



DISRUPT DEMAND TOOLKIT

Strategies to campaign for change

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INTRODUCTION

This toolkit has been developed under the [Disrupt Demand](#) project (“Disrupt Demand: Examining campaign strategies in Member States to introduce legislative measures to discourage demand for sex trafficking”), which was conducted across six Member States - Sweden, Finland, France, Ireland, Cyprus and Lithuania.

This toolkit aims to support non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to plan and implement effective advocacy regarding legislative measures to discourage demand for sex trafficking.

It outlines activities and guidance so that NGOs can tailor strategies according to their national context. The design enables NGOs to ‘pick and mix’ the activities proposed - they can be implemented in different orders or combinations. Real life examples have also been provided under each best practice.

The project partners, who have lent their expertise and campaign experiences are:

- [The Immigrant Council of Ireland](#);
- [The Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies](#);
- [The Institute for Feminism and Human Rights](#);
- [The Mouvement du Nid](#)
- [The Exit Prostitution Association](#)
- [The Klaipeda Social and Psychological Services Center](#)

1. TRAFFICKING, PROSTITUTION & WHY WE TARGET DEMAND

This toolkit contains guidance for a very targeted type of strategy. The rationale is to target a certain aspect of sex trafficking (i.e. demand), within a particular framework (law and policy), via the examination of a particular type of activity (campaigns) in a particular region (Europe).

In order to set the toolkit in its context, we must first outline the inextricable link between trafficking in human beings for the purposes of sexual exploitation and the system of prostitution, as well as explain the reasons behind tackling the human rights violation of sex trafficking by targeting demand.

Sex trafficking

Globally, women and girls comprise 71% of the total number of detected trafficking victims (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2016). The same source states that, regarding trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, 96% of detected victims in the world are female. In the European Union, based on a [report](#) published by the European Institute for Gender Equality (October 2018), trafficking for sexual exploitation is the most commonly reported form of human trafficking. It is a form of gender-based violence that disproportionately affects women. 95% of registered victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in the EU are women or girls. Trafficking in women and girls remains a structural form of violence against women.

Link with prostitution

The commercial sex trade is highly lucrative due to a number of factors including:

- The demand for a constant new supply of girls and women to meet male demand;
- The level of criminality, illegal activity, coercion and violence within the prostitution trade;
- The high profit margins for pimps and brothel owners in the organisation of the sale of commercial sex; and
- The potential for multiple occasions of use and exploitation.

The UNODC estimates that as many as one million women in Europe are involved in prostitution and one in seven of the women involved in

this industry are trafficking victims, amounting to 140,000 women in total. It is estimated that, in any prostitution regime, between 10% and 24% of women will fit the international definition of being trafficked and that the profits from trafficked women in Europe alone could be as high as €2.5 billion. Consequently, any measures seeking to address trafficking for sexual exploitation must recognise that victims can be hidden within mixed populations of independent, exploited and coerced prostitutes and in mixed migration flows.

Additionally, as Sigma Huda, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women argued, it is rare that entry to and involvement in prostitution “does not involve, at the very least, an abuse of power and/or an abuse of vulnerability” including “power disparities based on gender, race, ethnicity and poverty”, and that therefore one can conclude that “for the most part prostitution as actually practiced in the world, usually does satisfy the elements of trafficking”.

Demand

Trafficking operates within global supply and demand chains involving traffickers/exploiters targeting, recruiting and coercing vulnerable people, those who transport and move people into destination countries exploitative markets, those who profit from the exploitation of victims in those destination countries and the final link in the chain of exploitation, the buyer or consumer of labour or services from those victims. The ILO use the term demand as ‘the desire and preference for a particular commodity labour or service’ and the term demand side of trafficking to describe the ‘nature and extent of exploitation of the trafficked victims after reaching the destination point’.

Without the demand for specific goods or services there would be no market and therefore no need for a supply. The study on the gender dimension of trafficking in human beings of the European Commission says:

“‘Demand reduction’ is a strategy to prevent trafficking by reducing the economic attraction of the institutions into which people may be coerced by traffickers. In the case of trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation, the most important institution is prostitution”.

The ILO concludes that in reality ‘demand for labour/services’ may be indivisible from ‘demand for labour/services from a trafficked person’. When it comes to sex trafficking, this involves traffickers and recruiters targeting and exploiting vulnerable girls and women in order to supply them to the commercial sex trade; local pimps and prostitution ‘businesses’ and organisers profiting from that

exploitation; and the demand from buyers of sex for a fresh supply of women and girls to meet their sexual demands in the commercial sex trade. As one study states:

‘Demand reduction concerns changing the wider environment into which people may be trafficked so as to reduce incentives for trafficking. In the case of trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation, this wider environment is critically shaped by the institution of prostitution’.

Having set out the critical links between human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, the system of prostitution and the issue of demand, the rest of this toolkit proceeds to lay out best practices for NGOs who are in the process of tackling the demand side of sex trafficking by bringing about legislative change.

The system that the Disrupt Demand partners have followed to varying extents is called the Nordic Model, the adoption of which is laid out in more detail in Section D – Adopting the Nordic Model.

A.

MAINTAINING POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND SUPPORT

In order to achieve legal change, it is crucial to ensure that the issues and rationale driving legal change are placed and remain on the political agenda. Therefore, sustained communication and engagement with actors in the political arena is crucial.

Our best practices for political engagement and support:

- ① Strategising an effective lobbying campaign.
- ② Using conferences as an advocacy tactic.
- ③ Proactive lobbying via advocacy on the national level.

1. STRATEGISING AN EFFECTIVE LOBBYING CAMPAIGN

Using a campaign for political engagement is an effective lobbying strategy, as it can create important communication pathways with policymakers and political representatives.

a. Do your research - use solid arguments supported by evidence

It is crucial to do extensive legal and policy research both on a national and international level. Become familiar with legal instruments that are already in place to protect sex-based rights, for example UN and European conventions and directives, before launching into any sort of campaign addressing demand for sex trafficking. A solid bank of material that assesses the impact, benefits and challenges of the targeted policies, strategies and action is a must in order to go forward to implement changes.

b. Simplify the issue

When addressing politicians on a specific issue it is important to simplify the complexities of the issue of demand. Not all MPs, for example, will have in-depth knowledge or understanding of the topic, or might even be, as a result, unsympathetic to the cause. You will also need to remember that governments on the national and international levels change on a regular basis, so you might need to repeat and / or reframe the issue based on the background of the new faces. This doesn't mean that you need to change your message nor the scope. When planning a campaign which aim for political engagement is important to understand the political system and how it works in order to decide how to deliver the message. Use simple language, short messages and to the point in order to communicate effectively the message to the society but also to have an impact on policy makers.

c. Create a coalition of key stakeholders and experts

i. Form a coalition with as many key stakeholders (civil society, MPs, ministers, and/or local media among others) as possible. That way there's an easier access to certain information and updates regarding the issue on hand. Building a broad alliance when supporting legal change is crucial, forming national and international alliances is also important.

