



Handbook on demand in the context of human trafficking for sexual exploitation

D E S I R E

Demand for Sexual Exploitation In Europe



DESIRE
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for Sexual
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Introduction

BACKGROUND

Sex work and its relationship with human trafficking is a contested issue. The controversies on sex work are, in fact, so deep that the very phrase ‘sex work’ is also disputed. In the European Union, different approaches to sex work coexist, each with national particularities. Scholars disagree on which approach to take, and even on the existence of a relationship between legislation and policy on sex work and trafficking in human beings. Despite some advancement, currently too few rigorous studies and especially empirical studies have been undertaken to be able to draw definitive conclusions. This project sought to fill this gap. DESIrE aimed at generating a better understanding of the impact of different approaches to sex work legislation and policies on the prevalence of trafficking in human beings. To examine this potential correlation, the DESIrE project focused on four case study countries that all adopted different approaches on the regulation of the provision, facilitation and purchase of sexual services: Croatia, the Netherlands, Poland and Sweden.

SCOPE

Demand reduction is identified in the regional anti-trafficking legal framework as a means of preventing human trafficking (Article 6, Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, 2005; Article 18(1), Directive 2011/36/EU). In order to enquire whether a demand reduction strategy is an effective strategy for the prevention of trafficking in human beings, the consortium undertook several steps in the project. These are all outlined in this handbook that provides a snapshot of this two-year research, and that further outlines its main findings and recommendations. Mirroring the steps of the research, this handbook covers the following aspects:

- Development of a working understanding of the key terms: demand, sexual exploitation, sex work and prevention;
- Conceptual mapping of law and policies addressing the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex in Croatia, the Netherlands, Poland and Sweden;

- Empirical research in order to determine:
 - the extent to which there is a relationship between national legislation and policies on sex work and human trafficking;
 - how legislation and policies could make persons selling sex feel safer from trafficking in human beings;
 - the attitudes towards sex work against the backdrop of social attitudes, marginalization, religion and other factors on the ground;
 - how sexual exploitation is understood by different actors;
 - how demand for sexual services that may fuel human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation can be reduced;
- Alternative approaches, including innovative ways to use technology, that can facilitate the prevention of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

TARGET AUDIENCE

This handbook targets various stakeholders involved, to varying degrees, in the fight against trafficking in human beings: **government representatives and policy makers, civil society, academia, sex workers, clients and the general public**. As such, this handbook serves different purposes. It aims to inform and raise awareness among the general public on the issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation whilst deepening the academic research on this topic by updating the current knowledge on it and providing original findings based on first-hand empirical research. The latter is directly used to provide recommendations to government representatives, policy makers and civil society involved in the combat against trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

METHODOLOGY ^(11,16)

The findings and recommendations provided in this handbook are the result of solid mixed methods research. In the first two stages of the project, all partners conducted desktop research to define key terms and outline the respective regulatory and policy approach adopted in their country regarding the provision, facilitation and purchase of sexual services.

Desktop research was also used to collect information on the alternative approaches to law and policy to combat trafficking in human beings, thus other than law and policy. The empirical stage provided an opportunity to engage with various stakeholders (sex workers, buyers, civil society, policy makers, law enforcement officials and victims of trafficking) as well as the general public in order to answer the questions and objectives set out above. To engage these stakeholders, the project partners' outreach consisted of two phases (derived from the Hope Social Innovation Model developed by Kaime-Atterhög, 1999):

1. In order to **identify and build trust with stakeholders**, the project partners:

- Identified stakeholders: find, map, match and invite stakeholders;
- Met and engaged stakeholders: as part of an emergent design, partners held participatory workshops with the stakeholders identified, informed them of the project's objectives and collated feedback on the development of research tools e.g. research design, interview guides etc. which was taken into account in their finalisation.

2. In order to **better understand the context and begin to define the problem**, the partners collected primary data with all target groups:

- **Semi-structured interviews:** sex workers, buyers, NGO workers, policy makers, law enforcement officials and victims of trafficking. The interviews were semi-structured with open ended questions, allowing for a reflexive approach whereby participants could develop their own narrative.
- **Online survey: general public.** An online survey was conducted in the four case study countries to determine the predominant attitudes, opinions and understanding of the general public on issues such as sex work, the national legal framework on sex work, sexual exploitation, trafficking in human beings.
- **Stakeholders workshops.** The consortium held three workshops to which stakeholders participated to reflect and provide input on the DESIrE findings. ^(5, 8, 12)

Target sample size and sample achieved in Croatia, Poland and The Netherlands of interviewees ⁽¹⁶⁾

	Target Sample Size	Croatia (HR)	Poland (PL)	The Netherlands (NL)
General public (G)	385	385	641	385
Persons buying sex (B)	30	30	9	18
Persons selling sex (SW)	15	15	15	19
Victims of human trafficking (V)	15	0	2	2
Law Enforcement (L)	10	10	8	3
Civil Society (C)	10	10	9	12
Policy Officials (P)	10	10	5	6
Other Experts (OE)*	-	-	4	3

The data presented here is based on country reports drafted by national teams in Croatia, The Netherlands and Poland and a comparative report. The data does not include Sweden as the national report consisting of the qualitative and quantitative empirical data was withdrawn after some stakeholders and target groups that were interviewed withdrew their consent. In this handbook, the Swedish team has contributed in form of background documents based on secondary data.

STRUCTURE

This handbook offers a snapshot and condensed version of all research findings. All full reports can be accessed on our website (www.project-desire.eu). These are listed in the final page and this handbook is referenced throughout. The structure of the handbook is as follows: definition of core concepts such as demand, sexual exploitation and prevention; national legal and policy approaches regulating the provision, facilitation and purchase of sexual services; alternative measures to legislation for the prevention of human trafficking; and recommendations. The empirical findings are added throughout the different chapters. At the end of each chapter, the main conclusions and recommendations are presented. A final chapter centralises country specific and general key recommendations.

- **Chapter 1** defines the core concepts of the research: demand, sexual exploitation and prevention.
- **Chapter 2** synthesises the laws and policies adopted in our four case study countries (Croatia, the Netherlands, Poland and Sweden) on the provision, facilitation and purchase of sexual services.
- **Chapter 3** identifies non-legislative tools that could be used in conjunction or independently of the legal framework to combat trafficking in human beings.
- Finally, **Chapter 4** integrates and lists country specific and general key recommendations that resulted from this research.



1. Defining core concepts: demand, sexual exploitation and prevention

DEMAND IN THE CONTEXT OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING ^(1,4)

The focus of the DESIRE project is on demand. Demand reduction derives from Article 18 of the EU Anti-Trafficking Directive that calls on EU member states to “take appropriate measures, such as education and training, to **discourage** and **reduce the demand** that fosters **all forms of exploitation** related to trafficking in human beings” as a way of **prevention**.

DEMAND

Our definition of “demand” is based on the one used in economics, defined as “the willingness and ability to use services”. This notion is inseparable from the “supply” that refers to the provision of those services. The use of this definition provides the opportunity to consider the different dynamics at play involving the various actors, factors influencing their decisions, and the markets involved in the sex industry, at the intersection of all of which we place the umbrella term “demand”, enabling a holistic consideration of the notion.

