
**MEN WHO BUY SEX,
PHASE 2:
The Client Survey**

John Lowman, Chris Atchison and Laura Fraser

**A Study Funded by the British Columbia
Ministry of the Attorney General**

March 31, 1997

Background

This is the second part of a two phase survey of men who purchase sexual services from street prostitutes, escorts, masseuses, and persons advertising in the business personal sections of various local newspapers and other publications such as the *Buy and Sell*. In the first phase of this research (Atchison, 1996; Lowman et. al., 1996; Atchison, et. al. 1997) we presented a review of the extant anglophone literature on the client, a descriptive analysis of “bad date sheets” published in Vancouver, Canada, and a survey of information contained in the Court files of 434 men charged in Vancouver with communicating in a public place for the purpose of buying sexual services. Also, we developed the prototype of a questionnaire on sexuality, sexual behaviour and client behaviour which forms the basis of this, the second phase of the study.

Two Versions of the Questionnaire

During Phase 1 we developed two versions of the self-administered questionnaire. One version was distributed over Internet, a communication medium that is only just starting to be utilized for social science research. The other was distributed in Vancouver, British Columbia using a variety of contact methods. The two versions of surveys are the same, apart from the sections on geographical sex-purchasing patterns and respondents’ knowledge of the law.

The questionnaire is divided into two parts, a general survey and a client survey. The specific sections in each part are based on those identified and discussed within much of the available theoretical and empirical literature on the client. Our object is not to formally test a specific theory or set of theories, rather it is to integrate the foci of several theoretical and empirical investigations into one instrument for exploratory purposes.

Structure of the Questionnaire

In order to facilitate the control group comparison, the survey is organized into two main components, the first being designed for all adults, the second for clients only.

Part A: General Survey

The general survey consists of 14 sections:

- Personal information: age, sex, occupation, religion, national/cultural/ethnic identity, income, education (q. 1-17)
- Family information: number/age/sex of children, number/sex of siblings, marital status of parents, age of circumstances of leaving home (q. 18-27)
- First sexual experiences: age, partner involved, nature of experience (q. 28-37)
- Childhood sexual abuse: age, person involved, nature of experience (q. 38-43)

- Attitudes to sex and sexuality (q. 44)¹
- Perceptions of self (q. 45-47)
- Relationship with spouse or regular sexual partner: length of relationship, partner's occupation, feelings about relationship, emotional and sexual satisfaction with partner (q. 53-59)
- Behavior with sex partners: victimization by and of sex partners (q. 60-61)
- Epidemiological issues (q. 62-63)
- Substance use (q. 64)
- Sexual activity: type of activity and number of partners (q. 65-66)
- Attitudes to and understanding of commercial sex (q. 67-83)
- Attitudes to street prostitution (q. 84-85)
- Attitudes to men and women (q. 86)

Part B: Client Survey

The second part of the questionnaire focuses on client behavior, and comprises 14 sections:

- Frequency and type of sexual purchases (q. 90-101)
- Factors influencing the decision to buy sex (q. 102)
- Duration of encounters (q. 103-104)
- Substance use during encounters (q. 105)
- General reasons for buying sex (q. 106)
- Satisfaction with sex sellers (q. 107-108)
- Purchasing activity: where, what venues, what time of week (q. 109-115)
- Sharing information about commercial sex (q. 116-118)
- Crime, victimization and safety issues (q. 123-127)
- Characteristics of the most recent sexual encounter (q. 128-137)
- First sexual encounter (q. 138)
- Geographic purchasing patterns (q. 139-141)
- Legal experiences: knowledge of the law, history of arrest, effect of laws on purchasing activity (q. 142-157)

Individual questions comprise a series of open and close-ended answer formats. In addition, there are a series of rating and Likert-type scales that have been specifically developed for the purposes of the current study to measure attitudes and beliefs about a variety of issues related to the buying and selling of sexual services

Attitudes towards sex and sexuality (q.44) were measured in terms of an individual's beliefs as to the moral unacceptability and appropriate legal status of 25 different types of sexual activities ranging from premarital sex to snuff films. An individual with a high number of positive responses (Yes) would be deemed as very accepting, while an individual with a high number of negative responses (No) would be seen as not accepting these activities. By charting the totals for all the respondents, a group range could be determined. Comparisons based on that range could

¹ Attitudes toward sex and sexuality are gauged by questions about respondents opinions about the moral acceptability and appropriate legal status of 25 different types of sexual activities, ranging from premarital sex to snuff films. The sexual activities included in this measure were derived from an Internet questionnaire developed by Perry (1995).

then be made. The sexual activities included in this measure were derived from an Internet questionnaire developed by Perry (1995) on "Sex and the Internet." By measuring attitudes in terms of morality and legality we hope to be able to ascertain if clients' attitudes toward sex and sexuality differ markedly from those of non-clients.

A review of the relevant psychological literature showed that previously developed measures of self-concept were based on: a) a person's feelings about themselves; and b) how they compare themselves to other people. We thus measured self-concept (q. 45-47) by developing two sets of scale items. The first scale items measure self-concept in terms of how often a respondent feels they are able to express emotions, cope successfully with day-to-day problems, feel they are generally worthless, feel that they are reliable and trustworthy, and so on. The second scale measures how respondents describe themselves in comparison to "most people" in terms of whether they see themselves as: physically attractive; likable; likely to lose their temper; easy to get along with; funny; caring; shy; compassionate; neurotic; smart; psychologically healthy; physically healthy; successful; confident; and aggressive. It will be possible to develop a positive/negative scale for each set of responses and, from these, ascertain whether and in what ways clients differ from non-clients in terms of self-concept.

Satisfaction with spouse or regular sex partner (q.53-59) was conceptualized as an individual's level of satisfaction with their partner's physical appearance, ability to communicate, ability to satisfy them sexually, ability to satisfy them emotionally, and in general.

In question 64 we asked respondents how often they used various substances, including: alcohol; aspirin or similar pain relievers; diet pills; antidepressants; codeine, Demerol, or morphine; sleeping pills; marijuana or hashish; cocaine or crack; LSD (acid); amphetamines; heroin; ecstasy; opium; intravenous drugs; and nicotine. The list includes the most-used mind-altering substances in western societies, and also some of the commonly used non-prescription pain killers.

Attitudes to men and women (q. 86) were measured by asking an individual's level of agreement or disagreement with a wide variety of statements about men and women on topics ranging from level of competitiveness to responsibility for child care. The 32 statements used to assess attitudes were derived from the 109 item Gender Attitude Inventory developed by Ashmore et. al. (1995). The Gender Attitude Inventory was chosen because it had been used and assessed previously and because the structure of the inventory allowed for the use of selected statements as opposed to one complete instrument.

When it comes to client behaviour, we ask how important various factors are in a respondent's decision to visit a sex seller (q. 102), ranging from impulse to availability. In order to allow for other more important factors to be stated by the respondent, three "other" categories were provided as well. The factors used in the scale were derived from previous studies of the client and conversations with key informants.

Respondents are asked to give various reasons for buying sexual services. Again, the list of reasons were again derived from the extant literature on the client and a series of discussions with key informants.

Satisfaction with sex sellers (q. 107-108) is measured by two scales. The first scale attempts to measure the respondent's general satisfaction with the length of time spent with, the amount of money spent on, and the quality of services received from sex sellers. The second scale asks to

what degree the respondent agrees with a variety of statements about how they feel after they have purchased sexual services. The categories and statements used within each scale were derived from the extant literature.

Facilitating a Control Group Comparison

In order to produce a control group of non-clients to compare to clients, the first half of the questionnaire was designed as a general survey on sex and sexuality, while the second half focuses on the actions and experiences of clients and their knowledge of the law. As well as a standard array of biographical and demographic questions, the questionnaire also includes various attitude scales. In this way, we hope to ascertain to what extent, if any, clients and non-clients can be differentiated in terms of their attitudes, biography and demographic characteristics.