For example, in Ireland the Turn of the Red Light (TORL), a campaign advocated for the introduction of new legislation to address prostitution and human trafficking, 72 organisations representing every sector of Irish society were recruited. (Find more here). Building a broad alliance was a core part of the Irish strategy in order to ensure wide support for the legal change and to ensure it stayed on the political agenda.

In France, the Abolition 2012 Collective, which was launched in 2010 with 17 organisations and campaigned for an abolitionist law in France, has now a membership of over 60 organisations.

- ii. Engage international experts and form cross-border coalition so that they can provide good practices on certain topics but also answer questions regarding such changes in legislation.

During the process leading to the adoption of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act 2017, criminalising the purchase of sex, members of the Turn Off the Red Light Campaign offered every possible support to those in the Oireachtas (Irish Legislature) working on the issue. Members such as the Immigrant Council of Ireland, Ruhama and other frontline allies, including the crucial Irish Nurses and Midwives Organisation (INMO), had in-depth discussions with politicians.

They also facilitated a visit to Sweden by key agencies to interrogate the Swedish approach and its suitability in the Irish context. Moreover the members of the Government's Justice Committee organised another trip to Sweden with key politicians that were considering and reviewing the legislation for the Irish State.

d. Be persistent and consistent

Political engagement should be sustained and intensive both on a national and local level. The organisation(s) in charge of the campaign should brief politicians on a regular basis as well as respond to queries promptly.

e. Use an interactive platform to create engagement

Consider encouraging the use of interactive platforms to create engagement and multiply the voices on the issue. Stakeholders can use such platforms to ask their local political representatives questions on the issue. This will ensure the issue remains visible and stays on the political agenda.

f. Present legislation on a specific provision

When an issue is controversial, a good practice is to first try and advance some less controversial recommendations. That way you can

engage and gain more allies while you simultaneously prepare the ground for more extensive future changes.

In Ireland, a group of NGOs (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, Ruhama, the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre and Barnardos) advanced some less controversial recommendations made by the Justice Committee. These were presented by way of Private Members' legislation. The bill focused on the crime of child grooming. It achieved extensive media coverage and re-engaged politicians, with Sinn Féin and Fianna Fáil using the opportunity to fully commit to overall laws with the government.

2. USING CONFERENCES AS AN ADVOCACY TACTIC

National context plays a large role. In smaller countries, conferences can be a powerful advocacy tool. For example, in Cyprus and Lithuania, conferences were used as a means to advocate for political change; conferences provided access to politicians to discuss concerns around national legislation as well as present good practices from other countries. In order to efficiently use conferences as an advocacy tactic, consider the following elements.

a. Choose the panel speakers wisely

When selecting conference panel speakers, it is important to keep in mind the aim of the conference and what needs to be communicated to the audience and have a balanced panel which will include policy makers on EU or international level, national authorities and representation of civil society. Make sure that all these actors can provide a new dimension to the subject through the sharing of knowledge, experiences and expertise on the topic.

For instance, in 2014, MIGS collaborated with the European Parliament Office in Cyprus and organised a ground-breaking conference entitled *The demand dynamics of trafficking in women for sexual exploitation within the framework of the project Stop Human Trafficking: researching strategies to discourage demand for services from victims of sex trafficking*. A number of speakers were invited including from the European Parliament, Mary Honeyball, Member of the EP's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality Myria Vassiliadou, EU Anti Trafficking Coordinator, who had monitored the implementation of the integrated EU Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings (2012 – 2016). Other speakers included representatives from the Ministry of Interior, a European Wide NGO, the European Migrants Women's Network, as well as representatives of local NGOs.

b. Invite key stakeholders

Conference participants are equally important to the speakers; the aim is to mobilise and engage the government with key stakeholders. Therefore, it is

important to invite people in key positions who would then push for change in the arenas of legislation and policy.

Lithuania organised a conference entitled, *Are you for the violence against a person? Where are you?* which considered human trafficking and prostitution in Lithuania in the context of the implementation of the Swedish model. The conference engaged national and international experts on the issues of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in the sex trade. It maximised the opportunity to call for and submit amendments to the Criminal Code of the Republic of Lithuania with regard to liability for purchase of prostitution, pornography or other forms of services of sexual exploitation. This included amendments to the abolition of administrative liability for providing sexual services.

c. Follow up

Use the conclusions of the conference, by writing one-page press statement with these and then arrange follow up meetings with officers in charge including MPs and different ministries. Always give time to these people to absorb your arguments and then go see them. In the meantime, make use of media contacts: identify 2-3 journalists who are aware and keen to report on the issue and give them an interview. Always remember to connect how criminalising and eradicating demand helps in combating trafficking.

3. LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Campaigns and conferences can help create networks with MPs and other key stakeholders such as Members of the Parliament, prosecutors, lawyers and police services, among others but it is also important to sustain these positive relationships. Advocacy programmes can help by enabling organisations to promote and discuss issues such as trafficking for sexual exploitation and demand on a regular basis with key stakeholders.

Here are some steps to follow in creating an effective advocacy programme:

a. Top down approach

Use International Instruments (Conventions, Directives, UN Declarations and Protocols). Remind policy makers that as Member State has transposed the directive, ratified a convention and the legal obligation towards it.

b. Bottom up approach

Define who you invite into the network, use coalitions (see section A.1.c) and draft a timetable with advocacy activities. These can include

letters to policy makers, newspaper articles to expose the realities of prostitution, and meetings with key stakeholders.

It is important to invite the right people in your coalition, otherwise you won't achieve the results you are looking for. That's why you start with the most engaged participants and possible connections to key stakeholders and then start building relationships; and expand from there as necessary.

For example, in France, Mouvement du Nid's approach is always to be proactive in building positive relationships with key stakeholder. So, in 2009, the organisation launched an advocacy programme with elected members of the French and European parliaments. The organisation provided supportive information, challenges and critiques, but in a positive and progressive way.

c. Decide on the activities

i. Regional or national academic conferences or seminars

To discuss policies on trafficking for sexual exploitation, prostitution and demand among different organisations. This can help create recommendations on existing policies or draft new ones. After each activity, you need to be constructive and draft specific recommendations on the legislative change sought.

In 2010 MduN organised six regional colloquiums where it presented an analysis of public policies on prostitution to the French National Assembly. Seventeen organisations worked together on 10 recommendations to reform the existing policies. Subsequent to this, the membership organisation, The Abolition 2012 collective, organised its first abolitionist Convention at the French National Assembly in 2011. Representatives of all political parties supported the Abolition 2012 appeal for the abolition of prostitution.

ii. Advocate during elections

Elections are an important time to mobilise in a collective manner and push legislative or policy changes. This is the time to talk with candidates and appeal to them as the government is being reformed.

