraced it was perceived as research 'by' and 'for' women (Stacey, 1988). This feminist standpoint perspective is, in my perspective very limited, as it would not problematize other power imbalances. Furthermore, the notion that the researcher should reject a hierarchy between the researcher and those researched is often oversimplified. Even when one would address those researched not as objects of study but as research participants who, through different phases of the study work together with the researcher is fairly underestimated, especially when the relationships built will be given another dimension when the study is completed. Although the initial expectations of a given study might be that the outcomes of the research would benefit the research group and empower those that have contributed to the research, this is an ideal situation. It might very much be that the only one who would benefit from the research, is the researcher herself, who used the lived experience to enhance her academic status, which further reproduces structures of domination (Langelier, 1994: 75) or as described by many in sex work research 'they built a career on the backs of whores' (O'Neill, 1996). Nevertheless I perceived myself as a feminist methodologist who gives voice to a marginalized group. It could be contested in the light of this research that heterosexual (white) men who pay for sexual services are, especially when it is legalized in a country like the Netherlands, are far from 'marginalized', but I perceive the moral taboo and stigma to pay for sexual services as a form of oppression.

What makes feminist research 'feminist' in my perspective, lies more within the way in which the research is carried out, and the specific way in which methods are used (Brooks, 2007; Harding 1993), which results in employing a reflexivity of not only the methods chosen but also one's own position or rather situatedness in the given research field; and as Armstrong (2012) emphasises

being committed to explicitly acknowledge the relationship between researcher and those researched as it will evoke many ethical dilemmas even before the research is carried out. Becoming aware of these dilemmas, my responsibilities, and my position towards the research topic as well as the relationship to its participants made 'reflexivity' an integral component of this research

Giving voice and other goals

After I carried out a study on female clients of male sex workers in the Netherlands I developed a specific interest in the taken-for-granted perceptions on male clients of female sex workers, who were frequently demonized in the media and political debates about sex work. When I analysed the desires and motivations from female clients, which were often very pragmatically driven stirring up many power relations between women who pay for services that men facilitate (van Mansom, 2015) I could not help but wonder how these power (im)balances and negotiations and transactions would take place between male clients and female sex workers. Especially when these negotiations need to take place in two different countries that are very often depicted as having opposite legislative frameworks when it comes to prostitution. Will these different political grounds have an influence on the experiences that men have when paying for sexual services? Do their motivations differ when there are some risks involved, do they have to take risks? How do they manage these risks? In addition to the overall aim of this study which has been addressed in the first chapter I would like to draw attention to the goals of this research with respect to those who have contribute to it the most.

- Provide a space for the inclusion of the voices of men that pay for sexual services within contemporary academic and political discussions on sex work in the Netherlands and Sweden.
- Develop a greater understanding for the role of sex and sexuality in the lives of men that pay for sexual services.
- Establish a wider perspective on the power relationships between men that pay for sexual services and women that provide these services.

As mentioned I am not interested in generating a simple description that men are still paying for sexual services despite the (or any) sex purchase act, instead I will draw attention to the different contexts in which sex work takes place wherein power is negotiated, scripts are played out and relationships maintained. With an emphasis on the discursive formations of the clients spoken to, I wanted to know instead how men make sense of paying for sexual services in their everyday lives, will this be different when it is legal to pay for sexual services or when it is partially criminalized? Or as I would rather describe it following (Östergren, 2017): repressed and restricted.

Law is never a stand-alone, neither is the power of law that gives shape to our everyday lives as I addressed in the theoretical part of this thesis. I was interested in what paying for sexual services looked like from the clients' perspectives in Sweden and the Netherlands and how this governed their purchase behaviour in a Foucauldian sense. How do the encounters with sex workers influence or relate to other, more conventional, relationships? How do the markets look when you might have the constant fear of getting caught? How does the market look from the point of view of a Dutch client when there are many legal facilities whilst the stigma of paying for sex is very present? How do Swedish and Dutch men manage the stigma of paying for sexual services? Can they relate to the stereotype(s) of the sex buyer?

All the questions raised above are embodied by the main research question: How do prostitution policies in the Netherlands and Sweden govern the behaviour of heterosexual men who purchase sexual services? Which is the red thread in the following chapters of this dissertation whilst building upon and emphasizing the importance of the context presented that might 'govern' the payment of sexual services.

4.2 Approaching the Swedish and Dutch research fields

The woman anthropologist, the woman who writes culture, also has breasts, but she is given permission to conceal them behind her pencil and pad of paper. Yet it is at her own peril that she deludes herself into thinking her breasts do not matter, are invisible ... [that] the male gaze does not take them into account.

(Behar, 1996: 1-2)

Taking precautions

Although colleagues, friends and family members meant well I became reluctant when they tried to warn me about men who pay for sexual services when they were often described as 'potentially dangerous others'. Apparently my gender as a woman prompted fears for my personal safety. I perceived their worries as reproducing myths and stereotypes of men who pay for sexual services. Although I gave those who 'warned' me a cold shoulder it did not mean I was not on guard. I knew that I would most probably not be exempted from receiving unwanted sexual attention like many female sex work researchers have received before me. Which as I came to understand did not only depend on my gender but also on the sensitive nature of this research topic. Zurbriggen (2002) suggests that participants might assume that because the researcher is studying a sensitive topic like sexuality (s)he must be interested in sex and is available (262). And Sabine Grenz (2005) was one of those female researchers who received several unwanted sexual advances from prospective research participants for her study on German clients. For example, the very first man who responded to her call for participants in a local newspaper asked her if she would tolerate it if he would masturbate during an interview (Grenz, 2005: 2094).

When reading the work of others who explored the world of clients before me, although in different countries, I had a sense of what I could expect. However, I could not emotionally relate to their descriptions before I encountered it myself even though many authors (e.g. Sampson et al., 2008) see possible emotional risks as something which should be planned for, I understood them as an ability to take proper precautions.

Being worried that your gender might have an influence on the ability to conduct a research project on sex work is not something only female scientists are reflective about. Before Phil Hubbard (1999) carried out one of his first studies on female sex workers he worried that:

Any attempt made by a male academic to conduct research on prostitution would be regarded as suspect. [...] Even before I grappled with more prosaic problems – such as how a male academic could contact sex workers without his approach being misconstrued – had to consider whether my attempt to explore the exclusion of sex workers would be anything more than a masculine attempt to appropriate the feminine ‘other’.

(Hubbard, 1999: 230)

After some preliminary initiatives in consulting sex workers for his study he decided to abandon his initial research idea and instead identify (other) causes and consequences of female sex workers exclusion in an ‘appropriately and non-exploitative manner’ (ibid.: 233).

In their very descriptive and exemplary book about research ethics in sex work research Susan Dewey and Tiantian Zheng describe that doing ethnographic research, especially in sex work needs careful consideration and preparation before one should be even allowed in the field when marginalized, stigmatized and often criminalized groups of sex workers talk about very deeply private, sensitive and sexual issues and behaviours. In which case, researchers are faced with a surplus of moral and ethical dilemmas such as confidentiality concerns, informed consent and representative samples (Dewey and Zheng, 2013: 20). I became aware that research ethics do not only involve the importance of keeping your research participants safe by ensuring their anonymity, especially when they are vulnerable, stigmatized and in the case of Sweden ‘criminalized’, but also by taking ethical precautions towards my own safety. Even if it generated a sense of reproducing stereotypes. Like Hammond (2010) I decided that these ethical procedures to protect myself should include at least downplaying certain feminine characteristics by dressing plainly and applying not too much or no make-up at all.

To 'devoid the sexualized context' of the subject matter Teela Sanders placed an emphasis on creating a professional atmosphere by inviting the participants for an interview at her university office to protect her from any potential ambiguities in the relationship between interviewer and interviewee. (Sanders, 2008: 21). Sanders managed to conduct 31 out of 37 interviews at her office. Unfortunately this was not a strategy that I could employ. Before I even started with any recruitment or sampling strategies I became aware of the hostility of prospective participants towards the academic space I found myself in, namely the gender department at the university of Lund. It seemed that, unintentionally, I became 'contaminated' with a prejudice against Swedish feminist scholars, who, according to the Swedish clients, could not possibly enter the field without any prejudgements against the payment for sexual services.

These prejudices and the perspective that a lot of the sex industry has moved to the Internet made me decide to make a website in which I would not only be able to present my research topic and place a call for participants, but also to be transparent about myself, my previous research, research interests and commitment in the field of sex work research.

Since prostitution and more so 'sex work' are highly contested concepts in both countries their usage already raised some dilemmas for me as a researcher. As mentioned previously, I prefer to use the term 'sex work' throughout this thesis, this umbrella term would be highly contested in Sweden for two reasons. Firstly, it would by the simplicity of using these two words together indicate that I perceive receiving money for any sexual service as a form of work. Secondly, it might not convey the diversity of activities in Sweden from which I, at that time, barely had any knowledge. I therefore decided to give the website the name 'purchase of pleasure' and mention 'the purchase of sexual services' in many of the online descriptions instead of the oversimplified wordings like 'paying for sex' and 'sex buyers'.

After I made this website I turned to specific websites with forums²³ that seemed to condone questions from 'non-clients' to place a call for participants, with a small descriptions and a link to my website. After I placed several calls on a few websites that had not deleted my call I received an e-mail from a prospective participant. After he gave me a lengthily description about himself, his experience of paying for sex and his fetishes he asked me in a follow-up e-mail: 'Regarding my fetish, can I wish something for our meeting?' Of course, all alarm bells rang when I received this e-mail but nevertheless I gave him the benefit of the doubt by answering: 'Of course you can ask me anything, as long as it is appropriate'. Which he answered with: 'Well, can you wear nylon stockings?' In another situation an active member of a forum who read my post answered with: 'Are you a woman Merel? Maybe I can participate for the exchange of some sexual intercourse?' ('Är du en kvinna Merel? Jag kanske kan ställa upp i utbyte mot samlag iså fall'). These are just a few examples of several experiences I had with prospective participants.

Worried about what I might have gotten myself into when continuing with this research I never let go of a strong motivation to reject any notion of treating men who pay for sex as a homogenous group as well as rejecting power as something constant and repressive. Instead I perceive power as being dispersed through relationships, the relationship between an interviewer and interviewee should not be an exception. And besides, I was warned! My worries are profoundly exemplary of the understanding that research can never be carried out in a vacuum (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Lurking online and other recruitment strategies

Recent literature on men who buy sexual services have noted consistently that there are general methodological barriers in designing and carrying out qualitative studies on clients of sex workers. Reasons for this are the very sensitive nature of the subject, the secrecy in the sex industry and the need to treat all research participants with the upmost confidentiality and anonymity through the different stages of the research process. Moreover, the sex-buying population might be relatively small in proportion to the general population and geographically dispersed (Kolar and Atchinson, 2012: 185).

Benoit et al. (2005) summarize that those individuals that sell sexual services belong to a group that is sensitive, under-researched, hard to reach out to and hidden. Referring to Heckathorn (1997) a group like this would share three main characteristics (1) there is no sampling frame, thus the size of the group is unknown (2) even an acknowledgement of belonging to the group is threatening because of its stigma and sometimes even the fear of prosecution (3) members are distrustful of non-members – in this case ‘non clients’ – and will do whatever is in their reach to avoid revealing their identities (Heckathorn, 1997 in: Benoit et al., 2005: 264). Because of these barriers it was not easy to get access to the field. After weeks of placing calls on Swedish websites I barely made any contact with prospective research participants.

As previously mentioned Internet usage continues to grow and this counts both for those who advertise their sexual services and for those who seek any type of sexual services. The Internet has since offered sociologists and other scholars a great new source of information to which they did not have any access before (Jenkins, 2010: 91-92). In their study on clients of commercial sex workers in Canada, Kolar and Atchinson (2012) developed a large scale mixed method investigation in which they designed specific advertisements and calls for participants that they placed in online venues that they knew members of the sex buying community frequently visit (Kolar and Atchinson, 2012: 185). Given the hidden and stigmatized population of men who purchase sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands I decided to use other viral recruitment strategies. I knew that there was one forum that was frequently visited, but unfortunately I was not allowed to place any call. I decided I had to become a so-called ‘lurker’, to observe the online environment of these forums without participating or contributing to it (Scaramuzzino, 2012: 49). This made it possible for me to get an insight into the topics that were mostly written about and to get acquainted with the language spoken and the words they used in Sweden to describe specific traits of sex workers. By lurking I came to the understanding who the most frequent writers and administrators were and whom I might be able to contact to place a call for participants, knowing that it would otherwise be deleted in an instant. To increase my ability of gaining access I placed several calls on small websites that had the ability for sex workers to advertise as well as a page to discuss a variety

of sex work related topics in Spring 2016. Although I respected the ability for sex workers (male/female/trans) to advertise on websites like BackPage²⁴ I even dared to place a call for participants. And to top it off I twittered²⁵ about the research in the hope the sex working and sex buying communities would notice it. The influence, meaning and importance of those online communities will be elaborated in its fullest in the following chapter, Chapter 5.

Lurking online gave me the benefit to contact those active forum members that wrote about specific topics. Although I always placed a big emphasis that people would talk to me voluntarily I wrote several of them a personal message online if they would be able and willing to talk about their experiences with paying for sexual services in Sweden with me. After several weeks of online communication through personal messages I gained the trust of one of the administrators of the forum in Sweden. Even though I was still not allowed to post any forum threads about my research he presented the idea to let me have a banner on their forum with a direct link to the website with information about my research and another banner that enabled a link to the online questionnaire (the questionnaire can be found in the Appendixes). Lurking online therefore became not only a method to get acquainted with the research field but also to get into contact with prospective research participants.



Har du betalat för sexuella tjänster i Sverige eller utomlands?
och skulle du vilja dela dina erfarenheter i en intervju.

PURCHASE OF PLEASURE

Denna studie syftar till att ge en mer rymsärad beskrivning av den samtida sexindustrin.
Full anonymitet garanteras - info och kontakt: merel.vanmansona@unimi.it

The banner seemed an effective instrument and soon after more prospective participants wrote me that they would like to participate in my study. The questionnaire was presented as another means to get into contact with men. Furthermore it enabled those men who would rather not be interviewed to still share their thoughts about the subject matter. The questionnaire was completed by 47 Swedish men and 21 Dutch men and the data that it generated will be perceived as additional data throughout the thesis, to substantiate certain arguments that the interviewed men have made.

The first interviewees in Sweden understood the difficulties of gaining access in Sweden and decided to vouch for me by writing small posts on the forums that I placed a call. Hendrik for example wrote the following:

I have met Merel for an interview and would like to invite more people to contact her. Her research is interesting and she would like more people to interview. She is genuine and all her questions are reasonable and balanced. Anonymity is guaranteed and she will not even ask for your name. So, I advise all who might be interested to contact her.

(Hendrik, 40+, Sweden; translated by author)

Hendrik who was considered an active member on the website vouched for my genuine interests and created by this simple post a credibility towards me as a researcher. Clients were not the only ones who vouched for me. Several sex workers who are very active on Twitter re-tweeted my call for participants several



times and even talked to some of their clients about my research.

She [the sex worker] had found you somehow and she checked you out and some of her friends also seem to follow you on social media so it all seems legit so to say. She asked me to contact you to nuance the debate.

(Karl, Swedish, 35+)

These online recruitment strategies resulted in a snowball sample or what is often referred to as a 'convenience sample' (Bryman, 200: 100) of Swedish men who pay for sexual services. During the period I was

interviewing clients in Sweden I had the opportunity to talk to several social workers. These social workers, from Mika in Malmö and the K.A.S.T. groups in Stockholm and Göteborg, work as therapists for men who perceive their sex buying behaviour as something

problematic. These meetings not only gave me the opportunity to be informed about the services that are available, but also an opportunity to reach out to other prospective research participants. When I came to the understanding that there is no (immediate) need for men to quit paying for sexual services while they receive this type of therapy I considered these men as valid prospective research participants. During and after our meetings the therapists in Göteborg and Malmö offered to place some of my announcements in their waiting rooms and lavatories.

Unfortunately I was not allowed to place any thread or banner on the two biggest sex buyer forums in the Netherlands. This led me to take a more conventional recruitment strategy by advertising the study in a national newspaper 'the Metro'. Like in Sweden I found myself very fortunate that the Dutch sex working community re-tweeted several of my tweets. Luckily a Dutch journalist from a well-known women's magazine in the Netherlands interviewed me. Apparently men read this magazine as well since one of my Dutch interviewees contacted me after he had read about the study that I was conducting. A last strategy used in the Netherlands was when I was invited to be present at a Gangbang event – my presence at this event will be introduced in Chapter 5.

4.3 The research participants

Informed consent and motivations to collaborate

In total I had the chance to talk to twenty-two Swedish clients and twenty-two Dutch clients, making it a total of forty-four men who enabled me to get a better understanding of the on- and offline field in which they take part. All participants were as mentioned, found in various ways, through word of mouth, online as well as offline, calls for participants on online communities as well as through more conventional newspaper advertisements and with the help of the wider sex work communities in both countries. Nevertheless, sometimes they seem to have taken their time to find the courage to contact me after they had read the call, like Leon who told me:

I had seen your call a couple of times, I had already taken a look at your website [...] and when you said [on Twitter] that X [big Dutch forum] did not want to cooperate with your research, I thought yeah now is the time to contact her.

(Leon, 50+, Dutch)

It must be said that due to the convenience sampling strategy all participants were white and with only few exceptions highly educated. A reason for this might be that those men who have followed higher tertiary education automatically have a better knowledge of social scientific research and therefore might be more willing to cooperate and/or these men are, due to their educational background, more reflexive about their own understanding of the sex industry and/or more active on the online communities where sex workers and clients communicate and share their knowledge, like Twitter.

When the men contacted me I assured them that I would keep their identities as well as all the interview materials in strict confidence. I also explained that participation was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw from participation in the study at any time. On several occasions in Sweden, prospective clients asked me if it would be ok to have a Skype or phone conversation first. Because I was worried it might lead to unwanted sexual advances I was curious why they found it important to talk to me beforehand. This was often because 'I

just wanted to have the certainty that you are a woman and also not from the police' as Benjamin described. Unfortunately due to other circumstances Benjamin and I never had the opportunity to meet for an interview in person.

Before every interview started I would let the men read and sign a consent form with a pseudonym or initials that they would feel comfortable with. On this consent form I described the aims of the research, contact information as well as a guarantee for their anonymity. Informed consent is a critical procedure to ensure participants' rights, guarantee confidentiality and protect them from any foreseen harm (Miller and Wertheimer, 2007). According to Dewey and Zheng it would be inherently wrong to perceive informed consent as a 'once-and-for-all activity prior to the research'. Rather, 'informed consent represents a dynamic, ever-changing process throughout the research' (Dewey and Zheng, 2013: 30) and is neither the product of choice or of coercion (Vega, 1987: 86). This is especially the case with ethnographic research with methods like participant observation but should have, according to me, the same influence on in-depth interviews. Informed consent does not stop after the interview has taken place. All male participants in this study could still be potentially harmed when being exposed or might even regret having participated in the study because of the emotional distress that the interview might have caused.

Additionally, I asked for their approval to record the interview. I described that the recorder was not obligatory but only helpful, but if preferred that I would be able to type along with the conversation. Ultimately this would also mean that the conversation would be less of a dialogue. In total four, two Swedes and two Dutch men, preferred not to have the interview recorded for reasons they did not need to share with me. Upon request and to respect their anonymity they also did not need to disclose information about their actual age or occupation and to further guarantee their anonymity I shall not mention the forums on which we met or where they were active on. These requests were made by my first interviewees in Sweden, although the majority of the Dutch participants would not have had a problem with me writing down their age and occupation I decided to stay coherent with all research participants. It is therefore that throughout this thesis the men will be described with a pseudonym that they agreed upon, followed by their nationality (Swedish or Dutch) and an indication of their age.

On many occasions prospective participants asked me if I would be able to send them a topic list beforehand so that they could be able to prepare themselves for the interview and make sure that they would give me the information needed for the research. When this became a systematic question I developed a small topic list that I sent to them by e-mail. These topics were presented in the following order: (a) **Experience** (b) **Sex**. (c) **Politics** and (d) **Media**. The complete topic list with questions for each topic can be found in the Appendixes.

Often the male participants brought with them a list with descriptions of sex workers that they had met throughout their life courses. They shared with me these descriptions in full whilst making connections between their different life courses and (conventional) relationships and paying for sexual services, without me even asking for it beforehand. This additional and very welcome information let me develop a wider understanding of the processes of becoming a client, which will be addressed in the following chapter.

One of the main motivations to contribute to the study was to be able to have an ability to challenge negative stereotypes about sex buyers or 'Johns' or '*torsk*' as they are known in Sweden and ' *hoerenlopers*' in the Netherlands. With their contribution they sensed an opportunity to counter (recent) negative media attention on the clients of sex workers. Emphasizing that they wanted to contribute to a positive change for the broader community of the sex industry, clients and the(ir) sex workers. Other motivations and desires where this research might contribute to were more politically driven when men described their interest in the study as follows:

I would like that it becomes less of a taboo that men pay for sex. That they will be seen less as sexually ill-fated and on the other hand abusers of forced women. And of course that we do not follow Sweden in the Netherlands with a ban!

(Pieter, 40+, Dutch)

An exception to these motivations was Dries, who at the time of our interview had recently stopped seeing sex workers for good. For him the interview was a possibility to seek closure for a part of his life where there was no need or drive to pay for sex anymore. For others the conversations gained them some

intelligibility about their own thoughts and behaviours. On many occasions the conflicts that they felt paying for sexual services while longing for a relationship clashed with the country's moral perspectives about 'being a John'. Many men contacted me afterwards by e-mail to express their gratitude for being able to talk about it and reflected upon the conversations many weeks later. Pieter even recalled parts of our conversation during a visit to sex worker:

I often thought about the interview, even when I visited a massage parlour! I then started to analyse or question myself, judged my own behaviour in the light of our conversation. But that is starting to reduce. My visit to sex workers has become more varied; it's been a bit more and now a little less. But I do not think that our conversation had an effect on that.

(Pieter, 40+, Single, Dutch)

And for all it had been a welcome experience to get their thoughts off their chests and to talk openly about their experiences was seen as unique opportunity for many. As Plummer claims about telling sexual stories: 'people may tell their sexual stories as a relief from tension' (1995: 34). Most, with few exceptions, were not able to talk about their experiences with others, apart from the online communities. This is something that many researchers who talk with sex buyers indicate (e.g. Grenz, 2005; Plumridge et al., 1997; Sanders, 2008). For obvious reasons this was even more evident in Sweden. Those men that were able to talk to one or two friends or family members only took those in confidence who they knew had similar experiences.

Confessions and close rapport

On average the interviews took two to two-and-a-half hours with outliers of up to five-and-a-half hour-long conversations or multiple phone calls. Most men preferred to meet me in person although I always gave them the possibility to meet me online on Skype (with or without camera) or contact me through phone. Because there was almost no desire to meet me at my office in Sweden I met most men in coffee bars, restaurants and hotel lobbies. On some occasions prospective

participants described that they would feel more comfortable talking to me in their own homes. This form of conducting interviews is a method prioritized by feminist methodologists (e.g. Finch 1993). Lacking an office space in the Netherlands led me to similar sites. In the Netherlands two interviews were carried out via Skype, three by phone, twelve in a bar or restaurant and seven at the participant's home. In Sweden two interviews were also carried out via Skype, five by phone, eleven in a bar, restaurant or hotel lobby with the exception that two took place in a park near a bar and two were conducted at the participant's home and two interviews were carried out at an office space at the University of Lund. The interviews in Sweden were held in English and although the English proficiency of the interviewees was excellent I did give them the opportunity to use Swedish words if necessary since I had some basic knowledge of the language. The interviews in the Netherlands were all held in Dutch.

When we would meet in a public space I often met them for a cup of coffee or lunch to take some of the tension away that the conversations might generate. In some cases in the Netherlands when I met the men in a bar or restaurant they did not seem to care much if people would overhear our conversations. Despite some of their carelessness I felt overly responsible to follow ethical guidelines, whether we were in a country where it was considered legal to pay for sexual services or where it was criminalized. During each conversation I observed closely if there was anybody that would be able to overhear our conversations. When I interviewed Tobias, a Dutch married man who is in his mid-thirties, I even suggested moving twice because people in the restaurant might overhear us. After my second suggestion he told me that most probably these men were here for a business meeting and had 'better things to do'. On another occasion in which another interviewee and I were the only guests in a bar in a small town in the Netherlands I started to talk about one of his holidays the minute the bartender came to clean the tables next to us. When I met Dante in the bar of a hotel in Stockholm he asked me, when by coincidence one of his colleagues would pass by, to not explicitly say anything about the nature of my study but frame it instead as if we were having a conversation about Swedish prostitution policy in general.

The loosely structured interviews in a neutral setting, at an establishment of their own choice, allowed us to take our time when tears began to flow, or when

hands were trembling because of the nature of the conversation. Would this have been a strict and structured interview there would not have been room for any of these emotions. I perceived these moments, although brief, as opportunities of observation. I never considered the interview, and the transcript that would result from it as the only data. In the way I conducted these interviews they should be perceived, as Schwalbe and Wolkomir state, as fieldwork in which opportunities occur to gather data through observation and talk (2001: 100). The emotions were therefore a very valid part of the interviews. I let the men start every conversation by drawing upon their first experiences with sex workers, I only steered the conversations by asking some questions in the line of the topics that I needed to address for the objectives of this study. Given that many men received a topic list beforehand, they drew lines between these topics themselves or initiated a move to another topic. The personal narratives that these interviews generated were never exempt from cultural conventions and other shared beliefs. Although all stories were unique, common beliefs often prevailed. This perspective is shared and demonstrated by Plummer (1995) who describes that even the utmost personal stories reflect collective, shared cultural beliefs (Plummer, 1995: 106).

Throughout this chapter I have already referred to the interviews as either conversations or dialogues. Before the interviews took place I often described to the participants that the interview would be less strict in that I would enable them to describe their experiences in full length. Nevertheless, I was the one initiating the conversation and asking the questions. A dialogue is according to Kvale a joint endeavour where equal partners seek for understanding and knowledge through conversation (Kvale, 2006: 483).

After I reflected upon these hierarchies in the interview setting calling it a dialogue seems misleading. Ken Plummer perceives the interactive character of sexual storytelling as 'joined actions'. Within these joined actions the interviewee is the story teller and the interviewer is the 'coaxer' who 'brings people to the edge of telling a story they might never have told before and coaches them to tell it in a certain way [...] coaxers can play a crucial role in shifting the nature of the stories that are told' (Plummer, 1995: 20).

The interview as intervention

Given the nature of the interview as a dialogue in which a setting was created to build trust and a proper rapport, I still came home rather restless. Not necessarily about the content of the conversations but about the relationship that was created between the participant and me in the very small amount of time in which they lay their private lives open while I nodded, took notes and asked questions in order for them to make connections. I was not only a listener in the dialogues created, but I was also the steering wheel who made sure that all topics would be addressed. Did I plan a 'Trojan Horse' (Kvale, 2006) by asking certain questions to fully grasp their stories? Did our rapport act as a silent attack for them to discuss their most intimate matters with me? I decided, given the nature of our conversations, to make sure that they knew that if they doubted something or would not want me to cite specific aspects of our conversations, like names or locations they would let me know. Many times this resulted in that I would send the full interview transcript to the men to enable them to take their time by reading it through and highlighting those parts that they would feel uncomfortable with even though the men would be anonymous because of the use of pseudonyms.

On a few occasions some of the participants contacted me straight after the interview to say that they fully appreciated the interview setting that was marked by a close rapport but regretted that they talked so freely, especially about others. Mark, for example, asked me after the interview had taken place in his apartment in the Netherlands if I could delete a few parts when he was very explicit about the name and square occupations²⁶ of the sex worker that he meets on a regular basis. This became a very common request and their concerns were often of an altruistic nature. Even if they [the Swedish men] had committed a criminal act, they seemed to be more worried about the anonymity and safety of the sex workers they knew or met regularly. The prominence of 'becoming a regular' and all other widely diverse and dispersed trajectories will be further expressed in Chapter 6.

When some interviewees, after months of being in contact, shared other valid additional information with me I always asked for their permission to use it

as additional data. Some of the reviews and field reports that some respondents shared with me, which will be addressed in Chapter 5.2 are examples of this.

Many researchers believe that a social scientist should not and may never intervene in the life of their research participants. According to me this is a narrow perspective on the role of the interviewer when a research participant discloses very sensitive information. Even after a lengthy time period the questions asked, the answers given and the reflexions made during and after the conversation could have an influence on the (daily) life of an interviewee. O'Connell Davidson (2008) for example, who interviewed many sex workers throughout her academic career reflects on the permanence of 'consent' when she asks herself if she should still use specific data for publications when she is not in contact with those women anymore.

As I have not maintained contact with these women and girls, I do not know whether and how their lives have changed, but for all I know, they may now look back with regret on the fact that they ever confided the intimate details of their lives to a researcher. Indeed, the data I hold might now appear to them – if and when they remember the interview – as a permanent record of a period in their life they would rather deny or forget, in rather the same way that people talk about children who have been sexually abused in the production of pornography feeling distressed by the idea that the photos of their abuse are still circulating 'out there'.

(O'Connell Davidson, 2008: 60)

I therefore decided that all interviewees should have the opportunity to comment on my first draft after they had signed an agreement of scientific confidentiality. More than two thirds of the interviewees responded and commented on the drafts in different ways, most often to further anonymize the identity of the sex workers they were involved with. Furthermore, they will be kept informed – if desired – on further progress and outcomes of this dissertation.

4.4 Reflexive accounts on the approaches made

Knowledge is produced in specific circumstances and those circumstances shape knowledge.

(Rose, 1997: 305)

Situated knowledge and feminine traits

Just like I was inexperienced about receiving sexually tinted remarks from potential participants it was through the stages of conducting the research that I became even more reflexive about the relationships between the research participants and myself. Luff (1999) argues that 'Moments of rapport' develop during the interview situation in which aspects of identity could be traced (697). I became even more aware of these moments of rapport and my presence during the interview when I transcribed the interviews. I was able to signify my feminine traits as well as masculine characteristics of the interviewees, which they often explicitly delineated. Considering that transcribing interviews is very costly in time, a lot of social scientists prefer to outsource these activities. I preferred to transcribe all interviews myself to be able to reflect upon the interviews more deeply while immediately getting a sense of all the common and shared (cultural) beliefs and customs that the men referred to. This process of transcribing enabled me to better code transcripts 'in vivo' (Charmaz, 2006:55).

The transcriptions also made me aware of my own vulnerabilities resulting from my self-disclosures during the interviews when – given the setting of the interview as a dialogue – I answered questions that the men asked me during the interviews.

The circumstances and contexts in which the interviews took place had a tremendous influence on how the research was shaped, the goals set, but also how the questions were formulated and how the research participants communicated with me as a way to understand how I positioned myself within the contemporary debates before they were able to tell me their story. As I have mentioned in previous chapters every research project on the sex industry, whether it is a case study on the gentrification of the Red Light District of Amsterdam or condom usage among German sauna visitors, researchers are confronted with the

polarized positions of sex work that either portray sex work as good or bad and subsequently sex workers as empowered women or victims of male abuse. These debates have been on-going for the last four decades with no resolutions in sight that moves beyond this dichotomy. This dichotomy comes along with a different jargon. Do we speak about sex work or prostitution? Having this knowledge resulted in that all those spoken to, sex workers, clients and social workers not only used different wording, but also that I adjusted to the language they presented.

Because of the descriptions on the website I had given prospective clients the ability to read some information about me and given that my surname was revealed, they were able to Google me which gave them a clear picture about who they were dealing with. After a brief introduction of the study and before I gave them the floor to share their story they often wanted to know about my position towards sex work. Although they might have been able to fill those blanks in by themselves because of the jargon used on the website I sensed that they just wanted to be sure that I was at least not against prostitution and therefore not against them.

Acknowledging that knowledge is always situated sheds room for a deep reflexivity for me as a researcher, to understand my own positionality towards the different research fields – when treating the Netherlands and Sweden as two separate fields of inquiry – as well as the relationships built between the research participants and me. Reflexivity generally means attempting to make the power relations and the exercise of power in the research process explicit (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002: 118). Making these power dynamics explicit made the gender dynamics in the conversations with the men important. By being a woman I clearly reproduced certain traits that are often depicted as feminine, like listening, when women operate as facilitators to male speech, to listen and not to interrupt, but to encourage the men to talk (Smart, 1984: 155).

Yet as I already described, by being a coxer these roles became a bit more complex. Even the wordings chosen by the men might have been influenced by my gender. On one occasion this was made very explicit. When I posed the question to the Dutch Albert if he could describe to me what services were provided during

one of his first encounters with a Swedish sex worker he apologized for being explicit:

- Albert: Well then she jerked me off and gave me a blowjob. Eh, wow. Hey, I am not used to say this so explicit to a lady!
- Merel: You could be as explicit as you want to be during our conversation.
- Albert: Well I am not sure if I feel that comfortable with that. But all right.

Being inspired by Sabine Grenz (2005) who asked prospective clients if they would prefer to be interviewed by a man or a woman, I decided to ask at the end of the conversation 'if the conversation would have been different if I would have been a man'. Most of the sex buyers said explicitly that they appreciated the question and some even thought about this themselves before meeting me. Without going into too much detail now as I will elaborate on this further in the last chapter of this dissertation, it was interesting that all participants in Sweden and the Netherlands indicated that the conversation would have been different, in Sweden almost nobody would have met me in the first place if I would have been male, although they did not seem to be able to indicate 'why'.

- Francis: Eh, yes, I think.
- Merel: Why?
- Francis: I do not think I would have done it [the interview] if you were a man.
- Merel: Could you explain to me why you would not have done the Interview?
- Francis: Because I felt more relaxed and more, eh, I do not know. That is why I contacted you in the first place. Because I think the study that you do is very interesting. But if it would have been a man with this study I do not think I would have made that connection. I do not know exactly why, but, eh, well it is different. In some way.

For those that did not want to meet me if I would have been a man, either described feminine traits of a listener, the inability to open up towards men because of a certain shame, to be perceived as not being 'masculine' enough or

having a constant curiosity if the interviewer himself might have paid for sexual services:

To be honest I thought about that before I was going to meet you. Because I have a sexual mind, what would she look like, how would she be in communication? I think it is just so much easier for me to talk to a woman, I really think so. I do not know why really, because in both scenarios I am anonymous. Ok, you see me but you do not really know who I am, it is no problem or it should not be a problem to talk about these things but maybe that is why I asked you what your opinion is about this. Although I did not want to ask it in the beginning because maybe you would not have answered I think because I think you would have wanted me to express my thoughts first.

(Ulf, Swedish, 40+)

I do not know, I think it is more depending on the, eh, maybe the person who interviews, to generalize it more than it could be but I do not know. Maybe, eh, if it was a man then you could have – well I realize that is a prejudice as well – but with men it might be that I would think does he also have any experiences with buying sex or not.

(Nils, Swedish, 50+)

Therapy, mediation and emotional labour

Clearly being a female interviewer played a role in the recruitment as well as the words used and the comfort that these men experienced while coming out anonymously as men who pay for sexual services. To be able to talk to someone who listens closely without any prejudice was considered very valuable by many of the men. Often they wrote me after the interview that they had perceived the conversation as ‘therapeutic’.

Hi Merel,

I did enjoy our interview today. I think it actually worked as a little therapy for me, but I hope I could give you something in return.

I was thinking about how you want to get in contact with more men here in Sweden. What do you think if I would add a comment in your thread at [website] and, sort of, vouch for you? Do you think it would help you? I'm thinking of something along the lines that I say that I've met you and I vouch for that you are serious and encourage others to get in contact with you. Could that be of any help to you?

Take care and please do not hesitate to get in contact with me if you think that I could be of any further help to you.

Hendrik

This was an e-mail send by Hendrik before he decided to describe his experiences of being interviewed by me on an online Swedish community to attract more prospective research participants. He shared his appreciation of our talk and the genuine belief in the importance and relevance of this study. In some cases the therapeutic experience, when finally being able to share one's deepest secrets, resulted in asking me if they should seek therapy. In the case of the Swedish married Daniel this happened when he raised the question if he should talk to his former therapist, a social worker from the Swedish K.A.S.T. group again when he was trying to make sense of his own thoughts and recent sexual outlets during our conversation. I decided to mediate by sending an email to this former social worker since I was also in contact with him.

The interviews could be seen as 'confessional' since the men admitted to have committed behaviour that is, whether legalized or criminalized, not accepted and sanctioned by society. And besides, they shared their secrets, sexual desires and fears often for the very first time. When they were able to get something off their chest I started to carry their weight on my shoulders. I experienced what is referred to as 'emotional labour' throughout the research process. Arlie Hochschild defines emotional labour as 'the management of feeling to create a publicly observable and bodily display' (1983: 7). More and more social scientists who study sex work start to experience stress because of the emotional labour, tensions and difficulties when researching specific aspects of the sex industry (e.g. O'Neill, 1996; Shaver, 2005) or they specifically refer to the distress that female

researchers have when being sexualized as mentioned previously (e.g. Grenz, 2005; Hammond, 2010). Although I received several sexual advances before the interviews took place and received some, but not many comments after the interviews took place when questions were raised 'if I ever thought about working myself?' or 'Have you ever considered paying for sexual services?' I perceived all these questions in the line of the (artificial) dialogue that was created. Getting acquainted with these comments was a part of the emotional labour. What made it more difficult was how to appropriately react to difficult emotions when coming to the understanding that I was the only one until then that they were able to share their story with. Far beyond the scope of the topics of my interview guide these emotions became part of the data collection. When Emil, a Swedish men in his fifties, for example asked me after sighing and becoming a bit emotional 'Can I tell you everything, everything?' I understood the impact that this phone conversation had on him while he laid out his whole story about loneliness from his childhood up to recent family visits.

A third aspect of the emotional labour that became part of my research experience was the difficulty of keeping my role as an interviewer during the conversations when some men started to describe the unsafe sex that they had had with sex workers. I felt confused when highly educated men who seemed so cautious in their choice of words towards me while being so impressively reflective about their encounters with sex workers would promptly mention that they had oral sex without a condom. I could not help myself to occasionally lecture them about the possible risks when they had some distorted ideas about obtaining sexual transmitted diseases. 'Maybe I am living a bit on the edge [...] or do you think I am naïve? I am probably a little naïve, but what are the risks?' When the Dutch Albert asked me to respond to this I could only tell him that it probably would not be up to me to lecture him about these risks since I do not have a medical background but if I were him I would have given it a second thought.

With a greater awareness of the emotional labour in the interviews and the power shifts between the interviewer and the interviewee, the researcher, as Elizabeth Hoffman describes, will generate a greater understanding of the participants and their stories at a deeper level (2007: 344).

5.1 First time experiences

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are. We have to imagine and to build up what we could be to get rid of this political 'double bind', which is the simultaneous individualisation and tantalisation of modern power structures [...] we have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries. (Foucault, 1982: 785)

Introduction

In this Chapter the processes of clients will be described on the intra-psychic level, their personal mental deliberations, that will enable them to meet a sex worker who could live up to their expectations, desires and motivations to pay for (specific) sexual services. The possible differentiated motivations, as those that have been frequently summed up by scholars that have been summarized in Chapter 2 will not be addressed (they can be found in specified tables in the appendixes). Instead comparisons will be made between Dutch and Swedish clients and the steps they take, the routes they follow and the sights they explore. This chapter will describe material obtained from the interviewees, data derived from the online questionnaires as well as several findings from lurking on online platforms.

After being disappointed with Red Light Districts most have turned their gaze to the Internet, browsing through webpages with advertisements of sex workers and reports and reviews written by other men in order to do their 'homework' thoroughly. It will be emphasized that even if their strategies are comparable the reasons why will differ tremendously between the Swedish and Dutch men who pay for sexual services. Additionally, this chapter will describe the functions that these specific webpages have for Swedish and Dutch clients on an individual as well as a collective level when the question is raised what interest does it serve and for whom. Where previous studies have been able to grasp the functions of these computer mediated communications (CMC) for (prospective) 'sex buyers' this chapter will look more underneath the surface of the services that

are offered online by emphasizing that there is a thin line between active writers and passive writers. When during the interviews the clients were able to reflect upon their online and offline consultations it comes to light that they are often torn between how they ought to behave according to the discourses in their native countries and their personal desires, turning them into self regulating agents. Swedes perceive themselves as law abiding citizens while they internalized quite an abolitionist perspective on sex work and the Dutch often seem to draw comparisons between other consumer goods, emphasizing the sex work is work rhetoric and therefore a professional service that not only they but also the sex worker should take seriously.

Furthermore, this chapter will address the Internet as a spatial displacement that enables other displacements, expansions and diversifications of the sex industry. The information shared online enables geographical displacements, when novices are informed by more seasoned writers about international possibilities. The push and pull factors that the global sex industry generates have been influenced by legal constraints that repress or restrict the possibilities in both the Netherlands and Sweden, but it will be emphasized that other factors have contributed to these spatial displacements as well.