In order to facilitate a comparison of clients and non-clients, we invited all Internet-using adults to respond to the Internet questionnaire, not just clients. Although advertising of the British Columbia version of the questionnaire was targeted exclusively at clients, two of our distribution methods -- depositing copies of the questionnaire in Triple X video stores, and contacting clients in various bars and clubs (for a description, see below) -- could, if continued, facilitate a control group comparison. As it was, we received 25 questionnaires from non-clients

Distributing the British Columbia Questionnaire

In order to recruit respondents for the British Columbia questionnaire we employed several contact methods described in the literature, and developed three other techniques to supplement these. Table A shows the sources of the 57 questionnaires comprising the British Columbia sample.

Table A
BC Questionnaire Distribution Methods

Contact Method	# Received
Triple X video/book stores	23
Bar patrons	21
Sex trade workers	8
Mail out	4
VD clinic	1
Total	57

The methods used to contact clients are described below.

Sex Trade Workers

With the assistance of PACE (Prostitution Alternatives Counselling and Education²) we contacted several sex trade workers who agreed to give to selected clients copies of the questionnaire and a prepaid mail-back envelope. We received 7 questionnaires from these contacts, and an eighth from a contact identified by PEERS (Prostitutes Empowerment Education Recovery Society³), a Victoria service agency also founded by former prostitutes.

As well as liaising with several women who work the street, a PACE outreach worker asked selected street-connected women to distribute to their clients business cards advertising the Internet address where the questionnaire was posted, and providing the phone numbers of two researchers so that recipients could either request a copy of the questionnaire or arrange for an interview. The business card read as follows:

Researchers from SFU would like to *interview* MEN WHO DATE SEX TRADE WORKERS
ANONYMITY GUARANTEED

Phone: Chris at XXX XXXX or John at XXX XXXX

OR

Would you fill in a questionnaire over the Internet? It can be found at: <http://lowmatch.uniserve.com>

OR

Phone, and we can send you the questionnaire

Because we devised this strategy only shortly before the data gathering phase of the research was concluded, only 100 of these business cards were distributed. We do not know if any of these cards resulted in Internet responses, although none of the 114 Internet respondents who were asked how they found out about the survey identified these business cards as their source of information.⁴ Also, the cards did not result in any phone calls from prospective respondents offering to do an interview or requesting a copy of the questionnaire. We believe that this contact method would probably be quite fruitful if, rather than advertising phone numbers so that potential respondents could request that a copy of the questionnaire be sent to them, the business cards advertised instead a discrete location where a copy could be picked up anonymously.

Bar Patrons

As we anticipated, sex buying behaviour is mostly a solitary activity, and few clients discuss their sex buying behaviour with other people. This is in stark contrast to some other contemporary cultures and to certain periods of Western history. For example, Gilfoyle's (19??) account of

² PACE Society "was founded by former prostitutes who recognized the lack of services available to individuals engaged in systems of prostitution. PACE is dedicated to creating a caring and judgment free environment where individuals can make a free choice regarding their lifestyle. Programs, services and support respect the individuals needs and decisions." (Outreach worker's information card).

³ PEERS is "a non-profit society established by ex-prostitutes and community supporters. We are here to assist individuals who desire to leave the sex industry. We respect the choices of those still involved in prostitution and we work to improve their safety and working condition. We dedicate ourselves to the empowerment, education and recovery of prostitutes, former prostitutes and other sex trade workers" (mission statement).

⁴ One oversight in the Internet questionnaire was that we did not ask how respondents had found out about the survey. We got 114 responses after we realized this oversight, and added a question asking how respondents found out about the questionnaire.

prostitution in New York from 1790-1920 reveals that, during the nineteenth century, the sex trade was “part of ... public culture, structured by the market, organized into institutions, ranging from the brothel to the theater” (p. 20). So “central” to metropolitan life was prostitution that it had become part of a “sporting male” sub-culture of promiscuity, the “most conspicuous sexual ethic” of which was its “defence of prostitution” (p. 99):

Among “the best classes of Men” living in New York and Brooklyn, Walt Whitman admitted, “the custom is to go among prostitutes as an ordinary thing. Nothing is thought of it -- or rather the wonder is, how can there be any ‘fun’ without it.” Gilfoyle, p.103)

Although our data reveal that many clients do not participate in prostitution in the context of membership of a distinct male subculture, that is not always the case. For example, in their analysis of data from the 1992 US National Health and Social Life Survey which included the question, “Have you ever paid a woman to have sex?” Sullivan and Simon (1997) report that 36% of men with military service had paid a woman for sex as compared to only 13% of men who had no military service. Anecdotal information also suggests that men discuss their sex buying behaviour in certain male work-place environments. For example, one Seattle longshoreman informed us that such talk is quite common on the waterfront, a suggestion that was confirmed by our experience of one longshoremen’s bar we visited in Vancouver. One can only speculate about how much men in other characteristically male environments, such as locker rooms and certain bars, talk about their sex buying experiences with each other, but this speculation did lead us to wonder whether it would be possible to seek out questionnaire respondents in such environments. To this end, we decided to select a couple of Vancouver exotic dance bars, most of these venues have an almost exclusively male clientele, and several bars where the clientele is also predominantly male, to see if questionnaire distribution would be feasible in such locations.

We selected six downtown venues catering to a range of different socio-economic groups so as to reach as broad a cross-section of the male bar population as possible. The bar survey was conducted primarily by a PACE outreach worker who, by spending time in the bars, became familiar to some of the patrons. By moving from table to table, he was able to introduce himself and the survey, which often became a topic of discussion. In the process, he met men who were prepared to fill out the questionnaire. In some cases, he would sit with the respondent while he filled out the questionnaire, and in others, the respondent filled it out on his own. Some men took a copy of the questionnaire when they left the bar, and mailed it back to us later. Over a period of three months, we distributed approximately 100 questionnaires this way. Of the 40 questionnaires that were returned, ten were from men who were not clients. Of the remaining 30 questionnaires, twenty-one questionnaires were entered into the database (the others were disqualified because of insufficient or contradictory information).

Clinics

Because other researchers (e.g. Barnard et. al. 1993; McKeganey and Barnard 1996, ch.4) have had some success contacting clients through genito-urinary clinics, we obtained a list of health centers around the lower mainland with an eye to identifying locations where we might leave a flyer advertising the survey and a pile of ten or so questionnaires and mail-back envelopes in the hope that some of them would be picked up and returned. We contacted health centers that hold specialised STD clinics one night a week to find out if this plan would be practical. It quickly

became apparent that most of the clinics do not have the space to leave the flyer and questionnaires, and so we concentrated our effort on the two specialized STD clinics operating in the lower mainland -- one in New Westminster, and the other in Vancouver. We left ten questionnaires at the New Westminster clinic, only one of which was mailed back. Although we did not obtain permission to leave questionnaires in the waiting room of the Vancouver STD clinic, we did get permission to post a flyer inviting prospective respondents to take a business card -- the same as the cards handed out on the stroll -- from a plastic container and contact us either to do an interview or get a copy of the questionnaire. We did not receive any phone calls from people identifying the clinic as their source of information about the survey. Similarly, none of the 114 Internet respondents who were asked how they found out about the survey identified the STD clinic as their source of information. As was the case with the business cards handed out on the stroll, we believe that this contact method would have been more fruitful if we had advertised a location where a potential respondent could anonymously pick up a copy of the questionnaire.