In 2012 at a famous concert hall in Paris, 44 feminist organisations gathered in the collective *Féministes en Mouvement* (The moving feminists), to appeal to the presidential candidates. Among the 30 measures proposed was the provision to criminalise the sex buyer, transferring the punishment from the prostituted persons to the "clients".

iii. Create momentum and form coalitions

Momentum is important, especially when opportunities arise to form coalitions with other organisations that share the same beliefs and ambitions with you. Such instances can be the anniversary of relevant legislation or an event that is directly related to the cause of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

For example, 13th of April 2013 marked sixty-seven years of the brothels closure in France so the largest abolitionist gathering ever organised in France took place at the Machine du Moulin Rouge in Paris. With 55 organisations, many celebrities, politicians, actresses, social stakeholders and survivors, this event was called the **Citizen's abolition of the prostitution system**.

iv. Form cross-border coalitions

Apart from cross-sector coalitions with other organisations it is also important to form cross-border coalitions with MPs or activists from other countries that can amplify the messaging and exercise political pressure to the national stakeholders.

In 2014, the 1st congress of the "Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution" (CAP International) had been organised in France with its French member associations the Mouvement du Nid and the Fondation Scelles, welcoming 250 participants from all over the world (24 countries). During the congress, MPs Maud Olivier, Catherine Coutelle and Guy Geoffroy, along with their colleagues Gavin Shaker (United Kingdom), Maria Mourani (Canada), Ivana Bacik (Ireland) and Jose Mendes-Bota (Portugal) launched an appeal of parliamentarians for the abolition of prostitution. To date, 212 parliamentarians from 10 different countries (South Africa, Canada, Spain, France, Northern Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and Sweden) have joined the original signatories of the appeal and are inviting their colleagues from all over the world to sign it.

v. Use 'champions' to resonate with the public

When creating an advocate programme, the main audience that is targeted are key stakeholders such as politicians, legislators, etc. As a secondary action to exercise more pressure to this audience a good strategy would be to mobilize the public as well. This can be achieved with the use of 'champions' that the public can relate to. That way they can advocate in their way towards the issue.

For example, on the 12 October 2014, after walking 743 km in 39 days, Rosen Hicher, a survivor of prostitution, arrives in Paris, her goal being to appeal for a date for the draft legislation to be presented to the Senate. Throughout her journey, Rosen Hicher received a very positive welcome and largely contributed to the evolution of mentalities and the media's coverage of the prostitution issue. Many politicians across the political spectrum showed their support for her and in favour of the adoption of the draft legislation.



B.

USING RESEARCH AND EVIDENCE

Evidence-based arguments are a core requirement to effectively exert political pressure and help support legal change.

- Determining existing gaps in policies;
- Giving voice to the experience of the marginalised population that is directly affected by the issue;
- Providing evidence and a solid bank of material that assesses the impact, benefits and any challenges of the targeted laws, policies, strategies and actions.
- Giving credibility and positioning organisations as experts with authority on the relevant issues.

Research has also proven useful in forming long-term cross-sector and/or cross-border coalitions since the expertise of different organisation or individuals is always needed.

For example, in Ireland the research study, 'Globalization, Sex Trafficking and Prostitution: The Experiences of Migrant Women in Ireland', was commissioned by the Immigrant Council of Ireland and was supported by many frontline services, from state and civil society sectors at national and EU level.

Some areas of research on the national or international level that have shown to enforce such arguments are as follows:

1. MAPPING OF THE SCALE AND EXTENT OF PROSTITUTION

Numbers and statistics are powerful pieces of evidence which can add legitimacy and strengthen arguments. They can also draw a better picture of the extent of the aspects of the issue, such as the victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, women in prostitution or sex buyers. In-depth knowledge of the aforementioned can be helpful in drawing up specific legislation and providing targeted recommendations.

In Sweden, the Anti-Trafficking Unit at the Stockholm County Administration in collaboration with the National Board of Health and Welfare presented its first report under its new mandate focusing on the scale and extent of prostitution in Sweden. This report attempted to measure e.g. the number of individuals in street prostitution, the number and percentage of the population of men in Sweden, who have purchased a sexual service, the public support for the legal and policy approach to prostitution, and, most debated, the number of prostitution-related activities and number of involved individuals online during the past eight years.

Another report mapping the situation of children, victims of human trafficking for different purposes was submitted to the Swedish government on 2015 and can be found [here](#).

2. BUYING PATTERNS OF MEN USING PROSTITUTION

Street prostitution remains visible in all countries but to a far lesser extent as the current commercial sex trade is primarily located in indoor venues such as nightclubs, strip clubs and massage parlours and increasingly in private premises such as hotels and apartments mainly organised through the Internet. The lack of available, reliable and consistent data in relation to the numbers of women in prostitution and those identified as trafficked for sexual exploitation was an issue of concern for most countries.

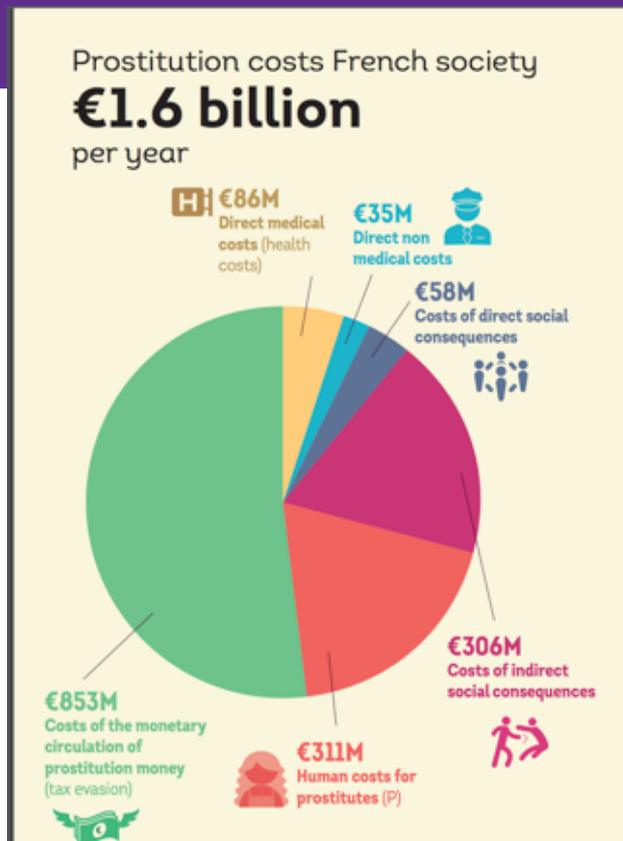
For example in France, an increasing use of the organization of prostitution was noticed so the French legislation contains a provision which creates an 'obligation upon internet service providers to promptly inform the competent public authorities of any content that violates the Act in respect of pimping, and to make public the means and measures they devote to combating such illegal activities'.