Client stigma and last remedies

In English, Swedish and Dutch words like kerb crawler, *torsk*, or *hoerenloper* refer to those who pay for sexual services. They are also some of the most offensive words one could use to refer to a man who pays for sex. Kerb crawling is soliciting another person from a motor vehicle or in a street or public space (Sanders, and Campbell 2008: 167). *Torsk* is the Swedish word for 'John' and '*hoerenloper*' might be best understood as the Dutch version of 'kerb crawler' when its literal English translation would come down to 'walker [among] whores'. In the introduction as well as the methodology sections of this thesis I have emphasized the significance of the usage of words and the value I place on using specific terminology or leaving any terminology out of the conversation during interviews.

Although the study of clients is still a novel topic I could not help but notice that even scholars that could be considered sex worker rights advocates use these

offensive words when referring to heterosexual men that pay for sex. Often titles of published articles would refer to Johns or Punters. Campbell and Storr (2001) already warned a decade ago that a discourse that would 'dehumanize' clients could never lead to an informed debate about clients but would rather reinforce stereotypes, not being able to grasp the complex social, economic and cultural relationships in which paying for sexual services takes place. And this would further enhance a 'client stigma'. During the interviews with the men I refrained from using the word John, Punter and even sex buyer when speaking to the Swedes and referred to 'paying for sexual services' instead. Often, when I asked the men when their first 'paid sexual encounter' had taken place I got an answer like that of Paul (Swedish, 40+): 'I do not see myself as a sex buyer. I do not know if I want to be a guy who buys sex. I do not feel comfortable with that'. Even though I did not use the word myself the Swedes would reflect upon not 'being' a sex buyer. Within the first minutes of the interview Paul perceived himself as being a participant in a deviant or rather criminal act while I was aiming for his subjective experience of paying for sexual services when asking him when his first paid encounter took place. The difference seems negligible at first sight, but in fact describes the difference between sexuality as behaviour and sexuality as identity. Since men who pay for sexual services are not a homogeneous group I perceive paying for sexual services as a process, a set of decisions and acts influenced by laws and regulations.

Before I move on to how these processes have come about and how they were affected by the different roles of the Internet and the globalization and professionalization of the sex industry I would first like to turn to the heterogeneity of the men who described their purchase behaviour to me. What all the men that I have been able to talk with, the Swedish men as well as the Dutch men, have in common is that they are heterosexual and white, and with minor exceptions all have obtained a university degree or a degree in applied sciences and are part of the 'middle class' or 'upper middle class'. In the Netherlands the average age of the first experience these men had of paying for any kind of sexual services was 27, in Sweden this number is only slightly higher, namely 28.5 years. The range in the Netherlands was between 17 and 46. In both Sweden and the Netherlands both Marley (40+) and Don (40+) were seventeen when they had

their first encounter and share a very similar story. Don was like Marley encouraged by his friends to enter a brothel (or 'kliniken') in Denmark, whereas Marley was walking in the Red Light District in the Netherlands. His friends even made it into a monetary bet that he 'would not dare to go in'. He did, but in the end it did not seem that special: 'I thought in the end it was not that different [from not paying for sex]. And they [friends] owe me money! I thought back then that I would never do it again'. Marley already had some sexual experiences with a former girlfriend when he was 17. Different from Don, who at the age of 17 had his sexual debut with a sex worker in Copenhagen, 'I was pretty inexperienced, it was as I recall it, the first time I was having penetrative sex with a woman, so I was very inexperienced and she just, as I remember it, took control of the situation and it was just like having regular intercourse'.

As many as seven (7/22) Dutch men were still a virgin when they had their first experience with a sex worker, in Sweden this figure was four (4/22). Whether Swedish or Dutch these 11 men in total were quite happy to have 'done it', to 'get it over with' or as Diederik, who was about 35 when he had his first sexual debut, described:

I felt a little bit like, eh, mission accomplished. I really felt like that! It was not, it did not change my world or my life or something, but I was happy about it. I remember that I sat down quietly on a bench outside and reflected upon what just happened. And that it was so easy actually and that I had waited for so long, eh, for something that was just easily available.

(Diederik, Swedish, 40+)

When I asked him if he would have done it any time sooner knowing what he knows now and the accessibility these venues have he told me about the moral issues that he previously had about paying for sex and for him it was 'the last possible solution, you wait and you hope that it [sex] will happen in some magic way with people you meet. But I would definitely have done it before if I would have known'. I asked those who have had their sexual debuts with a sex worker if they had told the sex workers beforehand about their virginity. None of the Swedes allowed themselves to be straight about their lack of experience with

penetrative sex towards the sex workers, they rather describe it like Odin, who just had his debut in Germany: 'I guess I told her I was inexperienced, and I think she kind of noticed'. It is not that the Dutch men who were still a virgin before their sexual encounter with a sex worker were not nervous, they were and like the Swedes they also described having their first sexual experience with a sex worker as a 'last remedy'. Nevertheless most of them actually disclosed their virginity to the sex workers. 'Yes, of course I told her. Yes. It would not have made any sense to hide that from her. So yes I consciously told her and I even asked her if she could take that into account when meeting her' (Maurits, 30+, Dutch).

It became apparent that those Swedes that did had their sexual debuts with sex workers were very occupied with that they always desired that it [having sex] would happen the 'normal' way, meeting a woman and have their first sexual experiences out of love and with a shared sexual desire. They perceived their sexual encounter with a sex worker as standing in sharp contrast to how sex should be done. For the Dutch their virginity seemed to have been more perceived as a problem that needed to be fixed. In order to fix the problem they would rather consult an experienced professional instead of having to go through all the effort of meeting a woman and the emotional distress to have to confide to somebody that they are inexperienced. Throughout this chapter this functional perspective of the Dutch heterosexual male clients in comparison to the Swedes will be described as one of the differences between the Swedish and the Dutch clients as a discursive formation influenced by the logic of national and local policies.

The man who was the oldest when he had his first sexual encounter with a sex worker was the Swedish Cedric at the age of 46, whose wife had left him because of his physical limitations as the result of a severe stroke. During the interview I had with Cedric he asked me: 'I have heard that in Denmark they have women for disabled men like me [...] is that true?' I told him it was true that they do indeed have 'sexual assistance' or 'sex surrogates' in Denmark (see for a broad discussion on the Swedish and Danish perspectives of sex and disability Kulick and Rydström 2015) and that we have a similar system in the Netherlands with organizations that facilitate this. When I described one of these organizations that perceives sex as a health concern he interrupted me:

Yes that is something that I have understood for myself as well. It is not a luxury that I cannot afford. It is something that I need to recover. Because I have a long road ahead of me and a long rehabilitation in front of me and I just need to have a good life quality to have the energy to go through that. And also if I do not feel good, my body and brain just shut down and my physiotherapists notice immediately when I do not feel ok because I, I am shaking much more and I cannot do everything. I am just less functioning.

(Cedric, Swedish, 45+)

Having sex with, what Cedric referred to as his 'imaginary girlfriend' enabled him to feel more relaxed during his rehabilitation. The four physically disabled Dutch men spoken to would rather book an escort through agencies that offer comparable services like these organizations that facilitate sexual assistance. These and other displacements will be described in the last section of this chapter.

Except for these disabled men, most of the first experiences of paying for sexual services by the Dutch and Swedish men took place in Red Light Districts with window brothels in the Netherlands, klinikken in Denmark and laufhausen in Germany. The stories of these men's 'first encounters' with a sex worker were shaded with embarrassment and nervousness. All men were extremely tensed about their actual first encounter with a sex worker because they did not know 'what to expect'.

I did not know beforehand what I was supposed to do. For example, when you would go to the post office for the very first time, you have to learn that you first get a ticket, stand in line and when it is your turn ask your question at the person behind the counter. Basically it is the same when visiting a sex worker, you do not know the right order. You come in, feel extremely uncomfortable and start taking your clothes off and so on.

(Ferdinand, Dutch, 25+)

The embarrassments shared by the Swedish men were not solely about what was expected from them but more about the encounter itself. Just like the distress of the Swedish men that lost their virginity, all felt embarrassed during their first experiences about what they were about to do, what they were doing, what they

had done. 'I also felt extremely embarrassed that I had done it actually. Because it is not, eh, really the right thing you do and at the same time I do not think you have to pay for something that should be free'. (Francis, Swedish, 35+). 'It was a really negative experience because once I was undressed another woman came in. [...] they started to push me in to 'buying', eh, more than we had agreed on. It was so scary!' (Thor, Swedish, 40+).

Disappointments at Red Light Districts

Both Swedish and Dutch men described that the atmosphere was too 'business-like' and the sex was clearly too 'mechanical' but were excited while walking in a Red Light District and curious about how it would be. After the encounter they felt 'trapped', 'It was just a tourist trap since she wanted me to get off quick' (Daniel, Swedish, 40+). 'The hop-hop-hop and off you go is just nothing for me' (Marcel, Dutch, 40+). At Red Light Districts you often pay per fifteen or twenty minutes, negotiations are made before you enter but very often 'once you are done' and as a male customer have had an orgasm, it is expected that you leave or you pay extra.

She received me for one reason only, to get paid, to have sex and leave. There were no feelings involved. And you know as a man when you did not had sex for a long time it can go pretty fast. So even if you had paid for thirty minutes, when you are done in fifteen minutes it is bye-bye and you go.

(Francis, Swedish, 35+)

The Swedes I have talked to seemed more pre-occupied with the vulnerability of these women than with their own experiences, because there were no emotions involved, they were not turned on by them, and they only did it for the money. 'It simply is not a good business, since they need several clients, just to break even' (Diederik, Swedish, 40+). Because of the speed of the encounters the Swedish men were more pre-occupied with the vulnerability of these women than the lack of 'service' they received. The Dutch men, who were often just as blunt as the Swedes when having their first paid sexual encounter, were often addressing the quality of the service in relation to the money they needed to hand over. They often felt

trapped when sex workers turned some tricks and let them pay too much money for the services they provided. Dries (Dutch, 65+) has extensive experience with sex workers over a period of some 30 years, one of his first experiences was at the Red Light District in Amsterdam and he remembered the sex worker told him 'We could turn into a different position now, but you would have to pay me some extra'. He added: 'That was not pleasant at all to have an interruption like that. Money was never a problem but this was a one-time experience. Never again'. The quality of the service in relation to the amount of money charged for the time spent with a sex worker seems to be one of their main concerns.

Well, I went inside and I had to pay 100 Euros because they were with two, but when I came in they did nothing. Nothing. [...] I cut it off and wanted to leave and get my money back. Of course they did not give it back in the first place. I just stayed there and in the end they called the brothel owner who agreed with me and in the end gave me money back. I really thought if they [the sex workers] are going to be nasty, I am just going to stay here, properly dressed and I will not leave. That will ruin their business.

(Leon, Dutch, 45+)

Getting the right value for their money is very central in the descriptions of the first encounters of the Dutch men. They often use a more profound economic jargon and speak in terms of transactions, values, business and markets. But it has to be met on their terms, like browsing around in a store people often do not like a salesclerk approaching them with the question if they could find what they are looking for. When sex workers applied similar tactics this was perceived as intrusive. 'You know what I really started to dislike? That they knock on the windows: "Come on in honey, come on!" If they start doing that I walk on'. (Marcel, Dutch, 40+). '*Schatzi, Schatzi, willst du Ficken?* That is just so incredibly annoying!' (Sam, 40+, Dutch). While being a professional was considered a merit by the Dutch men, this could also be taken the wrong way, and those that overdid it, were perceived as 'too business oriented'. Especially when sex workers would constantly look at the clock making a face like 'is it over yet'. This was not perceived as professional since they had to at least offer them a specific service

for the rates they were charging and not having their mind already set on a possible next client.

If we speak about a 'market' to stay in this economic jargon, sex work in the Netherlands is a very segmented market that offers a wide range of services. At the top of the hierarchy we could find women working for posh and rather exclusive clubs or escort agencies. Often this is described in literature as facilitating 'affluent businessmen' (e.g. Outshoorn, 2004). Nearly at the bottom of this hierarchy you will find women that work in (window)brothels and at 'rock bottom' the street workers. Nevertheless all men spoken to have some experience at the bottom of this hierarchy, despite that, as Dries (Dutch, 65+) described, money would not be a problem. This knowledge augments my perspective that paying for sexual services is a process and something you 'do' and 'being a sex buyer' not a sound identity.

In their descriptions of their first encounters with sex workers it comes to light that both Swedish and Dutch men were embarrassed about and sometimes even regret to have visited a sex worker in the first place. Yet the differences why they felt embarrassed or regretted the event differ widely and are closely related with the discourses present in their native countries on sex and sex work that seem to have regulated their thoughts. The Swedish men spoken to reflected upon what in Swedish society was perceived as good sex and given the discourse on sex work were very occupied with the safety and financial circumstances of the sex workers they had an encounter with. As for the Dutch, they seemed not to problematize what they do and to an extent the work that the women do, but 'how' they do it. These micro considerations of these men that pay for sexual services turns them into self-regulating agents setting directions of their conduct while their thoughts are interlinked with the macro strategies that ought to normalize specific sexual conduct.

Exploring other possibilities

After some of these first encounters did not meet their expectations some of the men, Swedish and Dutch, stopped exploring for several years, especially those that began having their encounters at the end of the 1990s when the Internet was not

widely used. While for others it became the starting point from which they began to explore other possibilities.

According to Sven-Axel Månsson the globalization of the sex industry as well as the technology have created new opportunities for those who pay for sexual services and those who sell sexual services enabling an 'increase' in the availability of sex for sale (2006: 3). However, correlation does not imply causation, but what became apparent is that the Internet plays a very significant role between clients and sex workers as well as providing an opportunity to share international knowledge about the availability of very different 'markets' around the globe. Since the questionnaire was composed of open ended questions, most men took their time to anonymously write down quite a length of text which gave me a rich source of additional information besides the interviews held with a few exceptions most indicated that 'the Internet is where it all starts', whether they used it as a research tool to get into contact with sex workers, a means to communicate with other clients or to gather information about sex work. Most often it was used for both. Like one of these Swedish respondents described:

I searched for escort sites, and that is how I found the ads, I also found a Scandinavian forum for customers. But I did not register there. I read some of the threads and got a better view of the market. Some members had been robbed by foreign men, which was a valuable warning. It was also interesting to read about people's experiences, good and bad. As for reviews, I gave very positive reviews to the two escorts who I enjoyed seeing. I have not looked for information about prostitution regulations, as I already know what the law says.

(Swedish respondent nr. 18)

The Red Light Districts in the Netherlands are, as previously mentioned, gentrified and centralized which enforces the 'tourist atmosphere'. My Swedish interviewees taught me that it is extremely hard to find a sex worker in Sweden that would meet up to their desires and expectations without moral objections and doing something illegal. Yet, when you are a novice in the global market of sex work where do you begin to make sure you might be able to find what you looking for and what meets the motivations and objectives you might have to pay for sexual service to prevent to any 'bad' experience? 'All together I did not do any research

or any preparation on what to expect and where to get what I needed. Today, with the knowledge I have I would never buy sex from someone like that' (Thor, Swedish, 40+). He gained this knowledge on the Internet through different platforms, review sites, forums and so forth. Experience is not always the best teacher, which is why both Swedish and Dutch men preferred to know beforehand what they could expect, especially when giving it another try and to learn what they can expect as well as what is expected from them.

It has to be explained somehow, not only to know what different sites there are but also the negative spiral you might be enforcing when going to specific sites. When you go to a window brothel you will get a whole different experience than when you would go to a club. And also to prevent men from going to window parlours that do not belong there, simply because it will not meet their expectations.

(Sam, Dutch, 40+)

Sam talks about the importance of the online communication of clients on the Internet. Informing other men about specific 'client etiquettes' as well as the role of experts and novices on forums in sharing information, the role of writing reviews, client advocacy and other roles the Internet has in the 'global market' of sexual services will be elaborated extensively in the following section.

5.2 The Role of the Internet

Anonymity and easy access

Considering sex work, and its 'market', the great advantage of Internet is the fact that it guarantees anonymity (Leonini, 2012: 629). 'That is where it all starts, the Internet. You start with websites to make a selection. Maybe after a first selection you make a second selection or even a third and then you go and contact them (Francis, Swedish, 35+). 'The Internet is so easy, you do not have to take your company car or even walk along any of those windows [in the Red Light District] you could take your time and browse through the pages on the Internet' (Sasker, Dutch, 30+).

According to abolitionist writer Hughes websites with explicit sexual content normalize men's exploitative and abusive behaviours. Images as well as texts should therefore be perceived according to Hughes as derogatory and dehumanizing (Hughes, 2004: 115). Claims or observations like these of Hughes tend to overlook the agency of women in the dynamics of these online communications, simplifying the functions that these virtual communities on specific sex related websites might have. Recent studies have shown that the Internet plays an important role in the cost-effectiveness for sex workers when they would place their advertisements online. As O'Neill explains 'prostitutes can tempt their customers much more effectively in cyberspace than by paying for advertising space in small ads, telephone cards and contact magazines' (O'Neill, 2001: 150). According to Sanders, soliciting online emphasizes the control sex workers have in marketing their business and negotiating when they are no longer restricted by the use of telephones but instead can reply to their e-mails when it suits them best (Sanders, 2006: 107). More recent studies have shown that the Internet and usage of computer-mediated communication (CMC) enhances the safety procedures of sex workers (Jones, 2015: 561).

Since I got acquainted with a lot of these men online, whether through personal messages on websites, commenting on forum threads or Twitter, I knew at the very beginning that the Internet and their usage of CMC is playing a vibrant role in the purchase of sexual services. But I did not know to what extent, what kind of dynamics and how they perceive the Internet at an individual as well as a

collective level, in comparison to the functions CMC has for sex workers. How would men that pay for sex in Sweden and the Netherlands use the Internet to connect with sex workers and/or enhance their safety? Asking Swedish and Dutch men questions to specify their ideas about online communities on webpages as well as their own considerations to actively contribute to this community gave me the ability to compare their Internet usage, their vocabulary as well as certain online trends in a country where they have to talk more under the radar or where they are allowed to talk more freely with each other and share information about their paid sexual encounters.

Dennermalm comments in his article on male sex workers (M\$M) that we lack specific data on how technology is used by sex workers in Sweden. But from his research on M\$M he came to the understanding that a lot of the contact between M\$M was made through mobile technologies (2014: 239). In a report from the Municipality of Amsterdam (2014) Internet usage among Dutch clients was solely addressed as a means of communication and gathering of information about sex workers and specific venues. In the following pages I will make explicit how the men who pay for sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands browse through websites, get in contact with other men, their considerations and deliberations to become active members on platforms, the functions of these various websites, as well as different online trends to get in touch with sex workers. Despite the differing legislation Internet usage is comparable among the Swedish and Dutch men to a certain degree. Yet, the usage of technology reaches further than handing out contact information, the question throughout this section is therefore what interests – and for whom – are being served with online advertisements, the writing of reviews, the rating of women and all forum topics that are written by men who regularly or rarely visit sex workers.

Online window-shopping

Because of the Swedish sex purchase ban it is not allowed to make a profit in any way from those who sell sexual services. Procuring (*koppleri*) is therefore forbidden in Sweden and could result to an imprisonment of up to four years. It is therefore forbidden to profit in any way from those who sell sexual services. This

has the result, among other things, that it is strictly forbidden for newspapers, magazines and websites to place any advertisements for the services of sex workers and escort agencies (Kulick, 2005: 209). This has the effect that many of the websites that are used in Sweden to get into contact with sex workers or with others who pay for their services are from hosting providers in other countries and porn sites are often blocked. The platforms that I frequently visited and 'lurked' around in Sweden were, for example, hosted on a German hosting provider. From those men that filled in the questionnaire, only three out of forty-seven Swedish men indicated that the Internet did not play any role of obtaining information or getting into contact with sex workers. In the Netherlands only one respondent from the twenty-one said the same.

From all my interviewees there was just one exception that did not turn to the Internet, the overall majority told me that it 'all starts with Internet' Like Hendrik who told me: 'It all starts with the Internet. I was curious and you cannot find porn here in Sweden that easily which led to next steps' (Hendrik, Swedish, 45+). The comparison between browsing through online advertisements of sex workers and pornography was something often heard 'I enjoyed checking the advertisements [...] It was like reading porn novels or watching porn. It gives me the same rush because they are quite explicit. They are in Holland too; right?' (Simon, Swedish, 40+). Indeed, there are similar websites in the Netherlands although the hosting providers are often Dutch. The best known and most referred to forum describes itself even as the '*prostitution marketplace of the Benelux*'. Clients in the Netherlands describe and compare the online advertisements on which sex workers try to attract clients with commercial terminology. Like Sasker (Dutch, 30+) who compares browsing through online sex advertisements as 'window shopping'. 'You could go to asos.com or you go to that website and it's basically the same, the only difference is that you are not buying a new leather jacket but trying to make an appointment with a woman that suits your needs'.

When the men, both Swedish and Dutch found a specific advertisement of a woman that they felt attracted to that might 'fit their needs', this did not automatically lead to getting into contact with the sex worker in the first instance. After weeks of browsing Ben (Dutch, 40+) found a woman who managed her own escort agency and who also facilitates services for men with physical disabilities,

but like many I have spoken to he did not automatically reach for the phone to dial her number 'I had to get used to the idea. I waited a few weeks, then looked on the website again to read that she was not available for a while. Then I just thought if I waited this long I can wait a little bit longer to get used to the idea'.

Browsing through websites with advertisements was perceived as 'quality control' for the Dutch men to make sure you would not make some kind of purchase based on an impulse. Gradually men made, especially when they were still novices in this digital sex area, selections which they additionally wrote down on spreadsheets. Some of the interviewees shared these spreadsheets with me after I described I was interested in what kind of criteria they might find important. These spreadsheets were not only based on the looks, but also on the services that are offered, the tone of voice of the advertisements, the ratings and possible positive reviews from other clients. Similarly a study of the British forum Punternet found that clients care most about their looks and their sexual performance, but that (prospective) clients also sought women that seem to 'enjoy their work' (Huschke and Shubotz, 2016). Nevertheless, this does not mean that men who use computer mediated communication do not have any moral doubts or do not problematize a certain 'objectification' of women when their possible first selection will be based on their looks and sexual abilities.

I tend to look for things like a Girlfriend Experience and oral sex and the like. So mostly services that they offered and often you can search on key words like this. But on average I do not start with looking at any physical appearances based on the colour of their hair because I would not know why somebody would exclude somebody because of the colour of their hair. Besides that, I strongly support body positivity you know, but then again you have to make decisions based on which body type you find more attractive and sometimes I just, I would like to say to them [women displayed on advertisements] 'please do not take it personally'.

(Maurits, Dutch, 30+)

Screening Strategies

Besides possible physical characteristics, services offered and their individual objections before making any decisions to consult a sex worker both Swedish and

Dutch men perform specific screening selections based on the looks of the advertisements:

It is important for me that somebody really put an effort into their advertisement so I have the feeling that she is a professional. I also tend to look if there are any reviews, if she is available and how often and since when. Because you know, when it is just uploaded I get suspicious!

(Nathan, Dutch, 25+)

When I asked Nathan why he would become suspicious, he continued with:

It took a while for me to find out, but these profiles of sex workers are often designed by somebody else. In turn it might as well be that the girl described has no clue about what is exactly on the profile. But when it is described that she is 'Eastern European' you know it is probably a bit 'sketchy'.

Tobias told me that he sometimes would screen advertisements seven, eight or ten times:

I would often tell myself no, no, no. I tell myself a lot of times 'no'. There was this advertisement I found online from a younger girl, I think she was like 24 and she was only 10 or 15 miles away from my house, a student but then again I saw that she was living in this very luxurious house. How can a 24-year-old student afford this? I really had my doubts, but then again I had no proof, and to whom should I address this?

(Tobias, Dutch, 30+)

The absolute majority of all the men spoken to avoided Eastern European sex workers. Yet, the main means for contact between migrant prostitutes and clients is the Internet. According to a study of Danna (2012) the organizers of migrant sex workers employ a high standard of organization (84) often facilitated by placing advertisements online. Karl told me, for example, that he found out that several profiles of sex workers on specific Internet pages all had similar mobile phone numbers:

Many times you can see that there are the same cell phone numbers except the last two digits so it is obvious that somebody bought like twenty cell phone cards the same time and, then there are the same descriptions, same prices and so on [...] different pictures yes. I think it is eh, it can be the actual girls but somebody must have helped them with the advertisements. Of course this could be a friend but still.

(Karl, Swedish, 30+)

Screening strategies seem to play an important role for clients before getting into contact with a sex worker or searching for specific venues. Screening strategies are defined by O'doherty as a 'conscious and provocative strategy employed prior to meeting clients. It is a strategy employed by some agencies and many independent workers' (O'doherty, 2011: 11). The same conceptualization of screening strategies seem to be valid for the men spoken to.

Karl and the other Swedish men spoken to explained to me that they are good at reading ads, because you can instantly see if there 'might be some kind of pimp' or 'if there is something wrong'. According to all men you have to be wary when different prices appear, the same advertisement turns up in different cities, the profile is only written in English – instead of Swedish or Dutch – or when similar profiles display different women with the same telephone number that is displayed on other advertisements. When I asked the Dutch why, as Nathan described, these advertisements can be 'sketchy' it was not necessarily that they were afraid that these women might be oppressed, have pimps or work under poor conditions, which were the main suspicions of the Swedish men, but that they might only do this for a small period of time and they would most probably get a similar experience like visiting a Red Light District, which they wanted to avoid by all means. 'I try to avoid these kind of encounters, especially when it sounds too good to be true' Nathan (Dutch, 25+) continued; 'especially when she is foreign and it is written in English. I automatically assume it will not be a good experience!' Instead Nathan would rather have an encounter with 'your average Dutch girl, you know "the girl next door" type'. Other Dutch men describe frequently that it would be a 'waste of their time' and that the price quality ratio

would be very low and when you are really unlucky 'Pay for an hour and be kicked out in 15 minutes' (Leon, Dutch, 45+).

Or they might be afraid if they do not do their online research – which is often described as 'doing your homework properly' – the encounters would not meet their expectations.

This is one of the reasons Maurits, as previously described, makes, like most others, extensive spreadsheets:

I would never be able to go to a brothel and ask who might be available that given day, just to find out that there might be no one that I feel attracted to. I could not simply answer then with 'thank you, maybe next time'. It is the same as if I would be in any random shop I never leave a shop without buying something.

(Maurits, Dutch, 30+)

While browsing through and screening advertisements of sex workers many men consult message boards and reviews (or field reports) of men who have visited the sex worker as first indication if she meets up to the descriptions of her profile. Especially when they have doubts: 'Fortunately there are always enough men who place threads to warn others, like 'hey you better watch out with this woman...'' (Tobias, Dutch, 35+).

Online forums that these men consult are perceived in other studies as a form of brotherhood (Williams, et al., 2008: 9) wherein especially novices are informed on different venues, the safest techniques for interacting with sex workers and methods to reducing any type of risk by more experienced or 'seasoned' clients (Horswill and Weitzer, 2016: 10).

In Sweden as well as in the Netherlands these websites often contain specific sections where men could warn others about dangerous people or practices. Mark told me for instance that he once made a mistake by booking an escort that sounded 'too good to be true' while not 'doing his homework properly':

They had many beautiful women on their website, but when I opened the door she looked nothing like the girl on the picture. So I told her: 'I do not know what you are going to do, but you are not whom I ordered'. I mean, well maybe it is a bit rude to describe it like this, but when I would order a döner kebab and would

receive a pizza, I am not going to eat it. I quickly turned to the website and found out they are a bunch of scammers.

(Mark, Dutch, 40+)

Mark continued explaining that he should have been better prepared before contacting this agency, but explained to me that you should never be blinded by the experiences of other men, since experiences are always personal.

Besides this risk reduction by warning others and all other information shared, these websites also have an educative function by setting out rules of conduct and specific standards about how to approach sex workers, what is tolerated and what is not. When someone would talk violently about a woman, ask questions about 'where to find women who would bareback' these forum members would automatically receive a flow of criticism. Interestingly, those websites that are most often consulted in the Netherlands and Sweden have female sex workers as active members. They read along, place well informed arguments and set specific benchmarks about expectations when asked or when they find it appropriate to share their knowledge and information. Yet, when sex workers would place forum threads that could not pass muster, they would receive the same negative responses as if they were clients.

Like this one day she placed some footage where she was fucking this guy without a condom. A lot of members know that she would normally never do it without. So, evidently she was bombarded with comments 'Watch out you! Please use a condom'. She then explained that she was positive beforehand that he was checked and that she knew him personally, but still she was changing a standard.

(Tobias, Dutch, 35+)

Leon, who is also an active visitor of these websites worries about the explicit descriptions of sex workers:

This might have an impact on their work so to say, if men keep on contacting you [the sex worker] for extreme matters. You might get sick of those acts that you were once competent in. It might stay online forever. It also creates expectations towards others that they [the sex workers] might not be able to live up to.

(Leon, Dutch, 45+)

Reviews and Field reports

Creating 'expectations' is a premise of field reports and reviews. These reports are often based on a fixed template or have a certain structure covering information about the price, location, specific service, time of the service and most importantly for those who read them: the quality of the service and if they would like to return. Just like advertisements these reviews have been criticized as an example of 'cyber exploitation' (Sharp and Earle, 2003). Nevertheless, despite most men using field reports as a part of their screening strategies, this does not mean that they are not critical and reflexive about the idea of 'reviewing' a woman.

I think it sounds graceless to review a woman. As far as I am concerned one of its primary functions is to address if someone is really nice and worthwhile, and of course, to warn others when there might be maltreatments. And it is really not meant to write down upon women. That is at least not how I see it. It is anonymous, all use Internet pseudonyms, and well, it just has a social function.

(Nathan, Dutch, 25+)

I heard these considerations from most men, they are in favour of the quick descriptions following certain formats, yet they are very reflexive about how this might be considered rude and offensive, especially when it is quite explicit and more so when it is about a sex worker they know, whether they befriended her, book her regularly or follow her feeds on social media.

I found some reviews of her. I should not read those, but I cannot stop myself. Yet I can become quite jealous and it is quite repulsive when they [the reports] are too detailed. [...] It is ok if they write like when it was good and that she is so attractive and that the sex was, eh, well ok. But if they are very detailed, some are really explicit, then they tend to upset me.

(Cedric, Swedish, 45+)

Interestingly most Dutch men would refer more to the functions of these reports in comparison to the Swedes. While being aware of the functions the men tend to disassociate themselves from other men who pay for sexual services. Especially when they are passive members and only read but will not contribute on the forums themselves.

Most often I come across reviews that I really do not like reading. I often think 'what a horrible person is this, am I like that?' I do not want to associate myself with these persons. While I know for certain that it cannot be that black and white, most probably they are people just like you and me. So no, I do not talk to these men online.

(Maurits, Dutch, 30+)

Wouter compared writing a review with an unpleasant conversation he had in a sex club with another client:

There was this one time at the Club that somebody started asking me questions, like how it was with that specific woman. I was like 'you got to be kidding me, fuck off! I am not going to share that information with you!' I consider that extremely vulgar! You do not share that!

(Wouter, Dutch, 50+)

Wouter, who has gained extensive knowledge about the sex 'market' in the Netherlands since he was 18 – he is around the age of 50 now – does not inform others about his experiences: 'I would rather keep it to myself to enjoy it a little bit longer'. In Sweden only half of the men that I have spoken to are active writers on webpages that enable the men to write field reports, ratings, chat or write about sex work related issues from politics to specific venues. From the 22 Dutch men spoken to, only six described that they do not write any reports, yet 21, all except Wouter, gather information online from the sex workers they might meet through the screening of advertisements and reading the reports that others put online.

The research we have until now on the Internet usage of clients, or all computer mediated communication (CMC) is preoccupied with men who are

active members and writers on forums, the easy accessibility of these online forums makes it possible to create an account and lurk through all reports, reviews and forum threads anonymously. It became clear that there is a very thin line between being an active contributor and a passive reader. To give an indication, the most well-known websites in the Netherlands have 8,000 advertisements and 130,000 visitors a day, the website in Sweden has a comparable number of views; there are no numbers, but the banner that I placed had 1 million clicks in 3 months' time. Given the magnitude of these websites moderators try to keep track of all the new threads and have to give approval to all field reports that will be published online. Clients pointed out to me that it is often the same men who write on these webpages, especially those that will follow all guidelines of the structure of the report and besides following the template it is not always easy to get the report published: 'From time to time I write a review, but then I always think what will the moderator do with this eventually? But he always accepts them. I know that the moderator also reads our private [Gangbang] forum, so I guess he knows us and squeezes me in' (Matthias, Dutch, 40+). This description of Matthias indicates that there are more men who would like to write something, but it just might not fit the standards of the moderator, or as I often heard, it might be perceived as 'too long', 'too descriptive', 'too explicit' or 'too emotional'.

Active writers and passive readers

Odin (Swedish, 25+) had his first sexual experiences in brothels in Berlin; once he got back to Stockholm he wrote a review with a length of about nine pages. I asked him why he would not share his insights, or maybe even a fraction of what he had written down about the very recent knowledge he gained from these brothels abroad. He told me he did not see the point: 'I would probably get mean comments and that was not what I needed'. I asked him if he could share it with me, which he did and I will share a small part of his reflections. The nine pages he wrote look more like pages of a diary than a fieldwork report that is posted online.

I never thought I would visit a prostitute. I did not have any moral problems with it for years, but I still would not do it. That changed however, after I visited a club in Stockholm after a company party and spent a salary of an entire month to snuggle with two beautiful ladies in one hour. On my way home, I felt no regret. [...] then one day when the holiday began to draw to a close I felt it was time to really experience something. During an afternoon I booked a flight to Berlin for the same evening.

In his notes he describes that he visited a total of three brothels, during our conversation he told me that his first experience was not really great because he could not perform – indicating that he could not reach an orgasm when he penetrated a sex worker.

When we only had 15 minutes remaining she said ‘we can always do this’ and she ripped of the condom and started to jerk me off. It seemed hopeless at first, but when I lean back, closed my eyes and feel how she began to suck me, my sperm eventually went in all directions. Phew. She laughed, began to wipe me but I quickly took over. We then began to talk, which was for me the highlight of the whole meeting. I did not talk about anything in particular with the woman I just had sex with (or whatever you choose to call it) for money. It was exciting that before the sex you do not have the slightest idea who she is and only afterwards you get the chance to know her a little bit [...] I got dressed and left the building. Happy anyway, nice to get it over with.

- Chiara and Kamilla La Dee, 72 Euros plus 88 euro's. Tip: 100 Euros -

Traveling to Germany or other parts of Europe to pay for sexual services is not uncommon in Sweden. Whether we should perceive Odin and other men as ‘sex tourists’ will be elaborated in the following section. What stands out is that Odin felt embarrassed to eventually share his descriptions with the online community where there are many experienced writers (seasoned). These were just two fragments from the first three pages of his diary notes, which are not only about his encounters, but also about his worries of not being a normal man, lacking a proper masculinity being maybe a ‘*porr impotent*’ an impotency because of watching porn on a regularly basis, which he refers to as ‘*internetporr missbrukare*’ (internet pornography abuser), a term that I became acquainted with

when talking to social workers in Sweden who would often refer to the misuse of porn as a similar 'vice' or an indication for visiting sex workers. According to these social workers one leads to another and they often referred to it as a 'biological drift' or compulsive behaviour to watch pornography and have sex with a sex worker (Chapter 7). Odin Googles this term several times in his hotel room while he sets his goals for the following encounters 'Thursday I will come inside a girl!'

What stood out from his and other 'field reports' that I was allowed to read from my interviewees or read online on several pages, is that they do not think there is something inherently wrong when they pay for sex when there is mutual consent, especially when they are in a country in which it is legal to pay for sexual services. What the Swedish men do have are constant doubts and fears about is if they are 'normal men', if there is anything wrong with them, both physically and mentally. Especially the Swedish men were torn about what is expected from them as a man by Swedish society, which describes paying for sex as a violent act where men ought to be blamed for their desire to be intimate with a woman.

Besides these personal doubts the Swedish men emphasize the importance of having contact with a woman who works under good conditions, meaning that they are not forced into working as a sex worker, that they are not trafficked and that there were no pimps around. Their screening strategies are employed as a way to creatively and actively transform their internalized notions on sex(work) what seems just according to the discourses known to them. Making sure they do not work under any kind of force. And additionally that the area from which they work is safe and ultimately that she is just your 'typical Swedish girl' or at least Scandinavian who wants to earn more money to have a luxurious life and definitely does not work to nurture a drug addiction. Having a luxurious life was respected as opposed to selling sexual services as a means to survive. Swedish men would explicitly ask sex workers about the ins and outs of their job. Even the most explicit descriptions I have read on the Swedish webpages often ended with descriptions like the following:

I was already looking forward to be able to ask her if she ever met a scary guy who was bad or badly hurt. Mathilde thinks it has not happened, but so guys probably do not stick to established agencies trying to keep track of the girls. For example

she told me she had a driver outside waiting. Which I obviously did not know. She laughed and said that the weirdest thing that happened was once with a guy who had bought a second-hand dress as he wanted her to wear it and then he would play rapist. The problem was that he never got it, so they ended up talking about his model railroad for an hour. Really nice moment with Mathilde and I would like to meet her again.

(Vallekuling, online review)

In the Netherlands those that hesitate submitting a review did not worry about 'what others might think' and seem to feel less intimidated by comments from other forum members. Moreover, they reflected upon who would actually benefit from posting a personal review. Would they benefit themselves, would it benefit other clients and what would a specific rating mean for the sex worker? Several men indicated that they would only write a review when women would explicitly ask them to or when they knew that they could make a contribution, which would enable her to attract more clients.

Long after I ended my fieldwork period in both countries the Dutch Sam contacted me if we could have a phone call about his considerations about posting a field report on a German website. Before we called he send me his review so I would have some background information. It was a review that he had not published yet. Like Odin's report it was a long read, which was one of his first concerns. His other concern was that he felt undecided and torn between either helping out a sex worker or being honest about his encounter to warn other clients. The following description is a small section of the unpublished review Sam shared with me by email.

Good sex is like good food: it has to be slowly prepared and enjoyed with love. When I was with Jasmine I felt like a customer in a snack bar, instead of enjoying a meal in a three-star restaurant. I asked Jasmine to ride me. Then there was a change of position, soon the condom was filled and I was reasonably satisfied, just like having a snack in a fast food restaurant. [...] You only have one shot in leaving a good first impression. I will probably not come back to Jasmine. [...] Not only was Jasmine annoyed during our encounter, she asked me to write a review, right in the middle of having sex! She begged me to write a review. Well ok, but her

timing was really bad. So I wrote it, in full length, that our date might be strongly influenced by her personal problems that weekend. I do not blame Jasmine personally. And therefore I am still wondering if I should ever publish this review. I might help other prospective clients to warn them to not get their hopes up too high. Yet it was her desire to write a review, not mine. A critical review like this could be more damaging than helpful for her business. I might even stab her in the back if she would even receive fewer customers because of what I have written. I feel torn between my solidarity with other clients and my sympathy for Jasmine.

(Sam, 40+, Dutch)

Despite the reference to food which was quite common among Dutch clients the functionalist approach as well as perceiving reviews and ratings as a marketing strategy to endorse the credibility of the service of the sex workers was quite common among them.

Marley (Dutch, 40+) told me that when he writes 'too poetically' and 'too explicitly' he rather keeps those reviews to himself as if it were a diary, yet he does write field reports about specific clubs and he knows many who do: 'I even know men who only do it so they can get free tickets for the next time they will visit the club. Even I win them from time to time'.

CMC has changed the sex work landscape tremendously, not only as a means to communicate with sex workers, but also by building online communities that serve different interests by publishing accounts of the sexual activities with sex workers. This 'spatial displacement' (Levy and Jacobsson, 2014: 598) is a global displacement, which is largely hidden from public view, even when most forums can be accessed by all. By asking the question what interests are served I have drawn attention towards those aspects that would otherwise stay hidden when they will never reach the net when men feel torn between personal and collective objectives.

5.3 The globalization of the sex market

Not in my backyard

Since the turn of the century much has changed in the geography of prostitution in Western Europe in technological, cultural and legal terms (Hubbard and Whowell, 2007:1753). The online displacements that have been described in the previous sections are often perceived as a consequence of policing prostitution. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the online fields were described as 'hidden forms' of sex work, because it is very hard to make any thorough calculations on the communications and transactions made via CMC. Nevertheless it is presumed that these online displacements or shifts are occurring because of partial criminalization. I would like to claim that these changes go hand in hand with changes in the overall society and the usage of Internet is simply a part of this. In these sections I would claim that the same counts for the offline displacements. Just as the growth of the usage of Internet, travelling whether as tourist or because of one's occupation has been increasing.

Connections have been made that when regulations prevent or limit men from paying for sexual services in their own country, men might move to (neighbouring) countries where there are fewer restrictions and regulations, ultimately creating a water bed effect. Zatz (1997) in one of her classic articles about different feminist prostitution frames used a similar metaphor of 'communicating vessels'; if one manages to repress or restrict one (or any) type of sexual service, it will reappear somewhere else in another guise. This displacement can also be perceived according to Sanders as a 'not-in-my-backyard approach' (Sanders, 2008: 147).