Three main groups of **actors**, all with different demands, were identified: persons selling sex, buyers, and facilitators. The latter is a diverse group of agents that can be further divided into three types of third parties (Brucket and Law, 2013): the agencies (brothels, escort agencies, pimps), the associates (mentors) and the contractors (cleaning service, guards, drivers, etc).

All of these **actors have different types of demands** (potentially generating other demands, which are the consequences of the first ones) whose supply will inevitably involve at least another actor. In this sense, it is not possible to understand the concept of demand by singling out one

of the actors involved in this complex and interrelated network, as any demand will necessarily involve more than one type of actor for its supply. For example, a buyer wanting to purchase sex services will solicit a person selling sex directly or via a facilitator. The person providing sexual services might, in turn, also solicit a facilitator (e.g. to rent a room) in order to supply the services demanded by buyers. Because of this not only are actors interrelated, but so are the markets.

GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF DEMAND ^(11, 16)

Demand is therefore a multifaceted notion. However, the understanding of demand by the participants interviewed in the fieldwork showed that the mainstream understanding of demand heavily related to the demand of one type of actor, the buyers, for one type of service, sexual services.

DEMAND OF BUYERS ^(11, 16)

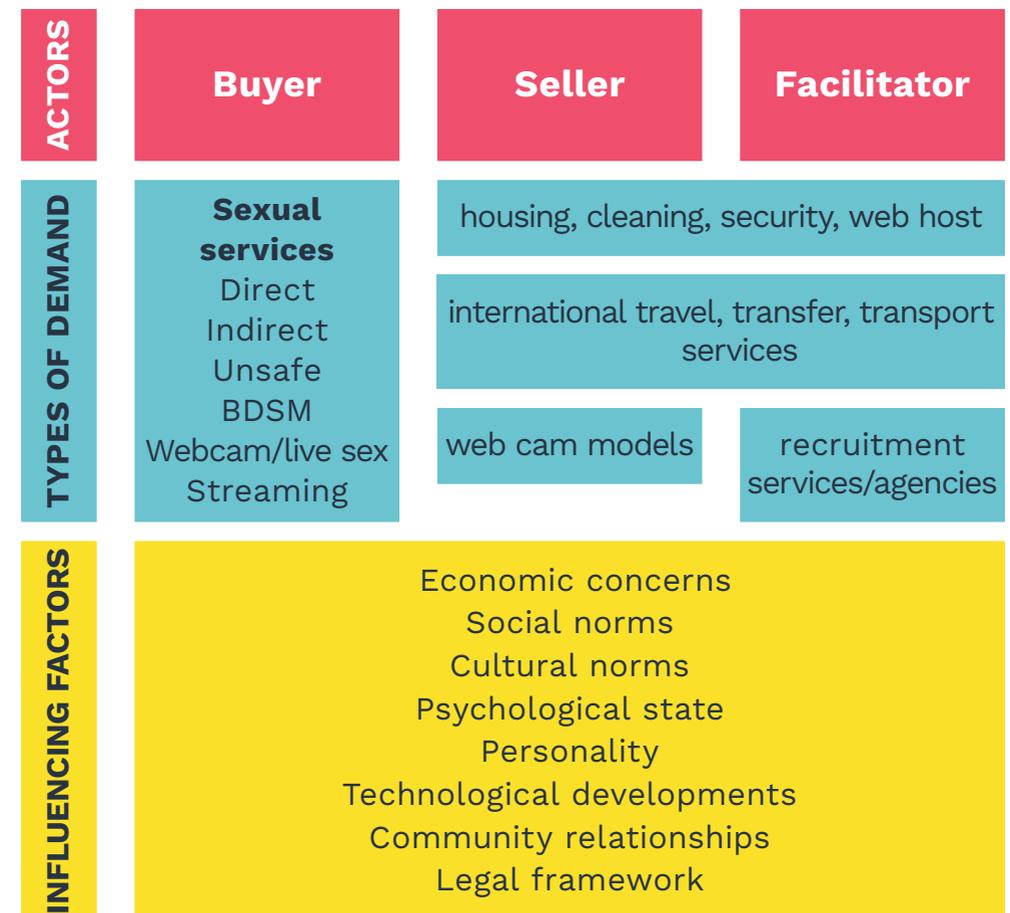
There did not seem to be demand for sexual exploitation (where it exists, it is very marginal), but only for sexual services. A large majority of the participants thought that there will always be demand for sexual services, and that this demand, or the associated supply, cannot be eliminated. Consequently, the participants did not think that regulatory approaches can greatly affect this demand.

DEMAND OF PERSONS SELLING SEX ^(11, 16)

A prevailing and consistently voiced demand among persons selling sex targets actions that increases (physical and/or financial) safety and protection, as they faced important risks and were deeply concerned about their safety.

All these dynamics take place against the backdrop of other, more latent, factors shaping the behaviour of these actors. These include economic considerations, the personality, the psychological state of the persons involved in these markets, the cultural context, the community relationships, the level of socialisation, the social background, the law and policy applicable regarding the provision of sex services, but also the technological developments.

DEMAND AS A MULTIFACETED CONCEPT



FACTORS SHAPING DEMAND ^(11, 16)

- The findings from the fieldwork revealed that for many persons selling sex, the economic factor was a crucial one in their decision to enter the sector and their consequent demand for buyers. Many perceived this work/activity as a survival strategy.
- The demands that actors have can also be conflicting/paradoxical. For instance, the fieldwork suggested an overall negative attitude towards the sale and purchase of sex work, with a dominant “not in my backyard attitude”. This negative perception of sex work, however, was in some cases even shared by interviewed buyers.

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION ^(2,9)

The definition of sexual exploitation developed in this project seeks to be applicable and accountable of instances of exploitation beyond the context of trafficking or child abuse.

Sexual exploitation is the involvement in sexual services in which the party that provides them is taken advantage of, e.g. taken advantage of in a position of vulnerability and is treated in an unfair or harmful manner, irrespective of whether or not the latter has given consent.

The core elements are the following:

- **The taking advantage of the person providing sexual services**, for example in situation of vulnerability, and;
- **The person providing sexual services being treated in an unfair or harmful manner.**

In this definition:

1. **“Sexual service”** is understood as being done for a commercial purpose;
2. **“Vulnerability”** is a background condition that increases the risk of exploitation. The abuse of a position of vulnerability can lead to exploitation;
3. **“Agency and consent”** apply to vulnerable persons, i.e. vulnerable persons can choose to enter the sex industry, without force or coercion.

UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION ^(11, 16) GENERAL

- What came out of the fieldwork is that our interviewed participants tended to make a clear distinction between sex work on the one hand, and sexual exploitation on the other. The latter was generally considered as a very different, highly problematic phenomenon that incidentally and rather exceptionally takes place within the sex industry. Among the general public, the views were much more contrasted, making it difficult to draw overall conclusions on their general opinion. In the Netherlands, 77% of the respondents thought that sex work is often (32%) or sometimes (45%) a form of sexual exploitation, only 5% thought it was always a form of sexual exploitation. In Croatia, 78% thought it was often (47%) or sometimes (31%) a form of sexual exploitation, with 12% of the respondents thinking it was always the case. In Poland, only about 60% thought that the provision of sex services is often (29%) or sometimes (30%) a form of sexual exploitation, while 13% believed that this was almost never or never the case.
- Overall, the interviewed respondents did not (or not often) link the sale, purchase and facilitation of sex with exploitation and human trafficking. What many participants (except for people buying sex) did link, however, is sexual exploitation and human trafficking that they saw as interchangeable. Like the term sexual exploitation, human trafficking was often associated with labour exploitation and the notion of ‘slavery’ or forced labour, treating people as a commodity and a source of income. Although the notions sexual exploitation and trafficking were often used interchangeably in all three countries, trafficking was generally viewed as a much more incidental and exceptional phenomenon. Especially persons selling sex sometimes indicated that it is a ‘movie story’ or a fiction, and that it does not exist in their social setting.

UNDERSTANDING SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: POLAND ^(11, 16)

- **Polish** interviewees struggled with the notion of sex work and how the concept of sexual exploitation should be understood. They had serious problems defining the concept and linked it with the notion of ‘acting against someone’s will’. Moreover, respondents placed the notion of sexual exploitation in the private, intimate framework, and did not necessarily consider it in the framework of the sex industry. In Poland, only two conditions of sexual exploitation were mentioned by more than half of the survey respondents: physical abuse by persons buying sex and physical abuse by pimp.

UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: CROATIA AND THE NETHERLANDS ^(11, 16)

- In **Croatia** and **the Netherlands**, definitions of sexual exploitation given by the interviewees often shared an economic dimension – with many references to exploitation for economic benefits or financial gain and to labour exploitation through breach of contract, withholding pay, unprotected work – on the one hand, and to coercion and violence on the other hand. In combination, the elements of economic/labour exploitation and coerced work was directly tied with the classical notion of ‘slavery’, a term frequently used by the respondents.

UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: THE NETHERLANDS ^(11, 16)

- In **the Netherlands**, there was quite some confusion about what exactly constitutes exploitation and what was the role of consent and coercion. For instance, when persons selling sex are coerced

psychologically or when they consensually give their earnings to boyfriends or pimps, these situations might be considered as exploitative by some persons selling sex but as ‘normal’ by others.

- Because it is only possible to legally work in the sex industry for EU nationals and Dutch citizens, migrants from outside the EU were particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

WHO ARE THE EXPLOITERS? ^(11, 16)

- In all categories of respondents there was a clear negative attitude towards procurers and agents, who were generally perceived as ‘parasites’ and the main source of exploitation of persons selling sex, as well as an additional risk for their safety. The general public shared the same opinion and saw pimps as the main source of exploitation. In Poland, however, an important distinction was made between exploiters and facilitators. They all agreed on the need to punish the exploiters, but many shared the opinion that facilitators should be legalised. According to these respondents, criminalising the facilitators would not protect persons selling sex against exploitation in any way, but rather expose them to exploitation, because it was considered to push the organisation of the provision and purchase of sexual services into the grey zone.
- Persons selling sex were often relatively positive about persons who buy sexual services from them, who they describe as sympathetic, empathic, coming to them not only for sex, but sometimes simply to talk about what is bothering them. Moreover, several persons selling sex described persons buying sex as important sources of support or help in times of crisis, or even for getting out of the industry. Yet at the same time, violent buyers were identified as a major risk. In this regard, whilst overall the issue of demand must be viewed as demand for sexual services, there was, in a limited number of cases, a demand for

exploitative sexual services. This emerged from the testimonies of the two victims of trafficking for sexual purposes in Poland, who clearly stated that they were sexually abused by persons buying sex who knew well that they were forced to serve them, but who did not bother to help.

PREVENTION ⁽³⁾

The term prevention has been defined in many ways and used in various contexts. Because this notion takes different meanings and forms according to the context in which it is applied, it is hardly possible to provide a definitive definition of it. Some general features are, nevertheless, identifiable. All preventive actions have five components that enables one to define them in the specific field in which they unfold: semantic (what prevention means in a specific field), legal (how it is regulated), institutional (who is responsible for it), practical (what kind of measures are taken) and teleological (what the goal of prevention is, what issues are covered, and what the target groups are). In the context of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, each of these dimensions take a particular meaning.

- 1. The semantic one**, based on the goals set out in international legal frameworks aiming at preventing human trafficking, has two main aspects. The first one is the suppression of trafficking in human beings itself; the second one refers to combating the factors (demand, vulnerability, etc.) leading to situations of trafficking.
- 2. The legal one** is spread across various legal texts that include article 16, The United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Prostitution of Others; article 9, Palermo Protocol; article 5 and 19, Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings; and the preamble and Article 18 of the EU Directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims.

3. The institutions that share the responsibility of preventive actions against trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation refer to a group of mixed actors involving both international, regional and national public bodies, as well as the civil society, in which NGOs have a prominent role.

4. The practical dimension of the prevention activities regarding human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation are very diversified. These are listed in legal texts and include (but are not reducible to):

- Measures to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, and that leads to trafficking;
- Research to deepen knowledge on trafficking;
- Awareness raising and education campaigns, including in third countries of origin and transfer of victims with a view to reducing vulnerability;
- Social and economic initiatives to reduce vulnerability;
- Training programmes, in particular for professionals concerned with trafficking in human beings;
- Collection of data and evidence;
- Action, supporting and assisting victims, fighting the root causes of trafficking.

5. The teleological dimension has two main aspects: the target group and the action undertaken in a specific field. The former can be individuals particularly vulnerable to becoming victims of human trafficking, stakeholders and the media. The latter refers to a variety of actions undertaken in the fields of migration, human rights, labour standards, gender equality, and social problems (such as poverty) with the purpose of disrupting trafficking in human beings.

PREVENTING TRAFFICKING AND EXPLOITATION ^(11, 16)

Most participants identified the following means to prevent both sexual exploitation and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation:

- 1) increased legal protection of (the labour conditions of) persons selling sex;
- 2) increased accessibility of (protection by) the authorities;
- 3) increased awareness raising and sensitisation of law enforcement;
- 4) strong and targeted judicial action against exploiters and traffickers and the sectors of organised crime in which they operate;
- 5) various alternatives to legislation and policy.

CONCLUSIONS ⁽¹⁶⁾

The exercise to define core terms related to human trafficking undoubtedly showed the multifaceted and complex nature of this issue.

The notion of demand in the framework of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation itself involves various actors and markets that are all ingrained in a web where they only exist in relation to one another. The notion of demand cannot be understood outside the framework of the network as a whole where all actors and markets are connected to one another and impacted by latent factors that influence their demands by shaping their decision-making process. For sex workers, for example, the main factor influencing their choice to enter the sex industry is an economic one.

In general, the way most respondents to the interviews understood the notion of 'demand', however, was mainly linked to the demand of buyers for sexual services. The latter was perceived by the interview respondents to be rather independent from the legal framework, which they believe does not influence demand for sexual service. Among the demand for sexual services, there seemed to be very limited demand for

sexual exploitation, which was perceived as being very marginal. Demand for sexual exploitation should therefore be understood as an indirect consequence of the demand for sexual services.