Triple X Video Stores

All across the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, sex is big business. As in many other Western environments over the past twenty years the sexually erotic has entered the BC social landscape to a hitherto unparalleled degree. Exotic dance cabarets have proliferated throughout the lower mainland, massage parlours are popping up in small suburban shopping malls as well as in downtown Vancouver, the *BC Telephone Yellow Pages* has sixteen pages of escort service ads, the local *Buy and Sell* has become a major venue for "business personals," and most local newspapers carry their share of escort service advertisements and business personals. As well as the specialised Triple X adult entertainment video stores that have proliferated since the development of inexpensive video players some twenty years ago, many regular video rental outlets include a specialised adult entertainment section in a segregated area within the store. The question for us became, where amongst this multitude of sex industry outlets might one contact the men who purchase sexual services?

Clearly, many of these sex industry outlets involve unabashed prostitution -- our survey data confirm this unequivocally. Most escort services and many massage parlours are vehicles for bringing clients and sex sellers together. But as long as prostitution is out of sight, it is usually left alone. Indeed, there appears to be an informal policy by the Crown and/or police not to prosecute escort services and massage parlours. The rationale for this policy is that no one complains about prostitution in these venues (imagine if this argument were to be extended to drug law enforcement!) Also, and perhaps more importantly, previous experiences with law enforcement against the off-street prostitution indicates that such efforts would be counterproductive to the extent that they only serve to increase levels of street prostitution.⁵ However, in the few cases against massage parlours and escort services in British Columbia with which we are familiar, the prosecution has been successful. There can be little doubt that most massage parlour body rubs include "extras" for which clients pay substantial "tips." Because they are fixed locations where acts of prostitution occur on a regular basis, they violate bawdy

⁵ For example, see Lowman's (1985) account of the effect of the closing of two Vancouver cabarets in the mid 1970s on the local street prostitution trade, and Highcrest's (1997) comments about the effects of the closure of Yonge Street body rub parlours at about the same time on street prostitution in Toronto.

house law. We suspect it is for this reason that owners of massage parlours would not allow us to leave copies of the questionnaire in the hope that clients would pick them up.

As to the legality of escort services, we have heard owners claim that while they introduce escorts to clients, they do not know what happens after the introduction is made. However, we believe that many escort service operators keep records of sex purchases, in which case it could be shown that they violate procuring laws in the course of running their business. Nevertheless, escort service operators are sensitive to legal issues, and it could be argued that distributing the client questionnaire would be tantamount to admitting their complicity in prostitution. Perhaps it is for this reason that we were not successful distributing the questionnaire through escort agencies.

Where we did have some success distributing questionnaires was through Triple X video stores. We constructed a list from the telephone yellow pages of all stores specializing in adult videos and print material. We contacted each one requesting permission to leave ten questionnaires with a flyer advertising the survey so that potential respondents could anonymously pick them up. We made the same request of several general video stores with adult entertainment sections. Approximately half the stores we contacted agreed to the arrangement we proposed. We distributed roughly 250 questionnaires this way. Of these, 38 questionnaires were mailed back, including 15 from men who were not clients. This left us with 23 questionnaires, all of which were included in the database.

Interviews With Clients

Because of the limitations of questionnaire research we supplemented the data provided by the two surveys with more qualitative information from semi-structured interviews with clients (Lowman, et. al, 1997). By using a more open format in the interviews, we hoped to avoid being overly constrained by previous research, and remain skeptical of preconceived -- perhaps even stereotypical -- images of the client. Our target was 20 interviews; we ended up with twelve.

Advertising the Questionnaire

As well as handing out the business cards described above, we posted a series of advertisements for interview subjects in various local newspapers and in two adult contact magazines. The advertisements ran for various periods between January and April 1997.

The first two advertisements dealt with the Internet survey and were placed in the January and February editions of *Tab Magazine*, a monthly Canadian adult contact magazine that was first published in 1956. The ad ran as follows:

MEN WHO BUY SEX (A SOCIAL SURVEY)

We are asking men who buy sex to respond anonymously to a questionnaire about sex, sexuality and prostitution. The questionnaire, which may take from one to two hours to fill out, can be found on Internet at:

<http://lowmatch.uniserve.com>

If you don't have access to Internet, we can mail you the questionnaire and a return envelope. If you respond by mail or phone, use a pseudonym. We will not keep a record of your address after we mail the questionnaire (but we cannot prevent third parties from opening mail at the destination address). If you are interested in receiving the questionnaire, please contact John Lowman, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, V5A 1S6.

We received three requests for copies of the questionnaire as a result of this ad. When we returned copies of the questionnaire, we asked if the recipient would be prepared to consent to an interview as well as filling out the questionnaire. Two of the three men subsequently wrote back saying that they would be prepared to do a phone interview (see interviews with Fred and Norman, Appendix 1). After we added a question to the Internet survey asking where respondents had learned about the survey, two replied that it had been in the *Tab*. As this question was asked of the last 114 respondents only (i.e. those who responded in March 1997) we can infer that this advertisement was reasonably successful in soliciting respondents.

We ran the same advertisement in the March edition of *The Adult Personals*, a British Columbia contact magazine. We do not know how many responses this generated, if any.

The second series of advertisements we ran in the *Vancouver Sun*, *Province*, *Buy and Sell* and *West Ender*, which are all Vancouver publications. These ads gave the Internet address, and either one or two phone numbers which potential respondents could call to request that they be sent a copy of the questionnaire, or do an interview. We ran these ads in sequence in order to ascertain which publication produced the best response. None of these publications would run an ad with the wording "men who buy sex," preferring instead one of several variations on the following:

RESEARCHERS from SFU would like to interview MEN WHO USE ESCORT, SERVICES OR SIMILAR SERVICES (contact Chris at XXX XXXX or John at XXX XXXX) or answer our Internet questionnaire at: <http://lowmatch.uniserve.com>, or call us to find out where to pick up a questionnaire.

In the *Vancouver Sun* and *Province* we ran the ad over two four day periods. During the first four day period in February, contrary to our request, the ad was run under "personals" in the "Announcements" section of the Classified Section, index item 59 of some 1600 advertising categories, rather than "business personals" item 1110. Men scanning the business personals and escort ads (item 1225) would have been unlikely to see our ad because it was posted under an entirely different heading Classified section, many pages from the relevant prostitution advertisements. Not surprisingly, the ad did not produce a single telephone call. Similarly, when our ad was misplaced in the Information wanted section of the *West Ender*, a free weekly newspaper distributed in Kitsilano and the West End, we received not one call. When we re-advertised in the *West Ender* among the escort service ads some two weeks later, we received roughly fifteen calls, most of which were from men wanting to find out more about the survey. Three of the calls resulted in interviews. The ad in the *Buy and Sell*, a bi-weekly publication devoted solely to advertising and now one of the main venues for advertising sex, also produced a good response. However, when we re-advertised in the *Sun* and *Province* among the business personals and escort ads, we did not receive any calls. This may be because the much more expensive advertising prices in the *Sun* and *Province* prevented us from running an ad in "semi-display" as we did in both the *West Ender* and the *Buy and Sell*; in the *Sun* and *Province* we ran line ads which do not stand out the same way. Or it may reflect the greater popularity of the *West Ender* and *Buy and Sell* for persons seeking commercial sexual services, because they are much

more popular with the advertisers of those services. Again, that is because the advertisements in the *West Ender* and *Buy and Sell* are much less expensive to run. Indeed, this impression was confirmed by some of the men we interviewed, and by some of the women posting the advertisements with whom we made contact.