Although the Swedish men described that they were not able to do something 'illegal' and therefore preferred to go to other countries when they would pay for sexual services, the Swedish sex purchase ban was never the only factor towards visiting sex workers abroad. Push and pull factors often went hand in hand. I was often told that sex workers in Sweden are 'scarce' especially if you are looking for a 'professional' making sure that they like what they are doing and were not forced or working under horrible conditions as outlined in the previous

chapter as a part of their online screening strategies. As Odin describes in this small description:

Well, you know, I really hate doing illegal things. And I think it is not ok to break the law even if you do not agree with the law, eh, so I would not do it here as long as it is illegal. And even then, the quality would not be like in Berlin. These strip clubs for example we have here are terrible.

(Odin, Swedish, 25+)

Given the knowledge that the clients obtain online, the Internet breaks down actual borders facilitating clients with expert knowledge on the global sex market. Very often I browsed through the forums reading forum threads from men who wrote about their paid sexual encounters in Asia, the USA and in European capital cities. Most reviewed cities abroad seem to be Berlin, London and Amsterdam describing that specific countries facilitate quite particular services. Axel has a specific submissive fetish and at first he did not really know if he would be able to find services to facilitate this.

Well I was looking for girls in martial arts who were offering those kind of, eh, types of sessions now, eh, for like five years or something those kind of things were something you find on porn sites. Women beating up men. You know on pay sites. I never, eh, could have guessed that there was a market for that, that you could actually go and visit girls who were doing that. And that is something that comes with the knowledge of exploring, but as a beginner I did not have that information.

(Axel, Swedish, 35+)

The online knowledge production about the diverse markets around the world as well as the policy regulation in their home country inspires many Swedes to plan a trip abroad.

Yet these displacements are not an outcome solely based on the policies at hand in Sweden nor by the diversity in the services offered world-wide or the growth of the Internet. These displacements and new geographies of sex work are also expanded by an increased mobility of clients and sex workers. This might

partly be due to migration. As was estimated by the Stockholm prostitution police Unit in 2003 between 50 and 100 migrant sex workers were working from apartments in Stockholm (Gripenlöv, 2003: 12). This is only a figure for Stockholm and these figures are highly depending on the police taskforce of a given year. Apart from an increase in migration figures and global migration patterns, prostitution in itself has created a transnational dimension the last centuries.

The European Parliament described in a report from 2014 that sex workers are often engaged in sex work in more than one country, even more frequently in cross border countries. They state that the Swedish and British police officers found that sex workers were found advertising on websites in both countries (European Parliament, 2014: 2). Wagenaar et al. (2013) found anecdotal evidence of sex workers being very mobile by rule in different parts of the world: 'they move geographically from facility to facility, from one type of prostitution to another, and they move in and out of the sex trade'. In their analysis they argue that the mobility in sex work could therefore never be perceived as uniform, transnational or linear (Wagenaar et al. 2013: 26).

This mobilization and the 'turnover rate' from sex workers is also a consequence of keeping a 'fresh market'. Dutch sex workers told the research team of van Wijk et al. that they were let go off from the venue they worked because they wanted to install some new faces to attract more clients to optimize their earning potential (van Wijk et al., 2010: 57). As a consequence the sex workers and clients move through different facilities, different forms of sex work and different countries. And according to Agustin many women from affluent developing countries are travellers, who work their way around the world and sometimes that work involves sex work (Agustin, 2002).

During my fieldwork period I have come across some Swedish sex workers who could indeed be best described as working their way around the world. Given my own lurking online I found that these women were not alone and those sex workers who actively promote themselves online often described their 'tour dates' on Twitter and other online channels giving clients the ability to book them in advance or adjust their own traveling agenda accordingly.

Business travels and sex tourism

Frederik, one of the most active forum members in Sweden and one of my first interviewees claimed that 'the estimated 10% of Swedish men that pay for sexual services abroad is clearly underestimated'. He got this number from a report which he did not clarify, but his personal estimation was that '80% of Swedish men that go abroad pay for sexual services, because clearly, you do not confess in a questionnaire about such stigmatized behaviour'. From the Swedish men I have spoken to 16 out of 22 had experiences abroad and the Dutch 10. As mentioned in the methodological part of this thesis I have conducted an online questionnaire with men that pay for sex as well, as a means to get into contact with them, but it gave additional information as well. From the 47 Swedish respondents, 28 clearly indicated that they had their first experiences of paying for sexual services abroad, especially to countries where it is considered legal to pay for sexual services. For the 21 Dutch respondents this number was just four.

With few exceptions all these men visit a sex worker when they had to travel for their work, besides Odin, who, as described had his sexual début in Berlin, and in some respects Axel who visited the martial artist in London, all men that went abroad have visited a sex worker when they were on a business trip. Given the primary objective of their trips could we consider these men as sex tourists? When I asked Diederik (Swedish, 40+) if he considers himself a sex tourist he laughed and told me that he was recently asked the same question²⁷ and answered:

I do not consider myself a food tourist just because I like going to a restaurant when I travel It is just part of the whole experience of being there, is it not? I therefore would not consider myself a sex tourist either just because I have sometimes had paid sex during trips abroad.

Like Diederik all other fifteen men who have been abroad visited more than one country and very often they visited sex workers abroad when they had either business meetings or transferred for a specific amount of time.

Often men got a bit agitated with me when I asked them if they would perceive themselves a sex tourist or if they could define sex tourism for me. Nils quite sums up the overall thought of the Swedish men:

I would define a sex tourist if you intentionally go to some country for having sex like, eh, if you go to Thailand it is just for that, then it would probably be your main intention of going to Thailand because it is described as girls being available for less money. Definitely not a strict academic definition, but it is my definition. So no I am not and I do not always have sex when I travel for other reasons.

(Nils, Swedish, 50+)

Nils is not that far from an 'academic definition' actually. According to Hall and Ryan (2001) Sex tourism may be defined as 'tourism where the main purpose or motivation of at least part of the trip is to consummate sexual relations'.

Taking this definition into account, all men spoken to who went abroad and paid for sexual services could be defined as a sex tourist as it is part of their trip, yet as Diederik highlighted many times it is not their main intention of going abroad. Yet, as Hall and Ryan also describe, sex tourism exists throughout the whole world, but it has become primarily associated with the travel of tourists, usually male, in the developed world to less developed countries (Hall and Ryan, 2001: X). Very often the Swedish men shared their distastes about men who would go to Thailand primarily to visit sex workers, mainly because of hypocrisy:

I have overheard conversations in restaurants, from tables across where men were explicitly saying: 'I have bought sex in Thailand'. I mean, and then all of a sudden it is ok to talk about paying for sex? But in Sweden no, you do not buy sex in Sweden.

(Hendrik, Swedish, 45+)

This relates to the 'not-in-my-backyard' attitude described previously. As described in the Chapter 3, the *sexköpslagen* comes with a specific Swedish pride about their welfare state that should not make it a necessity for (especially) women to work as sex workers as a means to survive. The following comment of

Dante is exemplary for these thoughts in relation to paying for sex in countries like Thailand:

At least in Sweden if you are a member of the Swedish society we have quite a good welfare state system. You will survive! So, in Sweden you can also say if you are a part of the Swedish community then you will be taken care of. In Thailand kids are sold to brothels. That is why I have a moral problem with this [...] It must be voluntarily and I know it might sound weird but I mean I have to be sure that I can follow the logical and initial path that you [the sex worker] are doing this voluntarily, right?

(Dante, Swedish, 40+)

Since most men indicated that they perceive themselves as law abiding, the men who do live close to the Sweden's Southern border tend to visit Copenhagen occasionally, but then in their free time, not during business trips.

From the ten Dutch men that have paid for sexual services abroad six went to Germany, the chance that they will meet Swedish men could be quite plausible since ten of the sixteen men who have visited sex workers abroad went to Germany. If we merge these two groups more than a third of the men I have interviewed have visited Germany, and all have visited similar venues, the sauna clubs and FKK clubs.

FKK, like a day at the spa

All the Dutch men who had visited these kinds of clubs in Germany had previous experience with Red Light Districts where they did not feel comfortable. Not necessarily because the time that one could spend with a sex worker was limited but men felt being rushed into making a decision with whom they could spend their time. Most clubs typically allow the clients to select a woman of their preference from a 'line-up'.

In a way it is such a magical experience, you are allowed to choose the woman with whom you might have a wonderful experience [...] but it happens so fast, you

only meet them for just a second and then the other one comes and then another one and another one and then 4, 5, 6 yes I like 5 or no 6, 7.

(Dries, Dutch, 65+)

All men that have ever been presented with a line-up like this felt privileged to have the ability to 'choose', but did not feel comfortable being rushed to make a decision.

It is such a meat market, they present themselves but how do you know if you would click? When she might be blond maybe, or has nice boobs, well of course that does something with you. But I mean, oh well, I made some mistakes and had some bad experiences, you get the hang of it eventually.

(Mark, Dutch, 45+)

When Karl was in the famous Bunny Ranch²⁸ he felt confused and rushed:

Before I knew it I was already in the line, looked up and there were all the girls in the bathing suits and bikini's and all. Hello, I am Ginger, hello I am Brandy and I am, well like thirteen typical prostitute or stripper names. So I had to pick one! And I was like, how the hell can I pick one? So I just picked the first one in line. I clearly did not know how to do this.

(Karl, Swedish, 30+)

In Sauna clubs, or FKK clubs, they might refer to the women that are present as 'line-ups' but they do not have to make a decision with whom they want to spend their time with in an instance: 'The thing is, you do not have to rush it in sauna clubs. You sit there you relax and you can have a conversation first (Frederik, Swedish, 35+). FKK stands for '*Frei Körper Kultur*' in German and can be translated as 'free body culture', it was one of the first waves of nudists in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century. Yet an FFK club is a facility where you could pay an entrance fee and can have sex with the women that are present at the club that day. Many FKK clubs have an 'all-inclusive fee', ranging somewhere between 80 and 150 Euro depending on the time you will spend at the facility. You will be given a robe, slippers, a private locker and all food and beverage is included, in

many clubs you do not have to pay an additional fee if you spend time with a woman. It was these clubs that were preferred by the Dutch. A sauna club is comparable but as its name implies it has sauna facilities and despite that you have access to the sauna(s) and all food and beverages are included you have to pay each woman separately if you spend time with them. It was these facilities that were preferred by the Swedish men spoken to.

On the online forums FKK and sauna clubs are two of the topics that are written about most. In Sweden it is the second most popular topic and in the Netherlands it has its own distinctive forum where men talk about all different venues in Germany. Frederik, one of the moderators of the forum and one of my first interviewees in Sweden introduced me to the topic and explained with his theories why it is so popular. He made clear distinctions between those touristic venues that you can find in Berlin and those that you can find up more to the North that are of a distinctive quality. 'If you would go to a club more North you will find a lot of German clients as well. It comes along with another kind of behaviour because they [the sex workers] know that you might come back'. I asked all those men that regularly visit FKK or Sauna clubs why they come back and what these clubs make so special and different from the venues they have visited in the past.

All men, Dutch and Swedish referred to the peace you would have when you would go there, depending of course if you would go for three hours or a full day, but nevertheless you would never be rushed into something. You are able to talk with a girl for a few minutes. And if there is no connection you both go your own way again. Nobody would force you into paying for something you do not want. What became apparent is that the Swedish men do not only talk about their own comfort but always about the comfort of the women as well.

The quality of the sessions is very good here. And I am sure they can still make a lot of money. Let's say five years ago they really could make a lot. It is estimated now that there are around 4000 sex workers working in these FKK clubs in Germany. So you can imagine that there is more competition meaning that the profits for the girls will be lower [...]. You can sit and talk with the girls and see if it would work out or not. And I have never seen any kind of violence or something like that in these clubs. [...] Overall, everything is relaxed in these sauna clubs. It

is safe both for women and men, the quality of the girls is good; the prices are higher than in the Red Light District.

(Frederik, Swedish, 35+)

It is better for the girls. What I have read about the Red Light Districts is that they have to pay a very high rent, which is not a good business since they need to have a certain amount of clients, just to break even.

(Diederik, Swedish, 40+)

When I asked the Dutch men if they could explain their enthusiasm about these clubs they, like the Swedes, were also talking about the price versus quality ratio of the sexual services available, but always at their own convenience. The quote of Leon, who occasionally visits FKK clubs, is exemplary for this type of thinking:

In those German clubs you get quite a lot for little. 3 hours for 100 Euros, or all day for 150. That is not comparable with any Red Light District! And then you have food and drinks. Everything is included!

(Leon, Dutch, 45+)

Marley, until recently a frequent visitor of sauna clubs in Germany, often went as early in the day as possible, which has, according to him, some advantages:

These women want to drink their coffee first and smoke a cigarette. Slowly starting their day, which means as much as that I could get to know them a little bit without all the make-up and Schmuck. I can really get a glimpse of how they are before they start working.

(Marley, Dutch, 40+)

Mark compared visiting a sauna club as a day at a spa. Although Mark is not a frequent visitor, since he does not own a car and the good clubs he described them as his all-time favourite venues to pay for sex:

If I look deep into my heart and if I would win the 30 million Euro lottery, I would go and live next to a sauna club and visit them every day. Well, maybe not every

day. But when I would go I would easily spend a thousand Euro. Sauna clubs are the best.

(Mark, Dutch, 40+)

The only thing these men do not fancy of sauna clubs, or rather find incredibly 'tacky' or 'cheap' is when men try to get 'pre-sales'. Being blunt with this specific lingo Marley explained it to me: 'Pre-sales means as much as that all French kissing, some rubbing and touching and even blowjobs take place before an actual booking of a room. It happens. But I think it is incredibly cheap'. Other distinctions and discrepancies between 'us' and 'them' will be elaborated in Chapter 7.

Gangbangs, the sushi restaurants of sex clubs

In the Netherlands there are, besides two more exclusive clubs, no actual 'sauna clubs', this is due to restrictions in current legislation, but there are clubs that try to offer a similar 'sensation' according to my interviewees. Since the last years, clubs have been hosting 'Gangbang events'. According to my Dutch interviewees the 'ambiance' of 'Gangbang XL' parties are comparable with the German sauna clubs. A Gangbang is described in non-academic literature as a situation where one individual, has simultaneously or sequentially sex with more individuals. In academic literature this recently got some attention but was referred to as pornographic rape, a form of masculine brotherhood and a depreciation of the female body. In an analysis of online threads on international pages like Craigslist²⁹ and Fetlife³⁰ and the descriptions of Gangbang events with T-girls³¹ made Diego Semerene (2016) conclude the following:³²

In the Gangbang, where a multiplicity of men (re)gender a (t)girl into place, by uttering she or her, and by sharing her body as they would a meal, the tone they use to hail each other reveals a belittlement of the negotiated feminine cum female target.

(Semerene, 2016: 237)

If one would do a psychoanalytic account on all that is posted on similar websites in the Netherlands one might be able to draw similar conclusions. Yet, as I have

mentioned before, a lot of the descriptions do not make it online because of interventions by mediators before they are allowed to be posted online. The commercial Gangbang (XL) events in the Netherlands have between four and fifteen women attending while up to 60 men might attend. Nevertheless, the ratio cannot be considered one on six. Because of the low threshold men could walk in and out when they would please, some stay the whole afternoon or evening, on average these Gangbangs are scheduled for four hours. They do not have their own facilities and are hosted in several clubs throughout the Netherlands on a weekly basis. In this club they rent some available rooms. As a man you enter, pay a fee around 100 Euros, which is all-inclusive like in some FKK clubs, and be given a locker for your clothes. Often the price ranges from 100 to 150 Euros, depending on who is hosting the event, the location and how many women will attend. The temperature at the facilities is warm and there is no need to wear a robe. Depending on the club the event will have several rooms and baths, but there are always showers where you could freshen up when needed. All food and drinks are included in the fee.

At first I came to the understanding that these organizers have something like a road show going on. This time they are in The Hague, another time they might be in Lelystad and next week they might be more up north in Sneek for instance. They come everywhere.

(Tobias, Dutch, 30+)

In the beginning it is not necessarily the event itself, but the women that are present, that lure potential clients through the advertisements they place online on websites and through channels like Twitter. Many of the men I spoke to saw attending women having their own private advertisements on which they promote their own expertise for individual pay dates. Some of these women seem to be quite popular in the current Dutch Gangbang communities. According to Tobias 'about 80% of these women work for different Gangbang organizers, the other 20% work at the club where the event is hosted'. For some men the knowledge that these popular women would be attending, without having to rush their encounter made them eager to attend a Gangbang event. Especially when

they are hosted in a club nearby. Like in some of the sauna clubs everything is included, the entrance fee of the club, drinks, food and sex with the sex workers. Which gave me the feeling of 'all-you-can-eat' sushi restaurants where in a limited period of time, you could basically eat how much your tummy could handle. Nevertheless, I did not want to give the men I talked to the impression that I felt, at the beginning, not particular comfortable when they brought up Gangbangs during our long interviews.

When Gangbangs became a specific topic during the interviews with the Dutch men I could not imagine how this was facilitated and how the interaction between all those that attend could be.

When Matthias, most probably because of my facial expressions, understood I might have some personal difficulties with Gangbangs, but was clearly interested in the topic, he proposed that I should join him on an occasion that might be appropriate.

There might be a possibility at a club where probably about forty or fifty men would attend. I am acquainted with the organizer so I think I could squeeze you in so I can at least guarantee that nobody would do anything inappropriate. I can guarantee. I will also give you my real name so you have yourself a bit of control. And of course you do not have to come naked or in some small lingerie. But if you come there dressed like this [referring to my jeans] you might stand out.

(Matthias, Dutch, 45+)

After some personal considerations I decided to attend one of their events. My main role was to stand behind the bar, serving all drinks. And I chose to wear an outfit as a waitress, which would make my role at the venue obvious. This 'role' gave me the ultimate opportunity to observe what was going on, especially about the interaction between the men and the women and the 'ambiance', which according to all should be cosy³³. I was continuously surrounded by naked men and women, who stopped by to ask for a drink while they started a conversation, either with me or with one of the women. If I did not know any better it almost felt as if I was bartending at a regular café. Apart from one, all men had visited these events before and there was a sense of brotherhood, nevertheless it was apparent

that some of the men clearly came for one or two specific women and more than once I saw some men waiting in line for their turn. Yet the women took control over these lines, if they wanted to have a break, they had a break, if they wanted to sit and talk for hours at the bar they did. Since we shared the same locker room I found the sex workers sometimes in this room chatting with each other and gossiping about the men, often in a friendly matter. Although it is not in the scope of this chapter section to write in full length about my attendance at a Gangbang event in the Netherlands, what became apparent was indeed the ambiance that both the organizers who plan the event and the women and the men that attend these events created. Paul, whom I met at the bar of this place, told me afterwards during a phone interview:

It is cosy, but also if you would like to create this kind of ambiance in a club it might be really expensive, much more expensive than to go Gangbanging once in a while. If you like you could have sex ten times, well not necessarily sex, also oral and it does not have to stop at ejaculation. I mean, you can say: thank you and walk on. Talk together, have a drink. Or walk to the bar yourself and take a glass of beer. I mean who would not have the fantasy to receive a blowjob while sipping from a glass of beer?

(Wouter, Dutch, 50+)

This fantasy was shared by many others indeed. And the ability to sit and talk with the women attending made it for many an easy setting to approach a woman without being rushed into anything they might regret.

It must be said that, although it is gaining popularity in the Netherlands, Gangbangs are not typically Dutch and men described that there is a wave of Gangbang events in different parts of Germany. But these events involve bareback and many of the men spoken to warn others online and offline about these kinds of events.

Massage parlours, the cherry on the pie

In Sweden I have not heard nor read about any of these kinds of events. What these two countries do share is the growing amount of Chinese and Thai massage parlours. Frederik, my Swedish Internet interlocutor, drew my attention to the fact that the number one debated topic in Sweden on the sex forums is Thai massage parlours. I asked him why.

Why? You ask me why? Why do you think? It is so easy to say in Sweden that there is no prostitution anymore since the introduction of the law. It just replaced and took other shapes. According to my own analyses sex buying has increased instead of decreased. We have 800, just imagine the number, 800 Thai massage parlours in Sweden.

(Frederik, Swedish, 35+)

I asked Frederik if this is a recent trend in Sweden since the *sexköpslagen*, because I have seen and read about the same kind of massage parlours in the Netherlands and in Germany. He did not have an answer, but according to him the German massage parlours give regular massages instead of sex.

When in the Netherlands men with all different international and national experiences of paying for sexual services disclosed that they also, occasionally, visited a massage parlour, the easy access of these venues was emphasized.

You can just go there. It is quite easy. You pay for a one-hour massage and it is not even that expensive, like 35 to 40 Euro and it does not have to end with sex. Maybe approximately a third or maybe even half of all the visits I have done to those massage parlours have ended with sex. But the massage is already quite relaxing and well if it leads to sex [referring to hand jobs] then that is also pleasurable.

(Pieter, Dutch, 40+)

The happy endings at the massage parlours in the Netherlands seem to be more of an exception than the overall rule. Often when having sex at a massage parlour, where sex was also understood as receiving a hand job, it was described as 'the cherry on the pie' and something that was very convenient given the low rate that they had paid. As Sam literally describes: 'The best sex still is sex with love and

devotion. Yet, if I pay for a massage like this the desert is for free'. Bottenberg and Janssen (2012) made similar observations in their study on Chinese massage parlours in Amsterdam when even the most notorious sex clients mainly visited the parlours for a massage (27).

For both Swedish and Dutch men the accessibility of these parlours as well as the low rates make them interesting venues to visit, yet where sex is an assumed completion of the massage session for the Swedish clients, sex is a welcomed addition for the Dutch clients.

These two examples, the Gangbangs in the Netherlands as well as the rise of Thai and Chinese massage salons in Sweden are outcomes of the repressive and restrictive policies in these two countries. Gangbangs gained their popularity because it builds a bridge between the popularity of the German FKK clubs and the problems that Dutch men that pay for sexual services have with the fast pace of Red Light Districts and to have the best value for their money according to their expectations. The Thai massage salons are part of what might be perceived as those 'hidden' forms of sex work in Sweden. But it must be said that although these massage parlours were discussed many times during my conversations with the Swedish interviewees not a lot of them actually visit these parlours.

Sex work and sex care

On the previous pages of this chapter the online as well as the offline displacements have been brought to light in these two differing countries. A last displacement that I would like to draw the attention to is that of the sex care workers or sex surrogates of the Netherlands. As described on one of the first pages of this chapter the Swedish Cedric was somewhat flabbergasted by the idea that both the Netherlands and Denmark have social workers that care for the sexual needs of people that are less abled. Nevertheless none of my interviewees that were less abled booked through these kinds of agencies. I consider this as a displacement because sex workers that did not have experiences of working with less abled men before are addressing these potential clients because of the exact reasons that my interviewees have emphasized during our conversations.

All disabled men I had the ability to speak with in these two countries, which are a total of five, one in Sweden and four in the Netherlands placed an emphasis on the importance of having the ability to have some sort of sex in their lives. They also clearly described that they have less of a platform when we talk about 'clients of sex workers'. It must be said that the less physically abled men spoken to were just as up to date about the debates on sex work in these two specific countries as those that were able bodied.

In the Netherlands there are professionalized organizations ³⁴ that facilitate sex workers for physically (and mentally) disabled people. These sex workers are referred to as 'sex surrogates', 'sex assistants' or 'sex care workers'. This kind of care work is meant for people who have all kinds of physical and mental disabilities, those with spasms, those who have muscle dysfunctions or mental disabilities, from minor handicaps to extreme handicaps. Sometimes these care workers have a medical background, but this is not always the case as some of my informants expressed. What is clear though, is that their work is socially more accepted and even 'applauded' in comparison to the work of regular sex workers. Yet, none of the disabled men that I have talked to in the Netherlands would consult one of these kinds of care workers.

When browsing through Internet I did come across these sex care workers. Like S.A.R. and some others. I think there is even one of those organizations located nearby and I really did some research about their procedures. But what really bothers me, personally, is that they first come for an intake to ask about your preferences but there is nothing from their side. I mean, I understand that they do not have a portfolio with pictures, because some of them might work as a more general care worker. This might have to do something with privacy, and that is all fine, I respect that. But it does not have to be like that. That is nothing for me, I have to see a person!

This argument from Bart³⁵ (Dutch, 35+) is shared by all other Dutch disabled men. Instead they book escorts who explicitly write down on their websites that they facilitate sessions for people with disabilities. On these websites these men have the ability to browse through photos and profiles of the sex workers to see if there might be a match with one of these women. Maurits (Dutch, 30+) who recently

had his first experience with a sex worker is more mobile than the other interviewees, yet he has a severe disability³⁶. Because of his disability he deeply reflects upon the dominant perspectives of 'handicap' and 'sex' in the Netherlands.

I think on average people with a handicap pay more often for sex than those who do not have any physical or mental disabilities. For some reason we are not perceived as desirable, with the result that we are perceived as lacking desires in the first place. That really has an effect on our self-consciousness and it might be that we (physically disabled) people seek out the help of sex workers more often.
(Maurits, Dutch, 30+)

Maurits, as well as the other men with disabilities, do not understand why society would treat the sex workers they meet differently than those that work for the sex care service organizations.

I have frequently noticed that some people, although they might mean very well, talk quite condescending about sex and disabilities. They instantly pity you. I do not want to be pitied.
(Marcel, Dutch, 40+)

Marcel relates this kind of commiseration with the respect that sex care workers gain for basically the same work as regular full service sex workers:

When a care worker comes she is paid for the same act. She is not doing it for free. She is not coming to visit you just because she pities you and knows you could use some intimacy. In the end she is paid for the same services. And I can completely understand that they might enter the field for different reasons, out of humanitarian considerations [...] and then you cannot call it sex work? It still is sex work!

Except for Maurits all men with physical disabilities I have spoken to have created a special bond with their sex workers. As it seems this is fostered by the idea that they both feel misunderstood by society, perceived as social misfits. They have, more than the able bodied men, created a specific interest towards the field of sex

work, and very recently started to advocate for a broader acceptance of sex work and sex for the physically disabled. Marcel wrote a book about his years of experience in different sexual fields as a man with physical disabilities. With his book he hopes to dismantle some of the taboos on sexuality and disabilities.

Ben and Bart recently contributed to two television items in the same programme but during different broadcasts. Bart talked more generally about what it like is to have sex when you are disabled and wheelchair-bound. Ben was mainly interviewed on his experience of paying for sexual services as a disabled man. This interview was about three months after our interview and he contacted me a few days before saying that he was quite nervous. Fortunately his regular sex worker was also interviewed and he was quite happy that they were in the programme together.

As mentioned, except Maurits, the other men with physical disabilities that I have been able to be in contact with created a special bond with the sex workers who give them a regular visit. As birds of a feather they flock together. This and other forms of 'emotional labour' will be discussed in the following chapter.

5.4 Concluding Remarks: Breaking barriers breaking borders

Lurking online became one of the most important methods to get access to the men that pay for sexual services, especially in Sweden. While I was already in contact with Frederik, who I perceived as my Internet interlocutor in the field of Sweden, I gained access to a wider community when I placed a call for participants with a banner. Straight after I placed the banner I received an e-mail from a woman, who wanted to warn me about the vices written on the forum and how I could be involved in such a field as a scientist, more so, according to her, what I was doing was illegal:

Hey I just want to say that you are advertising on an illegal forum. This forum promotes trafficking and paedophilia. I wonder if you made some kind of mistake by placing a call on this specific website?

Besides her good intentions to warn me about the vices that according to her were written about on the forum, she shared several online newspaper clippings with me that referred to court cases of this and other websites she ended the e-mail with some good advice 'I hope that there is some kind of mistake because I am sure that this is not any good PR for you nor your research'. I sincerely thanked her for her time and considerations and decided to leave it with just that. A few weeks later she sent me another e-mail describing the immoral standards that I must have for still being present on the forum. It must be noted that there were no specific threads on the forum about paedophilia or trafficking. These were the connections she made with the topics discussed and predominant ideas about sex work in Sweden at the time of writing.

The immorality spoken of by this anonymous woman can be best described as perceiving the forum threads, as well as reviews as a form of cyber exploitation. Yet it was exactly this perspective that has drawn me to these forums in the first place. Since perceiving these threads as derogatory or dehumanizing would not enable us to grasp the complex dynamics and functions of these threads. This chapter has drawn attention to how important it might be to look for the service beneath the surface in order to understand why specific

information is shared online. Furthermore, the online quests that have been described in this chapter described the barriers and borders that have been broken down by the information that is shared online linking micro strategies with macro effects of prostitution policy models when the men draw on the knowledge they have that regulate 'sex buyers' and sex workers while contesting these subjectivities and transform them according to the possibilities they have outside the national borders that they are subjected to.

6.1 Becoming a regular and other trajectories

Introduction

In the previous chapter all the different processes of the first stages of becoming a man who pays for sexual services are described when they browse through the Internet webpages, consult forums and try out different (international) venues to find what fits their needs best. The influence of computer mediated communication (CMC) was described as one of the most important sources to gather (inter)national information about sex work.

In this chapter the understanding of paying for sexual services as a process and a stage of becoming is further augmented when the communication between men who pay for sexual services and the communication with the(ir) sex workers is examined on an interpersonal level. The importance of communication with the sex worker is addressed as well as the need for a sexual, emotional, and especially for the Dutch: an intellectual connection. Conventional heteronormative courtship rituals will be addressed that illuminate the complexities of the authenticity of the encounter, the close(d) emotions, the professionalism of the sex worker and the emotional labour(s) employed.

Questions will be raised and answered on when, how and why Swedish and Dutch men become regular clients. When is an encounter perceived genuine and authentic? Do universal concepts like GFE have a universalistic meaning? Furthermore, this chapter will explore the unbridled ethics of sexual consumption when the trend in Sweden takes the form of an open-ended relationship. And it will be claimed that the sex worker is far from 'socially dead', but that specific services are commoditized in the marketization and the professionalization in the sex industry.

Sense of commitment

Most sex workers would try to hold on to regular clients, to maintain a regular income, decrease the amount of time that they invest in advertising their services online as well as reducing the communication with newbies and have pleasurable contact with their regulars instead, as many interlocutors told me throughout the

years. But when are you a regular? And how do you become one? Teela Sanders (2008) makes a clear separation between two types of clients, the 'repeat' and the 'regular'. She argues that there is a clear difference among these men in the patterns of commercial sex that they engage in. On the one hand you have men who seek sexual diversity and non-committed relationships, who explore and do not have the enticement to meet the same sex workers. On the other hand there are clients who seek besides a sexual connection an emotional and a social connection. The latter see one (or only a few) sex worker(s) over longer periods of time. Not even a handful of men that I have talked to are 'repeat clients'. And even if those men could not be considered or consider themselves a 'regular' client during the time we met, they often had the desire to become one.

Sasker, who neither frequently visited sex workers nor had any visits planned during the time we met, could be perceived as a 'repeat client'. He told me the following when comparing himself with 'regulars' that he read about on forums.

Well, I think it would be a waste of my money to visit the same sex worker over and over again. I have come up with the following ideas, apart from going to a club in Germany, when they [the sex workers] might not actually recognize you, or yes, they might if you go to the same place every time. But ok it can always go two ways. They could think 'Oh gosh there you have him again, well at least I do not have to put in that much effort' or 'He came back I will give him a bit more attention'. Either way it does not attract me. I also do not go to the same holiday location or book the same hotel, just to name something. I want to explore, create new stories, new experiences. If I pay for it I would rather have something different.

(Sasker, Dutch, 30+)

Sasker is quite an exception in comparison to the other men who have the desire to meet the same sex worker over a longer period of time. As described in the previous chapter, reviews and field reports are not only written to warn others about the lack of services – especially among the Dutch – but also as a gesture of loyalty towards the sex workers with the aspiration to generate new clientele for them. Making the promise to write a review generates a sense of commitment

from the men towards the sex worker. 'My experience with her was really not that special. I wanted to be polite and told her I would come back. But when I got home I was like: why did I tell her that for haven sake, I am such a hypocrite'. Although Maurits (Dutch, 30+) just had one of his first experiences during the time we met, he is quite aware of this type of loyalty. Considering that he did not enjoyed the encounter to its fullest he feels as if being in a split. 'It would be too confronting to go back to the same woman. I have the idea that I would have to tell her what I did not enjoy about the encounter, but I do not want her to feel insulted. So, well, I find it hard to go back to the same woman'.

From one of his other encounters Sam (Dutch, 40+) describes to me that he very often did plan to come back but: 'I swear that if she would not have left that club, I would have become her regular. I would have come to her place at least six times a year'. Before meeting this specific sex worker Sam did have an encounter with a sex worker that he visited for a longer period over time. So while he, and others have the desire to become someone's regular they often find themselves back in time, screening the websites for sex workers. And because they want to do their homework properly this can be very time consuming. 'The girls either leave or they stop for whatever reason. And then you have to start all over again. Then you have to look for another woman, make contact and see if it might work out or not. And then you will see that she will stop as well'. When I asked Marcel (Dutch, 40+) why he would rather be someone's regular he explains 'I see it as us really building something together. Of course, you can go from one to the other as I see some men describe on the pages, but that has never been my objective. Then I would never create a connection with the other. And I do think I need a connection to give me a proper sense of satisfaction every time we meet'.

Due to this high turnover rate, which is the case in both countries, most men try to 'invest' in a relationship with a sex worker by visiting them regularly. How often they visit a sex worker depends on a variety of reasons, for some it depends on their money, for others it depends on time and for those men who are in a relationship on the possibility to have an alibi, 'I have to continuously think about possibilities depending on time and alibi. This woman only receives clients during the weekend, well if I am away for a few hours during the weekend my partner will notice' (Tobias, Dutch, 30+). When they have found a sex worker that they feel

connected to, but might have a high hourly rate, they do not seem to mind saving money to be able to meet her once every two, or even once every three months. This contributes to a displacement in the hierarchy of sex work, when not only the most expensive sex workers are booked by upper class clients but by those from the middle classes. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, the same counts for Red Light Districts. All men spoken to, with just a few exceptions, are middle class or upper middle class and most have started their quests at Red Light Districts.

The relationship these men build with their regular sex worker(s) could last until she decides to move on and follow a different route in life or when the private circumstances of the client changes, like the life of Tobias: 'I'm becoming a dad and now recently I started to think, I need to keep this as discrete as possible just as it is now, she should not find out [...] Yet then again I think maybe that bomb should explode and she needs to know'.

Emil for instance, has a connection with a sex worker he has already known for about 10 years, yet due to a multiplicity of circumstances they have not been able to meet for a longer period during the time I talked to him.

I missed her when we could have met recently because she was nearby [...] but we are still in good contact and I absolutely know what she is doing is what she wants to do. She is not getting pimped or anything like that. It might sound stupid, but she is just a 'normal girl' but has a hard way to make money.

(Emil, Swedish, 50+)

Just like in the previous chapter when they expressed their screening strategies with me, the Swedish men always had to address the personal situation of the girl and her choice to make a living out of sex work. This becomes interrelated with their processes of becoming a regular client, as I will emphasize at the end of this section and throughout this chapter as well. Emil understands that from the perspective of the sex worker he is her regular, since they try to meet every time she is in town. 'She might work in a lot of different countries too, since she travels a lot [...] but for her I am probably a regular client'.

Sense of security

From the Swedish men I interviewed, about seven (7/22) men consider themselves or could be considered based on their stories as a 'regular' during the time we met. From the Dutch men these were nine (9/22). Nevertheless, this does not mean that they do not have the desire to become one. Also the ability that Dutch men have to book a sex worker at an escort agency complicates the clear cut distinction between men that would repeatedly visit different sex workers, as opposed to someone who would prefer one or a few sex workers on regular basis. Several of the Dutch men explicitly booked through an agency because it gave them a sense of security to know what they could expect. Not only because of the 'quality of the services', the knowledge that they have a license for their services, but also monetarily:

It is quite properly managed. You buy a service and how it is presented on their website is simply outstanding. Beforehand you know exactly what you could expect and besides that you will never be left with additional costs, nothing; it is one tailored service for one price and you are done. That was so attractive, I never could do it any other way.

(Ronald, Dutch, 55+)

Ronald, books through the same agency once every three months, preferably with the same woman, but that seems to be quite a quest when he told me: 'It has such a high turnover, I really have the idea that some women only work for half a year or a year tops and then they quit, for whatever reason'.

One of the most interesting findings is that many men try to keep track of the sex workers they had a very special connection with. From time to time they would try to find if they would advertise on the same or different pages or if they might be 'bookable' by the same agency. Theo found out that one of the women he had a good connection with had now started her own escort agency, since he found her again they have contact at least once every two months.

I knew her and that reassured me because I knew what I could expect. I know for certain that she works under the right conditions, given that she has a number with the chamber of commerce and so on. So yeah, I am satisfied.

(Theo, Dutch, 40+)

Theo does not only meet this specific woman but also some other women who work for her agency since he told me that 'she [the owner of the agency] knows what my preferences and needs are, so she can do the selection based on that, which I appreciate'. Just like Theo, Ronald books, as described, through an agency. With one of the first women he met he built a special kind of relationship but when he wanted to meet her for a fourth time her profile seemed to have been deleted from the website.

She just simply disappeared from the website. It then hit me that the last time we met she told me that she appreciated the time we had spent and that she also thought I was very generous, since I always tip when they leave. But when I wanted to make that fourth booking, it all made sense. Fuck, she said goodbye to me! [...] Since a few weeks her profile is back on the webpage, so yeah, I will meet her in a few weeks' time and we will meet again.

(Ronald, Dutch, 55+)

Since Ronald books through a high-end escort agency there is no possibility to have contact before or after the encounter with the women. For the overall majority of the men this is not the case and the communication was a general feature of their desired closeness with a sex worker. Communication, for both the Swedish as well as the Dutch men, was never reduced to a simple tool for making the arrangements. Often the computer mediated communication (CMC) reached further than e-mails; they send mobile text-messages (sms) and more commonly WhatsApp and personal Twitter messages. These online messages became a medium to further develop and maintain their relationships with sex workers. 'I often respond to her Tweets on twitter and I send personal messages, but I understand it if she does not answer, she has her own life and I know that (Theo, Dutch, 40+).

Courtesy and courting rituals

While I had an interview with Tobias he had a meeting with the woman he now sees regularly and during our conversation he was texting with her.

Look, we do not need to send messages for weeks. I completely understand she has to draw a line somewhere; otherwise she would have a full-time job responding to all [clients]. But during the last six weeks we sometimes send each other a message like 'hey how have you been?' and that might even sound a bit superficial, but I appreciate it when there are more than two messages about the time and location of our next encounter.

(Tobias, Dutch, 30+)

For the clients the content of the communication goes beyond superficial small talk, creating an emotional closeness with the sex worker, which is not limited to sharing (mutual) sexual preferences and desires, but also about sharing their common, non-sexual, interests. A case in point is Ben (Dutch, 40+) who collects comic books as a hobby that he shares with his regular sex worker. Or Diederik (Swedish, 40+) who regularly goes to a concert with the woman he meets for a paid sexual encounter.

In some cases their encounters result in lasting friendships, even when they do not have any sexual contact anymore. 'Some [sex workers] I befriended and I made more friends in the business, who are or have been prostitutes or work in porn and stuff, throughout the years. If we connected and they were funny I befriended them' (Karl, Swedish, 30+). This connection seems less restricted to the bounded relationships they establish with the sex worker by means of the financial transaction that takes place. For the Dutch men it is exactly the boundary of having a paid encounter that enables them not to come too close or too emotionally attached to the woman they meet on a regularly basis: 'The relationship or even friendship that we have established is only up to a specific intensity. I do not have to be afraid that she would want more or anything. It gives me the feeling of, yeah, I buy something and that is it. I more or less buy a commodity basically. I could easily end this [the relationship with the sex worker] and that is reassuring'. Yet I have come to the understanding that more often the

sex workers than the men pull the strings when it comes to ending all communication with a client when they 'come too close'.

The relationship became a little bit too close and two years ago she decided to end it, but just recently she started contacting me again. Basically I thought to myself I have two options: One, I will dive into this and make a fool out of myself. Or two, I might fall in love or turn her down and regret it for the rest of my life. I choose the first option. But we have a different mode now.

(Mark, Dutch, 40+)

Both Swedish and the Dutch men brought up falling in love with a sex worker during a lot of the conversations, especially when they were single. Whereas those that were in a relationship were quite sure that they would not fall in love considering they set the terms and restricted the 'relationship' due to the financial transaction. Yet it was often the single men who problematized their feelings for sex workers, spent more time thinking about it and addressed their concerns to me. This particularly applies to the men who had already made 'the mistake of falling in love' with a sex worker before. 'I had to tell myself several times that I should not fall for her, that she had her own life given that I have been head over heels with the other date [referring to another sex worker he regularly met in the past]. I did not want to make that mistake ever again' (Marcel, Dutch, 40+).