In Sweden, a recent pilot study of prostitution users in the region of Stockholm showed that of the 274 cases in 2016 reported under the offence that prohibits the purchase of a sexual service (and attempts), 188 prostitution users were Swedish citizens, with the remaining 86 representing 38 different nationalities. All prostitution users were men between 15 and 81 years of age, with seven prostitution users being less than 20 years old, with the majority of prostitution users contacting the procurers via online prostitution websites, and sexually exploited the victims in their own private homes or in a hotel.

3. CHALLENGING PROSTITUTION MYTHS THROUGH NEW PERSPECTIVES

There is extensive research undertaken regarding the myths around prostitution and how these can be challenged. It's important to also take into consideration examples of campaigns and arguments in other countries and see how they could be adapted in each country's national context depending on the political focus.

For example in France, a study was carried out by MdNid and Psytel, which challenged the myth of prostitution as a sector of growth and provided an estimate of the economic and social burden which the sex trade imposes on its victims and on society as whole. For the calculation of the cost, 29 "cost items" (for example, direct medical costs, non-medical costs, human costs for prostitutes were identified. The research estimates that prostitution costs French society €1.6 billion per year. The research concludes that it makes economic sense, as well as being an ethical necessity, to invest in prevention, in the development of an exit policy, in the punishing of procuring and the discouraging of demand rather than to keep on suffering this economic and social cost. This research was disseminated widely, contributing to a public debate, progressed through the publication of the information, including video and media engagement.



4. *EVALUATION OF SUPPORT SERVICES*

It is important to be aware of how current policies, if they exist, are implemented by municipal or national support services. in order to provide recommendations and form a coherent lobbying strategy.

In Sweden, the National Board of Health and Welfare evaluated the municipal support services for individuals involved in prostitution, as well as services for individuals, who purchase or who have purchased a sexual service. A comprehensive research report was published in 2012 (available only in Swedish).

5. *DATA COLLECTION MONITORING*

As seen in the first point, mapping of the scale and extent of prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation is crucial, consequently there is a need for continuous re-evaluation of how the information provided by the different stakeholders is reliable and consistent. Therefore, monitoring mechanisms should be in place and should be evaluated constantly.

USEFUL RESEARCH REPORTS IN ENGLISH:

Sweden:

Swedish Laws, Policies and Interventions on Prostitution and Trafficking in Human Beings: An Overview, Gunilla S. Ekberg B.S.W., J.D., 2015

Cyprus:

Mapping the Realities of Trafficking in Women for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Cyprus, Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, 2007

Ireland:

Globalisation, Sex Trafficking and Prostitution: The Experiences of Migrant Women in Ireland, Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2017

France:

Summary of PROSTCOST's results: Estimate of the economic and social cost of prostitution in France, Mouvement du Nid, France and Psytel. 2015

C.

ADOPTING THE NORDIC MODEL

The Nordic Model, also known as the Sex Buyer Law, or the Swedish, Abolitionist, or Equality Model, decriminalises prostitution and provides support services to help those in prostitution safely exit from it. Also, it criminalises the purchase of sexual services in order to reduce the demand that leads to trafficking for sexual exploitation. This approach has been adopted in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Northern Ireland, Canada, France, and Ireland.

This section will describe targeted measures that need to be taken into consideration when [Nordic model](#).

1. FULL DECRIMINALISATION OF PROSTITUTION

Research has shown that the critical underlying factor in trafficking for sexual exploitation and prostitution is poverty, grooming, targeting and sexual exploitation of young girls who are vulnerable, marginalised or in institutional care in their own countries. The current migration crisis is also a grave concern in creating further high-risk contexts for girls and young women . This also comes to show that prostitution is inherently violent and is a damaging process for those in it and getting out of it is even more difficult. Having a criminal record makes it even harder to get out. Therefore, it is crucial for all criminal records of those who are or were prostituted to be cleared.

For example, in Sweden, prostitution has been framed as a form of male sexualized violence against women and as a serious barrier to gender equality. The law on prostitution was thus firmly embedded within measures to address male violence against women, including a strengthened sexual harassment law and a new offence punishing repeated instances of male violence against a woman in an intimate relationship. This approach is underpinned by principles of gender equality and leads to an integrated national strategy to address both prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation and has been proven to be an effective reduction measure.

2. EXIT SERVICES FOR THOSE IN PROSTITUTION

Exit programmes are crucial for those wanting to exit prostitution. The [barriers](#) that women in prostitution are faced with when exiting can include, self-destructive behaviours and substance abuse, mental health problems, psychological trauma, chronic psychological stress, guilt and shame, physical health problems, lack of knowledge of services, relational factors (strained family relations, formal and informal support), social isolation, structural factors (employment, job skills, etc.), basic needs (Housing, poverty, etc), education, criminal record, and discrimination. Therefore, there is a need for all of these needs to be addressed through holistic supportive policies and legislation.

For example, Sweden and France have both enacted laws where the state is committed to provide statutory basis for service provision and exit routes. See below,

The law of April 13, 2016 repealed the offence of solicitation which criminalised prostituted persons.

Rights of foreign victims (article L316-1-1)

A temporary residence permit valid for a minimum of six months may be issued (except where their continued presence represents a threat to public order) to a foreign victim of procuring or human trafficking offences who has stopped all prostitution activities and is involved in a process to exit prostitution and achieve socially and professionally integrate. This temporary residence permit entitles the holder to work. It is renewed for the entire duration of the process to exit prostitution and social and professional reintegration, provided the conditions for issue continue to be met.

Unless their presence represents a threat to public order, a temporary residence permit with the reference 'private and family life' is issued to foreign victims who bring criminal proceedings against a person they accuse of having committed offences of procuring or human trafficking, or who cooperate with the law enforcement agencies on such offences.

This temporary residence permit entitles the holder to work. It is renewed for the entire duration of the legal procedure, as long as the conditions foreseen for its issuance continue to be met.

A [permanent] residency permit is issued to foreign victims who initiate criminal proceedings or provide testimony leading to the conviction of the accused.

Protection of victims as witnesses and claimants (article 706-40-1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)

Prostituted persons having contributed to the disclosure of truth by testifying and whose life or physical integrity is severely endangered on national territory, may benefit from a witness protection scheme along with their families and loved ones.

Access to compensation for damages (article 706-3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)

Victims of procuring and human trafficking are entitled to full compensation for damages for the violations they have suffered. If the perpetrators of these crimes are insolvent, the State is under the obligation to act as a substitute to provide compensation.

Protection, assistance and support for exiting prostitution (article L121-9 of the French Family and Social Action Code)

I. In every French 'département', the State guarantees the protection of victims of prostitution, procuring and human trafficking, and provides them with assistance, including a **place in a Housing and Social Reintegration Centre**.