Our experience with these advertisements emphasized just how reluctant men who buy sex are to reveal their identity. No doubt this reluctance was accentuated by the political climate that was developing during the course of this research, and for some time before. Over the past two to three years especially across Canada there has been something of a moral reconstruction of prostitution. The reconstruction began in 1984 with the appearance of the first “Shame the Johns” campaign in the West End of Vancouver, and gained momentum in 1985 with the repeal of the soliciting law and enactment of the communicating law. For the first time, the communicating law made the prospective buyer of sexual services culpable if the communication was made in a public place or a place open to public view. This moral reconstruction was given further impetus in 1995 when Vancouver police began to send “Dear John” letters, which describe the problems associated with street prostitution, to the homes of men identified as cruising one of Vancouver’s strolls. And then in 1996 the first Canadian “john’s schools” were opened in Toronto and Edmonton. And then in 1997 Vancouver police announced that, barring exceptional circumstances, they would no longer arrest prostitutes for communicating. Instead they would concentrate their efforts on clients, believing them to be more deterrable and more morally culpable than prostitutes who, for a variety of reasons they claimed, are better viewed as victims (Vancouver Police Department, 1997).

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that clients were reluctant to do anything that might identify them, and many of the callers responding to our ad were wary that we might be police involved in some kind of sting operation. During the course of our advertising we received approximately 30 calls which resulted in ten interviews, but no one who contacted us wanted to provide an address to which we could send a questionnaire. The solution to this problem was to advertise an address where a potential respondent could pick up a questionnaire without having to identify himself. Unfortunately, we did not identify such an address -- a book and video store on the 1100 block of Granville Street, a central downtown location -- until late in the data gathering process. When we advertised this address in the *West Ender*, five questionnaires picked up at the store were mailed back in a two week period. Systematic advertising of several addresses in different parts of the city this way would probably produce a better response rate than the one we achieved using the various methods described above.

Mail Out

One other obvious way of identifying potential research subjects is through the files of men charged for communicating in Vancouver. We obtained permission from the Ministry of Attorney General to use information collected during Phase 1 of this research to develop a mailing list of men who may have previously purchased sexual services, and send them an invitation to participate in this survey. Of the 140 invitations mailed out, 45 were returned because the addressee had “moved” or the address was incomplete. Through the mail out we eventually obtained four responses.

Through a combination of these various methods, we distributed about 700 copies of the questionnaire, and ended up with 57 responses.

The Internet Questionnaire

Although the main focus of the research is men who have paid money for sexual services on one or more occasion during their lifetime, in order to develop a control group for comparative purposes, all adults, male and female, were invited to participate in the survey. The total sample consists of 549 English speaking male and female Internet users over the age of 18 from Canada, the United States, England, Northern Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, Wales, and the Republic of Ireland. The sample included 134 men, five women and one transsexual who had paid money for sexual services at least once during their lifetime. The comparison group comprised 269 males and 141 females who had never paid for sex. Three transsexuals who had never paid for sex also returned questionnaires.

The sample was drawn through a process of partiality controlled self-selection. Due to the adult subject matter of the survey and the social and linguistic differences that exist among countries with access to the Internet, data were gathered from only those individuals who fit specific age, language, and residency requirements. By including electronic skip-patterns that excluded individuals under the age of 18 years, and adults who did not reside in predominantly English speaking Western nations we partially controlled the respondent selection process. Aside from these specifications, respondents were entirely self-selecting.

Prior to commencing the survey potential respondents were informed of the personal nature of the subject matter, and advised that the survey would likely take from one to two hours to complete. They were reminded that participation was voluntary and that they could decline to answer any question if they so desired or terminate the questionnaire altogether if they felt uncomfortable. Also, potential respondents were informed that, although all possible measures had been taken to ensure complete anonymity and confidentiality of responses, there are certain risks involved with the transfer of information over the Internet. If they found these risks to be unacceptable, we asked potential respondents to download the questionnaire and return a completed hard copy via conventional mail at their own expense.⁶ We received thirteen hard copy responses through the mail.

We decided to exclude responses where less than half the relevant questions were answered. To do this we had to distinguish clients and non-clients (the non-client files are much smaller than the client files, because non-clients answer only the first half of the questionnaire). It was easy to discern the incomplete responses by examining the size of the electronic file to be downloaded into the database. Thirteen respondents were excluded because they answered less than half the relevant questions. For the most part, respondents answered nearly all the questions germane to their experience.

Once it was determined that the returned surveys were reasonably complete, each respondent's answers were carefully screened to identify duplicate submissions (duplication could occur when a respondent depressed the "send" button twice) and to ensure that the set of answers from each

⁶ For a more complete discussion of the methods used to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of responses see Atchison (1996) and Lowman et.al. (1996).

respondent was internally consistent. Three duplicate questionnaires were removed from the database. Two questionnaires were rejected because the respondent was obviously not taking the questionnaire seriously. For example, one respondent claimed to have an “alien living up my arse.” This alien reappeared in several answers, and also was reported as being an accomplice in the more than ten murders the respondent claimed to have committed. Three respondents were excluded on the grounds that they reported they were under eighteen, and an additional 5 questionnaires were omitted because of glaring inconsistencies in responses to questions about occupational status, income, family relations, and attitudes toward sex, sexuality and prostitution.

In sum, 26 questionnaires were excluded because they were either incomplete, duplicated, internally inconsistent, or submitted by persons under eighteen years of age.

Advertising the Internet Questionnaire

By using a combination of E-mail, the World Wide Web, Usenet groups, and Internet relay chat, it was possible to contact a wide range of Internet-users to advertise the questionnaire. The primary method used to collect the data was an electronic version of the questionnaire which utilized hyper-text mark-up language (HTML) and common gateway interface scripts (CGI) to allow participants to use their World Wide Web browser to fill out and return the questionnaire through an on-line electronic mail interface;⁷ 544 respondents chose this method. Those respondents who were unwilling or unable to fill out the questionnaire on-line were given the option to download an identical hard copy version that could be filled out off-line either manually or electronically and returned via electronic or conventional mail; a total of 13 respondents made use of this option.

In addition to the newspaper and magazine advertising described above, prospective respondents were contacted through the use of a variety electronic media, including:

- Advertisements placed within topic specific Usenet groups found on-line;
- Listing the uniform resource locator (web page address) on seven of the major Internet search engines;
- A brief description and *link* posted on major media and prostitution related web pages

The primary method used to advertise the survey was through Usenet groups. Usenet groups are topic specific bulletin boards used by individuals to carry on semi-public conversations or to exchange information or sound or picture files. We posted the following Usenet advertisement:

Usenet Group Advertisement

We have posted this advertisement in this group due to its sexual subject nature. We have cross-posted the ad in several groups so that you will not have to see it more than once and so that we do not to clog up the system with needless posts. We believe that this questionnaire will be of interest to many of the members of the groups we have posted in.

⁷ For a detailed explanation of the technical aspects related to the HTML programming and cgi scripting see Atchison, 1996.

Sex and Sexuality in the 1990s: A Questionnaire About Attitudes and Behaviour, With a Focus on Men Who Buy Sex.

Sex and sexuality play an important part in our lives, and generate a considerable amount of discussion and research. We are continuing this research tradition by inviting Internet users in North America, the British Isles, Australia and New Zealand to describe their attitudes to sex and their sexual behaviour. We believe this is the first survey of this kind to be conducted over the Internet.

The first half of the questionnaire concerns the sexual behaviour of adults, and we invite everyone over seventeen years of age in North America, the British Isles, Australia and New Zealand to respond so that we can develop a portrait of the sexual attitudes and behaviour of Internet users in those areas. The second half of the questionnaire focuses on persons who buy sexual services, a population about which very little is known. We are particularly interested in contacting persons who have purchased sexual services to fill out the entire questionnaire so that we can develop a better understanding of their attitudes and behaviour.

We have done everything technologically possible to ensure the anonymity of respondents.

If you would like to fill out the questionnaire, a process that will normally take between one and two hours, either click on the URL listed below, or record the address and visit our questionnaire site when you have the time.

For those of you who wish to download a full copy of the questionnaire and return it to us through conventional mail, we have set up two files on this page for you. The first file is a document file that is compatible with Microsoft Word and Corel Word Perfect, the second file is a basic text file that is compatible with most text editors

Thanks in advance to those Internet users who decide to respond to the questionnaire.