For most of the Swedish and Dutch men there was quite some time between scheduling the appointment with a sex worker and the actual encounter. And although the men kept the authenticity of the date bounded (Bernstein, 2001) the days and hours before the encounter many men experienced feelings and behaviours that could best be described as courting rituals. These rituals varied from personal hygiene and making themselves physically attractive, booking hotels to (personalized) gifts. Given my interests in the processes I asked the men how they prepared for their encounters. It was not unusual for them to state that they at least took a fresh shower before they met. These courting rituals resemble the rituals men might have in a more conventional relationship: 'I had this friend who told me she had an ex who often paid for sex and he took a shower first, put on his nicest clothes and made sure he would look well-groomed. Because he

treated the woman with respect and he enjoyed spending time with her. So I thought yes, that is what I will do, out of respect'. Dries (Dutch, 65+) took it one step further with the encounters he had with the high-end escorts: 'Nowadays I make sure my back is properly waxed, I make sure it is smooth and I trim my pubic hair'. Ronald was very explicit about all his other courting rituals:

I book a hotel room with the most fantastic skyline of the city. I often book the exact same room and I buy a bottle of champagne in advance. I could buy it in the hotel of course, but that is more expensive. What I save from that bottle I would rather give to the girl as an extra. All in all I have quite some preparations; it all contributes to the excitement!

(Ronald, Dutch, 55+)

Although Ronald might set the standard high, most Dutch men were quite generous when it came to gifts and tips. Ranging from 20 to 200 Euros for one to three hour encounters. Marley does not believe in tips but he does believe in gifts: 'I bring chocolates and I might add a small note why she deserved those chocolates. I mean, I could have given them the 20 Euros in cash, but believe me for most it will be going straight to the gambling machine or cigarette vending machine' (Marley, Dutch, 40+). Fairly often the Dutch men preferred giving them something attentive afterwards rather than cash, but either way they would only give to those that granted them a genuine service.

The Swedes did not talk much about tipping or gifting the sex workers, and if they did it was because of different reasons than to thank the sex worker for her outstanding service. In the previous chapter I shared parts of the field report that Odin wrote after his adventures in Berlin. Underneath every specific encounter he wrote down the rates that the sex workers charged for their services as well as the amount of the tip that he granted them. When I asked him why he tipped them a hundred Euros he told me: 'Well in my opinion, they were too cheap, like 160 Euro for an hour' (Odin, Swedish, 25+).

No sugar coating on Sugar Dating

Yet the Swedish men that have regular encounters with sex workers took the courting rituals to a whole different level. Like Emil (Swedish, 50+) several men I have interviewed in Sweden have or desire a relationship with their regular sex worker(s) that they specifically describe as 'Sugar Dating'. Sugar Dating is broadly speaking the phenomenon where older and more successful men start a relationship with a younger attractive woman based on agreements and a financial compensation for the time they meet. But there seems to be a thin line between escorts and Sugar Dating as Dries describes:

So I signed up for this Sugar Daddy website and start talking to a girl. After a week she turned up on one of the other escort pages and I was like: seriously, is this the same girl? I really did not dare to ask her at first, as that could be some kind of insult. I contacted her through the escort webpage and it was her. We actually met for quite a while.

(Dante, Swedish, 40+)

This was one of Dante's first Sugar Daddy agreements, but during our interview he told me he met the girl who meets all his expectations the day prior to our meeting. Nils (Swedish, 50+) is dating a Sugar Baby for quite a while and told me that it is spreading in Sweden 'you only have some international pages and some Danish; there are no Swedish pages, well not yet. The website he was referring to is called seekingarrangements.com and less than a year later, in September 2017 the website richmeetsbeautiful.com placed billboards near University campuses, also in Sweden and the Netherlands with descriptions like 'Romance, Passion, Fun & 0 in Study Loan? Meet a Sugar Daddy or Sugar Mommy'³⁷. These websites do not have any descriptions of sex on their pages and describe themselves as a 'dating website'.

The Swedish Sugar Daddies I talked to did not sugar coat their financial compensation for the sex involved but they state the sex is different than with an 'escort' or 'full service sex worker': '[T]he difference now is that you can compare the sex with having a girlfriend. During those first years paying for sex, my pleasure was on the agenda. Now it is more mutual'. The sexual reciprocity

seemed to be one of the main objectives of Sugar Dating and was often part of the agreement made between the Sugar Daddy and Sugar Baby. Besides sexual reciprocity it is desired that they share the same interests and can both agree financially 'I give her a monthly allowance. So I can stop with it as well. In some ways it does not always have to involve sex, but also going to the theatre, or taking a walk in the forest because, well, monthly periods and the like' (Nils, Swedish, 50+).

The Sugar Daddies explicitly referred to their encounters as 'having a sort of relationship' but then primarily based on agreements. I had the following discussion with Dante about their financial agreement:

Dante: Based on our discussion yesterday it will be based on the agreement that I will pay her every time we meet. At least for the first three times and then on her behalf she said if we have great sex she might not care about the money anymore. But for now it is part of the agreement.

Merel: But then she is a girlfriend.

Dante: Do you pay your girlfriend?

Merel: Well I do not have a girlfriend, but I meant when there is no money involved anymore.

Dante: Well then you just pay another time. It is all part of the agreement, and another part of the agreement is that the daddy always takes care of all the costs. So, eh, a Sugar Babe can always turn to her counterpart if she needs something. So it is a bit about superiority I guess.

Getting acquainted with men who have a long history of paying for sexual services but find themselves in the Sugar Dating circuit now is a peculiar finding. Firstly, because it diminishes the idea that Sugar Dating is for the rich when apparently the market has opened for middle class men as well. Secondly, the Sugar Dating enables paying for sexual services in the form of a more conventional relationship and like Nils explicitly mentioned it is more perceived as a 'girlfriend' yet they would not pull any punches to describe Sugar Dating as one of the many forms of paying for sexual services in Sweden. Thirdly, where emphasis is on other forms

of sex work placed on the bounded authenticity – which will be even more nuanced and contextualized in the following section – it is less strict with Sugar Dating. When money, the monthly allowances or financial transactions for every meeting would not be the primary basis of the ‘agreement’ the encounters take the form of what Cohen defined as ‘open-ended prostitution’, a relationship that might have started off with the exchange of money for the (sexual) services but as the relationship develops into a more ‘protracted, diffused and personalized liaison, involving both emotional attachment and economic interest’ (Cohen, 1996: 275).

In the previous chapter ‘Gangbangs’ in the Netherlands have been mentioned as the example par excellence of an outcome of the Dutch discourse on sex work. Sugar Dating in Sweden is the example in Sweden where heteronormative discourses are transgressed, resisted and ultimately re-interpreted. By manipulating the norms of heteronormative courtship when having dinner dates and a like. Furthermore, by generating a consensual sexual relationship that is based on equality when an agreement is made, the men who pay for these services transform traditional heteronormative rules or guiding principals into something equally normative. They seem to have incorporated the abolitionist perspectives that ‘prostitution’ generates an unequal relationship between victim and victimizer when a (financial) dependence is created that further enhances gender inequality.

Given the very recent developments of Sugar Dating in Europe and their inability to open up a marketplace with international hosting addresses advertising it as ‘dating websites’ will inevitably lead to a grey zone of sex work where the criminal law against the payment for sexual services has no effect. The effects of the law will be further elaborated in the seventh and following chapter of this thesis, but first I would like to expound the emotional labour that the Swedish and Dutch men perform during the sexual encounters with sex workers whilst problematizing the universality of the Girlfriend Experience (GFE).

6.2 Emotional Labour and the Girlfriend Experience 2.0

Close(d)

Where in the previous chapter the different processes of the men's online search skills and screening strategies were highlighted and in Chapter 2.1 their trajectories that are never straightforward due to different national and international displacements; the trajectories of becoming a client were further explored. In this section the emotional closeness and distance in the relationships between sex workers and their (regular) clients will be examined further. Although I would emphasize that there is ample evidence of misogyny on websites, from sex worker testimonies to field reports from clients I would like to emphasize like Peng (2007) that there is a wide spectrum of clients. Therefore the relationships clients build with sex workers cannot be defined by any (abolitionist) essentialist link between buying sex and male domination. Peng suggests that instead of perceiving men that pay for sexual services as a homogeneous group we should look at their differences and should at least make a distinction between acceptable and non-acceptable practices of clients (333-334).

I often raised my eyebrows when an interviewee disclosed that he did not use a condom during oral sex. The recklessness of not using a condom might be perceived as an unacceptable practice given the risks that this might bring; nevertheless, it does not convey much about the relationships between these clients and the sex workers they (regularly) visit. Yet by picking only those negative practices we might disregard a whole range of discursive formations encoded in the processes of becoming a client and in the interactions with their sexual service providers.

My empirical findings suggest that the men that do have regular contact with one or several sex workers and even those men that try to maintain a relationship with sex workers place an important interest on the interactions with sex workers that require specific emotional needs that reach far beyond penetrative sex. They do not want an encounter that is considered 'too professional' and where the sex is felt to be 'mechanical' and 'distant' as emphasized in the previous chapter, but there is more to it. The majority of the

men I have spoken to were looking for an emotional connection with a sex worker. As exemplified by the growing interests in Sugar Dating in Sweden the market is reaching unprecedented levels to the extent Bernstein (2001) coined as 'the unbridled ethic of sexual consumption'; another instance of her insightful terminology is the concept of 'bounded authenticity' when men seek an emotional connection but do not want any (moral) obligations.

According to Bernstein men tend to believe that it is not possible to have no-strings-attached sex, therefore they pay (Bernstein, 2010: 115). Although the Dutch men described their encounters in more commercial and economic terms than the Swedes, they all addressed the importance of having an 'authentic relationship' that is 'bounded'. Bernstein coined the term 'bounded authenticity' to describe how clients of sexual service providers not only seek a 'real and reciprocal erotic connection', but also that this connection should be 'limited' at all times (Bernstein, 2001: 402). Besides paying for sexual services in the Netherlands, Mark tried out a swingers' club:

I did not like that all! In one way or the other, and this might sound weird to you, but I got used to paying for sex. And I had the chance to have sex with a woman in that swingers' club, but I just could not do it. I did not like the thought about having sex and not having to pay for it. Because I tend to think when I pay for it, I mean that is my share of the deal. I do not have to take any responsibility when offering them money. Not having any obligations thereafter. Yes, I think not having any obligations quite covers it.

(Mark, Dutch, 40+)

Some married clients would, in addition to the single clients, like Mark, prefer to have these relationships with no strings attached so they could receive the kind of social and sexual interaction that they lacked in their marriage.

It might be selfish for me to say, that I can buy sex and just avoid all emotional attachments and also, I can maybe, live out specific sexual fantasies and in some way believe they are healthy while I am actually married to a woman who is not very interested in sex at all. I do perceive these thoughts as somewhat problematic.

(Don, Swedish, 40+)

During the time I was able to meet Morten for an interview he sounded undecided if he should continue paying for sexual services; in our conversation he took the time to reflect upon whether or not he would be able to create a bounded, yet authentic relationship with a woman without getting emotionally involved. He disliked the idea of having meaningless sex, yet given his marriage he did not want to become involved in anyone else's life.

As long as it is sex, that is one thing. But maybe it is just not possible to sell it. I do not know. I do not know anymore. I think that might be the thing that concerns me now. And this might have an influence on my ideas on pornography as well. If you make love and things like that with porn and prostitution it is treated as a commodity that is sold. You diminish it and automatically reduce the value of it. So yes, of course we can have porn movies and pictures of nude girls, but when it is made into a commodity to be sold just like anything else on the market I am simply not sure if I can still agree with that.

(Morten, Swedish, 55+)

Morten recently had met a younger woman that he fell for, but in order for him to give the sex more meaning he thought he might get emotionally attached: 'She only wanted to see me on a regular basis, at least once a month or two times a month, something like that. This would not work for me since I would perceive it as a relationship'. It is not necessarily the regular meetings that would confuse Morten but the lack of control over the encounter. Men seek an emotional closeness, but it should at least fit their terms before those of the sex worker, especially when clients are married.

I do not want to have a connection that is too strong. I will not fall in love; there is absolutely no risk of me falling in love. But I would like to have a friendly relationship, not too personal of course, considering the whole deal could be over tomorrow. Because with friends you could, so to speak, pour your whole heart out, you do not do that with a woman like this, only to a certain extent. So I would phrase it as a relationship that is simple, but is a limited one, yet still different. We have to keep a certain distance.

(Albert, Dutch, 45+)

The Swedish and Dutch men described that by means of paying for the services they were freed from any obligations, but this does not mean that there are no emotions during the encounter. Not only are the encounters bounded by the financial transaction, they are also bounded or restricted by the topics that could be talked about. Talks about their home situation were off-topic, but especially the Dutch men who have encounters with higher-end escorts seem to base their selection not only on looks and the services offered, but also on their intellectual capabilities.

I met two times with a woman who did her Masters' at a school of Arts while at the same time being enrolled in a related Bachelor study at the same institute. She was incredibly smart and I was instantly attracted to her intelligence. I love both Sculpture and the Graphic Arts and I knew we could have a connection. It was fabulous. And then there was once this girl who studied Philosophy of Science and I was just enrolled myself in a cycle about the art of life where a lot of philosophical thinkers were addressed, so I knew as well that we could have a hell of a good conversation! And well, that is the kind of connection I am looking for as well.

(Ronald, Dutch, 55+)

The sexual other

O'Connell Davidson (1998) claims that a sexual encounter is based on perceiving the sex worker as a sexual 'other' whereby clients would refuse to acknowledge that the sex worker is anything more than her sex (150). The sex worker is according to O'Connell Davidson constructed as 'socially dead'. This is not in agreement with my empirical findings. Where the Swedish men were often very

preoccupied with why the women chose sex work as a profession while the Dutch longed for a connection based on the intellect of the sex worker and/or common interests like Ronald shared in the quote on the previous page. While sharing personal intellectual interests was allowed during the encounter, sexual preferences of the woman were never disclosed:

I do not need to know beforehand what she would prefer, I understand that it does not work that way, but I'd like to know. If I should come up with a reason why she would not share that I would figure it is out of self-protection. She would not share things with me that she would normally share with a boyfriend. I can understand that.

(Ronald, Dutch, 55+)

In the methodological part of this dissertation, to be precise in the section on the situated knowledge and feminine traits, I described the emotional labour I experienced as a researcher. Firstly by having to get familiarized with sexual comments, secondly by not letting emotions get to me when in the field and thirdly by managing my emotions as an interviewer. I therefore want to highlight that emotional labour as addressed throughout this thesis can have two distinctive meanings. There are the emotions that are part of or an outcome of the labour because the labour in itself generates emotions or there is the process of managing one's emotions in order to do the job. And managing emotions is precisely what Arlie Hochschild meant when she developed her notions on 'emotional labour' in her study on flight attendants:

This labour requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others – in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labour calls for the coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honour as deep and integral to our individuality.

(Hochschild, 1983: 7)

It is therefore that Hochschild defines emotional labour as 'the management of feeling to create a publicly observable and bodily display' (Ibid.)

This emotional labour therefore goes beyond 'suppressing' feelings; the management is an instrumental manipulation to meet the expectations of the other. Just like in the quote of Ronald, studies have often found that sex workers preserve a specific sense of integrity and distance in their work as well as using specific emotions and traits to manipulate the setting. Chapkis (1997) as well as O'Neill (2001) conclude from their extensive research with sex workers that sex work is indeed emotional labour, when sex workers are very tentative about what they share with their clients while managing their emotions.

Given the courting rituals and sexual scripts the men engage in before and during the encounters with sex workers we could ask ourselves whether only the sex workers manage their emotions. Both the sex worker and the client agree that they have an authentic, but bounded encounter. They both seem to be very present in the moment, but when the encounter is over they both go their own ways. I therefore asked the men explicitly how reciprocal the sex was and what kind of expectations they might have beforehand, to grasp if there was a desire for a mutual sexual affinity for the Swedish and Dutch clients.

In the same way that conventional heterosexual relationships involve giving and receiving, paying for sexual services seems to not only focus on the idea that a sex worker should serve her client, but also on that the client should give something back in return as well. According to Perkins and Bennett (1985) sexual service providers rarely experience any real sexual excitement during the encounters. This is not what I have heard from the Dutch as well as the Swedish clients, although there might be a little bit of naivety from their side, most clients were rational in that they could – given it is their profession – 'fake enjoying it' and define it as part of the service. Despite this knowledge a lot of men recall specific encounters that they were sure she could not have been faked.

It was so incredibly intimate. She just lay there moaning, you just know if that is real or not. Women tend to think that a man cannot tell if it is an artificial moan or not, that is such a turn-off, like a real turn-off. So on the other hand, when a woman really enjoys it you really get connected.

(Rob, Dutch, 40+)

To a certain extent men seem to get more pleasure out of the encounter when a woman enjoys it. 'I like to indulge myself completely in her pleasure. I think that might be even the most important thing to me, since you cannot do that when you would have limited time' (Sam, 40+, Dutch).

According to Nicholson (1993) the idea of reaching an orgasm has come to symbolize sexual competence, like Odin in the previous chapter who 'wanted to come inside a girl'. Being good at sex according to Nicholson means having an orgasm and being able to give a woman an orgasm. I found this imperative among many Swedish and Dutch men who did not seem to strive for their own orgasm 'If I want an orgasm, I can masturbate. I would rather be with someone who really seems to enjoy it' (Nathan, Dutch, 25+). 'I do not focus on my own orgasms, sort of. I want to help the girl reach hers and also make her enjoy it' (Francis, Swedish, 35+). The Dutch Ronald complies with the same imperative yet he acknowledges that it might sound a little bit odd, especially when there is money involved: 'If you look at this from a distance it might seem, well, I pay a whole lot of money to have an encounter that should involve sex and then in the end do not fuck at all. Well that could be considered pathetic right?' (Ronald, Dutch, 55+). Ronald was no exception from other men who are less engaged with vaginal penetration whilst conforming to the ideas of Nicholson:

I think women are simply beautiful when they reach orgasm. And I guess that when I let her come, I kind of make a clear conscious assessment, would she do it for the money or does she really appreciate me? So well, if I succeed to let her reach an orgasm I can tell I have been the best customer of the day, so I do not have to feel guilty.

(Sam, Dutch, 40+)

So while giving sexual pleasure to the sex worker might benefit their own sexual enjoyment, this sexual reciprocity of 'giving' or 'giving back' to the sex worker increases the idea that the woman they desire enjoys her work and therefore does not do it solely for the money. And as seems to be of more importance for the Swedes, do not do anything against their own will. Hendrik (Swedish, 50+)

concludes the following: 'I was happy like a man when I knew I could satisfy her, for me that equals good sex!'

In Chapter 3 I have mentioned that in order for sex to be perceived as 'good' in the eyes of the Swedish authorities, sex has to be mutually satisfying and performed by two consenting adults. Additionally it should not involve money and should occur only in an established relationship. For Hendrik the mutual satisfaction equalled good sex just like in a more conventional relationship. This need for mutual satisfaction is a mode of governing; a political rationality that actually undermines that should actually undermine the sexual experience of good sex. Sex is not good when it only lives up to the desires and expectations of one person, whether he pays for it or not. Good sex should be mutually satisfying.

Nevertheless both Swedish and Dutch men did acknowledge that you could not always be absolutely sure the sex worker actually reaches an orgasm, although the Dutch men seem to be more sceptical than the Swedish: 'It is bullshit to say that the most important thing of the encounter would be to let her climax, we [men] should never think we can be sure she did. These women are experts so to say. But then again you have these kinds of signals' (Albert, Dutch, 45+).

Global market ≠ universal experiences

The global sex industry, with its numerous online and offline displacements, has largely been based on what Hausbeck and Brents (2002) termed the 'McDonalization of the sex industry' in which the sexual services that are offered have been standardized. Just like the quarter pounder at McDonald's has the same understanding in every country (Ritzer, 1993). The 'McDonaldization', which is presented as a new type of business described by Ritzer is based on four principles: 'efficiency (saving time); calculability (quantification); predictability (replicability and standardization) and control (Ritzer, 1993: 99). Writing about the Nevada brothels Hausbeck and Brants describe that these brothels are expanding their services; up-scaling their markets and using business forms similar to mainstream business (2007: 436). Yet the universal applications and allegations of these marketing practices could be questioned. Descriptions of McDonalization of whatever aspect of society have been warmly embraced within

recent social science studies; nonetheless, I would like to question the standardization of the marketization of the sex industry. For instance, every country has its own signature products at McDonald's, where the concept of the hamburger might be the same, but the ingredients vary widely. This is also the case when looking at specific sexual acts, defined as universal experiences. As mentioned, some countries have quite some signature sex venues, like the Lauf Hausen and FKK clubs in Germany, or what to think of the martial artists in the United Kingdom? The most common, standardized, or 'mainstream' experience that seems to be offered around the globe is the Girlfriend Experience (GFE). A GFE has become widely known as an experience where the sexual service provider is affectionate, generous with time, whilst the experience resembles having a sexual connection a girlfriend. Earle and Sharpe (2007b) found in their study on the online attitudes of clients that clients profoundly screened the sex workers on the possibility of offering a GFE, more than their physical appearances or other services. The conclusion of Earle and Sharpe was echoed in my findings. Without asking men directly, they would often explicitly refer to their quest for a Girlfriend Experience themselves. Which for them meant that the sex worker would at least be 'affectionate' and their encounter would resemble, however brief, a 'conventional relationship'. Yet when I compared the answers given by the Dutch and Swedish men when I asked what they understood to be a Girlfriend Experience the answers differ to great extent.

A Girlfriend Experience means to me that the girl takes me seriously, since I had some girls in the past who did not. Being taken seriously is what matters to me, that they take their time and give me the feeling that they genuinely want to give me a good time.

(Marcel, Dutch, 40+).

The Dutch men seem to put a premium on what they desire besides the physical connection, like Marcel who needs to be taken seriously as opposed to the brief encounters one might have with women working in window brothels. For Albert (Dutch, 45+), A GFE 'is having the ability to have a good conversation, that I could take her out to dinner if that is what I am up for and to have a normal social

contact. And not have like a PSE with excessive moaning'. When a sexual service provider would offer a GFE this is universally considered a better quality service (e.g. Bernstein, 2007; Sanders, 2005; Weitzer, 2016). My interviewees envision that the more expensive the service gets, the better the quality one should receive. Followed by the idea that the more money you would pay for the sexual encounter the higher the probability to receive a 'real' GFE. Nevertheless, the clients are not so naïve as to think that it is part of the service she offers: 'she was actually a real, really a real Girlfriend Experience, she was really liking it herself, I understand that it is in a way a game. But still I got the feeling, and I am not completely sure that sometimes it was good but frankly it could have been "made"' (Emil, Swedish, 50+). Despite these perspectives, one of the interviewees, Wouter (Dutch, 50+) disliked the whole idea of getting an 'experience' that should resemble that with a 'girlfriend': 'If you would want a real Girlfriend Experience I should suggest all to seek a real girlfriend. I just do not get it!' all clients, 'when having vanilla sex,' prefer and seek a GFE.

In the frequent historical comparisons that the clients made from their experiences, they placed a Girlfriend Experience in sharp contrast with the brief encounters at (window)brothels and a Porn Star Experience also referred to as PSE. These encounters were described as 'rushed' or 'unaffectionate' and 'too mechanical' and the opposite of having a (real) Girlfriend Experience. Based on the knowledge that he now has Emil remembers one of his first experiences with a sex worker as follows:

I remember that I did it from behind, for example, and what I can recall is that well she, sorry for my choice of words, but she more or less got directly in position and just put it [penis] in her. Just like that. Now that I am more experienced I can ask myself why I did not just leave. I should have walked away! But I did not. I can be that honest with you.

(Emil, Swedish, 50+)

When Emil, not long after that had his first as he recalled it 'real Girlfriend Experience': 'I was really blown away with this real Girlfriend Experience [...] She had this thing that she did after the sex, she spooned me, yeah. We were just lying there like that, talking a little and that might sound so simple, but it was fantastic!'

In contrast to the Dutch men when I asked the Swedish men what they perceive as a real Girlfriend Experience or what experience they could recall that made it a Girlfriend Experience, the Swedish men would describe the 'affectionate', 'sincere' and 'authentic' physicality that they had with the sex worker before, during and after the penetrative sex. Whereas the Dutch would place a premium on all the things you would be able to do with a sex worker outside the bedroom. Emil was not the only one mentioning his adoration for spooning, about two thirds of the Swedish men placed a prominent emphasis on cuddling and spooning after coitus.

A lot has changed, the first times I was more focused on my own release so to say. I do not know the exact English word for it but in Swedish I would say *tom och glömma*, which would literally translated as: 'empty and forget'. So over the years I booked longer meetings and got more experienced and liked the kisses and the foreplay.

(Nils , Swedish, 50+)

What stands out when comparisons are made between the narratives of the Dutch and Swedish clients is that, as I have mentioned previously, the Swedish men place an emphasis on the physicality as opposed to the intellect that the Dutch considered to be one of the most important aspects of a Girlfriend Experience. I would therefore like to claim that although the Girlfriend Experience is a universal concept the understanding of the concept is different or might have evolved. When the personality as well as the intellect of the sex worker are perceived as important traits of the Girlfriend Experience I suppose we could speak of a Girlfriend Experience 2.0. In addition, I would like to claim that this Girlfriend Experience 2.0 developed in a country where the sex work market has been able to adapt to economic values that influence the desires of clients as well as the marketing strategies employed by the sex workers. How this relates to the understanding of the economy of sex work, when the encounters with a sex worker are perceived as services and commodities, will be described in the following section when a sharp contrast will be made between commoditization of services as opposed to the commodification of the female body when clients feel at odds with their individual behaviour and the societal expectation.

6.3 Commoditization versus commodification

Personal favours and price reductions

Clearly the experience of paying for sexual services begins long before the actual encounter occurs when men browse through the different webpages, connect with other clients and make contact with prospective sexual service providers. The trends highlighted in these two specific countries, as well as the international endeavours contribute to an increasing diversification in the monetary transactions between clients and the(ir) sex workers. What becomes ever clearer is that sex work is a global phenomenon.

My empirical findings suggest a continuity or rather a ritual of conventional scripts in commercial sex that resemble those in relationships these clients have with their spouses or desire to have. As described in the previous section it is therefore not exclusively the sex workers who perform emotional labour but the clients as well. A condition of these authentic encounters is that it is bounded by the financial transaction that takes place. However, the fulfilment of one's sexual desire could lead to encounters in which monetary payment is less or not involved. An example given was the encounter of Dante (Swedish, 40+) who, as a Sugar Daddy, described that if the sex would be good his Sugar Baby cared less about the money involved. Even though many of the men created an aversion against any kind of 'freeriding' – like for example the pre-sales other men have in clubs – they were quite fond of telling me about the discounts and price reductions the sex workers had offered them because they were perceived as 'good customers'. Often these stories came up when I asked them if they could describe the encounter they enjoyed the most from all the experiences they had. Saker was again one of the outliers, yet his descriptions speak volumes about why, despite not paying, it was the best encounter he had had.

While we were sitting at the bar chatting, I thought there would be a moment in which she [the sex worker] would ask for money, but that never happened [...] but why this was the best experience was because it came so naturally and so spontaneously. That I did not need to pay was nice, but it was more about her glow, she really enjoyed her work. She looked like the girl next door so to speak,

or the girl you would meet at a club who you would ask to come home with you at the end of the night. That is what made it one of the best experiences.

(Sasker, Dutch, 30+)

It was because the sex worker was 'really into it' that made it the best encounter for Sasker and not because there was no payment involved. Discount was not described as paying less but as getting more value for your money and the understanding that they are good clients that are worthy of their time when they treat the sex workers with respect:

We went out for dinner and we pre-negotiated an amount for like three or four hours, four I think because of the dinner. It was 7000 Swedish Crowns [740 Euro] as I recall. And I think in the end she left at two in the morning. But she was not obliged to stay. She genuinely had a good a time. I knew her that well by then that I could tell she had enjoyed the evening.

(Albert, Dutch, 45+)

Many of the men described that they were often granted more time than they had paid for initially, which further enhanced the proximity of the relationship, to become more 'genuine'. Albert met this specific sex worker – a Scandinavian woman who worked independently as an escort – multiple times in Sweden when he was there for business. The price reductions are not limited to independent escorts as Marley recalled an encounter he had with a woman who worked at a German *Lauf Haus* that he had known for quite some time.

The best part of it was that after we had sex she called the reception desk, because she asked me: 'what do you think is missing in this room?' I looked around and came to the conclusion that there was no television. She called the reception desk to ask for a television and summoned me to go to the bar to get some savoury snacks and wine.

(Marley, Dutch, 40+)

Nevertheless when these favours are granted from the women they are perceived as extras when the initial agreement, based on the terms of the client and the financial transaction, had been settled. Evidently, when the sex worker would not

live up to what had been agreed beforehand, Dutch men, like Marley, would act as misled consumers who were offered a lot but deceived by getting less than formerly agreed.

We settled at 100 Euro. I already told her I did not want to do anything that she might charge me extra for; I told her 'if you want to stay longer, that is fine by me, but I will only pay you a hundred!' In the end she wanted to charge me 250 Euro! I asked her if she was kidding, 250 means giving me a surcharge of 150 Euro! And then she got wild and suggested we would go to the front desk to sort it out. That was fine by me I knew they would not take her side. At the counter they asked us to settle and let me pay 50 Euro more. Fine.

(Marley, Dutch, 40+)

Validity and legitimacy of sex work

While the sex could be considered good, like in the encounter described on the previous page, if a sex worker would not live up to what had been settled beforehand, Dutch clients would claim their rights as a consumer, sometimes at the cost of those that provide: 'Those clubs that are a bit more expensive for example, they are just absolutely great. When you, as a woman give a poor service they will toss you [the sex worker] out. They will demand that you [the sex worker] leave straight away!' (Mark, Dutch, 40+).

Making a distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution was the cornerstone of the Dutch prostitution policies (Outshoorn, 2001: 473). In the Swedish political discourse, the ruling opinion is that prostitution is dehumanizing and objectifying women. Women are subjected to exploitation, violence and slavery-like conditions, from this perspective no woman could consent to selling sexual services. Consequently there is no distinction possible between free and voluntary forms of prostitution (Florin, 2012: 270) to the extent that in Sweden selling sex cannot be perceived as work.

According to the Swedish men the work of sex workers has to be met with enthusiasm. The services have to be genuine and sincere, if not, they question the legitimacy of their choice to work as a sexual service provider and when they are given the opportunity they will ask the sex worker directly how they got involved

with selling sexual services. They will raise questions if they like their occupation or ask bluntly if they are just in it for the money. As mentioned in Chapter 5 the latter is accepted, but then as a means of getting a better standard of living and not to make ends meet, or worse, to pay for drugs. This indicates that even though the Swedish men might perceive it as a service, especially when obtained abroad, they will never perceive sex work as work in the same manner as the Dutch interviewees.

All men employ certain screening strategies and selection criteria, to make sure they approach a(n) (independent) sex worker who offers a genuine authentic service, meets their desires and seems to like what she is doing. Nevertheless, these strategies do not hold when men would visit a sauna club since it is not possible to know beforehand what kind of women would be present at the majority of these clubs. Given that there will be a variety of women present at the facility of their choice the chance that they will meet a woman that might be less excited about her job is present

Actually, once I asked a woman [the sex worker] if she was comfortable with all of this. But actually she was just a bit bored, it was at one of these FKK clubs in Hamburg and, eh, she, eh, I could realize that her heart was not really in it, but she was fine with it, for her it was just a job and I think we have to accept that as well. Compare it with McDonald's and serving hamburgers or something like that. Sometimes your heart is not in it but you sometimes still see it as a job. I can understand her perspective.

(Diederik, Swedish, 40+)

Diederik was not the only one who asked the sex workers these direct questions to get a better understanding about their motivations for selling sexual services and it was admired if women described this themselves: 'She told me she loved her work, her job, being a sex worker and that was also maybe what made the difference, because she really enjoyed what she was doing. As I recall correctly she told me she had the best job she could ever have and only met nice guys like me' (Don, Swedish, 40+) 'I mean she did not make any excuses for her work, she did not see it as strange or funny. She was there in the moment and it was good sex, really good sex' (Morten, Swedish, 55+).

For the Dutch there was no need to question the validity of sex work as a legitimate occupation. They made clear distinctions themselves between forced and voluntary and although they might have encountered some women during their processes that might not have been working under the best conditions, – which will be elaborated in the following chapter, – they do believe that the women with whom they proceeded to have a sexual encounter all worked voluntarily. For them it is not about sex work being a job it is about when you are a sex worker you have to do a good job. Otherwise, as mentioned on one of the previous pages, Mark is in favour of sex workers being requested by the staff to leave the facility when their services do not live up to his expectations or those of the facility.

Dutch men often referred to the hypocrisies of closing brothels in the big cities in the Netherlands and the inability of the majority of the Dutch population to perceive sex work as a legitimate occupation. Before lifting the ban on brothels, research in 1998 had shown that 74% of the Dutch people regarded prostitution as an acceptable job and 73% were in favour of the legalization of brothels (Brants, 1998: 622). Unfortunately I was not able to find any recent figures, but if these percentages are valid it indicates a widespread perspective that providing sexual services should be a legitimate occupation. In Sweden it is quite the opposite and I have come across several surveys, often run by newspapers – that indicate the percentages of the Swedish population that were in favour of their repressive laws. In 2002, a private research institution SIFO, found that 76% of their respondents were in favour of the Swedish sex purchase ban. Six years later. In a more recent academic study of Yari Kuosmanen (2008) 71% of the respondents were in favour of maintaining the ban and a similar percentage would support the full criminalization of the purchase of sexual services, meaning that both sex worker and client would be criminalized. Interestingly the percentages, bearing the time difference when the studies were conducted in mind, are similar; however, these distinctive populations want the complete opposite, where two-thirds of the Dutch population perceives sex work as work, two-thirds of the Swedish populations would rather abolish it from society.

Dutch men compared sex work with other (emotional) service providers, or those performing quite demanding physical work making clear separations

between those that voluntarily choose to work as a sex worker and those that might be forced.

I do not understand the commotion. What is the difference between being a police officer or a sex worker? They both provide a specific service in society. I can understand that this will not apply to those working undocumented or those people that are forced, all the more important it is that we make a clear separation between these groups!

(Ben, Dutch, 40+)

It is such a hypocrisy, why can we not look at sex workers the same way as we look at construction workers? The only difference is that their [sex workers] work is perceived as immoral by the majority of our population. But tell me, what is the difference? Both provide a service that they agreed to provide.

(Sasker, Dutch, 30+)

Just like the overall majority of the men spoken to favoured a 'real' GFE, the men described sex work as work, yet by means of narrating their contextualized perspectives there are subtle and less subtle differences in the way they articulated what they pay for or whom they pay to fulfil their sexual as well as emotional desires. Evidently, Dutch men speak in moderate economic terms, often comparing visiting the sex workers with dining in a star restaurant, when satisfied or dining in a fast food restaurant when the encounter was rushed and to the extent the 'real' Girlfriend Experience and the emotional labour were lacking.

Independently of the respect they have for sex workers their behaviour towards purchasing sexual services is calculative, both in their online inquiries and screening strategies as well as in the negotiations beforehand with the sex worker. 'I do not want to fool myself. I have tremendous respect for all those sex workers. I do not want to see it primarily as a commodity yet I have to make sure that she is fine with what she is doing, otherwise I am not interested' (Albert, Dutch, 45+). The Dutch men clearly exercise a consumer driven behaviour. Swedish men, on the other hand, are first and foremost concerned about the women. What drove or inspired them to work as a sex worker? Partially to calm their own state of mind before a transaction can take place. They seek an

interpersonal connection instead of perceiving it predominantly as a consumer service. In addition, those that have more experiences abroad, especially in Germany internalize more of a consumer led jargon although the concerns about the working conditions are always present or presented first.

The sessions are very good here and we can say that they can still make a lot of money. But maybe about five years ago it was better and they could earn more. Do you know it is estimated that there are now around 4000 sex workers in these FKK clubs? I can imagine that when there are more prostitutes presented the competition will be harder and the profits will be lower.

(Frederik, Swedish, 35+)

Conceptualizing prostitution as a consumer service actually shifts the emphasis from the interpersonal connection to the benefits of both the sex worker and the client (Coy, 2008: 190). Especially when things like the quality and economic values are addressed. Although motivations and desires as well as sexual preferences differ widely between the Dutch clients as well as among them, the question remains what is bought, a product, a service or in abolitionist terms 'a female body'. According to Marxist feminist Pateman (1988) it are the women themselves that a male client would be interested in purchasing and therefore not an isolable commodity or service (149). This 'market inalienability' (Bernstein, 1996) is dominant among those in favour of the Swedish *sexköpslagen* when for example Inger Segelström from the Swedish Social Democrats expressed in a statement to the parliament: 'we social democratic women in the world's most emancipated parliament cannot allow that men could buy women for money' (Segelström, in Dodillet, 2005).

I would like to end this chapter by making a suggestion to make a distinction between the commodification (of the body) and commoditization of sexual services. Commoditization and commodification are often used interchangeably in social science but it seems noteworthy to make a small distinction based on the usage of commoditization by business and marketing theorists and commodification stemming from Marxist theory.

Commodification is the Marxist term for things being assigned an economic value that they previously did not possess by either being produced or presented for sale as opposed to personal use. In the abolitionist and Marxist feminist perspective on 'prostitution', the body of the woman has become commodified and sex has become a commodity. According to Applbaum (2000) 'commoditization' is inevitable in all product markets, when deriving the meaning of commoditization from the discipline's definition of 'commodity' being a 'generic product or a product that cannot be distinguished in the minds of the potential customer from like products produced by competitors' (Heskett, 1976, quoted by Applbaum, 2000: 111).

While commodification refers to placing a monetary value on things that did not previously possess a price tag, like the female body and the sexual and emotional services she provides, alternatively, commoditization is a process in which sexual services have gained economic value and became distinguishable, like a GFE, or a PSE, generating their own unique selling points and therefore become simple commodities in the eyes of the clients. Services not only become separated from their providers, but also become comparable when the market in sexual services is growing into a global market. When these sexual services become more similar from a client's – or rather a 'customer's' – point of view they will choose the service that gives them the most value for their money.

Commoditization is not a widely used nor an appreciated concept to this extent, however commodification seems to be a limited concept when we ought to perceive sex work as a global phenomenon with a growing range of services provided, crossing land borders and as a result disordering national policy regimes. The Swedish men cannot separate sex from the sex worker they meet. Morten, Daniel and the other Swedish men were often confused when they expressed their desire to have sex with no strings attached yet need to incorporate emotions during the sexual encounter, because they cannot have 'meaningless sex'. They problematize the commodification of the female body. Where commodification in this aspect refers to the commercialization of a body that should not, by nature be perceived as a commodity. The Dutch men however, as has been widely addressed in this chapter, seem to disconnect the body of the sex worker from the sexual services she provides and do treat sex as isolable

commodities and services. According to them sex work is work, and one needs to do a good job doing it. When the services lack quality, she is not up to the job. The sexual services that are provided are, in this perspective alien from the female body.

6.4 Concluding Remarks: Unbridled ethics of sexual consumption

In abolitionist discourses the body of the sex worker is objectified and commodified, this occurs according to Dworkin when 'a human being is made less than human, turned into a thing or commodity, bought or sold. When objectification occurs, a person is depersonalised.' (Dworkin, 2000: 30). In this chapter I have contested these debates in the processes of becoming a (regular) client. Both Swedish and Dutch men described their (desired) relationships with numerous contradictions: authentic but bounded; close but not too close, professional but not too professional; emotionally involved but emotively disinclined. While having (regular) encounters with a sex worker sets them free from obligations it does not mean that there are no emotions involved. I have addressed that comparable to sex workers, clients perform emotional labour prior to and during their encounters. Often this labour involves courting rituals that confine to heteronormative standards of courtship.

Throughout this chapter it became evident that these rituals do take different routes for the Dutch and the Swedish men. Sugar Dating is the example of an unbridled ethic of sexual consumption where paid sexual encounter(s) become normalized through heteronormative scripts though regulated through a(n) (financial) agreement. The interpersonal scripts of the Swedish Sugar Daddies neatly correlate with the cultural scripts at hand in Sweden though they would not sugar coat the financial agreement. There is a wider disjuncture between these scripts among the Dutch men, although they seem to have completely internalized the distinction between forced prostitution and voluntary sex work. When meeting a sex worker that would fit their needs and desires after extensive screening processes it was out of the question if she might be forced. For them it is not about sex work being a job it is about when you are a sex worker you have to do a good job. Furthermore, their consumer driven behaviour clearly contest the market in-alienability of sex workers when it is not the body of the sex worker, nor the sex, but the services they are after.

7.1 Taboo and stigma

In its most serious manifestations, the sexual system is a Kafkaesque nightmare in which unlucky victims become herds of human cattle whose identification, surveillance, apprehension, treatment, incarceration and punishment produce jobs and self-satisfaction for thousands of vice police, prison officials, psychiatrists and social workers.

(Rubin, 2011: 164)

Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the processes of becoming a regular client, whether the clients were a regular client at the time of the interview or desired to become one in the future. Followed by their reflections on their relationships with sex workers and the market (in)alienability of sex work. Where Chapter 5 described the processes about the encounters with sex workers, the following sections will describe the developments of becoming a client when clients are reflexive about the payment for sexual services in relation to other clients, media debates and repressive and restrictive legal regulations.