In every "département", an agency presided over by a State representative is in charge of **organising and coordinating the work assisting the victims of prostitution, procuring and human trafficking**.

It is made up of State representatives, including from the national police and local 'gendarmerie' services, local authority representatives, magistrates and health professionals as well as representatives from various civil society organisations.

II. A process to exit prostitution and socially and professionally reintegrate

is offered to all victims of prostitution, procuring and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, and is created in accordance with their health, professional and social needs, so as to enable them to access alternatives to prostitution. It is developed and implemented with the agreement of the supported person and by an approved organisation.

The involvement of the individual in the process to exit prostitution and socially and professionally reintegrate is authorised by the State representative in the 'département' upon approval of the local agency.

The person involved in the process to exit prostitution and achieve social and professional reintegration may be issued a **temporary residence permit**.

They benefit from a **tax debt waiver**.

If they aren't eligible for minimum welfare, they will receive **financial assistance to aid social and professional reintegration**. This assistance is financed by the **fund for preventing prostitution and providing social and professional support to prostituted persons**.

Comprehensive reduction of health-related harm policy (article L1181-1 of the Public Health Code)

The harm-reduction policy targeting prostituted persons aims to prevent sexually transmitted diseases as well as other health-related, social and psychological harm linked to prostitution.

Source: *The French law of April 13 2016 aimed at strengthening the fight against the prostitutional system and providing support for prostituted persons Principles, goals, measures and adoption of a historic law.* BY CAP Intl., 2017)

3. CRIMINALISE SEX BUYERS AND ADDRESS DEMAND

As above mentioned when the legislation is framed in a feminist perspective where prostitution is framed as male violence against women then the sex buyers automatically are perceived as perpetrators which need to be punished. We include examples from 3 countries who have criminalised the demand for sex.

Example 1: Sweden

In Sweden “the legislation that prohibits the purchase of a sexual service came into being as one in a series of preventative laws and measures aimed specifically at the protection of vulnerable women and girls against serious acts of sexual violence, but also to create a society where the culture of domination through prostitution is changed into a culture where the human rights of all women and girls are protected.” (Swedish Expert).

The legislation, which is now incorporated into the Penal Code as a criminal law offences, states that,

“A person who, in other cases than previously stated in this chapter, obtains a casual sexual relation in exchange for payment shall be sentenced for the purchase of a sexual service to a fine or imprisonment for at the most one year.”

What is stated in the first paragraph also applies if the payment has been promised or made by someone else. The offence applies to all forms of sexual services, whether they are purchased on the street, in brothels, in a hotel, in someone’s home, or in other similar circumstances. Attempts to purchase a sexual service are also punishable under the criminal law provision.

It is important to note that from the outset the Swedish law was not simply punitive; it was intended to be declarative and normative sending a very clear message that it is unacceptable to buy a person for sexual gratification as *‘the legislation, policies and strategies that aim to discourage the demand are primarily designed to ensure that men take criminal, ethical and normative responsibility for their own and other men’s oppressive sexual behavior, and importantly, change/modify their conduct.’* (Swedish Expert).

Example 2: France

In 2016, the French government passed a comprehensive legislative framework that criminalised buyers of sex. The provision is a simple misdemeanor rather than a more serious offence that abolitionists fought for and states that:

‘The act of soliciting, accepting or obtaining relations of a sexual nature from a person engaging in prostitution, including on an occasional basis, in exchange for remuneration, a promise of remuneration, the provision of benefits in kind or the promise of such benefits is punishable by a 1,500 euro fine’.

The Act also includes higher penalties for repeated offences punishable by a 3,750 euro fine and supplementary punishment in the form of awareness training where the buyer is obligated, where required at his own expenses, to complete an awareness course deterring the purchase of sex acts.

The law is far wider ranging though as the Act **modifies the provisions of nine legislative codes** introducing severe penalties for the organization of prostitution, pimping and procuring; extensive support measures and resources to support people in prostitution including exit routes and welfare support. It also contains specific measures and residency rights for migrant and trafficked persons. Temporary residence permits to a victim of procuring or trafficking is extended *'for the entire duration of the process to exit prostitution and achieve social and professional integration, as long as the conditions foreseen for its issuance continue to be met.'*

Example 3: Ireland

In Ireland, prior to 2017, the approach to addressing the demand for the purchase of sex was limited to the purchase of sex from a trafficked person. In 2017, Ireland has enacted the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act 2017 which criminalised the purchase of sex and amended the trafficking legislation by broadening the scope of the original offence from 'soliciting or importuning' a trafficked person and it is now an offence for a person to pay, give, offer or promise to pay or give a person (including the trafficked person) money or any other form of remuneration or consideration for the purposes of the prostitution of a trafficked person. The process to achieve this took 5 years, as the Department of Justice and Equality published a Discussion Document on the Future Direction of Prostitution which was then put for public consultation and hearings by the Parliamentary Committee on Justice Defence and Equality, per the request of the Minister. In its final report the Committee noted the high degree (80%) of support for the Swedish approach.

In addition to a strongly positive normative effect on social attitudes to sexuality and gender equality, the Committee found that a demand-led approach with the introduction of a ban on the purchase of sex could lessen the incidence of harms associated with prostitution and the economic basis for human trafficking in Ireland for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The Committee also concluded that measures that reduce demand for prostitution would contribute to the State's fulfilment of its obligations to eliminate discrimination against women, to combat prostitution and sexual exploitation of children, to suppress the exploitation in prostitution of women, and to prevent and suppress human trafficking and the demand for it. **The Committee further recommended law reform to include the introduction of a summary offence penalising the purchase of sexual services of another person by means of prostitution, or any request, agreement or attempt to do so and that it should at the same time be clarified that no offence is committed by the person whose sexual services are sold.**

The Act is a wide-ranging piece of legislation containing provisions including improved measures to protect children from online predators; strengthened offences to tackle child pornography; harassment orders to protect victims of convicted sex offenders; provisions to be introduced regarding evidence by victims, particularly children; maintaining the age of consent to sexual activity at 17 years of age and providing for a new "proximity of age" defence. Part 4 of the Act introduces an offence which criminalises any person who purchases or attempts to purchase sexual activity from another person.

'A person who pays, gives, offers or promises to pay or give a person (including a prostitute) money or any other form of remuneration or consideration for the purpose of engaging in sexual activity with a prostitute shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction— (a) in the case of a first offence, to a class E fine, and (b) in the case of a second or subsequent offence, to a class D fine'.

An amendment to older legislation pertaining to the selling of sex on the streets removes the offence for soliciting for the purpose of prostitution, but importantly the offence of soliciting for the purpose of buying sex remains. This was a critical part of the lobbying process as there was some pressure to maintain a public order offence against the seller in street prostitution.