The URL is <http://lowmatch.uniserve.com/atchison/questionnaire/1.htm>

At the time of the last posting there were over 14,000 active Usenet groups ranging in topic areas from abortion to Zoology. During the first two months of the study advertisements were placed in a wide variety of Usenet groups in order to solicit as many responses as possible.

Although this method of advertisement produced over one-half of the total responses it was brought to our attention that by posting our unsolicited research advertisements in off-topic Usenet groups we were inadvertently committing a violation of netiquette known as "spamming." As a result Usenet advertisement between the months of January and March were restricted to bi-weekly multiple postings in only those groups which dealt specifically with topics relating to sex and sexuality.⁸

⁸ The Usenet groups posted to were as follows: Alt.fan.dirty.whores; alt.homosexual; alt.politics.sex; alt.sex; alt.sex.anal; alt.sex.anal; alt.sex.balls; alt.sex.bears; alt.sex.beastiality; alt.sex.bestiality.barney; alt.sex.bondage; alt.sex.boredom; alt.sex.breathless; alt.sex.brothels; alt.sex.enemas; alt.sex.escort.ads; alt.sex.erotica.marketplace; alt.sex.exhibitionism; alt.sex.extropians; alt.sex.fat; alt.sex.femdom; alt.sex.fencing; alt.sex.fetish.amputees; alt.sex.fetish.diapers; alt.sex.fetish.drew-barrymore; alt.sex.fetish.fa; alt.sex.fetish.fashion; alt.sex.fetish.feet; alt.sex.fetish.giants; alt.sex.fetish.hair; alt.sex.fetish.motorcycles; alt.sex.fetish.orientals; alt.sex.fetish.robots; alt.sex.fetish.scat; alt.sex.fetish.size; alt.sex.fetish.smoking; alt.sex.fetish.sportswear; alt.sex.fetish.startrek; alt.sex.fetish.tickling; alt.sex.fetish.trent-reznor; alt.sex.fetish.waifs; alt.sex.fetish.watersports; alt.sex.fetish.wet-and-messy; alt.sex.fetish.wrestling; alt.sex.first-time; alt.sex.fish; alt.sex.furry; alt.sex.girl.watchers; alt.sex.guns; alt.sex.hello-kitty; alt.sex.homosexual; alt.sex.incest; alt.sex.intergen; alt.sex.jp; alt.sex.magazines; alt.sex.masturbation; alt.sex.motss; alt.sex.movies; alt.sex.necrophilia; alt.sex.oral; alt.sex.phone; alt.sex.pictures; alt.sex.pictures.d; alt.sex.pictures.female; alt.sex.pictures.male; alt.sex.pictures.plushies; alt.sex.safe; alt.sex.services; alt.sex.sm.fig; alt.sex.sounds; alt.sex.aspnking; alt.sex.stories; alt.sex.stories.d; alt.sex.stories.gay; alt.sex.stories.hetero; alt.sex.stories.tg; alt.sex.strip-clubs; alt.sex.super-size; alt.sex.swingers; alt.sex.telephone; alt.sex.trans; alt.sex.voxmeet; alt.sex.voyeurism; alt.sex.wanted; alt.sex.watersports;

The World Wide Web is made up of millions of individual and corporate Web pages designed to visually and acoustically display a wide range of topic specific information. In order to navigate through this virtual web of information computer programmers have devised a variety of computer programs called 'spiders' to catalogue the contents of each Web page. There are currently over twenty-five public access search engines on the Web. In order to reach a wider section of the Internet using population the URL and a brief description of the questionnaire was listed for the duration of the research with each of the seven most popular search engines, including: Alta Vista, Yahoo, Lycos, Magellan, Web Crawler, W3, and Infoseek.

There are currently two major Usenet and Web sites designed specifically for the purpose of relaying information on prostitution and prostitution related issues: alt.sex.prostitution and the World Sex Guide. The people who manage these sites estimate that each one is visited by over one-thousand Internet users a week. Following a nationally televised discussion of the effectiveness of "John School" on the show *Face-off*, we were able to arrange to have our URL and a brief description of the questionnaire and research advertised on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) *Face-off* home page. A link was also placed on the Los Angeles COYOTE home-page prior to the International Conference on Prostitution held in March this year. By advertising our survey and providing links to it on these other home pages we were able to draw more attention to our site and the survey and thus increase the pool of potential respondents.

So as not to rely totally on the Internet to generate responses, advertisement were placed in national and local adult publications, local newspapers, local clubs, adult video and novelty shops, and local sexually transmitted disease clinics. In addition, we distributed small business cards in local adult clubs and bars that provided the URL and contact information for those interested in either visiting our Web site or contacting us personally to obtain a hard copy of the questionnaire.

The Internet survey went on-line November 9, 1996, and ran until March 31, 1997. Advertisements were placed in over fifty Usenet groups on a bi-weekly basis beginning on November 10, 1996 and ending on March 17, 1997. The uniform resource locator (URL) was listed on fifteen individual web pages as wells as the seven major search engines listed above. Conventional media and specialty shop advertisement of the URL and distribution of business cards began January 15, 1996 and continued until March 31, 1997.

The objective of the current project is not to make generalizations to a wider population of sex-buyers or Internet users, rather it is to examine the differences and similarities that exist between this client sample and those described within past research so as to facilitate a better understanding of the diversity of the sex-buying population and to begin to identify possible inroads into sub-sets of the sex-buying population where probabilistic sampling techniques may be utilized. Despite the analytical intentions of the research, the methods used to solicit responses for the questionnaire have several significant limitations and strengths that must be considered prior to reviewing the results⁹.

alt.sex.weight-gain; alt.sex.wizards; alt.sexy.bald.captains; aus.sex; clari.news.crime.sex; clari.news.sex; hk.talk.sex; tw.bbs.sci.sex; uw.alt.sex.beastiality; uw.alt.sex.bondage; uw.alt.sex.stories; alt.sex.torture; alt.sex.prostitution; alt.romance; alt.romance.chat; alt.romance.mature-adult; alt.romance.online; alt.romance.unhappy; dc.romance; soc.couples; uk.singles; ba.singles; dfw.singles; houston.singles; ne.singles; nv.singles; nyc.singles; ont.singles; ott.singles; pdx.singles; pgh.singles; phl.singles; sacramento.singles; sdnetsingles; soc.singles.

⁹ For a detailed assessment of the reliability and validity of the research instrument see Atchison (1996).

Although our advertisement in Usenet groups is likely to have been seen by several thousand perspective respondents, only those with prior interest in prostitution and other sex related topics would have been seen the advertisements during the final three months of the research. This is likely to have had a substantial effect on the type of people who responded and may have increased the level of volunteer bias present in our sample. We attempted to reduce the effects of this bias by extending our advertising into print media and adult clubs, bars, and businesses. Despite our efforts, the results presented should not be interpreted as representative of the sex-buying population as a whole.

A second characteristic with the sampling procedure is that the entire sample is based on convenience and/or self-selection. This limits the immediate generalizability of the results to the wider sex-buying population. However, our research is exploratory and descriptive. Explanation and generalization lie beyond our immediate mandate. Furthermore, the problem of self-selection bias is not unique to Internet related client research. Nearly all existing prostitution research -- and, indeed, much social science survey research -- is based on non-probabilistic sampling.

On a more pragmatic level, because the survey was written in a semi-technical language the pool of possible respondents was restricted to only those individuals who could read, write and understand the vocabulary of the questionnaire. It is possible that some members of the sex-buying population may not have been included on the basis of their inability to understand the questions asked. Again, this is a common problem associated with survey style social science research. However, it would appear however that the very nature of the Internet limits the biasing effects of language. The Internet is primarily a text-based medium, and in order to use it one must possess a certain level of linguistic skills. It is unlikely that literary differences resulted in an abnormally high level of bias in the results. Future generations of this and other on-line research will have to acknowledge that the Internet is a rapidly growing entertainment, education and communication network and account for the social and educational status of prospective respondents.