It will become clear how both the Swedish and Dutch men make use of the knowledge they have gained and how the development of their screening strategies enable them to distance themselves from parts of the sex industry that they associate with exploitation and vulgarity. The concept of 'respectability' (Skeggs, 1997) is hereby used as an additional conceptual tool when clients disassociate themselves from other clients, specific facilities and less respected sex workers. Where Chapter 5 was in part devoted to the intra-psychic level of men who pay for sexual services and Chapter 6 on the interpersonal level, this chapter will be devoted to the cultural level when the discourses in Sweden and the Netherlands that repress and restrict are defined in relation to the individual experiences of the clients. Furthermore techniques of governmentality will be elaborated when clients, as well as the political field, the media and social workers have an influence on the regulations and (re)creation of the clients by pathologization, stigmatization and criminalization. This will be amplified by two

distinctive cases, the Valkenburg case in the Netherlands and the police enforcement in Sweden and Stockholm specifically. Although comparisons will be made between Sweden and the Netherlands a disproportionate part will be devoted to the criminalization of clients in Sweden.

I am not like them

In this specific section the 'discourses of respectability' (Skeggs, 1997) play a vital role when the Swedish and Dutch men employ strategies of distancing and disassociating themselves from other 'sex buyers' and specific locations to defend their status of a man paying for sexual services. The middle class and upper-middle class men I have interviewed in these specific countries dauntlessly defended the(ir) position as a client often describing themselves as an exemplary and respectable client, rebelling against the pathologization of clients. According to Skeggs (1997) respectability embodies moral authority only to those who are respectable have it (1997: 3). Respectability is one of the most present signifiers of class 'it informs how we speak, who we speak to, how we classify others and ourselves, what we study and what we know and what not' (ibid.: 1).

'I think I might be better than an average client, since I do not like all those weird and crazy sexual practices, no! I like, well the normal things, oral sex, and well, normal intercourse (Wouter, Dutch, 50+). Surprisingly, all the men – Dutch and Swedish – depict themselves as above average or better than average.

I think an average customer might actually think that he could ask everything as long as he is paying for it, I really do not believe this is the way to approach the field [...] the funny fact is that when I pay for sex I am actually quite a decent guy, I will act out any deviant preferences during relationships.

(Marley, Dutch, 40+)

Talking about a typical (Dutch) client, the Dutch men specifically referred to the sexual acts one does or does not do when paying for sexual services. 'I would think I am little bit softer than the average client, I prefer vanilla sex, I always hope she reaches an orgasm and well of course I penetrate her when we have sex but never

to its extremes (Ronald, Dutch, 55+). They perceived themselves, as described by Marley, as a 'role model' for other clients. 'I hope there are more men like me, who treat those women with the respect they deserve' (Marcel, Dutch, 40+).

As described in one of the first pages of Chapter 5 Swedish men, like Paul, have problems with defining themselves as 'sex buyers'. When I would ask them how they perceive themselves as clients and if they are an average Swedish client, they would address that they are 'not like those other men'. With this 'othering' it becomes clear that the subjectivity – to relate to late Foucauldian thinking – of these men can only be constructed from their position within social relations and structures. 'I am not like most men, because I understood that many men feel a need to humiliate these women by asking things that their wives would not do or whatever. I have no need at all to ask for that'. (Cedric, Swedish, 45+). Many times the men would, when asked whether they would label themselves as average clients describe specific anecdotes of encounters they had with women in which they referred to themselves as good, genuine and likeable persons.

I can give you an example that portrays me as a good guy I guess. I have to say this because it is true. I met a girl that lived quite close to me and she was somewhat below the age of thirty. I do not remember exactly how we got into contact. I just can remember that we had a date at her place. We were sitting and talking a little bit and she asked me if I would like to have a drink. I told her I do not drink alcohol. She then asked me if it was ok if she took one. In the end she did not take one but three drinks. She was getting drunk so I told her that she probably should not do this. It might be that she was nervous or something. But since she was under the influence I could not proceed anymore and I left. It felt really bad if I would have taken advantage of a woman that was drunk. I know, I am strange.

(Emil, Swedish, 50+)

Emil labelled himself as strange when he did not take the opportunity of having sex with a young woman who was still eager to do so. He did not want to take advantage of the situation by exploiting a woman in a vulnerable situation.

I could have cheap sex with a woman and do whatever I please, but I would feel very bad about myself. I would never do that. I do not even have those thoughts,

but I think on average a lot of men do. When my colleagues are away from their home country and are for example in Asia, they will behave like pigs. So bad. (Valentin, Swedish, 55+)

When the Swedish and Dutch men were confronted with men that, according to them, exploit women, they felt 'uncomfortable' and 'ill at ease', for example when they would browse online through specific forum threads.

There are these disgusting threads on the forum where men ask where they could find women who would bareback or where they can find even women that are cheaper than cheap. And let me tell you something, I get really uncomfortable when I scroll through those threads. I am disgusted with those fellow reviewers on that forum. They are so vulgar; I do not want to be like that!

(Sam, Dutch, 40+)

Both Swedish and Dutch men were repelled by the idea of paying someone for sex who might be either a victim of sex trafficking, work under force or bad circumstances. Additionally, when the Dutch men disassociate themselves from those other men on forums they refer to what they 'do' differently in comparison to other men in terms of sexual practices. The Swedish men, on the contrary, reflect on what they do not do in respect of the women that they do not want to take advantage of. The discourse of victim and victimizer is very present in their descriptions when they do not want to proceed with the encounter or in respect of those other men who 'take advantage' of women.

By means of making hierarchies of the sex market both Swedish and Dutch men made classifications of 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' clients. These hierarchies were built on the knowledge they had gained throughout the years and the information they found online by doing their homework properly employing specific screening mechanisms. When making classifications of respectable conditions of paying for sexual services these were often based on space and place, the services offered, the working conditions of the women and how the services were advertised. 'I am more careful now, when I think there is some kind of trafficking involved, I do not contact the girl. I try to avoid this (Simon, Swedish, 40+).

By means of these screening strategies they already made a first attempt to be able to classify themselves as 'respectable' clients. Nevertheless many of them were aware of specific venues, either in their own country or abroad where women were surely maltreated. 'Just thinking about the Vulkan Straße³⁸ where 200 women compete with each other on a daily basis. No that is not a location that makes me happy' (Sam, Dutch, 40+). When they do find themselves in a situation that they would rather not be in, despite doing all their homework, they showed remorse. Like Simon who had to learn 'the hard way' even though he thought he had done his homework.

I once made a mistake when I did call an advert that I maybe did not fully trust. But she talked Swedish without any accent, so I knew that she was at least born in Sweden. So obviously I went there. But when I arrived she said: Oh no not me, her! While pointing at a woman who was older and could barely speak Swedish. So apparently she only took phone calls and the other girl took the customers. For me that was an indication of trafficking. She was a nice girl. I told her, you really look like a nice girl, but I am not interested.

(Simon, Swedish, 40+)

More than one fourth of all the Dutch and Swedish men I have spoken to have been in situations like Simon's, their solution is to leave as soon as possible because they do not want to be associated with abuse and coercion.

I met this one girl there who was really nice to talk to and then all of a sudden she said: '30 Euros for everything without a condom'. And then I told the other two [his friends], 'I do not know what you will do but I am going to get out of here. But if you walk from here to the Central Station you would come across a McDonalds, you can find me there. But I am leaving!' Then it really hit me that this is also part of this world. I felt so ashamed, mainly towards myself. I really thought I cannot do this [have sex with the girl for 30 Euros]. This is madness. But it made me aware of the world I found myself in.

(Marley, Dutch, 40+)

Ethical consumerism

Trying to defend their status of a 'normal', 'genuine' and 'good guy' was not only achieved by their (online) selection processes, but as exemplified by Marley by making a distinction between safe, secure and respectable locations. Once they arrived at the location, it was never perceived as a point of no return, but rather a possibility of extensive reflection on what to dissociate from for future encounters and about the other side of the coin of sex market. All men distinguished specific venues like those street prostitution zones and Lauf Hausen in Germany from more respectable venues. Subsequently, on the basis of their anecdotes they made a distinction between respectable and less respectable sex workers. A sex worker was more respected when she worked independently and liked her job – which in the perspectives of the Swedish men indicated that she was not forced – and for the Dutch men it was perceived important that the sex worker would be able to give a genuine service in which she respects her work as well as her customers. Like a linear regression the Dutch understanding would be that the more expensive the sex worker the better the service. Imagining the costs would equal the benefits. And when sought, the higher the chances of getting a 'real' Girlfriend Experience as described in the previous chapter.

Some of the Dutch men explicitly referred to 'the ethical consumption' of sex work. Due to his physical handicap Maurits has a very strict budget, although he wants to visit a sex worker he is concerned that he might not be able to have the same budget as he had with his first encounter and might not be able to give a complimentary tip or consult 'more expensive' sex workers.

If I would have more money, I probably would spend more on sex work. Yet my income now does not give me the opportunity to pay expensive sex workers. This creates a feeling of guilt [...] I link this to the problem of ethical consumption. Like where does my Iphone come from? Where and how is my chocolate manufactured? Yet, sex work is completely optional so I feel even more guilty and I am afraid my attitude towards sex work might shift to, and I am really not proud of it: 'less of an ethical consumer'.

(Maurits, Dutch, 30+)

What stands out from this quote of Maurits is that, like others, he explicitly refers to himself as 'consumer'. This further enhances the idea that the Dutch men perceive sex work as offering specific services. Maurits further continued in his reflexive account that he was aware that he internalized a certain anti-prostitution discourse but by considering himself as an ethical consumer and thinking critically about his consuming behaviour. Maurits is well aware that sex workers who have better working conditions provide expensive services; nevertheless his current income enables him to make an exception to this known rule. This relates to the analytical perspective of 'exception finding' of Masters et al. (2013) he is well aware of the cultural discourse, but creates an exception for himself when paying for sexual services.

The reflections of the men when they were confronted with heteronormative standards as opposed to and in relation to their payments for sexual services became evident when they would describe the impact of the media on their thoughts.

For example when I am at home and I sit down with my family in the living room and it is [news about sex work] on the television and they [family] start to express things like: 'How can men do such things?' and I am like: 'Oh, I do not know.' I act as this correct person who should know that it is wrong to pay for sex but at the same time I can sit next to them and think 'well they can do it because it is exciting to do so'. [...] I create a lot of reasons for myself that it is ok what I am doing, those 'it is not that bad, you can do it!' kind of excuses. I know it is wrong but it is also a way for me to be able to still see myself as a good guy.

(Daniel, Swedish, 40+)

The media is a primary source in creating and maintaining perspectives on the sex industry, which evidently contributes to a global sustenance of social stigma of sex workers (Hallgrímsdóttir et al., 2006) as well as stigma of clients when the media are reproducing rigid and standardized heteronormative scripts. There are quite clear examples of newspaper headlines about sex work in both these countries that become newsworthy, either it is about the family guy, like Daniel, who has it all and should know better, or comments and moral perspectives from politicians and other people with a certain status in society. To highlight this I will share some

(recent) headlines of newspaper articles from a variety of newspapers from both countries, translated into English. In Sweden the following titles of Newspaper clippings caught my attention: 'Top boss pays 3000 SEK for a threesome'³⁹; 'Tobbe paid for sex at hotel'⁴⁰; 'Married men bought sex in Jönköping'⁴¹; 'Municipal counsellor bought sex'⁴²; 'Sven Otto Littorin has been charged with paying for sex'.⁴³

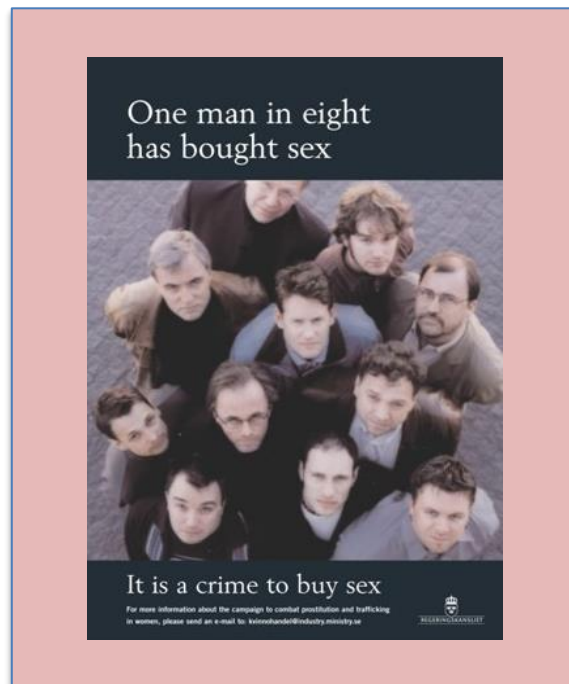
What becomes evident when scrolling through what has been written in popular media about sex work is that the majority of the Swedish articles are about outing men who have paid for sex, when possible with their full names, marital status and job affiliation. In the Netherlands the debate is (or was) more nuanced, yet in the light of current political debates the majority of the recent articles are mostly about the political perspectives of political parties or individual aldermen, mayors and ministers and (their) perspectives that are in line with partial criminalization: 'Christian Democrats: Prostitution is organized #metoo',⁴⁴ 'Prostitution causes psychological damage';⁴⁵ 'Council member of the people's party for freedom and democracy: I want to put an end to window brothels in the inner city'.⁴⁶

The 'every-man' perspective

According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) politicians use media to share or 'plant' their ideas into the public's consciousness by giving interviews. This relationship between politicians and the media is a prosperous one to create, promote and maintain a specific image of sex work. This governmentality tactic of the relationship between (state funded) research, politics and media to create certain subjectivities becomes apparent in the Swedish media campaign in 2002. This campaign is based upon knowledge generated by Sven-Axel Månsson (2001) who described that one out of eight men in Sweden have, at least one time during their lives, paid for sexual services. This resulted in a campaign that described that at least 13% of the Swedish male population has paid or might still pay for sex. This knowledge was presented on the poster that claimed: 'One man in eight has bought sex' – presented on the following page.

The Swedish sex purchase ban played a central theme in the poster campaign and aimed to 'increase awareness about prostitution and trafficking in women by pinpointing the buyers' (Ekberg, 2004:121). These posters were displayed on 2215 locations throughout Sweden.

This first poster is quite revealing, besides the headline 'one man in eight has bought sex' there are not eight men portrayed on the poster, but instead an uneven number, eleven. Which implicitly indicates that there might be more than one man portrayed on this picture who has ever paid for sex. Secondly, the men portrayed are from a wide variety, although treated as a peculiar man in society, the man that pays for sex can basically be anybody. In the first chapter I addressed the 'everyman perspective' as distinct from the 'peculiar man', addressing that in Sweden the peculiar man perspective prevailed given that paying for sex is perceived as one of the biggest obstacles to an equal society. Nevertheless, it would be too simple to state that the campaign is based on an 'everyman perspective', although the men can be anybody from your neighbour, brother in law to your own husband, (prospective) clients are still characterized by social and personal deficiencies that do not adhere to the Swedish social norms.

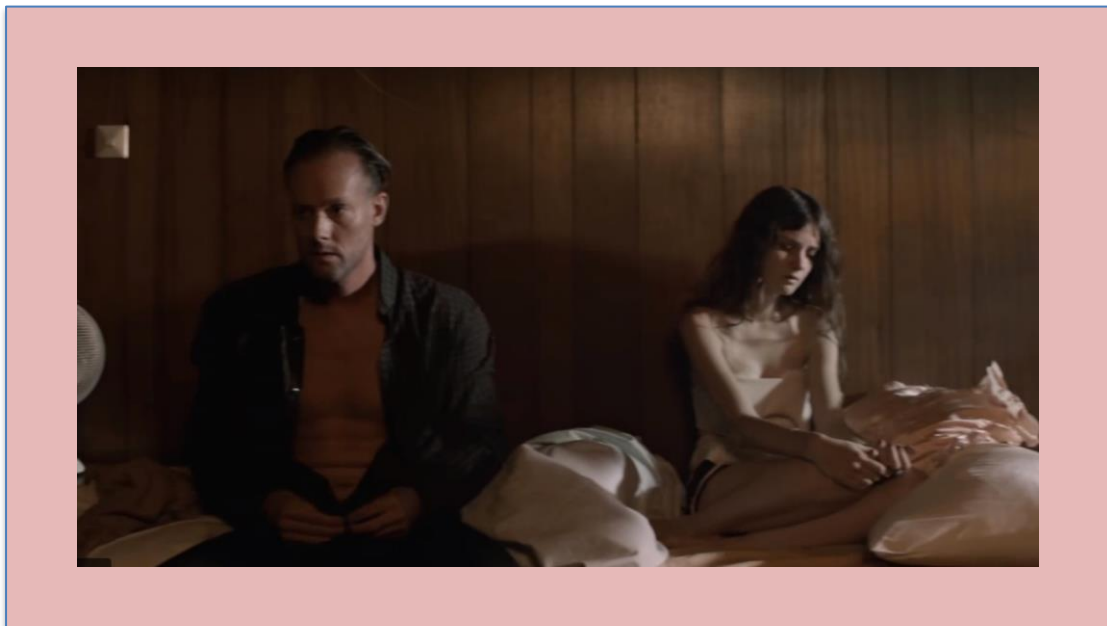


In comparison with the newspaper outlets, these campaigns do not explicitly shame middle class men, yet by creating this 'everyman perspective' one is reminded that it could be your neighbour, husband, father and son who has paid for sex.

A second poster describes 'Time to flush the johns out of the Baltic' and a third 'More and more Swedish men do their shopping online' – presented below. These posters are part of the Swedish 'end demand' campaign with an overall objective to 'increase awareness and knowledge about prostitution and global trafficking in women through information, education and the training of government and other public authorities, NGOs, the media and the public' as Gunilla Ekberg, Swedish governmental expert on prostitution and outspoken advocate for the Swedish ban on the purchase of sex explained. She continues: 'most important, the Swedish campaign implemented innovative measures directed towards buyers and potential buyers of prostituted women and children, as well as toward those men who travelled to neighbouring countries (Ekberg, 2004: 1201)



Where the campaign of 2002 was addressing prospective buyers, the most recent campaign that started in October 2017, called 'You decide!' ('Du avgör!') is addressing those men who are already paying for sex. This online media campaign is from the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare in close cooperation with Swedish social workers who are in direct contact with men who pay for sexual services. It will target a total of 50 websites that are frequently visited by sex buyers. The campaign itself consists of a video of about two minutes that takes place in a room. The lights are dimmed, and a young woman is presented, she seems to be about 20 years old. In two minutes time you see her preparing to meet a client, on her bed with clean sheets, opening or closing the door while clients either get undressed or have just paid her. The dramatic background music resonates the monotone expression on her face. The last image ends with the description: 'It may not be such a big deal for you, to buy sex. But you are part of something bigger; the illegal demand. Without it, prostitution and human trafficking would not exist.'⁴⁷ (translated by author). It is clearly addressing those men that pay for sexual services. For a discussion of this campaign I would like to refer to Chapter 7.3 where this campaign is examined as a new recruitment strategy of social workers.



Printscreen of the campaign '*Du avgör!*'

These campaigns are not unique to Sweden; several countries that have considered or might consider banning the purchase of sex have developed similar campaigns to pathologize clients. An example is the campaign from Northern Ireland with the headline 'We don't buy it', followed by descriptions of 'Most men do not buy sex'. Therefore if you do buy sex there must be something wrong with you. Since the 1st of June 2015 they enacted a law that makes it a criminal offence in Northern Ireland to pay for sexual services that resembles the Swedish sex purchase ban. Nevertheless, comparable campaigns have not been limited to countries with these repressive models; those that regulated sex work and have restricted models have seen a recent flow of campaigns. These campaigns are not from governmental organizations but from activist groups that campaign against any form of sex work. Despite current legislative frameworks in those countries they do not make a distinction between forced and voluntary and 'warn against prostitution' by placing posters in Red Light Districts.



When Diederik went to Copenhagen he came across a campaign titled 'Real men do not buy women (*Rigtige mænd køber ikke kvinder*)⁴⁸: 'Even in Denmark that is supposed to be liberal nowadays they have these campaigns to discourage men from buying sex, also generating the idea that a real man can get sex without paying for it' (Diederik, Swedish, 40+).

On some occasions even the Red Light District in Amsterdam has been covered with posters. Interestingly, these campaigns do not address the buyer, they address all that would walk around in the district, tourists, men who would potentially pay for sexual services and even the people living there. One of these posters addressed the question whether sex work could be perceived as a legitimate occupation or not: 'Prostitute, whoever got that as an option out of their career tests?' (*'Prostituee, bij wie komt dat nou uit de beroepskeuzetest?'*)⁴⁹



7.2 Getting caught

The Valkenburg Case in the Netherlands

Recent media outlets in Sweden and the Netherlands have made a tremendous impact on the client's ability to feel 'safe' and retain their trust in (local) governments and other influential authorities. In contrast to the other chapters this section will describe these cases separately by country. Starting with the Valkenburg case in the Netherlands followed by the increase of police enforcement in the county of Stockholm. What these two cases have in common is that they are part of increasing administrative measures against men who have paid for sexual services. These punishments – depending on the countries' prostitution models and legislative frameworks – can involve fines, restraining orders, prison sentences and community service.

In the Netherlands a court case of twenty-seven men who had sex with a minor became sensationalized in all Dutch newspapers in 2016. This case was known as the 'Valkenburg Case' (Zaak Valkenburg). It was this media coverage that was often addressed when the Dutch men reflected on the possible effectiveness of current laws and their disapproval of prospective juridical additions. Even though prostitution laws and legislations are shaped at the national level it is up to the different municipalities to tailor these to the local circumstances to control and regulate all the conditions under which sex work is permitted. As amplified in Chapter 3 when the Netherlands revoked the ban on brothels that measure resulted in the closure of many facilities and other procedures to further discourage sex work. A common procedure in Rotterdam is, according to Wagenaar et al. (2017), the following: the police will set up an entrapment by inviting sex workers who advertise on the Internet for an encounter in a particular hotel. When the sex worker does not have legal papers or cannot prove that she has a license in Rotterdam, she receives an administrative warning from the Department of Public Order and Safety. If she is caught again she will be fined 5000 Euros. (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 109). Evidently I would like to claim that these kinds of administrative procedures will intensify the displacements mentioned in Chapter 5. We could additionally question according to Wagenaar et al. (ibid.) the usefulness of this measure knowing that a growing

number of sex workers work remotely from the town where they live. This could even be a result of the recent closures of many brothels and clubs in the Netherlands, as described in Chapter 3. And even if they do have a license to work in one municipality this license might not be valid in another. Warning them will therefore only keep them away from working in a city like Rotterdam (*ibid.*). We can only assume the tremendous impact this will have upon where clients will meet sex workers, especially when the outcalls will take place in a Hotel.

The court case in the Netherlands, known as the 'Valkenburg case' (*Zaak Valkenburg*) took place in a hotel in the small Dutch town Valkenburg, in the South-East of the Netherlands, close to the Belgian Border, where in 2014 a then 16-year-old girl sold sexual services, receiving approximately five clients a day.⁵⁰ There was no sting operation or police set-up since this girl had run away from home and was found by a private detective who soon thereafter contacted the police. She was found in a hotel room with her (boy)friend. Her (boy)friend that was characterized in the media as her 'pimp' had a list of names and telephone numbers of possible clients that the police confiscated. With this data, the Public Prosecutors were able to set up one of the biggest court cases ever in the Netherlands against men who had paid for sex with a minor.

In total 29 men would have been brought to court in 2016, nevertheless due to the carelessness about their privacy and the emotive language in the media, two of these 29 men who were suspected of this sex offence committed suicide. The media depicted them as 'rapists' and 'paedophiles' and other emotive language to stir up the debates. Before the final court hearing their identity was out in the open and insinuations about their villainous personalities were the media's daily bread. Apart from the two suicides, a third of these men became depressed and were afraid of losing their jobs.⁵¹ During one of the court hearings the case officer described the following: 'that it might affect their marriage or relationship, that is none of my concern, these men had sex with a minor. I will not help to keep that a secret.'⁵²

When I spoke with Ben about this court case he was clearly upset that the public prosecutors were not interested in the personal lives of these men. 'Well there goes: innocent until proven otherwise, right!' (Ben, Dutch, 40+). During the time of our conversation these men were still not convicted. A month later they

were sentenced with, mainly, community service orders. Minor charges in comparison with the impact these court hearings – and the media sensations – had on their personal lives.

My interviewees shared some compassion with these men ‘Have you seen how they describe them in the media? Especially when you look at the comments underneath those media articles they are depicted as animals and paedophiles. Well I am almost positive that they are not!’ (Matthias, Dutch, 40+). According to them they could not possibly have known beforehand that the young woman was a minor ‘nobody would have met the girl if they knew she was not yet eighteen, I am completely sure about that! Most probably they did not ask for her age’ Matthias continues. According to most of the Dutch men the court case was an example of ‘morality politics’ and they draw sharp lines between this court case and the law proposal that would give men who pay for sexual services a distinctive role to combat abuse in the industry.

As described in the context chapter, this obligation has recently been proposed in a recent law proposal in the Netherlands, the ‘Law on regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry’ (wet reguleren prostitutie en bestrijding misstanden seks branche). With this law it is proposed that if men come across any sort of abuse they would be obliged to report this. Abuse involves various forms and degrees. The classical example is forced labour. A second category would be violating any legal regulations. This would involve for example, the age of the sex worker, who is allowed to work when 18.⁵³ A third category comprises all other unacceptable situations, often involving the working conditions of the sex workers (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014: 6).

In the current discourse in the Dutch society much emphasis is placed on abuse. And my interviewees often felt stigmatized by means of these discourses, despite that most had never encountered any forms of abuse nor thought they would ever encounter sex workers being maltreated. ‘You hear a lot about so called abuse in this industry, but I think this mainly exists in lower segments, maybe window brothels? Well I do not have any experience with those’ (Ronald, Dutch, 55+). Never would any of the Dutch men I had spoken to disavow the existence of abuse in the market, as Marley mentioned previously there is a dark side of the market. Yet, like him if they would encounter anything that did not feel

safe, whether for the sex worker or themselves, they either looked away online or offline or walked away the moment the situation was perceived as unsafe – either for them or for the sex worker. With the knowledge they gained from all the online research they had done most Dutch men were quite knowledgeable about both the online and offline world of sex work.

Throughout the years you gain more knowledge, you hear more stories, you read more stories and you begin to screen advertisements quite effectively. Recently I came across a case in Zwolle and I was like, oh gosh, here we go again. A whole group of Eastern European women that were quite obviously placed there as a group, two weeks later I found the same advertisement in Breda. [...] I am almost positive that that was organized. [...]. The threshold is simply too high [for me] to report such cases. Because can I trust the authorities that I can do that anonymously? Or will some civil servant come knocking on my door? Or will they need me to answer additional questions a week later? I am sure that this will prevent most customers from ever reporting any abuse.

(Tobias, Dutch, 30+)

Perverse effects of reporting abuse

All men disapproved of coercion and any kind of abuse and exploitation. Consequently they are willing to report this to the authorities when they would come across something, yet they feel discouraged that it will jeopardize their anonymity and like in the sexual offence case of Valkenburg would have severe consequences for their private family life. Besides this distrust in the authorities they lack trust in their own judgements. How can they be really sure the sex worker is maltreated, exploited or abused? ‘If I would bring it like “she might possibly be exploited” without having any solid evidence, is that not some kind of vilification?’ (Marley, Dutch, 40+).

The men who contact sex workers through escort agencies know for certain that these agencies will only work with adult sex workers, otherwise these escort agencies would jeopardize their licenses. But when they would contact independent workers they feel as if they can never be fully reassured about the age of the sex worker, sex workers rarely use their own names in order to stay

anonymous, therefore they will never hand over their identification cards to a client, even when asked for.

It really is such an easy request from the government that we should ask for their IDs, but quite stupid I would say. What if I would ask you for your ID [pointing at me] you would not show me that your real name was Merel van Mansom! No you would use another name to protect your privacy. Ask Brooke Magnanti⁵⁴ how terrible it can be to get exposed.

(Sam, Dutch, 40+)

Apart from age, men were worried that they would not be able to spot any bruises on the body of the sex worker, and if they would be confronted with a woman who clearly shows bruises on her body who could tell that it was because she was forced to work and therefore maltreated? 'If clients will be imposed upon to comply with stricter rules, you could be quite sure that the sex workers will do everything they can to meet those standards. So if they will have bruises for whatever reason they might just not work for a week and then they have to make it up the other week.' (Pieter, Dutch, 40+). Sam was first in favour of implementing these kinds of regulations as he saw it as a moral responsibility of all clients, to secure the safety of the sex worker as well as fellow clients. Nevertheless, he changed his mind recently:

There was this sex worker who recently wrote an online column in which she explained how an obligation like this works as a threat to her business. Just the other day she fell down the stairs, stupid, but it happens. She also gets bruises in other ways and additionally she stated that she had a healthy relationship with her boyfriend.

(Sam, Dutch, 40+)

Information they obtain directly from the sex workers they meet or like Sam, read online, seems to be one of the most important information resources for the clients and is another benefit of the growth of CMC among sex workers and their clients. This has the effect that they cannot unite their own experiences with the maltreatments described by the media and other institutions.

Thus far the inability of the men to observe abuses when they might be present did not come as a surprise to me, when recently the municipality of Amsterdam carried out a comparable study among clients about their willingness to report abuses. The factors that their respondents indicated that would discourage them to report to the authorities were: lack of clear and reliable information about the abuse; insufficient trust in one's own judgement; stigmatization by the government and a distrust regarding how abuse will be dealt with (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014).

The distrust towards the authorities regarding how abuse will be dealt with might have grown, since my interviewees connected their distrust of the authorities with the Valkenburg case. What became apparent was that the single men were more willing to report than those who were married and in a relationship (for their individual relationship status I would like to refer to the descriptive tables in the appendixes). The married men were afraid of status loss, losing their jobs as well as their spouses. Yet five of them were afraid that, when implemented, a legal obligation to report would have a perverse effect given the consumer behaviour of certain clients and diversification of the market, which fosters the idea according to Leon (Dutch, 25+) that 'everything is possible as long as you would pay for it'. With the consequence that according to Sam it could turn in to some kind of 'witch hunt'.

Just imagine you would feel deprived by a sex worker, you could dial a number and say that she is maltreated. And based on your phone call an officer might make a visit to the facility she works, which is very unfortunate for her while the man who called anonymously with these false accusations might only have wanted to get back at her for not offering what he was expecting.

(Tobias, Dutch, 30+)

Marley coined the law proposal into a 'retaliatory law' when men would take advantage of filing reports at the expense of sex workers, while it should actually benefit those sex workers in need instead of an instrument to 'launch pay back at them'.

I really do not believe in 'he who pays the fiddler calls the tune', but what if a customer would not get the service that he expected to receive? He could make notice that the facility was a mess that she looked stressed and might be forced to work as a sex worker. A law like this will create problems that do not exist yet.

(Marley, Dutch, 40+)

Blackmail, Robbery and threats in Sweden

I asked several Swedish men what they thought of implementing a law that would oblige them to report any kind of abuse and would give them the opportunity to do so. Despite that those asked declared that it would be simply impossible in Sweden to implement a law like that given the political discourse, they liked the idea that they could anonymously report any maltreatments. 'If it was a possibility I would report obviously, I really would not want to use anybody in those kind of situations that would be awful' (Emil, Swedish, 50+).

It goes without question that the Swedes do not have the ability to contact local or national authorities if they would come across anything what might be of their concern. When they would do so they would have to confess that they committed a crime themselves when they paid or attempted to pay for sexual services. Although Albert, who as a Dutch man pays for sexual services when he is in Sweden for business, is aware he commits a criminal offence when he pays a sexual services provider he describes a positive aspect of the law:

A good aspect about this law is, that whether it is incall or outcall if she might do something to me, let's say grabs my throat or we have an argument, I have a problem not she [the sex worker].

(Albert, Dutch, 45+)

This simple illustration of what might happen during an encounter with a sex worker points to one of the core functions of the law in Sweden, women should be the ones in need for protection, not the men. While descriptions of violence against sex workers are widely available on a global scale several of my Swedish interviewees indicated that they have become victims of violence, blackmail, robbery, threat and coercion by sex workers as well as authorities. Violence

against clients might be just as wide spread in Sweden as violence against sex workers.

A study of Atchinson on Canadian⁵⁵ men who paid for sexual services found that twenty per cent (n=169) of his respondents (n=951) described they had been robbed by a sex worker. For 50.3% of these men this only happened on one occasion, for 37% it happened two to three times (2010: 27). In 2012 the sex work rights association Rose Alliance⁵⁶ reported to Daniela Danna that they found an increase in thefts from clients by a sex worker, since clients are very unlikely to report them (2012: 88). Since it is impossible to obtain factual figures about both these I would like to raise awareness by describing some vignettes that these acts of violence are a perverse effect of the sex purchase ban in Sweden.

Despite all their precautions and screening strategies, four of my Swedish interviewees disclosed that they have been verbally assaulted and robbed in Sweden by a sex worker or what they described as 'gang members'. 'I once made a mistake. She wanted 200 Swedish Crowns in advance, to give me the address' (Morten, Swedish, 55+). Morten never received the address and the small amount of money was gone. 'I later understood this is a common trick, so it must work for them'. However, when Swedish clients contact a sex worker in Sweden it is very unlikely that they will receive the actual address from where she works, most often the address will be given to them when a sex worker would be able to employ one of her own screening strategies, like Frederik explained 'When I meet a girl [in Sweden] she gives me an address and most often it is on the other side of the street so she would be able to look at me from her window. When she thinks it is ok she will give me the right address' (Frederik, Swedish, 35+). This is a strategy that sex workers employ to be less vulnerable to police and clients that might have bad intentions. Nevertheless, this is no guarantee for the client that all will be 'ok' when he arrives at the front door of the sex worker. When Emil knocked on the front door of a sex worker it was not her but two men that opened the door 'They took my money and that was that. Back then I was happy that I only had some cash with me because I later understood that they had tried to blackmail men to get them to withdraw money with their credit cards' (Emil, Swedish, 50+).

Dante became a victim of such blackmail when he had an incall with a Swedish sex worker, after this incident he became quite scared of incalls and decided to avoid incalls in the future.

It was even a Swedish girl! We were talking and made an agreement to meet the following night. And I do not know what happened exactly, but I think they had done some research. Somehow they found out who I was and sent me a message the following day: 'Ok Dante, we know your mother's name, your brother's name and so on'. They knew all these kind of things. I really do not know how. So they told me they wanted to meet me as they knew my parents. [...] So I was supposed to meet them at a coffee place and while I was waiting for her all of a sudden this big guy with gang-like tattoos walked in and he was just smiling and telling me 'well normally I have a knife with me, when doing this, but we are just going to a cash machine and do a withdrawal and leave it at that'. I was like 'Seriously?' And the thing was he was staying calm and polite and it really made me scared. I felt like such a fool!

(Dante, Swedish, 40+)

Dante had to withdraw 6000 Swedish Crowns (the equivalent of 634 Euros) and this type of blackmail has been one of the most extreme I have come across when browsing online to look for similar unfortunate events. Given his profession and his family life he could not bear the thought of what would happen if they did contact one of his family members, his only option was to cooperate. This event took place in a public space yet he could not raise his voice nor file charges at a nearby police station afterwards, given that he had already committed a criminal offence with the attempt of paying for sexual services. Due to the stigma of paying for sexual services in Sweden the coast is clear for these kinds of criminals to trick prospective clients. I found that most of these cases are written about online in Göteborg. This is the city where Simon got robbed as well:

I met up with the girl outside and she shook my hand, she did not give me the exact address where to meet just yet. She acted a bit nervously and said that she got some small things to take care of. She told me she wanted the money straight away, before we would go to the apartment. Stupid of me, I gave her the money

straight away. And then she ran! 10 meters later she stopped and then two gigantic men came up to me and they started to talk. They wanted to know if I would have any more money on me. I did not. So we stood there and talked for a while and they told me not to write down the registration number of their car and not do anything stupid. So I left. There was nothing I could do.

(Simon, Swedish, 40+)

What became important for these and other men was to secure themselves that they would not be tricked⁵⁷, at least not for a second time. Consequently, the Swedish men took extra precautions when meeting Swedish sex workers. Firstly to avoid incalls, as Dante already described, secondly to only use prepaid telephones and thirdly to make sure not to have more money on them than initially agreed upon.

Police entrapments

Being tricked by a sex worker or a 'gang member' is one thing, being entrapped by the police is something different. The overall majority of the men (19/22), thought they would run a very low risk of getting caught. 'You just have to act normally, nobody will suspect you' described Nils (Swedish, 50+) who occasionally had met sex workers when he would be in another Swedish town for business. 'I even had breakfast with one of them in the hotel, that was not unusual'. 'It is nearly impossible to get caught by the police and I am sure it is not their main priority (Francis, Swedish, 35+). According to Karl, (Swedish, 30+) the city where he lives, Göteborg, would not have any (financial) resources to actually be able to locate men and besides that 'How would that even be possible? They cannot pose themselves as a sex worker, that would be entrapment and that is illegal. The only way to take them in is to have surveillance at apartments or something. I do not think that can ever happen?'

The kind of 'sting operations' that Karl is referring to are allowed in Canada to gather evidence supporting the arrest of clients, police officers engage in undercover sting operations where police officers pretend to be sex workers to encourage a prospective client – and thus a potential suspect – to engage in

solicitation. This entrapment is allowed by the Supreme Court of Canada as long as they do not 'provoke' any criminal activity (Khan, 2015: 17).

Swedish authorities are not allowed to employ these kinds of sting operations like in Canada; thus far the procedures that the Swedish police officers, mainly in the Stockholm area, employ have not been made transparent.

In 2016, the head of this prostitution police group, Simon Häggström, published his book 'Shadow's Law: The true story of a Swedish inspector fighting prostitution', in this book, as well as in the media attention it received, he writes about his experiences of chasing down at least 200 men a year in Sweden, since he began to work for this specialized department in 2009.⁵⁸ Häggström described during an interview with newspaper Expressen:⁵⁹ 'Many believe that prostitution involves a kind of luxury life as in the movie "Pretty Woman", but this is a myth, the reality is about mental illness, violence and the humiliation of women at the bottom of society. No normal person could defend prostitution if they saw what my colleagues and I see daily'. In his book one can only find rather sensationalized stories when he and his team 'caught men in the act' as well as vignettes based on the stories of seven migrant sex workers.

Even the attempt of buying sexual services is considered a crime in Sweden, yet as Daniela Danna describes 'definite proof should be needed, buyer and seller must be caught in the act' (Danna, 2011: 86). According to interviewees Daniel and Karl this means for clients simply 'being at the wrong place, at the wrong time' (Daniel, Swedish, 40+) or 'spending time with the wrong woman or whatever' (Karl, Swedish, 30+). I have met two men who both were victim of one of these scenarios and 'got caught in the act'. Because of the importance of these police entrapments I will describe these two vignettes in full length as both Hendrik and Paul have illuminated them during the interviews. But first I would like to turn to the increase in men that got caught and prosecuted after the enactment of the *sexköpslagen*, as well as the years that Simon Häggström and his team became active in Stockholm until the most recent years that men who were prosecuted for paying for sexual services have been reported. Gunilla Ekberg, who as noted praises the *sexköpslagen* for its success, reports that in total, 734 men have been arrested from 1999 to 2004, which has led according to Ekberg to 140 convictions, most of which have resulted in a fine (2004: 1195). Given the date

when she published the article she might have been a little bit hasty with these numbers and might have based them on a prognosis. Since the men that have been arrested were 838 and those cases that led to convictions were 121 and not 140 (see Table 1).

Dodillet and Östergren (2011) describe that it is extremely hard to find records of the men that pleaded guilty as well as those men that were sentenced (with fines). They were able to compute these figures from 1999-2010 and I have been able to supplement this with the numbers of men that got charged (were fined) for paying for sexual services between 2011 and 2016.

The numbers of Dodillet an Östergren as well as my calculations are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Reported Crimes of buying sexual services in Sweden 1999-2016

Year	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16
Prosecuted	94	92	86	110	300	156	460	163	189	187	352	1277	765	551	544	607	523	603
Pleaded Guilty	5	7	18	22	52	26	47	88	51	48								
Sentenced	6	18	30	20	20	27	56	38	39	25								
Total	11	25	48	44	44	82	103	126	92	76								

Source: BRÅ statistik computed with the numbers presented by Dodillet & Östergren (2011: 16)

In the additional table (Table 2 below) only those numbers are presented of men that were arrested in the Stockholm area in the period 1999-2014. There are no recent figures available from the years 2015 and 2016 for Stockholm County by the time of writing.

Table 2: Reported Crimes of buying sexual services in Stockholm County 1999-2010

1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
46	47	29	46	215	61	153	82	104	126	203	392	354	299	204	216

Source: BRÅ statistik

As can be seen in Table 2, these numbers have increased vastly since the appointment of Simon Häggström and his team in 2009. Which makes this law a 'typical surveillance law' as well as quite symbolic (Danna, 2012; Dodillet and Östergren, 2011; Sanders and Campbell, 2008). Since the numbers of reported

crimes have increased when resources are allocated. Crimes like these seem to work as a ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’ (Merton, 1968). Additionally the fact that only small numbers have led to men being ‘punished’ for their committed crimes should be perceived, according to Sanders and Campbell that this type of legislation merely has a symbolic design to send out a normative message (Sanders and Campbell, 2008: 171).