4. ADDRESS THE FACTORS LEADING TO PROSTITUTION

Research has shown that the critical underlying factor in all cases regarding trafficking for sexual exploitation and prostitution is poverty, grooming, targeting and sexual exploitation of young girls who are vulnerable, marginalized or in institutional care in their own countries as well as the increased migration flows. Therefore, when gender mainstreaming is implemented and a gender perspective is integrated in all stages of legislative change (preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation), promoting gender equality, and then these factors will be eliminated.

D.

DEVELOPING YOUR COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

A coherent communication's strategy is essential for informing diverse audiences of their legal ask and to build support for the introduction of new legislation. There are two important elements that one should keep in mind:

1. MEDIA STRATEGY

A successful campaign should engage across all possible platforms in terms of broadcast and print media and extensively use social media (i.e. Facebook and Twitter). This should be happening on a constant basis. There are three elements that need to be taken into account when creating a media strategy:

a) Establish a shared messaging

A central shared message is crucial as it allows for a consistent approach by all members throughout the campaign, especially when the membership is expanding. If possible make use of communications or media experts, as they can deploy their theoretical and practical knowledge to make the largest possible impact.

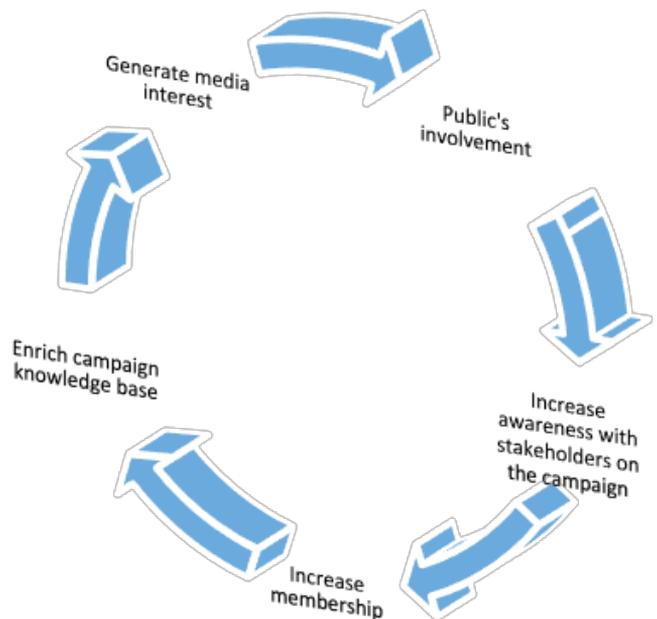
b) Maintain momentum

A useful strategy to maintain momentum is to contact local newspapers, magazines and radio stations, and even new media such as popular podcast producers, so that the issue at hand is discussed on all available communication channels.

For example, in the Irish TORL campaign the Immigrant Council of Ireland used its internal communications resources to place op-eds on prostitution in provincial newspapers across Ireland. The focus was links to organised crime together with the frontline experience of organisations within the campaign. Through a systematic approach every county was covered, with the articles often followed up by local radio interviews. These served several purposes: to increase public awareness of the harm of prostitution and drive people to the action page on the website, to bring it to the attention of politicians in their constituencies and to attract new regional partners.

c) Use a cyclical campaign strategy

Each point in this cycle provides an opportunity for political engagement: media content, public engagement and partner contacts all lead to awareness on the part of politicians at a local level. This can help attain targeted press releases covering the entire spectrum of the campaign.



2. FOCUS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media can help elevate a campaign as it creates involvement and participation as well as a sense of purpose for supporters. This can be achieved through posts, tweets, and videos that can be mapped within the overall communications strategy for the campaign, reinforcing the campaign's message(s). By doing so, the public has an accessible way to show their support for change. Moreover, social media can be used to articulate important activities, resulting in the campaign 'trending' at various key strategic points. Some things to keep in mind,

a) Each social media is different

Each social channel has different audiences therefore the content that is uploaded and used needs to be tailored accordingly. For instance,

- Facebook, can be used as a tool that initiates actions from potential supporters i.e. directs them to specific websites;

For example, during the TORL campaign Facebook was used as a tool to engage potential supporters and encourage them to act through the [action page](#). Through Facebook, the campaign targeted specific groups of existing supporters with specific messages, and/or target potential supporters. Through the action page individuals contacted their local TDs asking for their support for the change being advocated. At periods throughout the campaign, key partners were given the tasks of promoting the campaign through social media to their followers and supporters. This increased traffic reaffirmed engagement with supporters and encouraged additional followers to the campaign.

- **Twitter**, can be used to [engage](#) people in discussions and reach the campaign content to relevant audience.

b) Use visual content

In the digital age, social media has become a campaigning cornerstone. The need for creative visual content that can portray political messages effectively has only increased. Videos, quotes and images, should be front and centre.

Example: Ireland

'Real men don't buy girls' was another aspect of TORL's social media campaign. The message of the campaign was to highlight sex-trafficking and the early age at which many girls enter prostitution. High profile men from Irish music, sport and the arts lent their support to create greater awareness amongst young men about trafficking both in Ireland and abroad. Support for the campaign could be done through downloading a download a poster, getting a friend or colleague taking a picture holding it and posting the picture on Facebook and/or Twitter. The campaign also included a wristband for sale, and for use in promoting the campaign.



APPENDIX.

CAMPAIGN MATERIAL

FRANCE

a) Advertising campaign

Girls of paradise (2016)

A fake escort website was created, on which the girls featured were no longer alive. When the clients call and start a conversation, they quickly learn that the girls that they desire have been killed by clients or pimps. This educational integrated campaign allowed a strengthening of the lobbying in favour of the penalisation of clients of prostitution in France. The campaign was created by McCann's, a Paris advertising agency, in partnership with the Mouvement du Nid. It is not a prostitute who takes the calls but a supporter of the MdN who tells the client that the woman he has asked for is dead following an act of sexual assault by a pimp or another client. Often the men just asked for another woman, expressing very little empathy. This reality evoked considerable interest and support for the legal change. The video was watched 110,000 times in 5 days after it was put online on YouTube and Facebook.



b) Poster campaigns

Girls of Paradise

How to change client's perception on prostitution?

By creating a fake escort website that puts them in front of the system's violence.

Client 128 // 21:12
Yes / want més

Client 129 // 21:14
I don't think you and your mates can have her tonight.

Client 129 // 21:16
Why?

Client 129 // 21:18
She was found dead in the apartment where she entertained clients.

PROBLEM
To be a prostitute today means to be a victim of violence. By putting money in the system, clients are accomplices of this violence.

IDEA
What if a fake escort girls website made the clients to realize the consequences of their actions?

HOW DOES IT WORK ?

- 1** We created Girls of Paradise, the 5th most site where all the prostitutes are already dead. But the clients don't know it yet.
- 2** We promoted clients as if they were still alive. Clients choose a girl, and they start to chat or to speak on the phone.
- 3** They discover the girl is already dead.