As for the notion of demand, the definition of sexual exploitation implies that a clear-cut and one-size-fits-all mechanisms to establish whether a situation is exploitative or not is not possible. Quite on the contrary, determining whether a sexual interaction taking place in the context of the sex industry is exploitative requires taking the specificities of each situation into account, which excludes the possibility of working on a general basis.

Despite the complexity of the notion of sexual exploitation, however, some key features on how respondents understood this notion emerged. Violence and coercion were identified as being core elements of sexual exploitation. This corresponds to the reference to harm and unfair treatment in the operational definition in the context of adult sexual exploitation and as such, violence and coercion should be perceived as necessary elements of sexual exploitation. In addition, foreign nationals involved in sex work were also perceived as being more vulnerable to exploitation due to a net of factors, including their difficulty in knowing and accessing their rights, but also to the ambiguity on how regulations apply to them.

The definition on prevention further confirms the need to carefully understand the context that one is facing when striving to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Prevention in one context will not mean the same (or have the desired preventive effects) in another context. The five dimensions of prevention outlined above vary according to the context and result in a different definition as well as form of prevention.

LICENSE



2. National legal and policy approaches regulating the provision, facilitation and purchase of sexual services ^(7, 10)

INTRODUCTION

In the EU, many policy areas saw some level of harmonisation among the EU Member States, such as finances, fisheries and migration. However, sex work is not one of them, and there exist many approaches to the regulation of the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex amongst EU Member States. Some can nevertheless be grouped together because they share similar features. Four types of approaches to the facilitation, provision and purchase of sexual services in the European Union were exemplified by a comparative analysis of four case studies: Croatia, the Netherlands, Poland and Sweden.

	Provision	Purchase	Facilitation
Croatia	×	✓	×
The Netherlands*	✓	✓	✓
Poland	✓	✓	×
Sweden	✓	×	×

- ✓ Not criminalised
- ✓ Criminalised
- * depending on the municipality policy

In this chapter, the main features of each of these approaches are outlined and reflected upon in light of the findings from the fieldwork that sought to determine if there is indeed a relationship between the national legislation and policies on the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex

and the prevalence of human trafficking; what legislation would make persons selling sex feel safer; and whether the demand for sex services that fuel trafficking in human beings can be reduced. This chapter provides some of the major findings of this research whose added value mainly lies in examining the models selected here in light of the empirical work conducted in these countries.

CROATIA

The provision of sex services is a crime in the Republic of Croatia. Persons selling sex are punished for the misdemeanour of disturbing the public order and peace. Buying sexual services is not criminalized.

In Croatia, selling sex is illegal and persons selling sex are fined and/or imprisoned for the misdemeanour of disturbing the public order and peace. Anyone over the age of 14 can be criminalized for this. Facilitating the provision of sex is also criminalized. In this regard, if contractors allow for harlotry in their premises or knowingly support the provision of sex services in any form, they can be considered as facilitators. Similarly, advertising the provision of sex of another person is criminalised. Under Croatian criminal law, when facilitators are involved in the provision of sex, the persons selling sex are considered as being victims of forced prostitution and can testify in criminal proceedings as victims. If they sell sex without any associated or facilitators (which means in the Croatian context that they do it voluntarily), they are considered as offenders.

Buying sex, on the other hand, is not illegal. The persons who buy sex services are sometimes used as witnesses for prosecutions. However, not every purchase of sex service is legal, as it is a criminal offence to knowingly buying sexual services from a victim of sexual exploitation.

THE NETHERLANDS

Voluntary sex work by adults is legalised in The Netherlands. People running a sex business need to apply for a permit at the municipality.

In the Netherlands, the sex industry is legalised partly at the national level and partly at the local level. The national legislation allows activities related to sex work to take place on the Dutch territory, but the extent of the activities and their forms are locally determined by the municipalities that have a relatively important freedom in deciding whether they allow sex work at all, and if they do, what type of activities they allow on their territory. In the municipalities where it is permitted, the sex workers and facilitators need to get a licence to run their business and register to have either the self-employed entrepreneur status or the one of sex business/facility if they facilitate the sex work of others. They are therefore subject to taxation schemes. However, this does not come with the usual benefits of employee status, such as insurance or pension fund. Sex workers must, in most cases, register as self-employed. The license or registration is only valid in the municipality that issued it.

Before a person wants to start a sex business, they as well as their business partners are screened. Medical check-ups for sex workers are not compulsory, but the facilitators have to comply to a check-list developed by the centre for health and society.

The Dutch law does not allow for the international recruitment of sex workers, even if they wish to work there voluntarily, nor does it allow for a person from a third country to apply for a work permit to work in the sex industry. This restriction does not apply to EU citizens who can work as sex workers in the Netherlands.

POLAND

Sex work and the provision of sexual services is legal in Poland but receiving profits from the sex work of another person is illegal. Sex workers and buyers are therefore not criminalised, but facilitators are.

Escort agencies and brothels in Poland cannot officially and legally provide sexual services, but they can be considered as entertainment service providers, and therefore, receive licenses. Strip dancing and lap dancing are not considered to be part of the sex industry. As a result, the facilitation of these activities can be legal. Contractors working in escort agencies and clubs (e.g., cleaners, guard, drivers) have ordinary employment contracts. There is no distinction between contractors working in the sex industry and the ones working in other sectors. Sex workers are exempt from paying taxes. However, in case a person selling sex makes a high value purchase, s/he would need to prove that the money came from the provision of sex services.

SWEDEN

The purchase of sexual services is criminalised in Sweden but not the provision of such services.

The main justification behind the adoption of this legislation was the perception of the provision of sexual services as a form of gender-based violence.

Besides the act of purchasing, the intention to purchase sex services is also criminalised. The consent of the person selling sex to provide such services is irrelevant in this context. If – even though selling sex willingly – that person decided to press charges against a buyer, s/he might get legal assistance and financial coverage for the harm done.

Facilitation is also criminalised in the Swedish context. The status of facilitator extends to anyone who promotes sex services directly (agencies and associates) or indirectly (contractors). For instance, if a landlord becomes aware that the property s/he leases is used for the provision of sex services and does not terminate the contract, s/he might be criminalised for facilitating the purchase of sex services.

FINDING 1: DISCONNECTION BETWEEN LEGISLATION ON THE PROVISION, FACILITATION AND PURCHASE OF SEX SERVICES: DEMAND, TRAFFICKING, PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE ON THE LEGISLATION, AND THE NEW TRENDS IN THE SEX INDUSTRY ^(11, 16)

- Many interviewees shared the opinion that the sex industry will exist no matter what and viewed it as a kind of ‘social constant’, irrespective of whether the selling or buying of sexual services is legalised or penalised. Therefore, several of them, especially persons selling sex, doubted that the legislation could make important changes to the provision and purchase of sexual services.
- All groups of respondents believed that persons involved in the sex industry are vulnerable to sexual exploitation, regardless of the legal framework.
- A limited connection between sex work and human trafficking has emerged from the data, meaning that it is difficult to make conclusions regarding the effects of legislation and policy on human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Overall, the complexity of the matter makes it difficult, if not impossible, to prove causation between legislation on sex work and human trafficking. Regardless of the legal or regulatory framework on sex work, reducing human trafficking can only be achieved if specific measure to combat this crime are taken, which was viewed as greatly lacking by the respondents from all countries – especially by persons selling sex.