Despite these problems, the methods used to contact and administer the survey have several strengths. By using Usenet groups, personal and corporate pages, search engines and bulletin boards for advertisement it was possible to inform thousands of Internet users of our survey without having to spend thousands of dollars on advertising. Also we were also able to have a relatively high degree of control over the location of the ads, the times at which they were placed, and their wording. The advertisements we placed in the more conventional publications were often quite expensive and subject to temporal, spatial, and language restrictions.

The greatest strength of our contact and collection method lies in the provision of complete anonymity. Because Usenet groups, Web pages, and print media advertisements may be viewed in relative privacy, those individuals who may not normally participate in a research process due to feelings of stigmatization created by public contact were given a unique opportunity to have their voices heard on issues relating to sex and sex-buying in complete anonymity. Much of the feedback we have received from sex-buyers during this research supports the contention that this anonymity is of the utmost importance to the sex-buying population.

Pretesting The Two Questionnaires

Although we solicited extensive feedback from various key informants, and had several people answer the questionnaire as a way of troubleshooting potential problems, our intention in this second phase of the client study was to conduct a formal pretest of both the Internet and British Columbia survey instruments. However, because of the difficulty we initially experienced contacting men in British Columbia, it was not possible to conduct a formal pretest of the local questionnaire. We did make some minor modifications to the Internet questionnaire after the initial round of responses, but because we wanted to ensure that the two questionnaires remained directly comparable, and because the problems characterizing the two instruments may be different (one is filled out interactively, the other is a hard copy), we decided to complete the survey without a formal pretest. Having had time to reflect on the results, we believe that this has not compromised our results, although there are ways the questionnaire should be modified before a second generation of the survey is run. To this end, we have included an auto-critique of the questionnaire so that this first generation survey effectively becomes a pretest. For the time being, we provide this critique in point form:

- Parts of the questionnaire are written for respondents with a reasonably sophisticated vocabulary. A questionnaire should be developed that is written in “street” language (the Winnipeg bi-sex survey is a good example of the sort of things we have in mind).
- Comments on the local survey confirm that many respondents found the numerous attitude scales very tiresome. This will be less of a problem in future generations of the survey, because one of the main purposes of the many attitudinal questions is to develop a series of scales that effectively differentiate respondents.
- Several questions refer to “liaisons” with sellers. The term “dates” should be used instead.
- Any question asking about a “number” should include a “none” or a “never” code (e.g. Q. 90, 91, 101).
- Wherever possible ratio data should be collected. We unnecessarily turned some ratio data into ordinal or interval data (e.g. age of first sexual intercourse). It may be advisable to retain some interval data so that respondents cannot say “lots” (e.g. number of lifetime sexual purchases)
- Q. 7. Religion: This question produced many highly varied and very specific responses. While the code list has been expanded to some extent, it is difficult to classify all of the specified religions.
- Q. 9. An option should be provided to specify which inter-racial categories an individual falls into.
- Q. 20. It should be possible for respondents to include children older than 17.
- Qs. 21, 22 and 23 Adopted respondents may not know if their birth parents are still alive or married. Also, what about adoptive parents?
- Q. 22. There should be four categories: divorced, one parent deceased, both parents deceased, don't know.
- Qs. 24 and 25. Should also include step bothers and sisters.
- Qs. 28 and 31. If there was more than one other person involved, it is not possible to code them all here.
- Qs. 29, 33 and 39. Categories should be tightened up -- what about girlfriend/boyfriend/mother/father/ grandparents/spouses/brother/sister/fiancee?

- Q. 30, 32 Difficult to say if people understood this question perhaps it should read “...*not including yourself.*” Also, Q. 32 should be after Q. 33, and we don’t ask a similar question for sexual abuse.
- Q. 35. Should allow for more than one answer e.g. incest/rape or boyfriend/rape
- Q. 44 Many respondents on the BC questionnaire did not understand that this is really two separate (but linked) questions, and gave an answer for *either* their moral *or* legal opinion, but not both. The two questions should be made more clear.
- Q. 52. The question is a ambiguous, and should state “how did you feel *about getting caught*”?
- Q. 59 I think quite a few people in the BC sample did not see the question as it is placed under two scales, and at the end of a page.
- Q. 60 We specified “regular” sex partner in only one category.
- Q. 62 “Aware of” should be the first line.
- Q. 64 A few people noted that codeine use was a prescription drug.
- Q. 69, 70, 71, 72 Should we specify more than just street/escort?
- Q. 87. Some male respondents, especially in the BC sample, stated that they had received money for sex. We should include an open ended question inquiring about the circumstances of this experience. This will help determine if people answered this mistakenly (what kind of exchange do they interpret as being “paid” for sex, and who was the “customer”) or if they have, in fact, been in the sex trade themselves. Also, what about asking them if they have ever been the third party (pimp) in a commercial sex transaction?
- Q. 94. We should accept both “yes” and “no” answers at Q. 93.
- Q. 97 “spontaneous decision” is too vague, because it could be a spontaneous decision based on any of the other code categories. This would be better as an open-ended question. We did not get much information from this question.
- Q. 98. It might be interesting to ask the “yesses” why they think they are addicts and how that affects them.
- Qs. 99, 100, 103, 104, 105b, 105c, 110, 111, 112, 113 114. The categories here are confusing, and some respondents were not consistent in their answers. Particularly confusing is the distinction between escorts and ads -- some escorts are reached through ads, and some individuals not working for an “escort service” nevertheless advertise themselves as “escorts.” Some respondents based later answers on Q. 99 (what they have done in their lifetime) while others based the later answers on Q. 100 (what they have done in the past year). This whole section needs to be clarified so that: a) respondents know exactly what time period we’re referring to in 103, 104 etc.; and b) respondents are less likely to be inconsistent across these questions. The consistency problem continues on through the rest of the questionnaire at certain points (e.g. people who claim at Q 99 to be street users might claim at Q. 157 that they don’t meet sellers on the s street -- or vice-versa). Also, if someone had only contacted a type of seller only once, they did not necessarily refer to that type of seller again. A solution to these problems would be to ask a series of contiguous questions about each category of prostitution. If a respondent reports that they don’t patronize a certain type of sex seller, then they should be directed to the next category.
- Q. 102a. As one respondent pointed out, it might be more accurate to ask about how these factor influence “whether” to visit, rather than “when”.
- Q. 105a. We should remove the “not applicable” category -- respondents confused it with the “never” category”
- Qs. 105a, 105b and 105c. We missed code “2” on the local questionnaire.
- Qs. 108, 137. The “nothing in particular” category is meaningless if the respondent has given any answers above.

- Q. 109. A lot of BC respondents did not answer this question, possibly because of its physical location on the page.
- Q. 111. We should allow for more multiples e.g. Friday and Saturday nights, or “the weekend” or Monday and Wednesday (because those are the nights that the wife has to work so the children can eat) or whatever.
- Qs. 141, 143, 157, 158 and 159. We need to provide more variable space in the database for these questions.
- Q. 142. Are we asking this as a general question, or should we specify “street”? Or, should we *not* specify “street” at Q. 141?
- Q. 153. Needs a “not applicable” code. e.g. for men who don’t buy outside Canada, or men who don’t buy on street, etc. Maybe 153 and 156A would be better as a simple multiple rather than a scale.
- Q. 154b. (NET) has no limit, 158b (LOCAL) had a limit of three answers.
- Q. 161. We ask respondents why they think john school will/will not work.