RESULTS
JUST FOR THE FIRST WEEK :

- 600 CALLS
- 8700 TEXT MESSAGES AND LIVE CHATS

APRIL 6th 2014. FRANCE PENALISE CLIENTS OF PROSTITUTION THAT'S THE BEST RESULT THAT THE MOVEMENT DO NOT COULD EXPECT.

girls-of-paradise.com

MOVEMENT DU NID
ABOLISH PROSTITUTION

A number of poster campaigns have been launched by the MdN across France since 2004.

- **'Un orgasme, ça n'a pas de prix'**-(An orgasm does not have a price);). As part of its efforts to prevent prostitution among young people and especially boys, MdN created a campaign at regional level that offers a condom in a pouch. The intention of the campaign is to promote sexuality from an equality perspective. The slogan proclaims, "An orgasm is priceless, I am not a prostitution customer!" This unique prevention tool is intended to open the dialogue on issues such as buying sex, gender equality, sexuality education and the notion of respect. The campaign is accompanied by a website, <http://jenesuispasprostituteur.com>, accessible using a mobile phone by QR code on the cover of the pouch. It was also communicated through social media.



- "Pas ma mère, pas ma sœur" ("Not my mother, not my sister") which included a slogan tattooed on the arm of someone depicting a male chauvinist. This was the first campaign targeting buyers. It generated media interest resulting in many appearances from our representatives in the media (print press, radio, TV);

- Les Bourreaux (The Tormentors), which was a poster campaign and a 50-second long [video](#), produced by the MdN with the McCann Paris advertising agency, launched the day after the passing of the law. "*Dans la vie d'une prostituée, seuls ses bourreaux prennent du plaisir*" ("In the life of a prostitute, only the tormentors take pleasure"). The poster was put up across a number of French cities and towns: Mulhouse, Metz, Besançon, Brest, Lille, Nice.



- Other Poster Ideas:



IRELAND

a) Posters



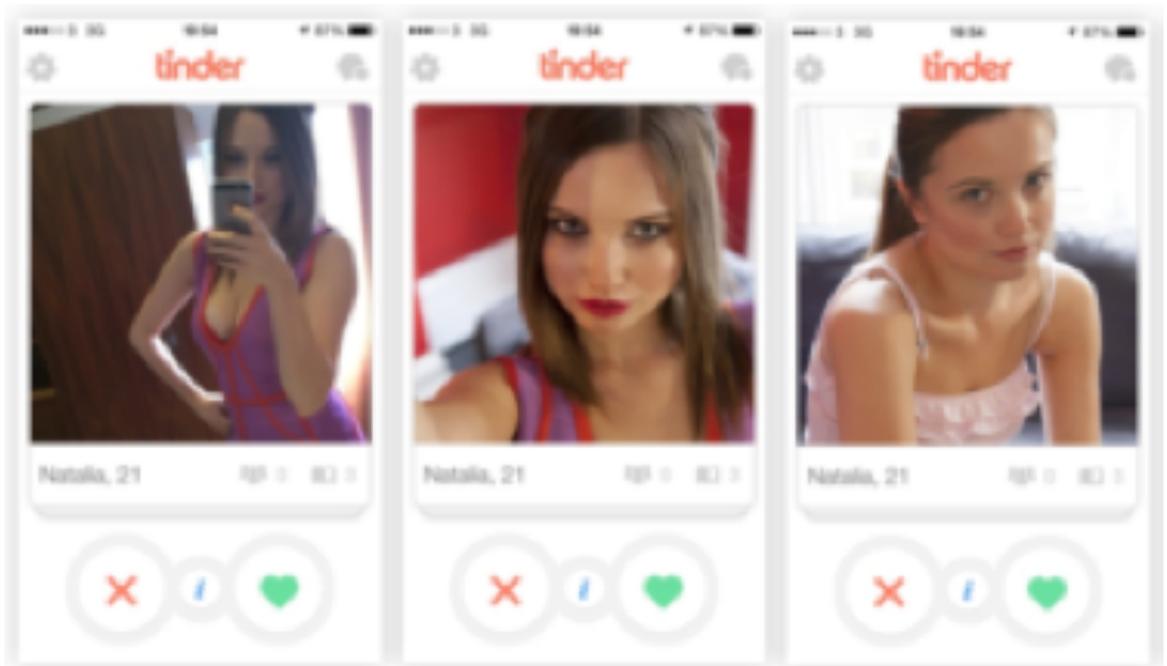
Anna was 14 -The most successful imagery of the campaign was that of “Anna was 14”, a simple graphic showing a young woman with the words “14: The age Anna was first exploited in prostitution” followed by “She’s not the only one. You can help stop this”, and a website link. Evidence showed that girls under 18 were in brothels alongside adults. Also, many of the women in prostitution in Ireland entered the sex trade as girls. When the Irish Government tasked the cross-party Justice Committee to review laws on prostitution, a public awareness campaign was launched entitled “Anna was 14”. While people had varying assumptions about adult women in prostitution, there is wide acceptance that child prostitution is always exploitation; is always rape.

To highlight the grey areas between child and adult, an older girl was asked to model as ‘Anna’, a fictitious character that represented a typical profile of young women presenting to frontline partner organisations.

By challenging the audience to act, by visiting a website and contacting their representatives to seek change, the advertising campaign ensured that the public must face the reality that society is complicit in the sex trade, and thus has the power to change it. The challenge was posed – ‘while you may not have known this is going on, now that you do – will you act’? This campaign raised awareness not only of the campaign, but also about the sex trade. Focussing on the exploitation of underage girls in the trade and forcing the viewer to challenge them meant the poster brings shock, urgency and the chance for

b) Tinder Campaign

For example, the TORD campaign in Ireland utilised the matchmaking mobile app Tinder to confront users with the realities of sex trafficking in Ireland. Tinder had become an extremely popular app in Ireland, and it provided the campaign with a unique, innovative and stand out way of communicating the issues faced by women involved in sex trafficking. The campaign communicated the brutal reality of sex trafficking in Ireland with Tinder profiles telling victims' stories and inviting users to swipe left on pictures. Irish ad agency 'eighty twenty' used models to create Tinder profiles for three characters, Natalia, Ana and Kim. As a user flicked through each woman's pictures, they see her transform from a composed, made-up beauty to a badly beaten victim. This was the first use of Tinder in Ireland for a campaign of this nature and one of the first such uses globally. It received huge media attention, nationally and globally, and won many advertising awards.



c) Infographics

This is a collection of infographics used by the Immigrant Council of Ireland and the Turn off the Red Light coalition during the recent campaign for legal change in Ireland, which led to the introduction of a law criminalising the purchase of sex.

New Zealand told to target the demand for sexual exploitation of children and migrant women.