- In **Croatia, Poland** and **the Netherlands**, about half of the interviewed persons buying sex did not know the legal framework regarding sex work in their country, or they were not interested in this topic. This was also true for the general public that appeared to have only limited knowledge of the legal and policy framework in their country. Information campaigns should be used to raise awareness on existing and/or future amendments to legislation on the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex.
- In addition, the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex was reported to be changing in character, moving from outside to inside and from being visible to being more invisible. The internet was cited as the major new arena for the provision and facilitation of sex services, many interactions being carried out online with women or men advertising themselves directly or involving facilitators. As such, the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex services is therefore more and more difficult to regulate, regardless of the case study country.

FINDING 2: LEGAL CHANGES ADVOCATED BY ALL THREE COUNTRIES ^(11, 16)

- Nevertheless, in the three countries represented in terms of empirical findings in this handbook, legal change was advocated explicitly, by most respondents, in the sense of legalisation and regulation or decriminalisation, and for **the Netherlands** in particular, towards a greater simplification and unification of the (municipal) regulations and policies. In **Croatia, the Netherlands and Poland**, the opinion prevailed that sexual exploitation can be tackled more efficiently when sex work is not illegal - either subject to decriminalisation or regulation - and when the law is stricter towards the exploiters.
- The legalisation of the sex industry in **Croatia** and its decriminalisation in **Poland** was viewed by the interviewees of these countries as a means to increase the protection of persons

selling sex against sexual exploitation. The criminalization of the provision or purchase of sex did not get much support in these three countries, while the general public indicated that such legal measures would not affect the provision of sexual services or doubted that this would be the case. Furthermore, most respondents believed that criminalising the purchase and provision of sex services would push the sector underground, making sex workers more vulnerable to exploitation. In addition to all that, in **Croatia** and **Poland**, both the illegality of the provision (Croatia only) and facilitation (Poland & Croatia) of sexual services and the desire for privacy amongst sex workers were reported to make it less likely for crimes or exploitation to be reported.

- Although sex work is legal in **the Netherlands**, it is not perceived as a normal job, with all the benefits it should entail such as labour protection, pension or social security. Sex workers also reported facing difficulties in opening a business bank account, as should normally be possible for independent workers. The legalisation of the sex industry should, in this regard, go all the way in order for sex workers to be able to work under the same conditions as in any other profession.
- Although negative attitudes or at least ambivalence prevailed among the public towards the provision of sex work (less in the Netherlands, more in Croatia and Poland), most members of the public did not, however, question the idea that adults should be allowed to choose if they want to sell or buy sexual services. The human right to individual freedom and choice was clearly valued in the three countries, which explained the relatively high support for the legal protection of the rights of persons selling sex and the very low support for legal measures that criminalise the buying and selling of sex.

FINDING 3: DISSATISFACTION WITH THE EXISTING LAWS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PRACTICES ^(11, 16)

- In **Croatia**, **the Netherlands** and **Poland** there appeared to be significant dissatisfaction with the existing laws and law enforcement practices among the various groups of interviewees. In countries where the provision of sexual services is illegal (**Croatia**) or where the facilitation of the provision of sex services by others is criminalised (**Poland**), interviewees tended to view the existing law and policy framework as a source of unsafety/danger for persons selling sex and identified legalisation or decriminalisation as a major measure that would make persons selling sex feel safer. In the Netherlands, interviewees indicated that legal means to increase protection of persons selling sex should be focused on the definition of clear labour standards on the one hand; and, on the other hand, on reducing the fragmentation of laws and policies regulating the sex industry (high rents of windows and absence of safety buttons in certain municipalities generate unsafe situations and risks for sexual exploitation, for example).
- In **the Netherlands**, respondents from different backgrounds (service providers, persons selling sex, academics) mentioned the so-called ‘over-regulation’ and ‘over-protection’ of the licensed sex industry and ‘under-regulation’ of newer or illegal sectors such as escort services or home sex work. They especially deplored the lack of legal possibilities to provide sex at home. Too much variation in municipal regulations on sex work and in their implementation was also denounced.
- Criminal law alone was not perceived as an adequate tool to regulate the provision, facilitation and purchase of sexual services. A comprehensive approach which combines criminal, administrative and labour laws as well as social policies is preferred. The fight against human trafficking should be dealt with on various levels and scales.

FINDING 4: SPECIFIC NEEDS FOR LEGAL PROTECTION AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC AUTHORITIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS ^(11, 16)

In all countries, interviewees mentioned the need to provide legal protection and accessibility to the authorities. In **Poland**, for example, persons selling sex have rather limited possibilities to receive professional legal assistance or even to contact state institutions and NGOs, because they are afraid that they would get stigmatised. Modern technology can be helpful here by offering specific applications to contact the police. Increasing accessibility to the authorities appeared to be a priority by many Croatian and Dutch citizens, women in particular, who thought that persons who are forced to sell sex cannot call the authorities for help, or expressed their doubts about the authorities helping when called upon.

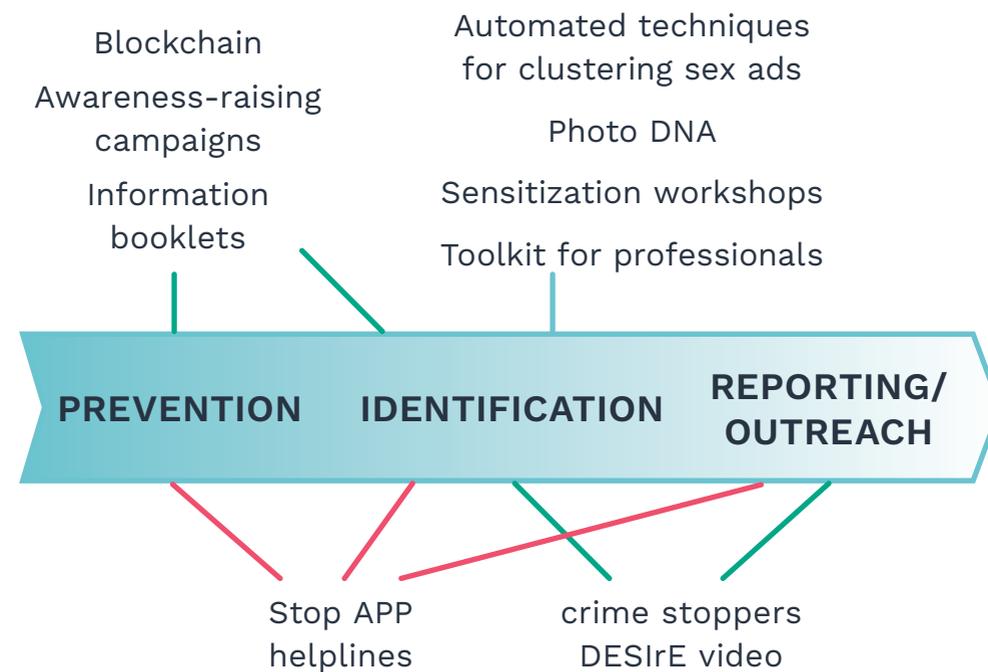


3. Alternative measures to legislation for preventing human trafficking ^(13, 14, 15, 16)

INTRODUCTION

Besides the legal and policy frameworks on the provision and purchase of sex services whose impact on combatting trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation is rather uncertain, other non-legislative avenues that directly seek to tackle trafficking in human beings exist. Most of them can be used regardless of the regulatory framework in place while