Table 3: Reported Crimes of buying sexual services in Skåne län 2000-2014

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
37	33	31	49	20	247	41	33	12	20	103	28	21	60	78

Source: BRÅ statistik

The reported numbers from the county of Skåne in Table 3, with Malmö as main city, have two interesting outliers, in 2005 and 2010. What is known is that in 2005 the police did an investigation of massage parlours, which resulted in several entrapments where a total of 247 cases were reported.⁶⁰

Table 4: Reported Crimes of buying sexual services in Götalands län 2000-2014

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
5	8	25	24	28	28	19	26	18	29	153	268	173	170	103

Source: BRÅ statistik

What becomes apparent from Table 4 of Götalands län, with Göteborg as main city, which is also the second largest city in Sweden, is that the numbers are lower than those in Skåne and Stockholm. Besides this ‘steady growth’ until 2009 we see an increase and although there are no numbers presented by BRÅ for 2015 and 2016, it might be possible that the numbers are reducing. When I asked Simon (Swedish, 40+) why he was not afraid of getting caught by the police he answered: ‘I am not at all scared, the police have other things to do here in Göteborg. There are loads of problems with organized crime and clearly a lack of resources’. Karl (Swedish, 30+) shared a similar description: ‘they would not have the resources to do so’.

From my Swedish interviewees, two of them ‘got caught in the act’ and both of them, Paul and Hendrik, settled to plead guilty and accepted to pay a fine after

they were caught. Evidently they were not 'caught in the act' as will become clear from their stories. Hendrik had paid sex with a minor, during the encounter; she was 15 years of age, which she did not disclose during the encounter. A few months' later police officers awaited him near his apartment; the minute he arrived home he was handcuffed and brought to the police station.

Some authorities might have found out about it [their sexual encounter] and started with an investigation. Since she did not do anything criminal, selling sex is not perceived to be a criminal fact, she might have been taken into custody or was reported for something else or by someone else. I would not know to be exact. But on one day they checked her mobile phone and found my number and could connect some dots. They took me to the police station downtown and interrogated me for quite a while. When I realized about how much they already knew about me I admitted what I presumably had done. A few months later I was called to court, there was a trial, and yeah, the whole shaboom.

(Hendrik, Swedish, 45+)

Hendrik settled by paying a fine of 30,000 Swedish Crowns⁶¹ (equivalent to 3175 Euros) an additional smaller fine for the young woman and forced group therapy. Paul got a fine as well and like Hendrik a mobile phone played a leading role in his conviction when he was caught. His description might be a bit upsetting, given the power dynamics of the police officers who 'took him in' whilst an important vignette to share thinking about the high numbers of reported crimes shown previously.

I do not even know where to start. I went to a prostitute, well actually two and I had sex with both of them. When I left there were two guys standing outside as if they were waiting for me. They did not look like police at all, more like youngsters wearing caps. One of them flashed his badge and told me I was suspected of purchasing sex, I said 'oh well ok'. Then I felt that they were inside my jacket, as if they wanted to grab stuff. I thought they could just be robbers and might not be police after all or something. I asked politely if I could make a phone call, the moment I reached for my phone they held me tight. A third person showed up and reached for my phone. I kept holding it [the phone] in my hand for a while. I remember telling myself that they really were robbers. While one was reaching

for my phone the others threw me on the ground and put handcuffs on me. They took me to the nearest police station and treated me as some kind of drunkard, used all kinds of force while I was only suspected of committing a crime. After being interrogated I told them I would not say a thing before I had a lawyer. I had to stay for many hours and was only offered a matras. I began to get quite anxious afterwards because of my occupation and the company I work for. I thought it could possibly hit the newspaper headlines.

(Paul, Swedish, 40+)

Just like Hendrik, Paul settled for a fine and therapy. The next morning after he was held in custody and interrogated he called his manager to resign from his job. 'I was so anxious that it would hit the newspapers, not only about the sex purchase, but also of resisting not handing over the telephone immediately. All those things were to hard bear [...] They were so harsh. Why did they use violence, throw me into a cell when I was still only suspected of a crime?'

Similarly as with the Dutch Valkenburg case of the men who were found to be guilty of the committed crime, the actual sentences, whether fines, community service or forced group therapy, are very small in comparison to the social consequences. Both Paul and Hendrik had been scared for weeks that the press might get a hold of their story. How these morality politics are applied by the social workers of the K.A.S.T. groups who work together with the police to rehabilitate Swedish sex buyers will be described in the final pages of this chapter about taboo and stigma.

7.3 Rehabilitation of the client

Support and/or treatment

Regardless of the actual charges when a man gets caught for an attempt of paying for sexual services, the law (enforcement) presupposes that prostitution is a male issue. As described by Månsson (2001) 'prostitution is about men's sexuality not women's' (9). To strive for a gender equal society, as described in Chapter 3, the perspective is that men should bear all costs and should be penalized for their role in maintaining an unequal society. This change in focus is evident in the descriptions of men getting caught for their attempts, with entrapments that do not differ that much from those in Canada.

Just like in Canada alleged clients that were caught by the police will be given several options, a fine, a trial when they do not confess and therapy. The police would initially pressurize the Swedish men to confess what they (might) have done. But as shown in Table 1 only a small number will eventually be punished. When being pressurized to tell what occurred before they met the police officers, like Paul, one can imagine the tactics that these police officers might employ during an interrogation. In Canada you have the choice, you would either have a trial or go to a school with a sex buyer rehabilitation programme (Khan, 2015: 25). In Sweden, the latter, or rather the therapy is not mandatory. It would only be mandatory if a very serious crime was committed, like in Hendrik's case, when he had a paid sexual encounter with a minor.

Cases of men getting caught for buying sexual services, or at least being suspected of having attempted to pay for sexual services, are reported in nearly all Swedish counties, and an estimated 49 of 290 municipalities have knowledge of sex work in their municipalities (Florin, 2012: 274). Although there are, as previously described, more cases known in the county of Stockholm than in other counties. Whilst only the biggest cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Malmö and Göteborg have specialized social services for sex workers and (ex-)sex buyers. These services cooperate with the health service and with police departments. They engage in outreach work, counselling (therapy) and practical assistance. Their mission is to help people give up selling or buying sexual services voluntarily (Florin, 2012: 274). The section that gives a form of counselling to men is called

'KAST' (Svanström, 2004: 226), which stands for: *Köpa av Sexuella Tjänster* in English it is referred to as BOSS: Buyers of Sexual Services. In comparison to Göteborg and Stockholm, the social workers that work with men who pay for sexual services in Malmö is *Mika Mottagningen*, at the time of writing they changed their name in to 'KST' *Kompetenscentrum sexuella tjänster*, which is Swedish for: Competency centre for sexual services.

These street level bureaucrats (Lipsky) are considered the backbone of the Swedish *sexköpslagen* since they generate the information about these clients as well as the ability to rehabilitate them into Swedish society. Acknowledging their influence, the present social worker of KAST group Stockholm told me: 'If you help one person [a man who pays for sexual services] you are actually helping others. If one man stops buying sex it is better for women. At least there is one buyer less' (KAST social worker, Stockholm).

Depending on the position these cities have with regard to their neighbouring counties and countries, as well as the ideological course of their municipality and the allocation of money to prostitution projects and not to forget the moral points of views of the therapists in charge, these therapies differ widely between Göteborg, Malmö and Stockholm. Just like other rehabilitation programmes, the men that would get into contact with KAST will be informed about the negative consequences of their actions. Yet in quite a therapeutic manner, to change their behaviour and rehabilitate them into respectable men who are aware of the heteronormative codes of conduct in Swedish society and how their thoughts and behaviours differentiate(d) from the norm. To understand the history, their practices as well as the differences between these KAST groups I have had the opportunity to meet all current social workers as well as several former social workers of KAST in all three cities. The primary aim of these groups is to 'offer support and treatment for those that want to stop buying sexual services' (Holmstrom and Skilbrei, 2008: 23-24). These groups started in 1997 (Svanström, 2004: 26), not in Stockholm, but in Sweden's second largest city, Göteborg.

Creating subjectivities

'In 1995 we started to do some research on the buyers. We wanted to know a bit more about their experiences, why they bought sex and their personal background and so on. The results were published in this book'⁶² (social worker Göteborg). The colleague of this social worker who introduced me to this book added: 'Since nobody had worked with sex buyers before it was somewhat the first time in history in Sweden. This project basically had two main questions: Firstly, How do you get into contact with sex buyers? And secondly, what kind of method could we develop to work with them?' These two social workers in Göteborg described that these first years were hard but they learned a lot from the men they came across during their outreach work. Especially that they rather would be left alone when they were out on the streets and gave the social workers the advice to place specific advertisements in the local papers. That is when their counselling, first only through telephones, started. Soon Malmö followed with outreach work as well as telephone therapy, but it took several years for Stockholm to develop these instruments. 'I think we were a bit naïve'. As one of the first social workers of the KAST programme in Stockholm told me, and added: 'We had brochures with: "Hey do you have a problem with something?" "Do you think we can help you with anything?" I mean their [the 'sex buyers'] whole aim to be there is something completely different [...] As if they would wake up the next morning and think, oh yeah, let me give them a call'. When this social worker started it was because they, and other counties received funding from the government to inform groups that were perceived as running a high risk of being infected with HIV. These kinds of funding opportunities were quite common in the 1990s and 2000s in Europe (for a discussion: Vanwesenbeeck, 2001).

Since Malmö had more of a harm reduction approach towards sex workers they met on the streets during their outreach work, they saw it as equally important to advise prospective clients about the importance of having safe sex. 'They are as much in need of protection when they have sexual intercourse. A condom is a key to having safe sex, regardless if there is money involved or not. If you want to have paid sex, you should have money to begin with' (former social worker Malmö). A local government commissioner in Malmö intervened against this active condom distribution to prospective sex buyers, arguing that such

measures would approve of criminal acts⁶³. After several years the active outreach work in all cities decreased in favour of counselling.

To be able to meet their prospective target group the social workers in Stockholm started to cooperate with the local police department that had just started a specialized team, the team of Simon Häggström. 'They met all the people we basically did not meet, but wanted to reach out to. They did not have any conversations with these men at all. They were only punished for committing a crime' (former social worker Stockholm). Right after a man got caught these Stockholm social workers would intervene: 'when being caught these men were very emotional and upset, not knowing what would happen to them afterwards and the police did not have any specific training to handle this situation, so we joined forces and started to work together' (former social worker Stockholm). Stockholm was the only group that joined forces with the police like this, and since about a year this cooperation stopped as well. Nevertheless, all groups get referrals from the police. When men get caught they will be advised but not obliged to contact the K(A)ST groups if they want to talk about their experiences.

Despite my own pre-assumptions the men that would like to talk and receive counselling from one of the K(A)ST groups will not be forced to stop, yet all social workers confirmed to me that those men that continue their therapy for a longer period are all very motivated to 'change their behaviour'. 'It is not necessary to state that they should stop. Those that come want to quit. It might be that they come back and say: "oh yesterday I nearly did it again". And then we talk about that. What happened what might have triggered that?' (social worker Göteborg). Her colleague explains: 'to practice it [paying for sex] is a whole lot easier than to talk about it and it is easier to perceive that you have a problem, it makes it easier not to pay for sex when you are more educated about it' (social worker Göteborg). Nevertheless, the majority of the men that sought help, were not all men who had sex with sex workers; 'we also meet people who consume sex in a way that they [the client] would find problematic. Like watching pornography' (social worker Malmö). In Stockholm these men seem to be the majority when I met the social worker in Stockholm she disclosed: 'I have therapy with men who consume sex mostly online, like pornography'.

It became clear that these social workers perceived sex buyers as having 'a problem' that needed to be 'treated' through education and rehabilitation. Their treatments often were a mixture of psychodynamics and cognitive behavioural therapy. And those that currently work in these groups have a background in psychodynamics, family therapy or cognitive behavioural therapy. All groups received about 60 – 80 individual men a year who started treatment. The advantage of getting into contact with somebody at KAST is that they will not contact the police, and as I have demonstrated in the methodological chapter of this thesis, talking about your experiences of paying for sexual services can work quite therapeutically. Nevertheless, K(A)ST is 'part of the state' as a former social worker at KST pointed out to me several times, this meant among other things, that 'A lot of clients would not want to meet us, because they were afraid how the information that we still gained from them would eventually be used. KST is free, it would not cost you anything, if you would need to go to a private therapist it will cost you money' (former social worker Malmö).

Hendrik (Swedish, 45+) was forced to have therapy, not with the people working at KAST Stockholm, but with another state funded project that was especially devoted to men who had sex with minors. While he was attending these group meetings, which were three hours a week he decided to seek a psychologist himself: 'I was only focused on the meetings with my own psychologist instead, during these group meetings I can recall I only played with my body language and if they would pick that up as some sort of clues that I was willing to talk'. In total four (4/22) of the Swedish men I have spoken to have been in therapy. Two of them met people of KAST. For Dante it clearly was not a success: 'Basically they wanted me to talk about my childhood and I was like "that is not what I am here for". They automatically related it to that'. Dante, (Swedish, 40+) only had two sessions and held the belief if he actually wanted a cognitive behavioural therapist he would seek a professional psychologist. Daniel (Swedish, 40+) on the other hand enjoyed his sessions with the social worker in Stockholm that he visited when he had a nervous breakdown when he thought he might be infected with HIV: 'he did not place any guilt on me, I liked our conversations'. As I described in the methodology chapter, after our conversation, Daniel asked for my advice about whether he should get in contact with this social worker again.

After Paul got caught he decided to go to Sex and Love Addicts Anonymous (SLAA) meetings that are held daily in Stockholm, which helped him to cope with his anxiety after the police entrapment. 'I feel safe in that environment; it is quite a steady group. They have a 12-step model, but I do not have a sponsor, and I do not follow all the steps, but I like attending the meetings. You sit around a table and everybody will get three minutes to speak. They see it [paying for sex] as an addiction'.

What is interesting with this therapy in comparison with the social workers at K(A)ST was that KST Malmö did not talk about paying for sex as an addiction. They were very careful about the way they phrased the behaviour of their clients. None of those that were still working at K(A)ST at the time of our interviews use the word 'addiction' and paying for sex was perceived as a 'coping mechanism', these perspectives are both present in this quote from a social worker in Malmö: 'I think that addiction is a problematic word, it makes it harder to let go of the behaviour, especially since some men might have used it as a form of self-medication when not being able to cope with certain situations'. Another commonality of the social workers from these three groups is the way they perceive that the media in Sweden represent men who pay for sex: 'Both sex worker and client are victims. But no one will listen or read the newspaper when they are not described as perpetrators' (social worker Stockholm).

Nevertheless, it became apparent that their personal moral perspectives as well as certain heteronormative perspectives influenced how they looked at the sex market and clients. When I asked the social worker what she meant with sex buyers being victims, she explained the following: 'Sometimes these men have been sexually abused. And very often they have had problems growing up and they do not really know how to contact or seek emotional contact although they are married'. And she continued with some other examples that described the men either as emotionally unstable or emotionally or sexually abused. She is victimizing clients in a similar respect as sex workers are victimized in Sweden. When we talked about the therapy she described the following:

Sometimes you have to get through to them. Because buying sex is a whole person actually. It is not the gender; the whole body is there. When you buy a prostitute,

these are women that are so damaged; they have to close down everything when they work. Their brain, their body, they shut down from society. You can understand that they are damaged. And then these men they might not feel good about that, but they are meeting them [the sex worker] anyway.

(social worker Stockholm)

The former social workers at KST Malmö and KAST Stockholm and the social worker at Malmö indicated that they try to use words as neutral as possible: 'We try to be very careful how we talk about it. Not to stigmatize the people and not to reproduce any stereotypes [...] we try to use words without making a certain political standpoint' (social worker in Malmö). During the interview she underscored this again, relating it with shame: 'We both know [the client and the social worker] what society thinks about them, we do not need to give them any more shame. They are already ashamed enough. I do not try to moralize about what they have done, we try to be neutral' (social worker in Malmö). Yet, the others at Göteborg and Stockholm used politicized words like 'prostituted women', without problematizing their political standpoints.

Especially the former social workers from Malmö and Stockholm described that they are first and foremost social workers despite the law; the former social worker from Stockholm explained what he meant with this while he also made clear that: 'If you are a social worker you deal with the situation. You are not a police officer or anything; you deal with people that might be suffering'. When he would meet the men in Stockholm right after the police caught them he would tell them: 'it really is not the end of the world. This is what happens in Sweden. We have this legislation; you broke it. It might not feel that good, but maybe we can talk about it. I am not a police officer, but I can guide you through the procedure'.

Except for Stockholm most of these projects started in 1997, just a few years before the enactment of the Swedish sex purchase ban. As described by the social worker of Göteborg, they needed information about the men, not only on how to get into contact with them, but also who they are and what their needs might be. What she did not add but made quite clear during our conversation was that their 'needs' had to be in line with what might be needed to change their behaviour in accordance with the rules of conduct in Swedish society. As the

enactment of the *sexköpslagen*, which was already debated for some years in the Swedish parliament, should not have come as a surprise for them. According to Skilbrei (2017) the knowledge that would be generated from these kinds of social work projects are shaped in order to be able to offer welfare provisions that fit the problem. By asking ‘what do they need’ a tradition of mapping and counting a particular group of citizens began.

Although some tried to be as neutral as possible in their approach and choice of words towards the clients as well as towards their colleagues they could never disclose their personal thoughts when they might hold different opinions about the legislation. ‘I think we have quite a paternalistic way of looking at things [...] if you would say something that could possibly be perceived as a critique against the legislation you are automatically placed on the wrong side of the tracks’ (former social worker in Stockholm). The former social worker in Malmö wanted to know first and foremost who sponsored my research. ‘I do not want my words used against sex workers’. She described that she had the utmost respect for sex workers who could speak for themselves, even when they are personally held accountable for a whole industry: ‘Individuals are being held accountable for a whole industry and that is wrong. Would you despise a coal mine worker in a similar way? No. He got his paycheck and went home. Nobody would even suggest that it would be his fault that we would have a coal industry that is polluting the environment. Now would they?’ Her personal (political) standpoints were made clear in the first minutes of our conversation in which she contested the current legislation, without mentioning it explicitly. Since I answered her question before we met she knew which jargon she could use during the interview. When I asked her why she needed to know, her question was two-folded, ‘I back down from the expert position of sex workers’ which she elaborated by describing that in Sweden we have the tendency to talk about sex workers and not with them. Furthermore, it became clear that she might not have been willing to meet me if a Swedish institution would have sponsored my research. And if she did would have met me under these conditions, she would most probably have adjusted her choice of words, personal perspectives and the anecdotes shared.

Despite their abilities to try to be neutral in their choice of words, or not, to be critical about the sex purchase ban or not, these social workers have

generated knowledge about the Swedish sex buyers and ultimately have an impact on the contemporary understandings of a sex buyer. The new national campaign 'You decide!' is an example of this. This campaign is based on a report about the online movements of clients, sex workers, conflated with the streams of cases of human trafficking. According to Eva Norlin, the regional coordinator against prostitution and trafficking in Norrbotten, Västerbotten, Western Norway and Jämtland this rapport 'gives us an overall perspective on what the current (online) flows of prostitution look like in these counties and how we can design our work on prostitution according to these counties (knowledge)' ⁶⁴ (translation by author). Given that this campaign is conducted in collaboration with KST Malmö⁶⁵, KAST Stockholm and KAST Göteborg there is no need to question the relationship of this project with the national perspectives on prostitution. The website directs to the contact information of the K(A)ST describing that: 'it may not be a big thing for you, to buy sex. But you are a part of something bigger; the illegal demand. Without this, prostitution and human trafficking would not exist'. If you want it [paying for sex] to stop, you can contact the social workers from KAST and KST. The Swedish County administrative board could not have run a campaign without the knowledge derived from the stories that the men have shared with these KAST groups over the years. In governmentality terms this captures the way on how institutions like KAST and KST draw on the knowledge derived from their clients to enhance their policies to further re-create and regulate subjectivities.

That it actually is 'a thing' for the men I have spoken to as well as their reflections upon media campaigns like these have been elaborated in the previous sections. How the Swedish men perceive their suggested role in the equation of human trafficking and prostitution in the recent Swedish debates, as well as their perspectives of making the law extraterritorial will be described in the following and final chapter of this dissertation. Unlike this section, which has been completely devoted to the Swedes, the following chapter will also disclose the perspectives of the Dutch men about the Dutch regulations and if they would stop paying for sexual services in the Netherlands if it should become partially criminalized in the Netherlands.

7.4 Concluding Remarks: Create, Maintain and Control

In the methodological part of this thesis I have described that I maintained contact with many of my interviewees through the different processes of this research. My latest contact with them was when I had sent them the first draft of this thesis in order to be able to comment on the quotes I used from each one of them. I mainly shared it with them to make sure they would still feel comfortable with the way I presented their story. Paul, one of the Swedes that got caught sent me an e-mail with the following:

It strikes me in retrospect that the police in my case never gave the contact to any social worker, the KAST-team that would probably have helped me cope with the situation better. I might possibly not have decided to resign from my work, they might possibly also have helped me handle the judicial process that followed in a more clever way. In a way I felt that the handling of my case on the part of the police was – by intention – to get a case to the court. The police officers who worked with this law needed to show better statistics and results in producing verdicts.

(Paul, Swedish, 40+)

During our interview it never occurred to me to ask him if he had been in contact with KAST, since he told me about his experiences with SLAA. Furthermore, his comment strengthens the notion that social workers and the police, have an important impact in creating and maintaining contemporary understandings on sex buyers in Sweden based on those that get caught – in the act from specific venues – and only those (few) they meet for consultation.

8.1 Regulated market

Introduction

Throughout this thesis the processes of becoming a man who pays for sexual services is described instead of perceiving 'a sex buyer' as a fixed identity. In the previous chapters their actions and deliberations of becoming have been elaborated through the different processes on personal and interpersonal levels embedded in cultural discourses. Because of the primary interests in 'how' men pay for sexual services instead of a 'why' and 'how' men are ultimately governed by the repressive and restrictive regimes in Sweden and the Netherlands, direct questions on 'what' the men generally think about the law has not been addressed. Nonetheless, these ideas were elaborated during the interviews especially at the end of the conversations. A reason for this is that I did not want their general thoughts set the tone for our conversation, given that I wanted to make the conversations as personal as possible.

In this chapter I will share the general thoughts of both Swedish and Dutch men on the current legislative frameworks of the prostitution regimes and also on the law proposals in Sweden and the Netherlands that will further repress and restrict paying for sexual services, by raising a lot of 'what ifs'.

Furthermore, these reflections are addressed on these last pages, before moving to the conclusion, because these reflections can only be made after all the steps they took to get into contact with sex workers and the knowledge they have gained online and offline, whether in their own countries or abroad. The 'what ifs' are not related to the 'how to' addressed in this thesis as so far as they are thoughts that might have an influence on their future encounters and not on their current activities.

As I have mentioned in the preface it is never up to a social scientist to make predictions or to try to see what the future might bring; we could only analyse historical accounts and contemporary states of being, or becoming. Nevertheless the interviewees shared valuable ideas that are based on past, present and future. In two short sections I will describe the general views of the Dutch and Swedes and their ideas on the future of the prostitution regimes in their countries and whether this would lead to any changes in their purchase behaviour.

Hypocrisy of prostitution regulations

In Chapter 3 of this dissertation it is described that lifting the ban on brothels did not necessarily legalize sex work in the Netherlands, but regulated its operation by enabling women to work indoors in legal clubs and (window)brothels. The enactment of the law was – and is – in the hands of the municipalities, who used the law to further regulate its practices and reduce the volume of facilities in their municipalities to condense zones and make further expansion of the market impossible. This implies that sex work is legalized, yet this can be questioned when sex work is not considered a profession due to its stigma, although the law had the intentions to address sex work as any other occupation it created categorizations of sex workers that are eligible to work in legal facilities and those that are not. Inevitably the closure of brothels and clubs and the unwillingness of municipalities to hand out and renew more licenses makes it harder for sex workers to work in the regulated market, in the following pages I share the thoughts and reflexive accounts of the men on the current legislation, followed by their answers to my questions about what they would think when anti sex work sentiment would lead to the criminalization of sex work in the Netherlands.

Generally speaking, the Dutch men perceive the current sex work climate as not 'that bad': 'It could be a whole lot worse if you would compare it to other countries' (Ronald, Dutch, 55+). Most men described the hypocrisy of further regulations that have occurred in the last years:

We are so hypocritical in the Netherlands, on the one side, we seem to have legalized it so we could control it better. To be able to reduce all the so called abuse in the industry. But here it comes, you just try and ask for a license to open a brothel in Sliedrecht [small town in the South of the Netherlands]. You should try, for fun, see what happens. Because according to the municipality, run by Christian democrats, they simply state that there is no need (demand) for these kinds of facilities in their town and therefore would not hand out any licenses in their municipality.

(Sam, Dutch, 40+)

According to Marley (Dutch 40+), stricter municipal supervision and limited licenses can only work contra-productively:

I actually believe that by these repressive frameworks they could actually state that they are reducing all abuses in the industry. But the case is that the enactment of the law will exclude many people. And this will in the end only be contra-productive because it would not make the illegal part smaller, it would just make it bigger when you reduce the ability to work legally.

Many men shared stories with me about the closure of clubs in either the cities they live or the clubs that they frequently visited. In Chapter 3 I have described that since a few years the municipalities have imposed stricter rules on brothel and club owners based on the Bibob bill, when closures are well founded when irregularities or improprieties can be found that might be linked to criminal activities. This further enhanced an administrative apparatus with stricter rules and obligations for the owners of all sex venues. If brothel owners and other owners and operators were not able to obey to these stricter rules it would inevitably lead to the withdrawal of their license. I have often been told that when the local authorities, in most cases the police, find any irregularities in their administration for a first time they would receive an official warning, but when further mistakes are made they could lose their licenses. Roan (Dutch, 45+), who frequently visited a massage parlour in his hometown has seen this happening from close by, which he summarized as follows:

They had an inspection. And by law there has to be someone present, someone who can show the authorities that all women that are present are at least 18 years old. And she [the owner of the parlour] was not present; she was picking up her children from school or something. This was the second time this happened, so that was it, it was over, they had to close down.

The hypocrisy of closing down brothels and clubs also has an effect on the inability to fully perceive sex work as an occupation. As reasoned the Dutch clients have internalized a sex work is work rhetoric, confirmed by their perspectives on the global market and explicitly referring to themselves as customers and consumers.

Subsequently, many clients reasoned that although they themselves perceive it as a profession, the general society does not. According to Bart (Dutch, 35+) it is a bit naïve that it is in one way considered a 'profession'. And according to Leon (Dutch, 45+): 'Sex workers have to climb up walls and are still stigmatized, It confuses me because are we not supposed to see it as a profession?' Dries is very explicit about what kind of administrative walls sex workers have to climb because sex work is still not an accepted profession in the Netherlands:

Sex workers are discriminated on many fronts; I have read that it is not easy for them to open bank accounts, to get insurance and to build a pension. These problems only occur because their profession is still not accepted as a profession in the Netherlands.

(Dries, Dutch, 65+)

According to the men the separation between forced and voluntary is less present in contemporary debates, it is therefore that Ferdinand makes the following suggestion:

My advice would be that they [local and national governments] consult PROUD [sex work rights organization] and ask them for advice on how to further induce a clear separation. Wherein PROUD can address that there are maltreatments in the market, that they are inevitable, but that most sex workers work voluntary and need rights. They could make a plan to make a clearer plan to separate these two.

(Ferdinand, Dutch, 25+)

Some clients were quite sceptic about the future of sex work in the Netherlands and would not be surprised if the abolitionist sentiment would have further implications, since the Christian Democrats were more present in the debates and explicitly declared to be in favour of installing a Swedish model in the Netherlands in the (near) future. Nevertheless, although many of the law proposals like the 'Law on regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry' might specifically address the responsibility of men, they are addressing the implications

these constructions might have on women. As mentioned in Chapter 7 many think that the law would have jeopardizing and perverse effects for sex workers.

I am a bit curious how these debates will develop; take a look at France where similar laws as in Sweden were recently passed. I really think this will not help the women in any way. It is much safer to work indoors then alone in a flat, where men can take advantage of you.

(Mark, Dutch, 40+)

I truly believe that his anti sex work sentiment is clearly not out of pity or respect for the sex workers, but that they [sex workers] are some kind of evil for the rest of society, which is insane if you would ask me. Just the idea that they do something wrong stands in sharp contrast with my own sentiments.

(Maurits, Dutch, 30+)

Partial criminalization in the Netherlands?

I asked the Dutch clients, hypothetically, if they would still pay for sexual services if the purchase of sexual service became criminalized in the Netherlands; if they would either address the recent sentiments or law changes in other European member states. This resulted in four groups, those that would still pay for services, those that would only pay when abroad and those that would not pay for sexual services if it would become a criminal offence in the Netherlands, and those that do not have a clear idea if this will influence their behaviour. Half of the Dutch clients spoken to: eleven (11/22) stated that they would still pay for sexual services in the Netherlands, six (6/22) of them said no, yet two of these six men said they would go to nearby countries instead, five expressed that they are not sure yet.

I am not sure if I would stop. It would make it more difficult; it would create barriers for sure. But I cannot say. I think you can compare it with drugs, I mean it is illegal; still you can get it everywhere. Not that I am a drug user, but just to prove my point.

(Nathan, Dutch, 25+)

Leon, who has a family, inevitably thought that it would lead to status loss 'I would go to Germany if it would become criminal in the Netherlands, I cannot take those risks. Germany is close by' (Leon, Dutch, 45+). Theo is less sceptical, but 'if it would come that far, I would go to Belgium for sure' (Dutch, 45+).

The men who would still pay for sexual services in the Netherlands if it became criminalized shared their possible precautions with me; these precautions resemble the precautions that Swedish men already take because of the criminalization of paying for sexual services, they would be less open about it to the outside world and keep it even more to themselves and take the necessary precautions when using a phone or when walking to the facilities:

I would be more careful. I mean, if I would call a [massage] parlour I would make sure to make an anonymous call. I most probably go out when it is dark to make sure that nobody could see me walking in and I might constantly look around if there is any police.

(Pieter, Dutch, 40+)

Those that answered no and would not go abroad described that they would rather adhere to national legislations, they do not have the habit to break laws, they simply cannot, although this does not mean that they would 'appreciate', 'accept' or 'respect' the law. They just do not intend to break it: 'I will obey the law. If it will ever be criminalized, I stop. The law would definitely have an effect on me but I would be against it, but there are a lot of laws that I do not appreciate but still follow' (Roan, Dutch, 45+). Interestingly, the thoughts of these Dutch men resemble those of the Swedes when they perceive themselves as law-abiding citizens. Nevertheless, the reasons for Dutch men to go abroad already vary from those of the Swedes, notwithstanding that they combine going to facilities in the Netherlands and abroad, partial criminalization would therefore only create an extra push factor when choosing to go abroad to pay for sexual services.

8.2 (Partially) criminalized market

Sacred sex

After the Swedish men shared their histories of paying for sexual services with me, I asked them what they genuinely thought about the Swedish sex purchase ban. Remarkably, these questions were at most times answered in a specific order. The law was (1) flawed; (2) could not be taken seriously and did not make any sense and (3) paternalistic. When describing the flaws of the Swedish sex purchase ban they described that even though the law should address men they took the effects on women into consideration: 'I genuinely think that the law affects women more than they have an effect on men. Men can play a bit with the law, go abroad, women working in Sweden are confronted with the law on a daily basis; they should be given more security' (Nils, Sweden, 50+).

Even though they feel stigmatized by the law and some – not all – are afraid of the possible consequences when they might get caught by the police, they cannot and will not take the law seriously as Nils, continues:

In some way I think this debate is not serious. Because if you really think prostitution is bad, and you really want to change the world, or at least start with Sweden. The first thing you have to do is to know what it is actually about, right? Just like an engineer, when you get the laws of science wrong the whole construction will fall apart. This is exactly like that.

(Nils, Swedish, 50+)

I think our law is totally retarded. It allows the sale but it prohibits its purchase. When something is considered illegal, which I of course think it should not be at all, it does not seem to be productive to allow somebody to sell it but then not allow someone to buy it. So either you make it legal or you consider it a criminal act for both parties.

(Karl, Swedish, 30+)

Hendrik who was fond of using metaphors and proverbs during our conversation came up with the following proverb to address the, according to him, inaccuracies of the law: 'We have the perfect Swedish proverb for this: *Man kan inte både äta*

kakan och ha kakan kvar. You cannot have your cake and eat it. It is like the law, when you think of it. Legal to sell, but illegal to buy' (Hendrik, Swedish, 45+).

Furthermore the Swedish men spoken to perceived the law as a paternalistic law:

It is a typical Swedish elite law. People [in the Swedish parliament] know what is best for their people. You do not even need to listen to their own voices because they are always present. Everybody knows that those seated in parliament know what is best for us. It might actually be, come to think of it, our Swedish trade. Because when people go abroad and find themselves in a different situation, the first thing they would say is: 'Oh in Sweden we do it like this' as if we know better. As if our way is the way to do it and the rest of the world just has not realized it yet.

(Diederik, Swedish, 40+)

As many as seven men related this paternalism to be so present in Swedish culture that it acts as a religion. Like Diederik who continues his perspective on Swedish paternalism as follows:

I cannot understand why it has become such a religion. But it has. It is considered the truth and the only truth. Do you understand? Nobody can really object to those truths, because you still want to belong to Swedish society. Even journalists and politicians have to adapt to this religion. And even scientists too, well maybe to a lesser extent. But you all have to get your funding. Some people dare to swim against the current, but it is so much easier to go with the flow.

(Diederik, Swedish, 40+)

As an effect that the law was carried out as a state religion, according to Karl, 'Sex is made holy, something sacred. We [Swedish people] tend to overrate it' (Karl, Swedish, 30+). Valentin even brought up Lutheran Protestantism: 'The Lutheran style is interwoven with our politics. Of course we are not a religious society anymore, but it is in our culture. We have to feel ashamed about things that are not the norm and when we do not follow the rules. You make sure you do not let anyone know about it!' (Valentin, Swedish, 55+).

Symbolism and moralism

The fact that the men continue to pay for sexual services, especially abroad, initiated their reflections upon other types of legislation, especially for the 'younger' Swedish men spoken to this changed their perspectives.

Just a few years ago I thought these laws were just fine. I did not know a lot about it or knew it could be any different in other parts of the world. I clearly did not have any idea; for me the law came naturally, but I came to the understanding that Sweden is quite an exceptional case.

(Odin, Swedish, 25+)

By the time I interviewed the men in Sweden, ROKS was already pushing for their *sexköpslagen* 2.0 to make it illegal for men to pay for sexual services abroad. I asked the men therefore if their behaviour might change if or when this law would be enacted. Diederik, who regularly visits a sex worker in Denmark, told me that the law might have an effect but he is quite doubtful that it would lead to any men getting arrested for such an offence:

I think I would like to keep seeing her [his regular Danish sex worker] and I do not think I would obey some sort of law. It would be hard to apply such a law I guess I know that in Norway they have something similar. But throughout the years I think there was only one case, but that was because a guy publicly announced that he visited a brothel in Estonia or something. So that was an easy way to find out! I truly think they just want to send out a message with this law. It clearly is symbolic.

(Diederik, Swedish, 40+)

Most ideas of the men on this extraterritorial law reflect the ideas of Diederik, it is 'symbolic' and 'based on a morality' and clearly built on the knowledge that men visit sex workers abroad: 'It is quite common even for Swedish men to go to Thailand, but how can they control this?' (Francis, Swedish, 35+).

The Swedish men would often make comparisons to other vices or different laws in comparison to a possible *sexköpslagen* 2.0, like drugs, speed limits on highways

and even the death penalties in the USA and the inability of enforcing an extraterritorial law.

You cannot even make a law like that. Every country has to decide what is illegal or not on their territory. That is a basic principle I guess, you would not do that with other laws would you? For example if I would smoke Marihuana in Amsterdam will they also make it illegal for me to do so? And what about the speed limits on highways in Germany?

(Simon, Swedish, 40+)

What becomes clear is that the Swedish men, when the *sexköpslagen* 2.0 will be enacted, they will not take this law seriously and the Swedish men are rather sceptical about the enforcements of such laws.

These reflexive accounts presented in the previous two sections have paved the way for the last and final section of this thesis, wherein the contexts of Sweden and the Netherlands and the processes of paying for sexual services are presented in relation to the initial research question of this study. Nevertheless, the 'what ifs' described in Chapter 8.1 and Chapter 8.2 will not be taken into account when making conclusions on the main research question of this thesis on 'how' men are governmentalized in the Swedish and Dutch discourses when paying for sexual services. However, the 'what ifs' will be discussed when making suggestions for further research.

9.1 Conclusion

Who, Why, How Many?

Sex work – or ‘prostitution’ in policy jargon – is one of the most contentious issues in Europe. In international debates on prostitution policy regimes, the case of Sweden, where the purchase of sex is criminalized and selling sex is not, receives full attention since it was the first country in Europe to partially criminalize prostitution. The Netherlands is often depicted as the opposite of Sweden since it ‘legalized’ sex work by revoking the ban on brothels. While throughout this thesis I have contested both these assumptions European Union member states are debating whether or not to adopt the Swedish sex purchase ban. This thesis therefore emphasized establishing a wider perspective on the influence of these seemingly opposite regimes from the perspective of those that that are, like sex workers influenced by the law: the clients, buyers, customers or consumers.

Whilst the literature on sex work has grown tremendously the past decades, resulting in various analyses of different aspects of sex work around the globe, a disproportionate small part has been carried out on clients. There are no recent figures, but it has been estimated by Perkins in 1991 that only 1% of the research carried out on sex work has been conducted on heterosexual men that pay for sexual services. This estimation was before the Netherlands and Sweden changed their prostitution policy regimes, but it is very safe to say that research on clients does not have a proportionate share in sex work research. This lack of research results in a limited perspective on sex work. The research that has been carried out often involved questions about ‘who’ these men were that pay for sexual services and ‘why’ they paid for sex. Answers to these questions often evolved into a share of their demographic aspects and client typologies.

Academia, political authorities and other institutions have all been interested in generating knowledge on ‘how many men’ have paid for sex in a given year or a wider time period.

Hidden prostitution

Since the changes in prostitution regimes throughout Europe, and in Sweden and the Netherlands in particular, Governmental and NGO reports have tried to assess evidence that could relate to an effect of these changes in legislation on a decrease or increase of prostitution and their relations to criminal activities like human trafficking. These reports are not easy to assess given that the heterosexual men who pay for sex as well as the women that sell sexual services are a very hidden population. These reports can therefore be interpreted in various ways. Although there are reports, for example a report conducted by the Swedish Social Board (Social Styrelsen) in 2007 that describes that they cannot give an unambiguous answer to the question if, since the enactment of the Swedish sex purchase ban, prostitution has decreased, at most they said they could:

[D]iscern that street prostitution is slowly returning, after swiftly disappearing in the wake of the law against purchasing sexual services. But as said, that refers to street prostitution, which is its most obvious manifestation. With regard to increases and decreases in other areas of prostitution – ‘hidden prostitution’ – we are even less able to make any statements.

(Social Styrelsen, 2007: 63).

What the Swedish Social Board exactly means with hidden prostitution is not made clear. What we can understand from this perspective of the Swedish social board is that (a) we cannot make any sharp conclusions if prostitution has increased or decreased; (b) there is a hidden population and (c) there is a lack of knowledge about this hidden population.

Law, spatial and technological displacements

While the idea that the law has changed the (purchase) behaviour and means by which clients contact sex workers is widespread there is no constructive research describing the relationship between law, and spatial and technological displacements, especially in the Netherlands, Sweden and abroad. In this thesis these relationships are addressed while asking ‘how’ men pay or are able to pay

for sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands. It is emphasized that laws alone do not make up prostitution policy and emphasis should be placed on those who implement policies and those who enact them and how (heteronormative) norms and discourses are (re)produced that approve either the regulation or criminalization of sex work. Throughout this thesis I have tried to complicate the relationship between clients and repressive and restrictive discourses, or regimes, that heterosexual men (and the wider populations) are exposed to and controlled by being very descriptive about their processes and deliberations of paying for sexual services.

Law is dispersed and pervasive

According to Foucault law should not be examined by law itself but from the perspective of power relations. And power should not be perceived as (solely) restrictive or dominating, but dispersed and pervasive, creating specific discursive formations: semantic perspectives on common vocabulary that produces or reproduces specific discourses. Foucault's concept of governmentality is therefore perceived as a productive analytical tool. Although Foucault never seems to have developed one single clear definition of governmentality, the broadest definition is as follows:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatus of security.