- U.S. State Department, Trafficking in Persons Report 2016

Turn Off The Red Light #EndDemand



Turn Off the Red Light
End Prostitution and Sex Trafficking in Ireland

Over 70 organisations are members of Turn off the red light. We are from all corners of Ireland, all walks of life. We are calling on the Government to enact the Sexual Offences Bill as a matter of urgency to end the suffering of hundreds of women in Ireland.

14 This age group was most exploited in prostitution. She's over the cure age.

Prostitution: The stark reality

- 89%** want to exit prostitution
- 80%** experienced physical and/or mental health issues
- 25%** of women had been in situations where they felt more than they got out of prostitution
- 68%** developed Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
- 63%** have experienced rape

Personal perspectives: A Mother and Daughter Speak

|| In six years I had three separate rapes and a gang rape. In six years, I don't know another profession where that would tolerate that level of violence. At the end of it, at the end of the year, do we calculate, add up the rapes.

This law is about the vast majority. This law is about the protection of human dignity and freedom. It's about a set of values. It's about ending the violence.

- Mia, a Survivor of Prostitution

|| My mom got trapped in prostitution for over six years. She only ever left my side to go to the street. I knew my mom was hurting. I could see it in her eyes and I could feel it in my stomach. All I wanted to do was keep her beside me. My mom was lucky enough to get out of prostitution as many do not survive it.

I do understand my mother's reasons as to why she stood on that street. But I do not – no we'll never understand the reasons of the men who bought her. I couldn't stop those men from buying her. But I can now, and so can you. This is why the Sexual Offences Bill has to be enacted now.

- Her daughter

#EndDemand

CASES OF SEX TRAFFICKING IN IRELAND HAVE INCREASED SINCE 2014...

73%

US State Dept. Trafficking in Persons Report, (2016)

Yet, Ireland has not convicted a single trafficker or pimp under the 2008 Anti-Trafficking Act since 2013.

WE CAN DO BETTER:
TurnOffTheRedLight.ie/action




PIMPS and traffickers in New Zealand ESCAPE PRISON AND ONLY RECEIVE FINES FOR ENABLING RAPE of women and girls.

- U.S. State Department, Trafficking in Persons Report 2016





Reality Check

A representative timeline of two scenarios:
Entering prostitution voluntarily versus
being trafficked into prostitution*

VOLUNTARY

Before entering prostitution

TRAFFICKED

Instead of working two jobs just to make ends meet, I'll become a sex worker. I'll only do it for a little while until I've saved up some money.

I can't wait to start my new job as a waitress. It will be lonely living in a new country but I'll finally be able to send money home to support my family.

It was easy to find clients and I've already made more money than I would in a day job. The work isn't even that bad if I just zone out most of the time.

01 DAY

The waitressing job I was promised is a lie. My passport and documents have been taken and I have been sold into prostitution. Today I was forced to provide sexual services to strangers.

I'm still making decent money, but it's not as easy as I thought. A large portion of my profits go back into advertising, transportation, and supplies. It's still better than a day job though.

01 MONTH

I only get to go outside when I am being moved from one brothel to another. I am on call 24/7 with barely any breaks. I have no choice over which men I see, and I'm too scared of more violence to ask for help. Many men don't even use a condom.

I have a steady flow of customers, but I'm unsure how long I can keep this up. I have been assaulted several times, but I can't trust going to the police about it. I haven't been able to save up anywhere near the amount I wanted. Too much of what I get goes into the drugs that get me through the day.

01 YEAR

I receive only a fraction of the money exchanged for access to my body. The only thing that makes life bearable are the drugs that numb me. However, this addiction and the rent I am forced to pay for my bed have put me hopelessly in debt to my captors.

No amount of money is worth the trauma sex work has caused me. I'm much more depressed than I was five years ago. I want to have a job where I am valued as a person and not just used as an object.

05 YEARS

I have lost the will to live. It seems that I will never get out of this hellish situation. Even if I do get out, I will have no home, no money, no support, and no chance of regaining the life I once had.

With intervention, our partners can provide these women with **hope**, but we need **better laws** to protect and support them.

*based on trends seen by frontline services and reports on the experiences of women in prostitution and sex trafficking.

TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT

2016: IRELAND

78

suspected trafficking victims

primarily from Romania and Nigeria

22 children, 15 of which were Irish

62% Sex Trafficking Crime

66% Female victims

52 women, 25 men, 1 transgender

91 new investigations of trafficking-related cases

0 criminal convictions for sex trafficking

RECOMMENDATIONS

Publish the second National Action Plan on Human Trafficking

Improve the identification of victims and include those who seek asylum

Establish specialised shelters for victims

Enhance the legal services to victims

Enact the Sexual Offences Bill

Immigrant Council of Ireland

Who Buys Sex In Ireland?

1 in 15

men reported they buy sex

16% use prostitutes once every two weeks or more.

46% use prostitutes less than once a month.

61%

are married or in a relationship

Many of these men buy sex during the **daytime** and in the evenings **after work**

37%

pay for sex with women in street prostitution, as well as with women advertised online

Men who buy sex from women tend to be: **highly educated** have incomes in the **middle range** and are employed in **professional occupations**

25%

said they had met a woman who they felt was being forced into prostitution



Support Turn Off the Red Light

Escort Surveys. (2006). Irish Escort Client Survey. EscortSurveys.com.
Immigrant Council of Ireland. (2009). Globalisation, Sex Trafficking and Prostitution: The Experiences of Migrant Women in Ireland.
Layte, Richard et al. (2006). The Irish Study of Sexual Health and Relationships.
Dublin: Crisis Pregnancy Agency and Department of Health and Children.

Trafficking in Ireland

Between January 2007 and September 2008

102
WOMEN

were identified as having been trafficked into or through Ireland

10%

Were children at the time they were trafficked into Ireland

0%

Knew they were specifically being recruited for the sex industry

The **vast majority** of women trafficked into Ireland for sex are in **indoor prostitution**

THE
Sex Industry
in Ireland

AT LEAST
1,000
women in indoor prostitution

UP TO
97%
are migrants

Their average age is
25

And ages range from as low as 16 year old, up to 58 years old

57
different nationalities of women are represented in indoor prostitution

Many women are linked to prostitution agencies, which exercise varying levels of **penalty, control, and violence**

Of women advertised on the internet, **41%** are 'touring escorts' who will be moved around within or outside of Ireland

Trafficking in Persons Report: Ireland

45 suspected trafficking victims were identified by authorities.

13 were children

One NGO reported assisting **83** sex trafficking victims in 2013, nearly **2 TIMES** as many as authorities.

Trafficking victims may have to live in asylum residence centres for 2 - 4 YEARS while awaiting ongoing asylum processes

In 2014, authorities initiated **79** trafficking-related case investigations

But they reported **0** criminal convictions for sex trafficking

Weak identification procedures mean women risk missing opportunities to access **education, health care, housing, and financial aid**

Support

Turn Off the Red Light

*"Trafficking in Persons Report 2015". U.S. Department of State. 2015.



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