MEASURES TO DISRUPT TRAFFICKING



maximising their impact. Many tools with different purposes exist. They are divided along three broad lines in this section according to when they can be used in the trafficking process: prevention, identification and reporting/ outreach.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF MEASURES FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES

1. PREVENTION

As previously stated, EU member states are bound by the anti-trafficking Directive to prevent human trafficking by discouraging and reducing demand for all forms of exploitation. Upstream actions aimed at informing the general public can deviate individual paths from a trafficking trajectory by enabling individuals to spot the signs of a potentially dangerous situation and drive them away from it. These can be done via general awareness raising campaigns, such as the MTV Exit program set up for the Southeast Asia region that sought to reach an audience as wide as possible to inform and raise awareness about human trafficking in the region.

Alternatively, some actions can target specific groups, such as those who are potentially more at risk of being trafficked. For instance, information booklets specifically devised for persons selling sex and informing them about their rights and safety have been distributed in cities such as Amsterdam and Manchester.

INFORMATION AS A FORM OF PREVENTION ^(11,16)

Many interviewees mentioned that first, persons selling sex have to be informed about their rights and possibilities and that this is a primordial strategy for the prevention and identification of trafficking in human beings. Increasing sex workers' rights, and their knowledge of these rights, was generally viewed as the best strategy to obtain greater safety and protection. This was considered as particularly necessary for (undocumented) migrants selling sex. Interviews with victims also showed that victims' knowledge of the legal framework

is often limited as well, or only increased after becoming a victim and entering support or exit programs. Knowledge of the law is important to protect against the vulnerability.

Specialised telephone helplines/hotlines are also available and can prevent situations of trafficking by the provision of general information on trafficking, as well as safe migration paths and legal jobs abroad. Other types of targeted preventive actions make use of the available technologies or even develop new ones according to the needs of specific populations. This is for example the case for this new technology developed by Consensys, a Brooklyn based software company, in order to provide undocumented Moldovan children and trafficking survivors a digital identity based on biometrics and stored on the blockchain. Once operational, this technology will alert the parents/guardians of the child and/or the authorities when the latter is about to cross a border and enable the crossing only once consent has been received from them. Another example of the use of technology to do better targeted preventive actions is the STOP APP that provides stakeholders directly involved in the fight against trafficking with crowdsourced information on trafficking in specific areas. The information collected helps to map trafficking rings more accurately, which is in turn shared with the law enforcement, policy-makers and NGO workers who can better shape and direct their preventive actions. Similar apps have also been developed to stop labour exploitation, such as the new Unseen app that provides simple guides to recognise the signs of modern slavery and to safely report them. This types of indicators of exploitation could equally be useful in fighting sexual exploitation.

- Information booklets for sex workers: rights and safety
- Awareness-raising campaigns using multimedia – MTV Exit program for the Southeast Asia region
- Blockchain
- Stop APP and other anti-trafficking applications
- Helplines/hotlines

2. IDENTIFICATION

Unfortunately, preventive actions are not sufficient to stop human trafficking. Therefore, tools to identify victims once they have been trafficked are not only necessary, but also compulsory according to art. 18(3) of the EU anti-trafficking directive.

Some of these identification tools will provide general information to people who, because their occupation, are more likely to be in contact with victims of trafficking. This is for example the case of health, social and psychological services for which special toolkits have been developed, enabling them to spot the signs of trafficking as well as react quickly and appropriately. Similarly, sensitization workshops for law enforcement agencies on the rights of sex workers and human trafficking awareness have been offered to law enforcement officials in various countries such as Peru, Kyrgyzstan, India or Ireland. These are examples of identification tools that could enable professionals to notice the signs even in cases where they were not necessarily looking for them.

SENSITISATION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ^(11, 16)

The sensitization workshops for the law enforcement are all the more important in light of the accounts of **Polish** and **Croatian** interviewees that indicated a dual role of the police, that are both seen as a repressive agent (often by persons selling sex themselves, who complain about police harassment), threatening them, but at the same time, the police was described as first resort when persons selling sex have a problem. One migrant sex worker in Poland declared that she heard from policemen that providing sex services was not prohibited in Poland. This example shows that the police can play an important role in increasing social and legal awareness among persons selling sex.

Other tools that help the law enforcement to actively identify victims also exist. This is for example the case of the blockchain technology mentioned

earlier that enable the authorities to track the border-crossings of undocumented children, or of technologies such as PhotoDNA, a software mostly used for child trafficking that can process large numbers of pictures online and issue an alert when a match with a victim is found. Other identification technologies that specifically target victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation are further being developed. One example is a newly devised automated and scalable approach for clustering sex advertisements by owners, regardless of the claimed authorship for the advertisements.

Some prevention tools, such as the information booklets presented above, awareness raising campaigns, or telephone helplines can also enable victims to self-identify. The public can equally be involved in the identification of victims via these hotlines or applications such as the Stop App or, more generally, crime stopper-platforms that are online platforms where people can – usually anonymously – report crimes that they witness. In this regard, the DESIrE Consortium has developed a video that seeks to involve buyers of sexual service in fighting sexual exploitation if they witness a situation of potential exploitation. It advises them on different ways they can take action, taking the different regulatory frameworks on purchasing sex into account. ⁽¹⁴⁾

EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES FOR BUYERS” ^(11, 16)

Educational initiatives targeted at buyers of sex services were specifically advised by many participants to the DESIrE research who believed that a large proportion of persons buying sex are simply not aware when they use the services of a victim. A solution that they suggested is to educate persons buying sex and sensitise them to the emotional needs of sex workers and to the right to be treated with respect.

- Adult human trafficking screening toolkit
- Sensitization workshops for law enforcement agencies on the rights of sex workers and human trafficking awareness
- Information booklets for sex workers: rights and safety (self-identification)
- Awareness-raising campaigns using multimedia – MTV Exit program for the Southeast Asia region (self-identification)
- Blockchain
- Photo-DNA
- Automated techniques for clustering sex advertisements
- Crime stopper platforms
- Stop APP and other anti-trafficking applications
- Helplines/hotlines
- DESIrE Video involving buyers of sex services in fighting sexual exploitation

3. REPORTING/OUTREACH

Crime stopper platforms involve the public in the identification and reporting of persons in situation of exploitation or experiencing violence. These are used in various countries across Europe and act as both identification and reporting tools. They are not necessarily aimed at reporting crimes specifically committed against persons selling sex but are more generally used to report all types of crimes. In this respect, they are not always very well advertised in the sex industry but can definitely be useful in this sector as well. Two examples of these platforms are the “Police – Security and Trust” application used in Croatia, and the “Meld Misdaad Anoniem” platform available in the Netherlands. The Stop APP previously mentioned also enables the public to report instances (potentially) linked to trafficking remotely and from a safe location. Similarly, the DESIrE video involving buyers of sexual services in fighting sexual exploitation advises buyers of sexual services on ways to report such cases of exploitation or take action, should they witness any.