Preliminary Analysis

Because of the unanticipated volume of information the Internet research yielded, and because of the length of time it took to reach the goal of fifty respondents for the British Columbia Survey, we limit our preliminary analysis to the Internet survey. However, in the Appendix 1 we present the initial runs of frequency tables for both the BC and Internet Surveys. The integration and complete analysis of the data will be completed later.

We proceed here by briefly describing the general characteristics of the Internet sample as a whole, and then describe the three main sub-samples (females, males who have never purchased sex, and males who have purchased sex at least once) that comprise the whole. We have not had a chance to weave these three descriptions into an integrated discussion of the similarities and differences among these three sub-samples. This will have to be done later. However, we do begin this process by concluding with a table identifying some of the statistically significant differences between male clients and male non-clients.

Demographic Profile of the Internet Respondents

The sample of 554 Internet respondents ranges in age from 18-67, with a mean of 29.24 and a median of 26. The age distribution is slightly negatively skewed, with most respondents (65.5%) stating that they are under 30 years of age. Of those who answered the question about their gender¹⁰ 73% are male, 26.4% are female, and .5% transgendered. Most of the respondents (55.8%) are single, with only 31.7% stating they are married or live in a common-law relationship; a further 8% are separated or divorced. As expected, a large proportion of the sample resides in the United States (79.6%), with the remainder living in Canada (12.7%), Australia and New Zealand (3.5%) and the British Isles (3%). Eighty-five percent of the respondents are Caucasian. Persons identifying themselves as “inter-racial” (4.3%), Asian

¹⁰ In the calculation of percentages presented, missing values are excluded; where there is a large number of missing values, the number of valid cases is provided. The full frequency distributions for all variables reported are provided in the appendices.

(2.2%), Latin American (2%), and African-American (1.8%) make up the remainder of the sample. In terms of the various religious denominations of the sample, 26.7% are Protestant and 16.8% are Catholic; 24.7% of respondents stated that they have no religion.

Educational Background

Most (64.2%) of the respondents who answered the question about the number of years schooling (n=548) had twelve years, 21.5% had thirteen years, and only 9.1% had less than eleven years. 92.7% of respondents had gone beyond high school, with 38.2% having some University or college education, 27.7% have completed a bachelor's or teaching degree, and 13.3% have a Masters degree.

Employment and Personal Income

The majority of respondents are either employed full-time (53.4%) or are students (31.9%). The mean income of those respondents who reside in Australia and who reported their income (n=11) is 30436 Australian Dollars per annum. The average income for Canadian respondents (n=56) is 25,835 Canadian Dollars a year. For those respondents residing in England the mean annual income is 15,964 British Pounds per annum. The average yearly income for respondents living in New Zealand (n=7) is 24,285 New Zealand Dollars. Scottish respondents (n=4) earn an average of 17,600 British Pounds a year. The American respondents (n=365) average annual income is 31,214 American Dollars per year.

Substance Use

Several questions were asked about the use of substances such as alcohol, marijuana/hashish, cocaine, heroin, and nicotine during the previous year. Alcohol was used on average, one to three times a month by 25.4% of respondents, less than once a month by 24.5%, and two to three times a week by 12.9%. Marijuana or hashish was not used at all by 71% of respondents and on less than one occasion per month by 15.7%. Only 3.3% of respondents had used cocaine, 5.9% had had used LSD, 4.6% amphetamines, and .9% had used heroin on more than a monthly basis during the previous year. Nicotine was not used at all by 56.3% of respondents, and four or more times a day by 25.1%.

Sex/Gender of Respondents

Of the respondents who answered the question about their sexual orientation (n=534), 78.5% described themselves as heterosexual, 13.5% as bisexual, and 7.3% as gay or lesbian.

Attitudes to Morality and the Content of Criminal Law

Table B: Total Sample Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality

Activity	Morally Unacceptable	Activity	Should Be Prohibited by Law
Sex With Persons 13 and Under	84.7%	Sex With Persons 13 and Under	88.5%
Pimping	76.3%	Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	75.1%
Sex With Animals	74.9%	Pimping	74.6%
Snuff Films	73.9%	Snuff Films	73.1%
Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	73.1%	Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	67.2%
Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	70.3%	Sex With Animals	53.5%
Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	67.7%	Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	40.1%
Extramarital Sex	62.2%	Selling Sexual Services in Public	37.1%
Sadism	56.4%	Buying Sexual Services in Public	36.4%
Masochism	45.9%	Sadism	29.8%

Activity	Morally Unacceptable	Activity	Should Be Prohibited by Law
Buying Sexual Services in Public	43.9%	Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	26.2%
Selling Sexual Services in Public	43.8%	Masochism	18.7%
Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	34.7%	Buying Sexual Services in Private	16%
Buying Sexual Services in Private	27.6%	Selling Sexual Services in Private	16.6%
Selling Sexual Services in Private	27%	Voyeurism	7.6%
Group Sex	24.6%	Sexual Bondage	6.2%
Voyeurism	19.5%	Group Sex	4.9%
Premarital Sex	18.3%	Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	4.5%
Anal Intercourse	18.2%	Phone Sex	4.3%
Phone Sex	17.4%	Anal Intercourse	4.1%
Sexual Bondage	16.9%	Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	3.7%
Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	15%	Premarital Sex	3.2%
Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	14.2%	Oral Sex	1.9%
Masturbation	10.9%	Masturbation	1.7%
Fellatio Sex	10.3%	Extramarital Sex	Missing Data

The Internet Female Non-Client Sample

Demographic Profile

A total of 126 females ¹¹who had never purchased sexual services during their lives responded to our survey. The ages of this group ranged from eighteen to fifty-nine, with the mean age being 24.75 (median = 23). Most of these women were single (59.5%), with only 27% identifying themselves as being married or living in a common-law relationship. 7.9% are separated or divorced. Of those who indicated their country of residence (n=124), 77.8% were from the United States, 14.5% from Canada, 2.4% from England, 2.4% from Scotland, and 1.6% from Australia. The majority of this sub-sample are Caucasian (82.5%), with only 4% stating they are of African heritage, 4% are Inter-racial, and 2.4% are Latin American. The sample was divided fairly evenly in terms of religion, with 19.8% reporting that they are Catholic, 18.3% are Protestant, and 22.2% have no religion.

¹¹ Note this number differs from the tables presented in Appendix 1. That is because there are 15 missing values in the variable “paysex” which we were subsequently able to code by obtaining information from other variables

Educational Background

Almost 90% of female non-buyers had at least twelve years of schooling, with 60.3% indicating they had twelve years, 22.2% thirteen years, and only 7.9% with eleven years. Out of the 107 women who reported the highest level of education which they had attained, 49.5% stated they had some university or college education and 21.5% had a bachelors or teaching degree.

Employment

The majority of our female respondents were students (48.4%), with only 30.2% indicating they are employed full-time, and 8.7% are employed part-time.

Family Background

Of the 122 female non-buyers who answered questions about their family background, 41% stated they had no male siblings, 33.5% had only one, and 23% had two or more. When it came to female siblings, 47.2% had none, 37.4% had only one, and 15.4% had two or more. Only 21.3% of the women indicated that they had any children. Of those who had children 34.8% had one daughter, 26.1% had two daughters, 10.5% had one step-daughter, 52.4% had one son, 19% had two sons, and 21.1% had one step-son.

Substance Use

Most of our female non-client sample did not use substances very often during the previous year, with 31% stating they used alcohol less than once a month, 29.4% used it one to three times a month, 11.1% once a week, and 15.1% not at all. Marijuana and/or hashish was used by 33.1% of the sample (16.9% stating they used it less than once a month, 8.9% between one and three times a month and the remaining 8.1% once a week or more). Only 4% of female non-buyers used cocaine (2.4% using it less than once a month). LSD was used by 6.3% of these women (and less than once a month in each case) and amphetamines by only 2.4%. Nicotine was used by the majority of the female sample (52%), with 29.6% stating they used it four or more times a day, 9.6% less than once a month, 4.8% between one and three times a month, and 2.4% two to three times a week.