(Foucault in: Burchell et al., 1991: 87)

A more dense definition would be 'the ethical relation of self-to-self concerning strategies for the direction of conduct of free individuals' (Foucault, 1988b: 19-20). This is a definition that he developed during his work on the History of Sexuality. Therefore instead of asking 'who', 'why' and 'how many' pay for sex the main question of this thesis involves asking 'how' men (are able to) pay for sexual

services in a country that has repressive or restrictive prostitution policy regimes. I became interested if we could speak of certain 'governmentalities' that would have an influence on the behaviours of clients. From soliciting for sex workers through the relationship with sex workers and the society they are embedded in. The main question that guides this dissertation is: How do prostitution policies in the Netherlands and Sweden govern the behaviour of heterosexual men who purchase sexual services? To be able to answer this question, besides my general perspective that sex work research should be contextualized, I placed an emphasis on describing a path dependency of the genealogical accounts of prostitution policies in the Netherlands and Sweden.

Sex is violence

Since the early 1960s 'prostitution' was considered the most important social problem of all (Svanström, 2006) these ideas were fed by the desire that was manifested in Swedish culture from the 1930s onwards, namely to achieve a 'folkhem' – a people's home – to build a strong and prosperous welfare state. During the late 1950s and 1960s the main focus of feminist political activity was placed upon the ability to increase Swedish female labour market participation by advocating for policies like parental leave and state funded childcare facilities (Harrington, 2012: 344). This Swedish woman-friendly welfare state would rely on gender equality through their labour market participation as well as men's entry into the home as care providers. These thoughts were, according to Yttergren and Westerstrand, combined with a sexual politics of 'free and equal sex' to suggest that men and women were in essence alike and in need of the same rights and benefits.

Since 'prostitution' was not perceived as a job to maintain a living it was perpetuating gender inequality (Yttergren and Westerstrand, 2016: 48). It was through these insights that prostitution came to be considered as the most important social problem of all time (Svanström, 2006). The first commissioned report on prostitution was developed in the mid-1970s and concluded that prostitution was inextricable from patriarchal gender relations (Svanström, 2004: 227). After decades of lobbying of members of parliament by women's movements

the Swedish sex purchase ban was enacted on the 1st of January 1999 wherein men were held responsible for their immoral behaviour. It was suggested that by addressing the root cause of prostitution i.e. 'men that buy sex' prostitution would decrease. The law had two main intentions: it would fight against and decrease the prevalence of prostitution in Sweden. And secondly, to establish a norm that condemns men who 'buy female bodies' for their own pleasure (SOU, 2010: 49). According to Månsson (2002) the *sexköpslagen* presupposes that a real change in gender relations calls for a radical consideration of men's responsibility for prostitution. Prostitution became the epitome of the objectification and commodification of women's bodies in Swedish society and it was – and is – seen that no woman could consent to selling 'her body'.

Sex work is work

In sharp contrast to the Swedish feminist perspectives Dutch feminists in the 1970s and 1980s developed a pro-sex work position. These perspectives on women's self-determination, as opposed to perceiving all prostitution as a form of violence, were developed during the first world whore congress in Amsterdam, in 1985. During this convention it was the first time a clear distinction was made between 'forced' and 'voluntary' forms of prostitution. By making this clear distinction they opposed the notion that all sex workers were victims. This distinction was made in cooperation with sex workers and other stakeholders. Combining multiple perspectives on decision-making processes based on a long history of polder politics and a regulated tolerance where brothels in larger cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam were condoned without official legislation. While several bills had been drafted in the 1980s to lift the ban on brothels to give cities the appropriate administrative tools to tackle the problems they were facing with a rise in sex work, they were blocked several times by the influence of the Christian Democrats. It took until October 2000 that the new bill was enacted and the brothel ban was repealed. With the disappearance of the ban on brothels from the criminal code the Dutch parliament legalized the ownership and management of sex facilities from then onward. It set out four distinct but interrelated goals: (1) to separate voluntary from forced prostitution' (2) 'protect'⁶⁶ the position of

sex workers; (3) fight trafficking and all possible other crimes associated with prostitution; (4) prevent prostitution among minors (Wagenaar et al., 2017: 87).

Until now the laws of Sweden and the Netherlands have not been changed, but several drafts of the 'Law on regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry' have been written in the Netherlands according to which clients would be obliged to report it if they come across any possible forms of abuse (Outshoorn, 2012: 223). And the Swedish women's movement ROKS (*Riksorgan för Kvinnojourer et Tjejjourer i Sverige*) the National Organization for Women's Shelters has been pushing for a *sexköpslagen* 2.0, which would make the *sexköpslagen* extraterritorial. This is, in short the genealogy of the different prostitution regimes in the Netherlands and Sweden, as elaborated in depth in Chapter 3, wherein the men who pay for sexual services are embedded. That is, when they would pay for sex in their own countries.

Resonating with discourses

Drawing on 44 interviews, evenly distributed between Swedish and Dutch heterosexual, (upper-)middle class white men, supplemented by online questionnaires and material found online on specific forums, the 'how' is addressed with reference to the men's own narratives and reflexive accounts. These reflexive accounts are situated in the discourses of paying for sex in Sweden and the Netherlands. Nevertheless as just elaborated, the law is never a stand-alone. By elaborating the intra-psychic and interpersonal levels, analytical concepts from the sexual script theory of Simon and Gagnon, in the process of becoming a sex buyer the personal mental (intra-psychic) processes and interactions with the sex workers revealed that their online as well as their offline movements resonate with the restrictive and repressive discourses when choices were made on where to go, abroad or in their home country and the importance of becoming a regular client. It became apparent that the Swedish men and the Dutch often stood in sharp contrast to each other. The deliberations of the Dutch men clearly echoed a sex work is work rhetoric while the Swedes often perceived the sex workers as potential victims.

Regret, deception and guilt

Taken together, Chapters 5 and 6 have set out the processes of becoming a client and the steps they take to gain more knowledge about the (international) fields in order to find what they might be looking for. Interestingly, the overall majority of both the Swedish and Dutch men visited a Red Light District for their first paid sexual encounter, and both Swedish and Dutch men were disappointed by the fast pace of these encounters. Nevertheless, while the Dutch men regretted the encounter because they had higher expectations, or thought they were misled. The first thoughts of the Swedish men were about the financial constraints of the women working in window brothels that at least had to have a certain number of clients to break even considering the high costs of renting a window. After these disappointing experiences, the Internet was for most their next step to go, to be better prepared for a next time and do their 'homework' properly by browsing through and screening advertisements, reading field reports from other clients, making spreadsheets of women they might be interested in and getting into contact with other (prospective) clients and sex workers. Similarly when looking at advertisements and reading field reports the thoughts of the Swedes first went out to the women, they screened the women not only on their possible looks, but also to make sure that they were not being forced to work; they preferred independent Swedish women for whom sex work should not be their main source of income and there should be no drugs and/or alcohol involved.

Furthermore, when meeting a woman they were very curious why she chose sex work as a profession and would worry if she would even only slightly give the impression that she did not like her job. On many occasions they asked women these question directly. As if they would feel better or even less guilty about the criminal act – when in Sweden – that they were about to commit.

While the Dutch used similar screening techniques and disclosed that they did not like to meet Eastern European women, this was not because of the idea that they might be forced, maltreated or work under bad circumstances. They were afraid that she might not be able to meet up with the expectations that her online picture generated. This would be a waste of their time and money.

Rate a woman

Other recent studies like Scaramuzzino (2012) and Horswill and Weitzer (2016) also 'lurked' around on the Internet to analyse the topics that (prospective) 'sex buyers' talk about on specific forums as well as what kind of information is shared between novices and seasoned clients. I asked all my interviewees if they read and write reviews and field reports. Interestingly, both Swedish and Dutch men were often reluctant to write a review because it felt bad to 'rate a woman'. According to the Dutch men this became especially uncomfortable when the service did not meet their expectations, should they then write about their experience to warn other prospective clients or should they keep silent because it might ruin her [the sex worker's] business? The most heard deliberations of the Swedes were that they were afraid what others might think of them. Although for some Dutch men writing a review might be an emotional outlet, they wrote reviews first and foremost to enhance the credibility of the sex worker so she could attract more customers.

Gangbang

Where the Dutch men often seemed consumer driven, making comparisons with other consumer goods and being calculative, the Swedes still needed confirmation that they were not harming the other. This different behaviour is further supported by the distinctive trends that Swedish and Dutch men seem to prefer when paying for sexual services in their own country. In the Netherlands I have met many men who, besides visiting other kind of venues or independent sex workers, occasionally visit Gangbang events. These events are hosted throughout the country and can best be described as an event that is attended by more men than women and where a fee is paid that covers entry, food and drinks as well as sex with the women that are present. It was also used as a means to get into contact with women that also work independently besides the fact that they might frequently attend a Gangbang event.

Sugar Dating

In Sweden where an even higher premise lays on having a regular sex worker, Sugar Dating is desired. Sugar Dating is based on a mutual financial agreement, but as shown in Chapter 6, sometimes these relationships resolve into open-ended forms of 'prostitution' when money is not the main reason why these women would meet the men and when money can also be paid at other times whether they meet or not. Sugar Dating is the example par excellence where the encounter with the sex worker takes on the form of a 'relationship' based on mutual consent and agreements. Furthermore, although there is always some kind of money involved, whether paid directly, later or in the form of monthly allowances, the way that these men explained it to me it was not the main source of income for the women they meet. Given the discourse in Sweden where paying for sex is considered a crime where men take advantage of women and commodify their bodies, Sugar Dating seems a safe way to pay for sexual services, at least to reassure themselves. Many men problematized the idea of 'commodifying' a woman's body, not really knowing if they should have or be able to have sex without feelings. As Morten elaborates

[...] If you make love and things like that with porn and prostitution it is treated as a commodity that is sold. You diminish it and automatically reduce the value of it. So yes, of course we can have porn movies and pictures of nude girls, but when it is made into a commodity to be sold just like anything else on the market I am simply not sure if I can still agree with that.

(Morten, Swedish, 55+)

In Chapter 6 I have resonated the difference between commoditization and commodification, suggesting that where the Swedish men problematize the commodification of the female body. Where commodification in this aspect refers to the commercialization of a body that should not, by nature, be perceived as a commodity. The Dutch men however, very often seem to disconnect the body of the sex worker from the sexual services she provides and do treat sex as isolable commodities and services. According to them sex work is work, and one needs to do a good job doing it.

Reproducing subjectivities

In Chapter 7 some of the cultural manifestations in Sweden and the Netherlands were elaborated on what it means to be a client when you do not obey the repressive and restrictive rules. In Sweden you are a criminal that should get caught. When in the county of Stockholm a special police task force was formed in 2009 that describe their law enforcement activities as a success when they were able to double the number of men that they could be 'caught in the act' the actual enforcement seems to be purely symbolic, especially when only fines are handed out that are income depended. Although many men were not afraid of getting caught, it is not the fine that would scare them but the possible loss of their status when their spouse or employer would find out. When men get caught in Sweden 'help' is offered in the form of counselling or therapy. While social workers try to be 'objective' they are part of the Swedish discourse and often reproduce the current discursive formations on what prostitution entails to their clients. Like one of the social workers in Stockholm clearly has very specific ideas about 'prostitution' that resemble the general discourse in Sweden:

Sometimes you have to get through to them. Because buying sex is a whole person actually. It is not the gender; the whole body is there. When you buy a prostitute, these are women that are so damaged; they have to close down everything when they work. Their brain, their body, they shut down from society. You can understand that they are damaged. And then these men they might not feel good about that, but they are meeting them [the sex worker] anyway.

(social worker Stockholm)

Furthermore, these social workers work together with the police and other government authorities and draw on the knowledge derived from their clients, which further reproduces and regulates them as subjects with deviant behaviour. Their current media campaign 'You decide!' ('Du afgör!') is an example where men that pay for sexual services are warned that because of their reckless behaviour they maintain a market in which women are forced and exploited. Furthermore, this campaign is not only to hold men that pay for sex accountable by pointing out

their personal responsibilities to society, but the campaign is also a means to get into contact with these men.

In the Netherlands the media exploded when 29 men were caught having had sex with a 16-year-old girl who sold sex from a hotel in Valkenburg. This case is known as the Valkenburg case. This case was widely discussed by my interviewees because when the suspects' identities were shared on the Internet, which resulted in two suicides, they lost faith in all government authorities.

By means of the above examples on three distinctive though interrelated levels and by emphasizing the resonance of discourses that are present during all the deliberations that Swedish and Dutch men made, it has been shown that Dutch and Swedish men have different 'governmentalities' when they make a constant criss-crossing of connections between the government of oneself and the social. Although the Swedish men do pay for sex they make choices that are based on the knowledge they have derived from the discursive formations about what prostitution is according to Swedish society. The Dutch men, who are clearly consumer led, have internalized the distinction between forced and voluntary forms of prostitution very well, nevertheless, they were often confused when they perceive sex work as work, but the general society does not, because of the current abolitionist wave in the Netherlands.

Contributions

With this thesis I have been able to address the importance of contextualizing sex work to understand the complexities of sex work. This was undertaken in order to understand the law, and the power of the law from the perspective of the subject, as well as to give agency to a marginalized group whose stories are rarely heard. Given the interest of several European Union member states including the Netherlands that shared their interests in developing prostitution policies that are based on the Swedish Sex Purchase Act, context and the development of the discursive formations of how 'prostitution' is perceived in a given country is indispensable knowledge.

Additionally this thesis contributes to a wider understanding of online (technical) and offline (spatial) displacements of clients. The global (spatial)

displacements have been shown to be more complex when it is an interrelated set of push and pull factors that enable men to go abroad. They not only go abroad because they are law-abiding citizens, but are also pulled by the professionalization of sex work in other countries, touring sex workers and the work trips that offer the opportunity to combine work with leisure. For the first time online displacements have been addressed by men who are not actively contributing to the online communities themselves. This study indicated that 'passive readers' make use of various functions that specific sex webpages have to offer, but often have specific reasons not to contribute. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to an understanding of specific displacement in the services that are available and/or are becoming widely available.

Discussion: Giving voice

One of the personal aims of this dissertation was to give voice to an under-researched and marginalized population, clients. In Chapter 4 I have elaborated that I placed an emphasis on the anonymity of my interviewees by the usage of pseudonyms as well as staying in contact with many of them by means of close rapport. I never needed to know their names; I wanted to hear their stories. Not surprisingly, their voice is often missing in current decision-making processes on law proposals. Yet this has not always been the case since in the Netherlands in the 1990s there was the Foundation man, woman and prostitution (Stichting man, vrouw en prostitutie). Given the knowledge that especially the Dutch men shared throughout these chapters valuable information from possible human trafficking in Zwolle and The Hague and the perverse and jeopardizing effects if the 'Law on regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry' would be enacted. I would therefore like to end this dissertation with the suggestion to, in current debates on sex work, listen more to the voices of clients.

9.2 English Summary

In the light of increasing debates throughout European Union member states to criminalize the purchase of sex, this dissertation desires to contribute to the academic knowledge on sex work, specifically the knowledge on heterosexual male clients of sex workers, a field that only takes up 1% of the studies that have been carried out on sex work. Those studies that have been carried out on clients often haphazardly (re)create client typologies perceiving the identity of men that pay for sexual services - often condescendingly described as 'the John' - as a fixed, trans-historical and trans-national entity. Instead of asking why men pay for sexual services this thesis addresses 'how' men pay for sexual services.

Drawing on 44 interviews, evenly distributed on heterosexual Swedish and Dutch (upper)middle class white men, supplemented by online questionnaires and material found online on specific forums, the 'how' is addressed with reference to the men's own narratives and reflexive accounts. These reflexive accounts are situated in the discourses of paying for sex in Sweden, where the purchase is criminalized and in the Netherlands where the purchase is regulated. Throughout this dissertation it has been claimed that from the position and perspectives of the clients these two countries are not and should not be perceived as having oppositional prostitution policy regimes.

Furthermore, based on the specific genealogies of the prostitution regimes in Sweden and the Netherlands it has been brought to light that the 'problems' of prostitution need to be contextualized as they vary over time and space. The repeal of the brothel ban was enacted after years of lobbying from women's movements in cooperation with other stakeholders, where sex workers also had a voice during decision-making processes. These decision-making processes were based on a history of regulated tolerance and 'polder politics'. The result of these extensive lobbying was a clear differentiation between forced and voluntary forms of 'prostitution' and a sex work is work rhetoric. In contrast, Swedish politics were influenced by a politics based on social engineering to achieve a '*folkhem*'. Wherein prostitution was perceived as male violence perpetuating gender inequality. However, current positions have changed. In the Netherlands the separation between forced and voluntary has become blurry and in Sweden

prostitution has become conflated with human trafficking. Nevertheless, men are held responsible and prostitution is perceived to be a problem of male sexuality in Sweden. It therefore seems misleading if one would perceive sex work as 'the oldest profession of the world', since it does not take the complexities of sex work in to account. Sex work is always in motion, subject to change and redefinition. The described knowledge, ways of speaking and truth claims together form specific discursive formations about how prostitution is perceived in these countries. This is the reason that the concept of governmentality from Foucault (1978) has been taken as the main analytical tool of this dissertation to connect the macro strategies of political power with the micro effects of the purchase behaviour of men that pay for sexual services. This is achieved by linking governing and the modes of thought of the men who pay for sexual services. The main research question is: How do prostitution policies in the Netherlands and Sweden govern the behaviour of heterosexual men who purchase sexual services? Given the inductive nature of this thesis and the (almost) unstructured interviews that were solely structured by four key points, experience, sex, policies and media, the research was able to address more questions and gain more insights than planned or desired.

Far beyond trying to make an effort in calculating or making concluding remarks whether there might have been an increase when paying for sex is regulated, or a decrease when paying for sex is criminalized, this thesis uncovers and unravels the complex processes of becoming a client by the multitude of strategies that Swedish and Dutch men employ. What becomes apparent is that after most of the men that have been interviewed were disappointed with the services offered at Red Light Districts they turned their gaze to the Internet. According to them 'It is all about the Internet.'

In three separate, but interrelated Chapters these processes of becoming a client are addressed along the levels of culture, interpersonal relations and intra-psychic deliberations in which norms and heterosexual scripts take place. These three levels are derived from the well-known script theory of Simon and Gagnon (1990). Where the scripts play an important part at the intra-psychic level on how the self produces specific desires and compel one to act in a certain way. The interpersonal level operates at the level of social interaction and the acceptance

of specific scripts in reproducing (or transforming or finding exceptions to) specific heteronormative structures and the level of the culture are the guiding principles of what is sexually permitted to make sense of individual experiences. Because of the Foucauldian perspective that power and therefore norms are omnipresent there is an interplay between all levels; nevertheless, the chapters follow more or less the structure of the 'intra-psychic', 'interpersonal' and 'cultural'.

In Chapter 5 where these intra-psychic deliberations are addressed the role of the Internet is elaborated by addressing the functions that the online activities have from browsing through advertisements, and screening prospective sex workers to the constant streams of information where (prospective) 'sex buyers' inform other (prospective) 'sex buyers' about the online netiquette, the facilities that are available nationally and internationally and specifically in the case of the Dutch men reviews are written as a marketing strategy to attract new clients for sex workers. In this fifth chapter the first differences between the Swedish and Dutch men become perceptible. Although the Dutch and Swedes may employ similar screening strategies, the reasons why they employ them vary. Where the Swedish men screen advertisements and field reports to make sure the women are working under good circumstances, most preferably independently and without any kind of force, Dutch men employ the same tactics to make sure that the women they might be interested in will live up to their desires and the expectations that the women are creating with their online advertisements.

Throughout their reflections it became evident that the Dutch men employ a *sex work is work* rhetoric through their online quests and the Swedish men first screen a woman to ensure that she works voluntarily, works under the right circumstances and earns enough money. Additionally this money should be earned to generate extra income for a better standard of living and not be her main source of income.

The Dutch men are quite calculative in their descriptions when they consult sex workers and often seem to be led by a consumer driven behaviour. This does not necessarily mean that they went for bargains, but for a fair relation between price and value. This price quality ratio is one of the main reasons of the popularity of Gangbangs in the Netherlands as well as the chance to take one's

time and not be forced into something one might regret. In Chapter 6, where the interpersonal relation with sex workers is addressed by means of reflecting on their communication with sex workers, heteronormative courting rituals take place that resemble heteronormative scripts that have a lot in common with those in a more conventional relationships.

These courting rituals are very present in the trend of Sugar Dating in Sweden, which is addressed in Chapter 6 where the interpersonal level of norms is elaborated. Sugar Dating often facilitated by dating websites could be seen as quite the opposite of Gangbangs when it is described as having 'more of a girlfriend' where sex is reciprocal and the relationship is built on mutual agreement. These trends, Gangbangs in the Netherlands and Sugar Dating in Sweden, occur in their home countries, nevertheless, a large proportion of the Swedish and Dutch men visit sex workers abroad with the overall majority visiting FKK and sauna clubs in Germany. While the Dutch men are attracted to the quality and the pace of the encounters the Swedes go abroad because they perceive themselves as law-abiding men.

In Chapter 7 where the cultural level is described with respect to media outlets and law enforcement it is shown that both Swedish and Dutch men are sceptical about the authorities. Especially in the case of Sweden where social workers together with law enforcements draw on the knowledge derived from either talking with clients or by placing entrapments to enhance their policies to further re-create and regulate subjectivities of the deviant 'sex buyer'.

With all the knowledge the men have gained over the years, online, offline and abroad, paying for sexual services makes them very tentative about the jeopardizing and perverse effects of national and local policies and specifically the law proposals in both countries. Where the Dutch are afraid that the new law proposal, the 'Law on regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry' would result in a retaliatory law enabling men to take advantage of filing reports at the expense of sex workers to take revenge on them when their expectations were not met. Additionally, the Swedish men approach the proposed *sexköpslagen 2.0* as further inducing the morality politics present in their country. As this thesis has shown, irrespective of the laws and legislative environment, online and offline displacements take place on a global scale, whilst it is because

of the genealogy of the prostitution regimes how specific trends are occurring on a national scale. Additionally, the national discourses work as power techniques that govern the modes of thought of both the Swedish and Dutch men that pay for sexual services whether in their own country or abroad.

9.3 Nederlandse samenvatting

Ten tijde van de toenemende discussies in de lidstaten van de Europese Unie om het betalen voor seks strafbaar te stellen, wenst dit proefschrift een bijdrage te leveren aan de academische kennis over seks werk. Het wenst met name de kennis te verbreden over heteroseksuele mannelijke klanten van sekswerkers, een onderzoeksgebied dat slechts 1% beslaat van de studies die zijn uitgevoerd over seks werk. En de studies die er zijn (re)produceren vaak klanttypologieën, en beschrijven mannen die betalen voor seksuele diensten neerbuigend als *'the John'* en het hebben van een vaste, transhistorische en transnationale identiteit. Zulke simplistische benaderingen hebben geen oog voor de complexe realiteit waarin het betalen voor seksuele diensten zich afspeelt. In plaats van te vragen 'waarom' mannen betalen voor seksuele diensten, gaat dit proefschrift in op de vraag 'hoe' mannen betalen voor seksuele diensten.

Op basis van 44 interviews van Zweedse en Nederlandse heteroseksuele, hoger opgeleide, blanke mannen uit de middenklasse wordt het 'hoe' besproken met verwijzing naar de eigen verhalen en reflecties van deze mannen. Deze beschrijvingen worden tevens bijgestaan door informatie verkregen uit online vragenlijsten en kennis dat vergaart is van specifieke online fora. Deze reflexieve beschrijvingen worden beschreven vanuit een bepaalde heersende discours voor het betalen voor seks in Zweden, waar het betalen voor seksuele diensten wordt gecriminaliseerd, en in Nederland waar het betalen voor seksuele diensten wordt gereguleerd. In dit proefschrift wordt beweerd dat vanuit de positie en perspectieven van deze clientèle de prostitutie regimes in Zweden en Nederland helemaal niet gezien kunnen of mogen worden als elkaars tegenpolen .

Verder is op basis van de specifieke genealogieën van de prostitutieregimes in Zweden en Nederland aan het licht gebracht dat de 'problemen' van prostitutie altijd moeten worden beschreven vanuit de specifieke context waarin deze plaatsvinden omdat prostitutie door de jaren heen verandert. De opheffing van het bordeelverbod in Nederland vond plaats na jarenlang lobbyen vanuit vrouwenorganisaties in samenwerking met andere belanghebbende partijen, tijdens de besluitvormingsprocessen hadden ook sekswerkers een stem. Deze besluitvormingsprocessen waren gebaseerd op een geschiedenis van

gereguleerde tolerantie en 'polderpolitiek'. Het resultaat van deze uitgebreide lobby activiteiten was een duidelijk onderscheid tussen gedwongen en vrijwillige vormen van 'prostitutie' en een *seks werk is werk* retoriek. De Zweedse politiek daarentegen werd beïnvloed door een op maatschappelijke maakbaarheid gebaseerde politiek om een '*folkhemm*', een thuis voor alle burgers, te bereiken. Binnen dit discours wordt prostitutie beschouwd als mannelijk geweld tegen vrouwen dat genderongelijkheid bestendigd. De huidige situaties zijn echter veranderd. In Nederland is de scheiding tussen de gedwongen en vrijwillige vormen wazig geworden en in Zweden is prostitutie verweven geraakt met mensensmokkel. Desalniettemin is de perceptie in Zweden dat mannen verantwoordelijk zijn en dat prostitutie een probleem van mannelijke seksualiteit is. Het lijkt daarom misleidend als men seks werk als 'het oudste beroep ter wereld' beschouwt omdat dit geen rekening houdt met de complexiteiten van seks werk. Seks werk is altijd in beweging, onderhevig aan verandering en herdefiniëring. De beschreven kennis, het taalgebruik en de waarheidsbeschrijvingen vormen samen specifieke discursieve formaties aangaande hoe seks werk in deze landen wordt gezien. Dit is de reden dat het concept van *governmentality* van Foucault (1978) is gebruikt als het belangrijkste analytische concept van dit proefschrift om de macrostrategieën van politieke macht te verbinden met de micro-effecten van het koopgedrag van mannen die betalen voor seksuele diensten. Dit wordt bereikt door het verbinden van overheid en de denkwijzen van de mannen die betalen voor seksuele diensten. De belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag is: Hoe dirigeert het prostitutie beleid in Nederland en Zweden het gedrag van heteroseksuele mannen die betalen voor seksuele diensten? Gezien het inductieve karakter van dit proefschrift en de (bijna) ongestructureerde interviews die uitsluitend waren gestructureerd door de vier kernpunten, ervaring, seks, beleid en media, kon het onderzoek meer vragen beantwoorden en meer inzichten verkrijgen dan vooropgesteld gepland of gewenst was.

Dit proefschrift gaat verder dan een poging te doen om bepaalde cijfers in kaart te brengen of concluderende opmerkingen te maken of er misschien sprake kan zijn van een toename van seks werk is wanneer seks tegen betaling wordt gereguleerd, of een afname van wanneer het betalen voor seks wordt

gecriminaliseerd. Dit proefschrift onthult en ontrafelt de complexe processen voor het betalen van seksuele dienstverlening aan de hand van de veelvoud van strategieën die Zweedse en Nederlandse mannen gebruiken om klant te worden. Wat duidelijk wordt, is dat nadat de meeste geïnterviewde mannen teleurgesteld raakten over de diensten die in Rosse Buurten worden aangeboden, zij hun blik op het internet richtten. Volgens hen 'draait alles om het internet'.

In drie afzonderlijke, maar onderling verwante hoofdstukken worden deze processen om een cliënt te worden aangesproken op de niveaus van cultuur, interpersoonlijke relaties en intrapsychische overwegingen waarin normen en heteroseksuele scripts plaatsvinden. Deze drie niveaus zijn afgeleid van de welbekende scripttheorie van Simon en Gagnon (1990), waarin de scripts een belangrijke rol spelen op het intrapsychische niveau over hoe het psychische zelf specifieke verlangens produceert en iemand dwingt om zich op een bepaalde manier te gedragen. Het interpersoonlijk niveau fungeert op het niveau van sociale interactie en de acceptatie van specifieke scripts bij het reproduceren (of transformeren of vinden van uitzonderingen op) specifieke hetero normatieve structuren om vervolgens betekenis te geven aan individuele ervaringen. Vanwege het Foucauldiaanse perspectief dat macht en dus normen alomtegenwoordig zijn, is er een wisselwerking tussen alle drie niveaus; desalniettemin volgen de hoofdstukken min of meer de structuur van het 'intrapsychische', 'interpersoonlijke' en 'culturele' scripten.

In hoofdstuk 5, waarin deze intrapsychische overwegingen worden behandeld, wordt de rol van het internet uitgewerkt door de functies die de online-activiteiten hebben, vanaf het browsen door advertenties en het screenen van potentiële seks werkers tot de constante informatiestromen waar (prospectieve) 'sekskopers' andere (prospectieve) 'sekskopers' informeren over de online etiquette, de faciliteiten die nationaal en internationaal beschikbaar zijn en in het bijzonder de recensies die de Nederlandse mannen schrijven als zijnde marketingstrategieën om nieuwe klanten voor seks werkers te werven. In dit vijfde hoofdstuk worden de eerste verschillen tussen de Zweedse en Nederlandse mannen waarneembaar.

Ondanks dat de Nederlandse en Zweedse mannen vergelijkbare screeningstrategieën kunnen hanteren, variëren de redenen waarom ze die

gebruiken. Waar de Zweedse mannen advertenties en veldrapporten screenen om er zeker van te zijn dat de vrouwen onder goede omstandigheden werken, liefst onafhankelijk en zonder enige vorm van geweld, gebruiken Nederlandse mannen dezelfde tactieken om ervoor te zorgen dat de vrouwen waarin ze mogelijk geïnteresseerd zijn aan de wensen en verwachtingen die de vrouwen met hun online advertenties creëren zullen voldoen.

Tijdens hun reflecties werd het duidelijk dat de Nederlandse mannen een *seks werk is werk* retoriek gebruiken via hun online zoektochten en de Zweedse mannen eerst een vrouw screenen om ervoor te zorgen dat ze vrijwillig werkt, onder de juiste omstandigheden en genoeg geld verdient. Bovendien moet dit geld worden verdiend om extra inkomsten te genereren voor een betere levensstandaard en mag het niet haar voornaamste bron van inkomsten zijn.

De Nederlandse mannen zijn nogal berekenend in hun beschrijvingen wanneer ze online rapporten over seks werkers raadplegen en lijken vaak te worden geleid door een vorm van consumentisme. Dit betekent niet noodzakelijkerwijs dat ze voor de koopjes gaan, maar voor een eerlijke relatie tussen prijs en waarde. Deze prijskwaliteitsverhouding is een van de belangrijkste redenen voor de populariteit van Gangbangs in Nederland, evenals de kans om de tijd te nemen en zich niet te laten dwingen tot iets waar men spijt van kan krijgen. In hoofdstuk 6, waar de interpersoonlijke relatie met seks werkers wordt beschreven door middel van reflectie op hun communicatie met seks werkers, vinden hetero normatieve rituelen van hofmakerij plaats die lijken op hetero normatieve scripts die veel gemeen hebben met conventionele relaties.

Deze rituelen van hof-maken zijn zeer aanwezig in de trend van Sugar Dating in Zweden, hetgeen in hoofdstuk 6 wordt behandeld waar het interpersoonlijke niveau van normen wordt beschreven. Sugar Dating, vaak bemiddeld via specifieke dating websites, kan worden gezien als het tegenovergestelde van Gangbangs wanneer het contact met de sekswerkers wordt vergeleken met het hebben van 'een vriendin' waarbij de seks wederkerig is en de relatie is gebaseerd op een wederzijdse overeenkomst. Deze trends, Gangbangs in Nederland en Sugar Dating in Zweden, komen in hun eigen landen voor, maar toch bezoekt een groot deel van de Zweedse en Nederlandse mannen seks werkers in het buitenland, waarbij de grote meerderheid FKK en saunaclubs in Duitsland

bezoekt. Terwijl de Nederlandse mannen zich aangetrokken voelen tot de kwaliteit en de gemoedelijkheid van de ontmoetingen, gaan de Zweden naar het buitenland omdat zij zichzelf zien als gezagsgetrouwe mannen.

In hoofdstuk 7, waar het culturele niveau wordt beschreven met betrekking tot media en rechtshandhaving, wordt aangetoond dat zowel Zweedse als Nederlandse mannen sceptisch tegenover de autoriteiten staan. Vooral in het geval van Zweden, waar maatschappelijk werkers samen met wetshandhavingsagenten gebruik maken van de kennis die is verkregen uit het praten met klanten of door het plaatsen van valstrikken om hun beleid te versterken en om zodoende de subjectiviteiten van de deviante 'seks koper' verder te reproduceren en te reguleren.

Met al de kennis die de mannen in de loop der jaren hebben opgedaan, online, offline en in het buitenland, maakt het betalen voor seksuele diensten hen alert over de mogelijke risico's en perverse effecten van nationaal en lokaal beleid en in het bijzonder de wetsvoorstellen in beide landen. Waar de Nederlanders bang zijn dat het nieuwe wetsvoorstel, de 'wet op het reguleren van prostitutie en het opheffen van misbruik in de seksbranche' zou resulteren in een vergeldingswet die mannen in staat stelt om te profiteren van een meldingsplicht ten koste van sekswerkers om wraak op hen te nemen wanneer hun verwachtingen niet zouden worden vervuld. Bovendien benaderen de Zweedse mannen de voorgestelde *sexköpslagen* 2.0 als een verdere inductie van de moraliteitspolitiek die in hun land aanwezig is.

Zoals dit proefschrift heeft aangetoond, vinden, ongeacht de prostitutie regimes, online en offline verplaatsingen plaats op wereldwijde schaal. Daarnaast werken de nationale discoursen als geïnternaliseerde waarden die bepalend zijn voor de denkwijzen van zowel de Zweedse als Nederlandse mannen die betalen voor seksuele diensten, hetzij in hun eigen land of in het buitenland.

9.4 Svensksammanfattning

Mot bakgrund av de diskussioner som förs i EUs medlemsstater om att kriminalisera köp av sexuella tjänster har den här avhandlingen som övergripande mål att bidra till den akademiska kunskapen om sexarbete, särskilt då kunskapen om sexarbetares manliga heterosexuella kunder, vilka bara behandlats i en procent av all forskning om sexarbete. Forskningen om sexarbetarnas kunder har ofta (åter)skapat kundtypologier som beskriver män som betalar för sexuella tjänster – ofta nedlåtande beskrivna som 'torskar' – som en fixerad transhistorisk och transnationell människotyp. I stället för att fråga *varför* män betalar för sexuella tjänster vill denna avhandling svara på frågan *hur* män betalar för sexuella tjänster.

Avhandlingen baseras på 44 intervjuer, jämnt fördelade på vita heterosexuella svenska och nederländska män som tillhör medelklassen eller övre medelklassen, och dessutom på webbaserade frågeformulär och material från utvalda *online forum*, vilket tillåter den att behandla frågan 'hur' med hänvisning till männens egna berättelser och självreflexioner. Dessa självreflexioner är inskrivna i diskursen att betala för sex i Sverige, där köpet är kriminaliserat och i Nederländerna där inköpet är reglerat. Genom hela avhandlingen hävdas det att dessa två länder ur kundernas ställning och perspektiv inte är och inte borde uppfattas som motsatta prostitution politiska system.

Baserat på prostitution regimernas olika specifika genealogi i Sverige och Nederländerna har det blivit uppenbart att prostitutionens 'problem' måste kontextualiseras, eftersom de varierar över tid och rum. Upphävandet av bordellförbudet i Nederländerna fastställdes efter år av lobbying från kvinnorörelserna i samarbete med andra intressenter, där könsarbetare också gavs tillfälle att yttra sig under beslutsprocessen, en politisk process som vilar på en historia av reglerad tolerans och 'polderpolitik'. Resultatet av denna omfattande lobbying var en tydlig differentiering mellan tvångsmässiga och frivilliga former av 'prostitution' och en retorik som hävdar att sexarbete är arbete. Den svenska beslutsprocessen, däremot, bestämdes av en politik grundad i social ingenjörskonst för att bygga 'folkhemmet' – en politik där prostitution definierats som manligt våld som upprätthåller bristande jämställdhet mellan

könen. Nuvarande positioner har ändrats. I Nederländerna har åtskillnaden mellan ofrivilligt och frivilligt blivit oskarp och i Sverige har prostitution sammanblandats med människohandel. Men män hålls ändå ansvariga och i Sverige uppfattas prostitution som ett problem som i första hand rör manlig sexualitet. Det skulle därför vara vilseledande att definiera sexarbete som 'världens äldsta yrke', eftersom denna beteckning inte tar hänsyn till sexarbetets komplexitet. Sexarbete är alltid i rörelse och kan alltid ändras och omdefinieras. Olika kunskapskonstruktioner, sätt att tala och sanningskrav bildar tillsammans specifika diskursiva formationer kring representationen av prostitution i de båda länderna. Detta är anledningen till att begreppet governmentality från Foucault (1978) används som det viktigaste analytiska verktyget i denna avhandling, för att möjliggöra kopplingar mellan den politiska maktens makrostrategier och köp beteendets mikroeffekter hos män som betalar för sexuella tjänster. Detta uppnås genom att länka den politiska styrningen till de individuella sexköparnas tänkesätt. Huvudforskningsfrågan är: Hur styr prostitutionspolitiken i Nederländerna och Sverige beteendet hos de heterosexuella män som köper sexuella tjänster? Med tanke på avhandlingens induktiva karaktär och utformningen av de (nästan) ostrukturerade intervjuerna, som uteslutande styrdes av fyra huvudpunkter, erfarenhet, kön, politik och media, kunde forskningen behandla fler frågor och få fler insikter än som ursprungligen var planerat eller eftersträvat.

Avhandlingen går längre än att försöka klargöra om reglering av sexarbete, som i Nederländerna, leder till ökad verksamhet, eller om kriminalisering, som i Sverige, leder till en minskning. I stället avslöjar avhandlingen de komplexa processer som leder till att män blir 'sexköpare' genom att studera de många strategier som svenska och nederländska män använder sig av. Det som blir uppenbart är att de flesta män som har intervjuats har blivit besvikna över de tjänster som erbjuds i Red Light District, och därefter har vänt blicken mot Internet. Enligt dem 'Handlar det om internet numera.'

I tre separata men inbördes sammanhängande kapitel behandlas 'kundblivandets' processer på tre nivåer, nivån för intra-psykiska överläggningar, nivån för interpersonella relationer och den kulturella nivån. Dessa är härledda från Simon och Gagnons scripting-teori (1990) som beskriver hur normer och

heterosexuella skript utspelar sig på olika nivåer. På intra-psykisk nivå spelar skript en viktig roll för hur jaget producerar specifika önskningar och får en att agera på ett visst sätt. Den interpersonella nivån fungerar på den sociala interaktionens nivå och handlar om acceptans av specifika skript för att reproducera (eller omvandla eller hitta undantag till) specifika heteronormativa strukturer. På den kulturella nivån, slutligen, består skripten av vägledande principer för vad som är sexuellt tillåtet, vilket ger mening åt individuella erfarenheter. Genom av det Foucault-inspirerade perspektivet är makt, och därför normer, hela tiden närvarande i ett samspel mellan alla nivåer, men i stort sett är kapitlen strukturerade så att de i tur och ordning behandlar den intra-psykiska, interpersonella och kulturella nivån.

I kapitel 5, där intra-psykiska överläggningar behandlas, analyseras Internets roll genom att kartlägga online-aktiviteternas funktioner, från att bläddra genom annonser och screena potentiella sexarbetare till de kontinuerliga informationsströmmar där (potentiella) 'sexköpare' informerar andra (potentiella) 'sexköpare' om online-netiketten, de faciliteter som finns tillgängliga nationellt och internationellt och – specifikt när det gäller de nederländska männen – de recensioner som skrivs som en marknadsföringsstrategi för att locka nya kunder till sexarbetarna. I det femte kapitlet märks för första gången skillnader mellan svenska och nederländska män. För även om holländare och svenskar kan använda liknande screeningsstrategier varierar anledningarna att använda dem. Medan de svenska männen screenar annonser och kommentarfält för att kontrollera att kvinnorna arbetar under goda förhållanden, helst självständigt och utan någon form av tvång, så använder holländska män samma taktik för att säkerställa att de kvinnor som de är intresserade av kommer att leva upp till deras önskemål och till de förväntningarna som kvinnorna skapar med sina online-annonser. I deras reflektioner blev det uppenbart att de holländska männen använder en 'sexarbete är arbete'-retorik genom sina online-sökningar och att de svenska männen i första hand screenar en kvinna för att kontrollera att hon arbetar frivilligt, har bra arbetsförhållanden och tjänar tillräckligt med pengar. Dessutom bör dessa pengar vara till för att generera extra inkomster för höja hennes levnadsstandard och inte vara hennes huvudsakliga inkomstkälla.

De holländska männen är ganska beräknade i sina beskrivningar när de kontaktar sexarbetare och de verkar ofta ledas av ett konsumentdriven beteende. Detta betyder inte nödvändigtvis att de letar efter 'fynd', men att de eftersträvar ett rättvist förhållande mellan pris och värde. Detta pris- och kvalitetsmedvetande är en av de främsta orsakerna till att Gangbang evenemanger där flera kunder har sex med en sexarbetare, är populärt i Nederländerna, liksom möjligheten att ta sin tid och inte tvingas till något man kan ångra.

I kapitel 6, där det interpersonella förhållandet med sexarbetare behandlas genom att kunderna får reflektera över sin kommunikation med dem, beskrivs heteronormativa courtingritualer som liknar heteronormativa skript och har mycket gemensamt med dem i konventionella relationer.