Besides the identification and reporting tools that rely on crowdsourced or professionally fed inputs, it is equally important to put in place mechanisms that allow for victims of trafficking to reach out for help themselves. In this regard, the use of telephone lines that directly connect the caller to a specialized counsellor might be better suited for victims of trafficking who would try to initiate contact. Indeed, the process of reaching out for help might be difficult and having recourse to a system that provides a sense of human companionship and moral support could be a preferable option in the case of vulnerable people. In cases where the person is not able to immediately talk, the conversation could be initiated in a chatroom and then move to the phone line.

- Stop APP and other anti-trafficking applications
- Crime stopper platforms
- Hotlines/helplines
- DESIrE Video involving buyers of sex services in fighting sexual exploitation

CONCLUSIONS ⁽¹⁶⁾

The different tools presented here provide a brief overview of the alternatives that exist to legislation in the fight against trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation. All the tools that exist for that purpose have not been listed here, but this overview nevertheless draws attention on the fact that different types of tools that seek to achieve different goals exist. In this regard, a few points need to be underlined on the use of these tools.

First, when using any of the available instruments, it is important to clearly identify what goal the endeavour aims to achieve (e.g. Prevention? Awareness-raising? Other goal? Combination of goals?). Only with specific objectives in mind will one be able to use the most appropriate tool for that purpose. The identification of specific goals goes hand in hand

with the identification of both the audience that the initiative seeks to involve, and of the ultimate recipients of the outcome (victims of trafficking, health care professionals, law enforcement authorities, etc.). The lack of well-defined objectives was, for example, one of the shortcomings pointed out in the interim review of the MTV Exit campaign.

It is equally crucial to multiply the different tools to combat trafficking to increase the chances of success. Most tools presented here can be used regardless of the legal approach to the provision and purchase of sex services and can thus supplement all of them. They can also be used in conjunction with one another. The multiplication of instruments to fight trafficking can only be beneficial in curbing this phenomenon, thereby covering its different facets, provided that these tools are carefully selected bearing the legal framework, goals to be achieved, target audiences and recipients in mind.

4. Recommendations

CONCEPTUALISING AND UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF DEMAND, SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND PREVENTION ⁽¹⁶⁾

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- The findings from the fieldwork suggested that the predominant understanding among our respondents of concepts such as demand or sexual exploitation did not seem to grasp the complexity of these issues. Awareness raising campaigns to inform the public about the intricacies of these notions would not only deepen the knowledge of the public on these issues but, by doing so, also help them to better identify signs of exploitation for themselves or others, and make them aware when they, themselves, could participate to an exploitative situation. These campaigns would therefore need to be in-depth and nuanced, as too many of these campaigns only broach the issue superficially, providing only very limited knowledge on this issue to the public.
- In parallel to these awareness raising campaigns, it is important to keep on having open debates and continued research on the issues of demand, sexual exploitation and trafficking to deepen knowledge on these topics.
- Since the economic incentive seems to be the most prominent factor in the choice of persons selling sex in entering the sex industry, the supply of sexual services should be subject to well-designed social policies, and not only penal and administrative laws. These policies could range from effective strategies put in place to help persons selling sex exit the business should they wish so, to the creation of centres for medical, psychological and legal assistance.

- To prevent sexual exploitation and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation the following means are recommended:
 - a. increased legal protection of persons selling sex, including improved labour conditions where the provision of sexual services is legal;
 - b. increased accessibility of sex workers to the authorities and better protection by the authorities;
 - c. increased awareness raising and sensitisation among law enforcement on the needs and rights of persons selling sex and the risk of human trafficking;
 - d. effective and well targeted judicial action against exploiters and traffickers and the sectors of organised crime in which they operate;
 - e. wide range of alternatives to legislation and policy, especially effective social practices offered by local authorities and NGOs.

NATIONAL LEGAL AND POLICY APPROACHES REGULATING THE PROVISION, FACILITATION AND PURCHASE OF SEXUAL SERVICES ⁽¹⁶⁾

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- The lack of awareness of respondents on the applicable legislation on the provision, facilitation and purchase of sex services suggests a need for information campaigns on the applicable legal framework targeting the buyers of sexual services in particular, as well as the general public.
- The Internet has become a major platform for the provision and facilitation of sex services. Agencies and bodies responsible for identifying sexual exploitation and/or trafficking need to take this new online environment into account when seeking to combat sexual exploitation and/or trafficking.

- It is essential that persons selling sex are treated as the subject of this debate and not as its object. It is essential that persons selling sex are treated as the subject of this debate and not as its object. They should be involved in the policy design.
- Persons selling sex voiced an explicit demand for increased safety and protection that they believe could be achieved through specific legal changes (see country specific recommendations) and by providing better accessibility to the authorities (this goes hand in hand with better awareness raising among the law enforcement on the needs and rights of persons selling sex).
- In order to ensure a better protection of sex workers and reduce their vulnerability, the respondents recommended not to limit the instruments used to combat exploitation and trafficking to criminal law only, but to also use administrative law, labour law and social services legislation.
- Regardless of the legal or regulatory framework, reducing human trafficking can only be achieved if specific measure to combat this crime are taken. These measures should be country specific and tailor-made to each specific legal or regulatory framework. Indeed, as there is very little evidence that shows that the legislation on sex work impacts human trafficking. The debate and policy on the provision, purchase and facilitation of sexual services needs to be disconnected from the prevention of human trafficking.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

- In the specific regulatory regime of **the Netherlands**, the interviewees believe that a better protection of persons selling sex can be obtained by working to achieve clear labour standards and a more comprehensive and less fragmented legal framework.
- ‘Under-regulation’ of newer or illegal sectors such as escort services and home sex work were denounced by the respondents. These sectors should be better regulated.

- Regarding the **Dutch** counter-trafficking policies in particular, since the municipal regulations are often subject to change and that new counter-trafficking mechanisms are being implemented, some persons selling sex declared that they find it hard to follow and to appreciate the changes. In addition, they did not necessarily perceive them as protective. For example, the anti-trafficking legislation calls on brothel owners to do intake interviews to see if a person is forced into sex work. However, this led to situations where the owner would bluntly ask to the person selling sex if she is forced. These interviews should be conducted by social workers and not brothel owners or managers.
- In countries where the provision of sexual services is illegal (**Croatia**) or the facilitation of the provision of sex services by others is criminalised (**Poland**), interviewees tend to view the existing law and policy framework as a source of unsafety/danger for persons selling sex and identify legalisation or decriminalisation as major actions that would make persons selling sex feel safer.

ALTERNATIVE MEASURES TO LEGISLATION FOR PREVENTING HUMAN TRAFFICKING, IDENTIFYING VICTIMS AND REPORTING AND OUTREACH ⁽¹⁶⁾

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations presented here are of a general nature and can be applicable in all case-study countries, regardless of the legal framework on the provisions, facilitation and purchase of sex services. However, despite their general applicability, some might be more efficient in one context than another. It is therefore important to select measures that are believed to have the best impact according to the cultural and legal context of where they will be deployed.