Dessa courtingritualer är väldigt närvarande i Sugar Dating-trenden i Sverige, som också behandlas i kapitel 6 där den interpersonella nivån av normer behandlas. Sugar Dating, som ofta underlättas av specifika datingsidor, kan ses som motsatsen till gruppsex (Gangbang) när det beskrivs som att ha 'mer av en flickvän' där sexualiteten är ömsesidig och förhållandet bygger på ömsesidig överenskommelse. Dessa trender, Gangbang i Nederländerna och Sugar Dating i Sverige, förekommer i deras hemländer, men en stor del av de svenska och holländska männen anlitar också sexarbetare utomlands där den övergripande majoriteten besöker nudistklubbar (FKK) och bastuklubbar i Tyskland. Medan de holländska männen attraheras av kvaliteten och tempot i mötena, åker svenskarna utomlands för att de uppfattar sig som laglydiga.

Kapitel 7, där den kulturella nivån behandlas med avseende på medier och brottsbekämpning, visar att både svenska och nederländska män är skeptiska till myndigheterna. Särskilt i Sverige, där socialarbetare, polis och domstolar använder den kunskap som kommer från samtal med kunder eller från brottsprovokationer för att genomdriva prostitutionspolitiken och återskapa och reglera den avvikande 'sexköparen' som typ. Med all den kunskap som männen har fått genom åren, online, offline och utomlands, så gör det att de betalar för sexuella tjänster att de blir väldigt tveksamma till de skadliga och perversa effekterna av nationell och lokal politik och speciellt lagförslagen i båda länderna. Medan holländarna är rädda för att det nya lagförslaget, 'Lagen om reglering av prostitution och bekämpande av missbruk i sexindustrin' skulle resultera i en

utpressningslag som skulle göra det möjligt för män att anmäla missförhållanden för att hämnas på sexarbetare om deras förväntningar inte var uppfyllda, så anser de svenska männen att den föreslagna sexköpslagen 2.0 ytterligare skulle förstärka den moralpolitik som finns i deras land.

Som denna avhandling har visat sker online- och offline-förskjutningar i sexarbetet globalt, oberoende av lagar och lagstiftningskontext, medan det beror på prostitutionslagstiftningens genealogi hur specifika tendenser uppkommer i ett nationellt sammanhang. De nationella diskurserna fungerar dessutom som maktstrukturer som styr sättet att tänka för både svenska och nederländska män som betalar för sexuella tjänster, oavsett om de är i hemlandet eller utomlands.

9.5 Abstract in Italiano

Alla luce del crescente dibattito nei paesi dell'Unione Europea sulla criminalizzazione dell'acquisto di sesso, questa tesi aspira a contribuire alla conoscenza accademica del lavoro sessuale, in particolare alla conoscenza sui clienti maschi eterosessuali, un campo di indagine che riguarda solo l'1% degli studi che sono stati condotti sul lavoro sessuale. Questi studi che sono stati condotti sui clienti spesso (ri)creano casualmente tipologie di clienti – spesso descritti con condiscendenza come entità fisse, trans-storiche e transnazionali. Anziché chiedere perché gli uomini pagano per servizi sessuali, questa tesi interroga il “come”.

Basandosi su 44 interviste, equamente distribuite tra uomini bianchi eterosessuali di classe medio-alta in Svezia e Paesi Bassi, supportate da questionari online e materiale trovato online su forum specifici, il “come” è esplorato attraverso riferimenti alle narrative degli uomini stessi e i loro resoconti riflessivi. Questi resoconti riflessivi sono situati nei discorsi del pagare per il sesso in Svezia, dove l'acquisto è criminalizzato, e nei Paesi Bassi, dove l'acquisto è regolamentato. In questa tesi si argomenta che dalla posizione e prospettiva dei clienti questi due paesi non sono e non dovrebbero essere percepiti come aventi regimi di policy della prostituzione opposti.

Inoltre, basandosi sulle specifiche genealogie dei regimi di prostituzione in Svezia e Paesi Bassi, è stato messo in luce che i “problemi” della prostituzione devono essere contestualizzati nelle loro variazioni nel tempo e nello spazio. L'annullamento della proibizione dei bordelli è stato attuato dopo anni di lobbying da parte dei movimenti delle donne in cooperazione con altri stakeholder, dove i lavoratori del sesso furono interpellati durante il processo di decisione. Questi processi di decisione sono stati basati sulla storia della tolleranza regolata e della “polder politics”. Il risultato di questo ampio lavoro di lobbying è stata una chiara differenziazione tra forme di prostituzione forzata e volontaria. Invece le politiche svedesi sono state influenzate da una politica basata sul social engineering per raggiungere un “folkhemmet”. Qui la prostituzione è stata percepita come una violenza maschile che perpetua le diseguaglianze di genere. Tuttavia, le posizioni attuali sono cambiate. Nei Paesi Bassi la differenziazione tra forzato e volontario

si è fatta sfumata e in Svezia la prostituzione si è combinata al traffico di esseri umani. Nonostante questo, gli uomini sono considerati i responsabili e la prostituzione è percepita come un problema della sessualità maschile in Svezia. Sembra dunque inadeguato pensare al lavoro sessuale come “il mestiere più vecchio del mondo”, dato che non prende in considerazione la complessità del lavoro sessuale. Il lavoro sessuale è in costante mutamento, soggetto a cambiamenti e ridefinizioni.

La conoscenza descritta, i modi di parlare e le affermazioni di verità formano nell'insieme specifiche formazioni discorsive su come la prostituzione è percepita in questi paesi. Questo è il motivo per cui il concetto di governamentalità di Foucault (1978) è stato preso come principale strumento analitico della tesi, per connettere le strategie macro del potere politico con gli effetti micro dei comportamenti di acquisto degli uomini che pagano per servizi sessuali. Questo è mostrato nella connessione tra la regolazione e i modi di pensiero degli uomini che pagano per servizi sessuali. La principale domanda di ricerca è: Come le politiche sulla prostituzione nei Paesi Bassi e in Svezia governano il comportamento degli uomini eterosessuali che acquistano servizi sessuali? Data la natura induttiva della tesi e delle interviste (quasi) non strutturate che erano solo articolate in quattro punti chiave (esperienza, sesso, politiche e media) la ricerca è stata in grado di interrogarsi su più aspetti e ottenere più intuizioni di ciò che era stato deciso o auspicato.

Molto al di là del cercare di fare uno sforzo nel calcolare o trarre conclusioni a proposito del se ci potrebbe essere una crescita quando il pagare per il sesso è regolato, o una decrescita quando è criminalizzato, questa tesi scopre e traccia i complessi processi del diventare un cliente, attraverso la molteplicità di strategie che gli uomini svedesi e olandesi impiegano. Diventa così chiaro che, dopo che la maggior parte degli uomini intervistati erano stati delusi dai servizi offerti dai distretti a luci rosse, si sono rivolti a internet. Secondo loro ruota tutto attorno a internet.

In tre capitoli separati ma interrelati, questi processi di diventare un cliente sono investigati in relazione ai livelli culturali, relazioni interpersonali e deliberazioni intra psichiche in cui si attuano le norme degli script eterosessuali. Questi tre livelli derivano dalla ben nota teoria degli script di Simon e Gagnon

(1990). Gli script giovano una parte importante a livello intrapsichico sui modi in cui il sé produce specifici desideri e spinge a comportarsi in un certo modo. Il livello interpersonale opera al livello dell'interazione sociale. L'accettazione di specifici script nel riprodurre (o trasformare o trovare eccezioni a) specifiche strutture eteronormative e il livello culturale sono i principi guida di cosa è sessualmente permesso per dare senso alle esperienze individuali. Data la prospettiva Foucaultiana che il potere e quindi le norme sono onnipresenti, c'è una interazione tra i vari livelli; tuttavia, i capitoli seguono in linea di massima la struttura di "intrapsichico", "interpersonale" e "culturale".

Nel capitolo 5, in cui sono affrontate le deliberazioni intrapsichiche, è elaborato il ruolo di internet esaminando le funzioni delle attività online, dallo scorrere le pubblicità al selezionare le potenziali lavoratrici del sesso fino al costante flusso di informazioni dove i potenziali acquirenti informano gli altri potenziali clienti sulla netiquette online, le strutture che sono disponibili nazionalmente e internazionalmente e specificamente nel caso degli uomini olandesi le recensioni sono scritte come strategia di marketing per attrarre nuovi clienti per le lavoratrici del sesso. Nel quinto capitolo si iniziano a evidenziare le prime differenze tra gli uomini svedesi e olandesi. Dove gli uomini svedesi esaminano le pubblicità e i resoconti delle esperienze come modi per assicurarsi che le donne lavorano in buone condizioni, preferibilmente indipendentemente e senza nessun tipo di forzatura, gli uomini olandesi impiegano le stesse tattiche per assicurarsi che le donne cui possono essere interessati si rivelino all'altezza dei loro desideri e aspettative, creati dalle stesse nei loro annunci online.

Attraverso le loro riflessioni è evidente che gli uomini olandesi adoperano una retorica del *lavoro sessuale è lavoro* nelle loro ricerche online, e gli uomini svedesi prima di tutto cercano di assicurarsi che una donna lavori volontariamente, nelle giuste condizioni e guadagni abbastanza. Inoltre il denaro dovrebbe essere guadagnato come fonte di ulteriori guadagni per un migliore livello di vita e non essere la principale fonte di reddito.

Gli uomini olandesi sono piuttosto calcolatori nelle loro descrizioni quando consultano le lavoratrici del sesso e spesso sembrano spinti da un comportamento spinto dal consumo. Questo non significa necessariamente che cercano prezzi bassi, ma piuttosto una buona relazione tra prezzo e qualità. Il rapporto qualità

prezzo è una delle principali ragioni della popolarità della Gangbangs in Olanda, oltre alla possibilità di prendersi il proprio tempo e non essere costretti in qualcosa di cui successivamente ci si potrebbe pentire. Nel capitolo 6, dove la relazione interpersonale con le lavoratrici del sesso è discussa attraverso la riflessione della loro comunicazione con loro, i rituali di corteggiamento eterosessuale assumono un ruolo che rispecchia script eteronormativi che hanno molto in comune con quelli delle relazioni più convenzionali.

Questi rituali di corteggiamento sono molto presenti nel trend di Sugar Dating in Svezia, che è discussa nel capitolo 6 dove è elaborato il livello delle norme interpersonali. Il Sugar Dating spesso facilitato dai siti di incontri, potrebbe essere visto come esattamente l'opposto dei Gangbangs quando è descritto "più come avere una ragazza" dove il sesso è reciproco e la relazione è costruita di mutuo accordo. Questi trend, Gangbang nei Paesi Bassi e Sugar Dating in Svezia, si riscontrano nei paesi d'origine, tuttavia, un'ampia percentuale degli uomini svedesi e olandesi visitano lavoratrici del sesso all'estero, con la grande maggioranza che si reca a FKK e saune in Germania. Mentre gli uomini olandesi sono attratti dalla qualità e il ritmo degli incontri, gli svedesi vanno all'estero perché si percepiscono come uomini rispettosi della legge.

Nel capitolo 7, dove è descritto il livello culturale in relazione ai canali media e l'applicazione delle leggi, si mostra che sia gli uomini svedesi che olandesi sono scettici sulle autorità. Specialmente nel caso della Svezia in cui gli assistenti sociali e l'applicazione delle leggi si basano su una conoscenza derivante dal parlare con i clienti o mettere delle trappole per rafforzare le loro politiche per ricreare ulteriormente e regolare le soggettività devianti dell'"acquirente di sesso".

Con tutta la conoscenza che gli uomini hanno acquisito negli anni, online, offline e all'estero, pagare per servizi sessuali li rende perplessi sui rischi e gli effetti perversi delle politiche nazionali e locali, e specificamente sulle proposte di legge in entrambi i paesi. Gli olandesi sono preoccupati che la nuova proposta di legge sulla regolazione della prostituzione e il contrasto all'abuso nell'industria del sesso risulti in una legge vendicativa che permetta agli uomini di sfruttare i report sugli incontri a spese delle lavoratrici del sesso per vendicarsi quando le loro aspettative sono disattese. Inoltre, gli uomini svedesi vedono la proposta

sexkopslagen 2.0 come incrementante ulteriormente le politiche moraliste nel loro paese. Come questa tesi ha mostrato, indipendentemente dalle leggi e gli ambienti legislativi, i movimenti online e offline si articolano su scala globale, mentre è per via della genealogia dei regimi di prostituzione che troviamo specifici trend su scala nazionale. Inoltre, i discorsi nazionali operano come tecniche di potere che governano i modi attraverso cui gli uomini svedesi e olandesi pagano per servizi sessuali sia nei loro paese che all'estero.

Appendixes

Tables

Demographics of clients

The following two tables, Table 5 and Table 6, describe some of the demographics of the Swedish and Dutch men that have been interviewed for this dissertation. In respect of their privacy their occupations as well as their precise age are not specified. When several Swedish men asked not to specify this information I have chosen not to make any exceptions and conceal this for all men spoken to. These tables are rendered on the next two pages as additional instead of supportive data as presented in Tables 1 to 4 in Chapter 7.

Furthermore, the following must be considered when consulting these tables:

- a. The **years of experience** indicate the years in total from their first experience up (age of their first encounter) to the date the interview took place in 2016. Some have been visiting a sex worker since their first encounter whilst for others there might have been some time (weeks, months, years) in between that they did not consolidate a sex worker for another occasion or on a regular basis.
- b. The **frequency** of their visits as well as having **regular** encounters with one (or several) sex workers is – as presented in Chapter 6 – depending on several factors and might fluctuate accordingly.
- c. The **motivations** are a brief summarisation of all the motivations they shared with me, through the processes of becoming a client. What most be noted is that these motivations could be present simultaneously or separated from each other depending on the sort of encounter he might have.
- d. The **other types** (of sex work venues) are not completely disconnected from the **1st type**, despite that many men experience window brothels as less attractive– as described in Chapter 5 – it might well be that they would still visit (other) clubs as well as massage parlours and have an occasional outcall with an escort.
- e. For all sex work jargon please consult the list of **Abbreviations, acronyms and sex work jargon**.

Table 5. The Dutch interviewees

Name	Age	Age first paid encounter	Virgin	1st type	Other types	Motivations	Years Experience	Disabled	Relationship	Frequency	Regular	Forum	Abroad
Ralph	35+	28		Windowbrothel	Massage Parlour	Virgin Learning	Apr. 5 years			-		Passive	
Marcel	40+	19		Incall	Windowbrothel Clubs	Virgin Learning Curiosity	Apr. 20 years			-		Active	
Albert	45+	40		Incall	Outcall	Loneliness	2 years			Monthly		Passive	
Pieter	40+	25		Windowbrothel	Massage Parlour	Curiosity	Apr. 20 years			Monthly		Active	
Ben	40+	41		Outcall	-	Virgin Learning Intimacy	1 year			Every 6 weeks		Active	
Leon	45+	45		Windowbrothel	FKK Club Sauna Club Clubs	Specific	3 years			Every 6 weeks		Passive	
Theo	40+	36		Outcall	-	Virgin Learning Curiosity Intimacy Loneliness	10 years			Every 8 weeks		Active	
Matthias	45+	27		Windowbrothel	Outcall Club Gangbang	Curiosity Exciting	Apr. 10 years			Monthly		Active	
Ferdinand	25+	22		Windowbrothel	Stripclub	Loneliness Exciting Curiosity	Apr. 6 years			Irregular		Passive	
Dries	65+	25		Club	Street Club Incall	Exciting	Apr. 25 years			Every two weeks → not anymore		-	
Roan	35+	25		Massage Parlour	-	Stress-release	10 years			Monthly		Active	
Sasker	30+	25		Windowbrothel	FKK club Sauna club Lauf Haus	Exciting	5 years			→ not anymore		Passive	
Tobias	30+	28		Windowbrothel	Outcall Incall Gangbang	Specific Exciting	Apr. 3 years			Monthly		Active	
Nathan	25+	25		(Strip)Club	Stripclub Club Incall Gangbang	Curiosity Exciting Learning	Apr. 5 years			Every two weeks		Active	
Maurits	30+	30		Club	-	Virgin Learning	1 year			Irregular		Passive	
Wouter	50+	18		Club	Massage Parlour Club Gangbang	Virgin Curiosity	Apr. 30 years			Every two weeks		Passive	
Marley	40+	17		Windowbrothel	Lauf Haus FKK club Sauna clubs Incall	Curiosity Exciting	Apr. 32 years			Every 8 weeks		Passive	
Rob	40+	40		Club	Club Gangbang	Curiosity Exciting	Apr. 4 years			Every 2 weeks → Wants to stop		Active	
Mark	40+	23		Club	Massage Parlour Club Sauna club Outcall	Virgin Learning Exciting Control	22 years			Every 8 weeks		Active	
Sam	40+	28		Windowbrothel	Club Lauf Haus Incall	Loneliness Exciting Intimacy	20 years			Irregular		Active	
Bart	35+	37		Outcall	-	Learning Loneliness Exciting	3 years			3 times a year		Active	
Ronald	55+	52		Outcall	-	Loneliness Intimacy	2 years			Every 12 weeks		Passive	

Table 6. The Swedish interviewees

Name	Age	Age first paid encounter	Virgin	1st type	Other types	Motivations	Years Experience	Disabled	Relationship	Frequency	Regular	Forum	Abroad
Thor	40+	42		Windowbrothel	Incall	Virgin Experience Learning	15 years			Irregular		Passive	
Cedric	45+	48		Outcall	-	Intimacy Physical improvement	1,5 years			Once a month		Passive	
Frederik	35+	32		Outcall	FKK Club Sauna Club	Experience Loneliness Intimacy	7 years			15-20 times a year		Active	
Axel	35+	33		FFK Club	Martial Arts Studio Incall	Specific	3 years			Irregular		Passive	
Diederik	40+	36		Outcall	Incall	Virgin Experience Intimacy Loneliness	6 years			Once a month		Passive	
Emil	50+	30		Outcall	-	Intimacy Loneliness	20 years			4 times a year		Passive	
Nils	50+	30		Kliniken	Massage Parlor FKK Club Brothels Sugardating	Curiosity Intimacy	Apr. 25 years			Every two weeks 'Sugardating'		Passive	
Christian	40+	28		Brothel	Incall Outcall	Specific	12 years			Irregular		Passive	
Hendrik	45+	40		Outcall	-	Excitement Specific	5 years			Stopped		(was)Active	
Francis	35+	30		Incall	-	Intimacy Loneliness	2 years			Stopped		Passive	
Daniel	40+	25		Outcall	Incall	Curiosity Intimacy Excitement	16 years			Every two months → Wants to stop		Active	
Simon	40+	25		Incall	Outcall	Specific Excitement	15 years			Every month → Wants to stop		-	
Karl	30+	28		Outcall	Bunny Ranch Incall	Excitement Curiosity	8 years			Once a month		Active	
Dante	40+	38		Outcall	Incall SM-studio's	Specific Intimacy	4 years			Every two weeks 'Sugardating'		Active	
Valentin	55+	35		Outcall	Incall	Excitement Curiosity	20 years			Irregular			
Odin	25+	27		Brothel	-	Virgin Experience Learning Intimacy	A few months			Irregular		Passive	
Gunnar	45+	18		Lauf haus	SM-studio's	Specific Excitement	20 years			Once every 2 months		Passive	
Ulf	50+	25		Incall	-	Intimacy Excitement	20 years			5 times a year		Passive	
Paul	40+	25		Incall	Outcall	Excitement Curiosity	16 years			Irregular → Wants to stop		Passive	
Morten	55+	45		Incall	Outcall	Excitement Curiosity	4 years			Irregular → Wants to stop		Passive	
Don	40+	17		Kliniken	Kliniken Lauf Haus Club Brothel	Virgin Experience Excitement Learning Intimacy	20 years			Irregular		Passive	
Samuel	40+	24		Club	Outcall Incall	Learning Specific	15 years			Irregular		Passive	

Online Questionnaire

Question 1

Did you have any specific preferences that you looked for? Depending on your previous sexual experiences, fantasies or sexual explorative phases you might have had certain needs or desires, please describe those preferences. You can be as explicit as you would like to be. The researcher is familiar with kink terminology.

Question 2

Could you describe your experience with purchasing pleasure? Please describe when your first encounter took place, in which country, under what circumstances, the age – phase of your life, the frequency of your encounters and if there are any differences between your first encounter and those that might have followed.

Question 3

How did you feel before, during or after your sexual encounters? Why did you have those feelings? Did you allow yourself to express those feelings? It might be that you experienced certain feelings like excitement or anxiety before, during or after the paid encounters. Could you describe those sentiments? And if applicable could you be a bit descriptive about what those feelings did to your state of mind and how you cope with those feelings.

Question 4

What role did Internet use play in the encounters that you have had? Do you for example use Internet to get in contact with sex workers? Are you a member of certain platforms (you do not need to name the particular websites) where you share your experiences with others? Do you give reviews to sex workers?

Question 5:

What kind of role does sex play in your life? How important is sex in your life?

Question 6: Do you perceive any differences between paid and non paid sex?

Your answer might be related to the previous questions, but not necessarily. It may also be that you do not have any sexual encounters besides those that you pay for. There are no right or wrong questions in this survey and you can share what ever you feel most comfortable with sharing. Again: the researcher is familiar with all (kink) terminology.

Question 7: What are your thoughts about the prostitution legislations? Is there anything that you would like to change if it was up to you? Do not forget to specify the country where you live in. You may answer this question in a lot of different ways. Maybe you would like to share your most recent thoughts, maybe those thoughts changed over time, maybe they make you very angry or you actually benefit from the current legislations.

Question 8: Do you take any precautions in relation to the legislation? Depending on how you answered the previous two questions it might be that you need to take certain precautions because of the legislation of your country. But it might also be that you go outside the country to purchase pleasure and that you have to take other (safety) precautions.

Question 9: How do you feel about the descriptions of 'men who buy sex' in the media in your country?

Question 10: Are you able to talk about your experiences with others?
And if so, with whom? If not, how come?

Topic List

Below are the topics that will or might be discussed during the interview. Emphasis will be placed on the story that you would like to share, especially when you would think that there is something missing in the general perspectives on men that pay for (sexual) intimacy.

- **Experiences with sex workers**

Not necessarily about how many sex workers you have visited but in what period of your life your first encounter was and those that might have followed. What for desires and expectations you had before the first encounters and if these desires changed over time.

- **Sex**

This topic (as are others) is completely dependent on your personal story. You might have had only sexual encounters with sex workers or maybe you also have experiences with sex that is not paid for. I would like to talk about the possible differences between those two types of sexual encounters and what value you place on both of them.

We might discuss this topic a bit broader as well by talking about what value the society places on sex. And what for influence this might have on the (general) perspective on clients in Sweden and outside of Sweden.

- **Policies**

We might, considering your knowledge on policies, address policies in Sweden and the Netherlands. How this affect you (or not) how you think about the perspectives on clients that are consistent in your country. Is this perspective different, to your knowledge, in other countries?

- **Media**

This topic is very related to the previous one. Does the media write about men who pay for sexual services in your country? How are these men represented in the media?

Endnotes

¹ The vote to present an international policy brief among their member states was on August 10th 2015 <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/12/world/europe/amnesty-international-votes-for-policy-calling-for-decriminalization-of-prostitution.html> (10-12-2017). The final policy suggestions are drafted in their report presented on may 26th 2016 and can be found online (under strict embargo) <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/12/world/europe/amnesty-international-votes-for-policy-calling-for-decriminalization-of-prostitution.html> (10-12-2017).

² There are no specific numbers available on how many members revoked their membership in the summer of 2017 fearing that Amnesty International Sweden might start a campaign in favour of decriminalizing sex work. Several newspapers and radio stations wrote articles and drew some minor conclusions, see for example Sverigesradio.se <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=6231005> (10-12-2017) In an article shared by the local they referred to several social media posts about the topic: <https://www.thelocal.se/20150813/swedes-reject-amnesty-in-protest-of-sex-vote> (10-12-2017)

³ Their arguments, often based on Christian morality, are that all forms of prostitution are rape and no woman would consent to sell her body. Their arguments are very similar to those of Swedish members of parliament. In November 2017 lobbyists visited the Netherlands to promote the Swedish model and make recommendations to place an emphasis on exit programmes to enable sex workers to quit. <https://www.trouw.nl/samenleving/-prostitutie-lijkt-op-het-klimaatprobleem-de-cijfers-zijn-er-waarom-ontkennen-we-ze-dan-~a5153b74/> (11-12-2017)

⁴ The main foundation that funds and connects all global sex worker rights organizations is The Red Umbrella Foundation, founded in 2012. <http://www.redumbrellafund.org> (10-12-2017)

⁵ In the study carried out by Kuosmanen et al. (2008) they also found that 0.2% of the surveyed women, one woman to be exact, answered positively to the question whether she had paid for sexual services at least once in her lifetime (Kuosmanen, 2008: 368).

⁶ The item 'I want a different kind of sex than with my regular partner' (2001) yields the following percentages: 12% strongly agree, 29% agree somewhat, 21% disagree somewhat and a total of 38% disagree strongly with the item (Monto, 2001: 143)

⁷ 'All the world's a stage...' is the first phrase of a monologue Act II Scene VII from the play 'As you like it' written in the first Folio, published for the first time in 1623 (Hirsh, 2002).

⁸ This lecture was given at the College de France and was first translated into Italian and published by Pasquale Pasquino in 1978 (Burchell et al., 1991: 87).

⁹ When contraceptives became 'legalized', contraceptives were until 1969 only available on medical grounds.

¹⁰ In the Netherlands, abortion became regulated in the Act on termination of pregnancy (Wet Afbreking Zwangerschap – WAZ) in 1984. Prior to that, abortion was officially forbidden, but under certain (medical) circumstances it was condoned.

¹¹ Whereas the first drafts described 'improve the position of prostitutes' the last draft of the bill formulated 'protect the positions of prostitutes' instead (Outshoorn, 2004b: 198).

¹² The project was named 1012 because of the postal code area of this part of the city centre '1012'.

¹³ The law Bibob stands for: Promoting Integrity Assessments by the Public Administration (Bevordering Integriteitsbeoordelingen door het Openbaar Bestuur)

¹⁴ The wet Bibob and its national office do not only search for criminal antecedents of brothel owners but also for those of bars, restaurants and the famous Dutch coffee shops.

¹⁵ These numbers are composed by Felicia Anna a Dutch sex worker and blogger, based on reports of municipalities as well as her own cross-checking working several days a week at the Amsterdam Red Light District. Her article and a full table can be found at: <http://achterhetraamopdewallen.blogspot.nl/2016/01/amsterdam-zet-nog-eens-135-prostituees.html>

¹⁶ Currently the municipality is working on new accommodations for window brothels at the same lane. Because of administrative difficulties these will not be opened before the end of 2018. <https://www.rtvutrecht.nl/nieuws/1604636/weer-vertraging-voor-raamprostitutie-nieuwe-zandpad.html>

¹⁷ PROUD was founded in 2015 and gives practical and legal support to all sex workers in the Netherlands. Besides hands-on support they have an outreach project and advocate for the rights of sex workers. For more information: www.wijzijnproud.nl

¹⁸ Violent pornography became criminalized in 1991. According to Kulick (2005) one cannot watch any sado-masochistic footage in Sweden (Kulick, 2005: 209)

¹⁹ This fragment is from an unpublished article and placed on the website of Sietske Altink called 'sex work heritage' (sekswerkergoed) on which she collects historical information on sex work in the Netherlands: [https://sekswerkergoed.nl/cijfers/\(25-12-2017\)](https://sekswerkergoed.nl/cijfers/(25-12-2017))

²⁰ The initial imprisonment was first set at six months when the sex purchase act came into force. After the national inquiry on 2010 the maximum penalty was raised to one year of imprisonment (SOU, 2010: 49) [http://www.government.se/articles/2011/03/evaluation-of-the-prohibition-of-the-purchase-of-sexual-services/\(25-12-2017\)](http://www.government.se/articles/2011/03/evaluation-of-the-prohibition-of-the-purchase-of-sexual-services/(25-12-2017))

²¹ On 23rd-25th of February 2013, Gert-Jan Segers and Myrthe Hilken visited police departments as well as Swedish state secretaries to learn from the Swedish model. It was already, given the mentioned history of the Christian Democrats in the Netherlands, widely known that Gert-Jan Segers is in favour of the Swedish model. After their visit all Dutch newspapers wrote about their visits with headlines about what is wrong with the Dutch model according to Sweden. One was exemplary: In Sweden they perceive our prostitution model as a system of money laundering (In Zweden beschouwen ze ons prostitutie systeem als een wit was machine) ([https://www.trouw.nl/home/-in-zweden-beschouwen-ze-ons-prostitutiesysteem-als-een-witwasmachine-~a70c5ff4/\(25-12-2017\)](https://www.trouw.nl/home/-in-zweden-beschouwen-ze-ons-prostitutiesysteem-als-een-witwasmachine-~a70c5ff4/(25-12-2017)))

²² Beatrice Ask would like to send a purple letter to the sex buyers (Beatrice Ask ville skicka lila brev till sexköparna, Aftonbladet 10th of July 2010) <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12383823.ab> (25-12-2017)

²³ In view of anonymity and confidentiality of my research participants I have decided that I will not name any of the forums that I placed calls on, spent hours of online 'lurking' or that provided me with space on their websites to place banners. An Exception is Backpage

²⁴ Backpage is a classified advertising website offering a wide variety of products and services since 2004. It is the second largest ad listing service on the Internet after Craigslist. Backpage is also widely used in Europe. Since 2011 it came under fire after allegations that their adult services subsection was used for prostitution and in January 2017 these sections were closed down in the US. In most countries in Europe, and this counts for Sweden and the Netherlands as well, Backpage is still used to advertise sexual services. Backpage (and my site to recruit respondents) are the only websites that I will mention throughout this dissertation for privacy concerns. For a wider discussion about the closure of the adult section: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/01/10/backpage-com-shuts->

[down-adult-services-ads-after-relentless-pressure-from-authorities/?utm_term=.c1b64980a742](https://www.purchaseofpleasure.com/down-adult-services-ads-after-relentless-pressure-from-authorities/?utm_term=.c1b64980a742) (06/06/2017)

²⁵ The tweet on the following page is one of the many calls for participants that I placed on Twitter. This Dutch Tweet describes the following: 'Paid for sexual services? For a doctoral dissertation I am looking for men who would like to share their experiences anonymously. Info: purchaseofpleasure.com

²⁶ Square work, or straight work is the work that is in society perceived as jobs to earn an honest wage by performing a legitimate profession and paying tax. For a discussion (not definition) I would like to refer to the work of Bowen (2015) 'Squaring up: experiences of transition from off street sex work to square work and Duality – concurrent involvement in both'.

²⁷ During my interview period a Swedish young scholar, Isabelle Johansson was doing several interviews on behalf of her research group ATDemand <http://www.demandat.eu>. For more information Isabelle Johansson's studies: <http://www.soc.lu.se/isabelle-johansson>.

²⁸ The (Moonlite) Bunny Ranch is a legal and licensed brothel in Mound House Nevada, since 1955. The ranch is owned and operated by Dennis Hof

²⁹ Craigslist is an American webpage with advertisements with sections about jobs, housing, items for sale and services. Because of the combination with advertisements and discussion forums the 'adult service section' was widely used in the sex work communities in the US. The adult service section offered the ability to communicate with (prospective) client. After governmental constraints and several court cases wherein Craigslist was suspected of promoting prostitution, the adult service section has been shut down since September 2010. <http://www.foxnews.com/tech/2010/09/04/craigslist-shuts-adult-services-section.html> Recently scholars are investigating the consequences of the closure of the adult service sections on the safety of sex workers. See for a discussion: Cunningham and Kendall (2011).

³⁰ Fetlife is an online social network for BDSM, Fetish and other Kink communities and is most comparable with Facebook where you could build your own group of friends.

³¹ Semerene (2016) looked at online reports from men who visited Gangbangs where transgender women were present. T-girl is short for 'trans girl' and is urban slang for a transgender girl or transsexual girl. It is a term that covers a wide range of people from cross dressers to girls in transition. It is used instead of the more offensive phrases such as 'she-male' or the often-used 'tranny' when talking about female transgender sex workers.

³³ The Dutch men referred to the concept of '*gezelligheid*' a word that depends on the context in which it is used. It can be translated in English as cosy, convivial, or nice atmosphere. It is also widely used when spending time with loved ones and a general togetherness. In all other European language the Danish *hygge* is best comparable.

³⁴ The association for alternative relationships (Stichting Alternatieve Relaties – SAR) was founded in 1982 and describes itself as a professional service provider. For more information: http://www.stichtingsar.nl/NL_index.html. The association 'Flekszorg' explicitly refers to sex as care work: <http://www.flekszorg.nl>.

³⁵ Bart has Spinal Muscular Atrophy (SMA), type 2. The most progressive type is type 1. SMA Spinal muscular atrophy manifests in various degrees of which all lead to progressive muscle wasting and mobility impairment. Bart depends on his wheel chair and a respiration device.

³⁶ Maurits has cerebral palsy, which happened during birth. The specific name of his condition is Spastic Hemiplegia, which is a neuromuscular condition of spasticity that results in the muscles on one side of the body being in a constant state of contraction. For Tim this means that he has difficulties controlling his left hand, left arm and left leg.

³⁷ The billboard placed in Göteborg in Sweden had the description: 'Hej studenter! 0,- i studielån? Detja en Sugar Daddy' (Hey students! 0 in student loans? Date a Sugar Daddy) and was placed on 12th September 2017 <https://www.metro.se/artikel/dejtingsajt-gjorde-reklam-vid-universitet-har-anmalts-tolv-ganger>. In the Netherlands the description was the following: 'Upgrade je levensstijl: Date een Sugar Daddy' (upgrade your lifestyle, date a Sugar Daddy) and was placed in the Netherlands on the 27th of September 2017 <https://nos.nl/artikel/2195032-zorgen-over-ronselen-nederlandse-sugarbaby-s-in-studentensteden.html>. There is currently no unbiased data about the number of Sugar Daddies and Sugar Babes that have subscribed to these websites in these two countries. The Norwegian owner describes the 'dating websites' as the number 1 in both countries.

³⁸ The Vulkan Straße in Duisburg - Germany, is one of the most famous sex work areas in Germany. The streets are filled with eros centres and lauf Hausen. It is well known among forum members to be one of the places where a lot of women would offer full services for low rates.

³⁹ Toppchefen betalade 3,000 för en trekant – Aftonbladet 12th of January 2017 <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/7zKrV/toppchefen-betalade-3000-for-en-trekant> (20-12-2017)

⁴⁰ "Tobbe" köpte sex på hotell – åtalas – SVT Nyheter 5th of April 2017 <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/lokalt/vastmanland/kopte-sex-pa-hotell-atalas> (20-12-2017)

⁴¹ Giftn män köpte sex i Jönköping – jp.se 3rd of October 2016 <https://www.jp.se/article/giftn-man-kopte-sex-i-jonkoping/> (20-12-2017)

⁴² Habos kommunalrad köpte sex - jp.se 1st of October 2016 <https://www.jp.se/article/habos-kommunalrad-kopte-sex/> (20-12-2017)

⁴³ Sven Otto Littorin is charged with sex purchases – Expressen.se 10th July 2010 <https://www.expressen.se/nyheter/val-2010/sven-otto-littorin-anlagas-for-sexkop/> (20-12-2017)

⁴⁴ CDA: Prostitutie is georganiseerde #metoo - Het Parool 29th of November 2017 <https://www.parool.nl/binnenland/cda-prostitutie-is-georganiseerde-metoo~a4542257/> (22-12-2017)

⁴⁵ Prostitutie veroorzaakt zware psychische schade bij sekswerkers – 8 november 2017 <https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2201903-prostitutie-veroorzaakt-zware-psychische-schade-bij-sekswerkers.html> (20-12-2017)

⁴⁶ VVD'er: Ik wil een einde aan raambordelen in de binnenstad– 21 december 2017 https://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/vvd-er-wil-einde-aan-raambordelen-in-de-binnenstad~a4545034/amp?_twitter_impression=true (21-12-2017)

⁴⁷ The description of the campaign as well as the original version of 'Du avgör!' is available on: <https://duavgor.se>. The Swedish text is as follows: 'Det kanske inte är en sån stor grej för dig, det här med att köpa sex. Men du är en del av något större; den olagliga efterfrågan. Utan den skulle inte prostitution och människohandel finnas'.

⁴⁸ The Danish campaign 'real men don't buy sex' is derived from the US campaign founded by Ashton Kutcher and Demi More 'real men don't buy girls' which went viral in spring 2014 with the hashtag #realmendontbuygirls in which many actors posted pictures of themselves with a cardboard sign with the hashtag. The Danish campaign is not widely shared; occasionally the activists place posters at the Red Light District of Copenhagen.

⁴⁹ This poster campaign was a collaboration with Free a Girl, Fier, Home of Change, Stop the Traffik, Terre des Hommes, Comensha and the Centre of Child Abuse to draw attention to trafficking in human beings and forced prostitution in the Netherlands. Nevertheless it was heavily criticized for choosing the Red Light Districts in the Netherlands as their location, implicitly assuming that those

that work in the Red Light District (RLD) do not work voluntarily. For a description of the campaign: <https://www.freeagirl.nl/acties/loesje/>

A blog by a RLD based sex worker about the pretences of the campaign can be found here: <http://achterhetraamopdewallen.blogspot.nl/2014/10/verdiene-aan-slachtoffers-van.html> (19-12-2017)

⁵⁰ <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/klanten-stonden-in-de-rij-voor-16-jarig-slachtoffer-loverboy~af3fa34c/> (16-12-2017)

⁵¹ <https://www.1limburg.nl/wie-zijn-de-verdachten-de-valkenburgse-zedenzaak> (16-12-2017)

⁵² <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/04/27/weer-lage-straft-sekszaak-met-minderjarige-in-valke-1615571-a74733> (16-12-2017)

⁵³ Sex workers are allowed to work at the age of 18. Nevertheless, if a sex worker wants to rent a window at the Red Light District in Amsterdam (s)he has to be 21.

⁵⁴ Brooke Magnanti who is currently a researcher in the field of developmental neurotoxicology and cancer epidemiology, complemented her doctoral studies by working as London escort (call girl) and writer of London Call Girl, outed herself when she was about to be exposed by the Daily Mail. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2009/nov/15/diary-london-callgirl-phd-student-brooke-magnanti> (01-12-2017)

⁵⁵ In Canada they introduced a Swedish model, making it illegal to pay for sexual services in 2014. This study of Atchinson was conducted in 2010 to get a better understanding of the demographics as well as displacements of clients and sex workers in Canada.

⁵⁶ Rose Alliance is a Swedish organization for sex workers founded in 2003. Their main aims are to share information, being part of current legislative debate in Sweden and providing social support where needed. All their members are current or former sex workers <http://www.rosealliance.se/en/about-ra/>

⁵⁷ The term trick is often described in 'turning tricks' as selling sexual services to men (Holzman and Pine, 1982) yet being 'tricked' in sex work jargon indicates taking money without returning any sexual favours (for elaborated descriptions: Milner and Milner, 1972; Wahab 2004).

⁵⁸ Many tabloids and newspapers write about Simon Häggström right after he has published his book – which is available in both Swedish and English – with the following headlines: Simon hunts down sex buyers (Simon jagar sexköpare), for example: <https://www.smalandsdagblad.se/article/tv-simon-jagar-sexkopare/> (17-11-2017)

⁵⁹ Polisen Simon, 34: det här är verkligheten: <https://www.expressen.se/halsoliv/manskligt/polisen-simon-34-det-har-ar-verkligheten/> (17-11-2017)

⁶⁰ Här köper män i Helsingborg <https://www.expressen.se/nyheter/har-koper-man-i-helsingborg-sex/> (21-12-2017)

⁶¹ These fines are income dependent in Sweden, the higher one's wage, the higher the fine.

⁶² This book was titled: 'Buyers: Why do men go to prostitutes' (*Könsköparna : Varför går män till prostituerade*) and written by the social workers Elisabeth Pettersson, Janne Larsson and Jari Kuosmanen. This book has been an inspiration for the further development of the KAST groups.

⁶³ Municipal councils stop [issuing] condoms to sex buyers (Kommunalråd stoppar kondomer till sexköpare) – skd.se 27th of January 2009 <http://www.skd.se/2009/01/27/kommunalrad-stoppar-kondomer-till-sexkopare/> (11-12-2017)

⁶⁴ The campaign 'You choose!' (Du Avgör!) was introduced in October 2017 and presented on several websites: <https://duavgor.se> The media description from the Swedish Lansstyrelsen was updated online on the 18th of December 2017, with the goals and aims of the campaign according to the regional and national coordinators: <http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/Stockholm/Sv/nyheter/2017/Sidor/Nationell-satsning-mot-sexkop-riktad-till-sexkopare.aspx> (21-12-2017)

⁶⁵ Although Malmö had specialized social workers working with sex buyers, they were part of Mika Mottagningen, in 2017 they changed their name in KST - Kompetenscentrum sexuella tjänster (Competency centre for sexual services).

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