- It is important to combine the different existing tools, bearing in mind the purpose(s), target audience(s), strengths and shortcoming of the tools to be used as well as the legal framework of the country where they will be applied.
- It is equally necessary to combine the tools with other tools and with legal and regulatory measures (ex. Accessibility to authorities by easier legal pathways and by using reporting apps)
- Information campaigns for persons selling sex on what their rights and possibilities are have also been spotted as essential. In addition, these campaigns should have a particular emphasis on vulnerable groups (immigrant background, male sex industry).
- General information campaigns focused on sexual education, but also on sexual exploitation and trafficking are needed to inform the public on these issues, raise awareness about the risks of exploitation for themselves and others, and potentially change the general punitive discourse on the sex industry to one of dialogue and problem-solving. These information campaigns should also take the new trends in the sex industry into account (shift in the sex industry from outdoor to indoor, from visible to invisible, and migration of the industry to the online world).
- Awareness raising campaigns targeting buyers are recommended. By being aware of the regulations (and especially exploitation/trafficking regulations) buyers become more conscious of the problem of exploitation, and can assist with the identification of victims.
- Overall, there appears to be a huge demand for health, social care and employment opportunities from persons selling sex themselves and support to human trafficking victims.
- All interviewees, in particular persons selling sex themselves, mention that exiting prostitution and situations of exploitation and/or trafficking is extremely difficult. Sex workers especially identified alternative employment opportunities as being particularly important to exit the industry.

- The Internet has become a major platform for the provision and facilitation of sex services requiring an increased focus on regulation and monitoring of online activities.
- Because of the increasing role of the internet in the sex industry, the use of technology in identifying and fighting instances of trafficking and exploitation becomes more and more important.
- Some persons selling sex also identified self-defence courses and panic buttons as measures that would be helpful in ensuring their safety.
- Creating ‘safe spaces’ for persons selling sex and their clients is often identified as a good strategy, in the first place by persons selling sex themselves. There is, however, not always consensus about what exactly constitutes a safe space, and whether it ought to be a public/publicly monitored space or a private space. This needs to be adapted to the national context.
- Real and effective support to human trafficking victims need to be put in place. This assistance could take the form of shelters, psychological support or legal advice.
- Sensitization workshops for the law enforcement appears to be essential both in light of accounts of persons selling sex in Poland and Croatia about the lack of sensitivity of some law enforcement agents, combined to the testimonies of trafficking victims in the Netherlands who reported being informed about their rights by the law enforcement. The law enforcement is thus one of the first resort of the victims of trafficking and of persons selling sex to access and apply their rights. Increasing the sensitivity and awareness of the law enforcement when in contact with persons selling sex or victims of trafficking is therefore of utmost importance. These sensitization campaigns should also raise awareness on the specific needs of particularly vulnerable groups (e.g. migrant persons selling sex).
- A system of anonymous information on indicators of sexual exploitation and human trafficking for clients would also help to combat exploitation and trafficking. Clients are mostly not

interested in getting services from victims of human trafficking and are ready to inform, provided they can preserve their privacy.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

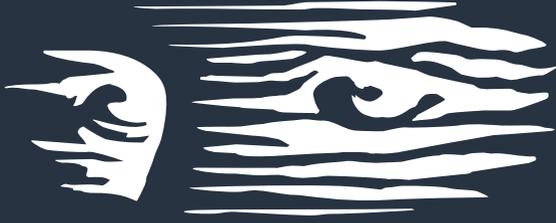
- In **Croatia** and **Poland** interviewees suggested establishing organisations specialised in the provision of support and assistance and in understanding sex work, sexual exploitation and trafficking. The trafficking survivors especially insisted that civil society organisations can play a crucial role in helping persons selling sex in exiting the sex industry and helping victims of sexual exploitation and/or trafficking in particular (with finding shelter, housing, a job, welfare benefits, etc.). The future development of such organisation should thus be encouraged.
- However, interviewees expressed quite some doubts regarding the role that civil society organisations can play. Therefore, empowering civil society organisations could be an important condition for the success of their action in **Croatia** and **Poland**.
- Persons selling sex in **Poland** recommended establishing a network of community support centres (in bigger cities) where they can obtain basic information on the existing legislation or any other support if needed (psychological, social, labour).
- Since sex workers in **Poland** are reluctant to report crimes or exploitation to law enforcement authorities, mostly to protect their privacy and to avoid problems, new models of communication should be further developed, and the use of crime-stoppers encouraged.
- In **Croatia** new trends of sex work taking place in hotels and resorts seem to be developing. Training for hotel staff should be envisaged there.
- **Dutch** persons selling sex suggested that trainings for those who consider entering the sex industry would be very useful. In this way, they could work in this sector in a fully informed manner,

knowing their rights as well as understanding the judicial framework within which they operate, and, more generally, be prepared for the difficulties that they might face. This training could possibly also aid in the detection of signals of exploitation among persons selling sex. Considering the existing obstacles that victims face in reporting signs of exploitation and human trafficking to the authorities, such trainings could provide persons selling sex who are reluctant to report tools to minimise harm individually.

- In **the Netherlands**, there is a need for organisations and interventions that seek to address the specific problems and demands of male sex workers: one of them mentioned that he felt particularly under-represented and under-acknowledged.

DESIRE Deliverables

1. DESIRE Project, Working paper: A holistic approach to conceptualising demand for sexual services, May 2017.
2. DESIRE Project, Working paper: Towards a comprehensive definition of sexual exploitation beyond the context of human trafficking, May 2017.
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6. Brière C., Weatherburn, A., Regulating Desire, The impact of law and policy on demand for sexual exploitation in Europe, Ex Ante 1/2017 (Desire deliverable 2.1)
7. DESIRE Project, Report on legal and regulatory approaches towards sex work in four EU countries, October 2017.
8. DESIRE Project, Summary of the validation workshop in Tilburg, 17 October 2017.
9. DESIRE Project, DESIRE Explanatory Note, November 2017.
10. DESIRE Project, Video on the differences in sex work legislations, November 2017.
11. DESIRE Project, Understanding demand for sexual services, human trafficking for sexual exploitation and existing law and policies in three European countries (Croatia, The Netherlands and Poland), December 2018.
12. DESIRE Project, Summary of the validation workshop in Zagreb, 19 June 2018.
13. DESIRE Project, Briefing paper on the use of technology to combat trafficking in human beings, September 2018.
14. DESIRE Project, Briefing paper on non-legislative measures that can discourage and reduce the demand that fosters sexual exploitation related to trafficking in human beings, September 2018.
15. DESIRE Project, Video involving buyers of sex services in fighting sexual exploitation, October 2018.
16. DESIRE Project, Final Report and Recommendations, December 2018
17. DESIRE Project, DESIRE Handbook on demand in the context of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, December 2018
18. DESIRE Blogpost, Providing direct field assistance : Programs for sex workers in Croatia, May 2018.
19. DESIRE Blogpost, Empowering Public Authorities in the Technological Fight Against Human Trafficking, September 2018.
20. DESIRE Blogpost, An Insight into Croatian Sex Work: Results from a Study, January 2019.



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