Sexual History

Of the female non-clients who answered questions about their first sexual touching experience (n=105), 39% of them had this experience at or before they age of thirteen, 31.4% at fourteen or fifteen, and 18.1% between sixteen and seventeen. Most frequently this first sexual touching partner was a friend or acquaintance (76.6%), 4.4% was with a stranger, and 9.5% a blood relative. Of the 123 respondents who answered questions about their first sexual intercourse experience, 30.1% stated they were between sixteen and seventeen years of age when they had this first experience, 26.8% were between eighteen and nineteen, 14.6% were fourteen or fifteen, and 10.6% thirteen or younger. In the majority of cases this first experience was with a friend or acquaintance (82.5%), with only 6.2% of respondents stating it was with a stranger, and 4.6% a

blood relative. 96.5% of the 113 women who answered the question indicated that their first intercourse partner was male. Most often the partner was a boyfriend (59.8%) or the circumstances were “casual or a one-night stand” (18.8%).

Thirty-seven women (29.8%) indicated that they had experienced sexual abuse as a child. Most often this abuse was committed by an older male blood relative (24.1%), older male friend or acquaintance (19%), or older male stranger (12.1%). The type of abuse experienced involved masturbation (31.4%), vaginal intercourse (17.1%), fellatio (11.4%), or cunnilingus (10%). The average age at which the abuse began was 8.62 years (median and mode = 9). 35.1% of the women experienced sixteen or more incidents of abuse. Another 21.6% experienced between six and ten incidents, 13.5% four incidents and 18.9% only one.

Of the 123 non-sex-buying females who answered questions about their sexual preference and numbers of partners, 78% stated their current sexual orientation to be heterosexual, 20.3% described themselves as bisexual, and 1.6% as lesbian. Almost half of the women stated that they had between two and ten sexual partners during their lifetime (48%), with 15.2% stating they had only one, 12% eleven to twenty, and 12% forty-one or more. 60.8% of women stated that they had only one partner during the previous year, while 30.4% had between two and ten. Many of the women had never lived with a sex partner (45%). 34.2% had lived with one sexual partner, and 19.2% between two and ten. The majority of women (72.8%) stated that they currently had a spouse or regular sex partner.

Sexual Safety Behavior

The recent increase in female HIV seropositivity makes sexual safety behavior an important issue. Amongst our female non-sex-buying population, 36.6% stated that they did not use a condom during vaginal intercourse with their spouse or regular sex partner, 23.6% reported that always did so, 16.3% said they did so occasionally, and 17.1% said the question was not applicable. 68.6% of the women said that they did not engage in anal intercourse. Of those who did, 70% stated that they never use a condom. Most women reported that they did not use a condom when fellating their spouse or regular partner while 23% said the question was not applicable.

When it came to questions about condom use with their casual partners, 57.5% of the females responded that the question was not applicable. Of the remainder, 59% stated that they always use a condom during vaginal intercourse and 25% reported that they usually do so. Only 10% of female respondents reported having anal sex with casual partners, the majority of whom always use a condom when engaging in this kind of sexual activity. Of the 43% of the females who fellated casual partners, 80% did not use a condom.

Beliefs About Why Men Buy Sex

Of the 123 women who responded to a series of opinion related questions about why men buy sex over 88% felt that loneliness was either very important (55.3%) or important (33.3%), with only 11.4% stating that it was not very important. Likewise, 52% felt that sexual problems at home was an important reason, 33.3% said it was very important, and 11.4% thought it was not very important. Fewer women thought that curiosity played a very large role, with 27.3% saying it

was not very important, 50.4% saying it was important, and only 16.5% saying it was very important. The majority of women felt that seeking specific sexual acts that the spouse would not do was either very important (43.4%) or important (41.8%) reason that men buy sex. They also felt that not being able to get sex any other way was either very important (47.9%) or important (33.9%) in a man's decision to buy sex. Over 90% of women said that desire for a brief encounter was an important reason, with 51.2% rating it as important and 39.8% as very important. The women were divided in their opinion as to how important a strong male sex drive is in a man's decision to buy sex; 13.9% said that it is not at all important, 39.3% said that this is not very important, 29.5% said it is important, and 17.2% said it is very important.

Victimization By and Offenses Against a Sex Partner

A total of 119 female non-clients responded to a variety of questions about their experiences of victimization by sex partners. Over 88% of women indicated that they had never been robbed by a sex partner; 9.2% stated that they had been robbed once. 10.1% reported that they had been assaulted once by a sex partner, and a further 9.2% had been assaulted two or three times. 11.1% stated they had been raped once by a sex partner, 3.4% had been raped two or three times and 5.1% had been raped four to ten times. Almost half the women had experienced verbal abuse by a sex partner, with 11% stating that it had occurred once, 15.3% stating this had occurred two or three times, 10.2% saying it had occurred four to ten times, and 10.2% said that it had occurred more than ten times.

Of the 118 females who responded to a series of questions about various offenses against sex partners which they had committed, 2.5% said they had robbed a sex partner on one occasion, 4.2% had committed an assault once, 4.2% had forcibly confined a sex partner, while one respondent -- a prostitute -- reported that she had murdered two or three partners. When it came to verbal abuse, over 25% of women stated they had victimized a sex partner in this way, 7.5% said that they had done so once, 12.5% had done so on two or three occasions, 3.3% had done so four to ten times, and 3.3% had done so more than ten times.

Attitudes to Women and Men

Most of the 122 women who responded to the series of questions disagreed with the statement that men are less competitive than women (56.6% said that they disagree somewhat and 36.1% strongly disagreed). Over 85% of women agreed with the statement that women are more gentle than men. 56.1% of the women agreed somewhat and 22.8% strongly agreed with the statement that men are more arrogant than women. Women were divided over whether men were more independent, with 35.3% saying they agree somewhat and 10.1% strongly agreeing, while 39.5% disagreed somewhat, and 15.1% strongly disagreed. They were also divided over the contention that women are more gullible, with 38% somewhat agreeing and 6.6% strongly agreeing, while 33.9% disagreeing somewhat and 21.5% strongly disagreed. Close to 70% disagreed that women are weaker than men. 59% of the women agreed that men are more cruel than women, and a little over 70% felt that men are more egotistical. Finally, when it comes to women being less adventurous, 41.7% of women said they disagree somewhat, and 30.8% strongly disagreed.

Almost 95% of women non-buyers disagreed with the statement that the man should always be the one to initiate sex, with 64.8% of women stating they strongly disagree and 29.5% disagree

somewhat. Accordingly 92.6% strongly agreed that in a relationship a woman should be as free as a man to initiate sexual activity, only 1.6% of women strongly disagreed. 91.8% of women felt that a woman should have the same sexual freedom as a man.

Over 85% of women agreed that it is all right for a woman to have sexual intercourse with someone she knows well, but does not love. Slightly fewer women felt the same way about men having sexual intercourse in the same situation, with 51.2% of women indicating they strongly agreed, and 30.6% said that they agree somewhat.

Very few women (6.6%) agreed that if a woman is making out and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if the man forces sex on her. Surprisingly, 12.3% of women stated that in some cases, women do enjoy rape (we need to run a crosstab here to find out if any of these are women who had been raped). Nevertheless, 75.4% strongly disagreed with this statement, and 12.3% disagreed somewhat. 97.5% of women either strongly disagreed (87.6%) or disagreed somewhat with the statement that most women who get raped have invited it in some way. Accordingly, 92.6% of women disagreed with the statement that women provoke rape by their appearance or behavior, with 82% indicating that they strongly disagreed with this statement and 10.7% that they disagree somewhat.

Slightly over 70% of women agreed somewhat (45%) or strongly agreed (25.8%) that chivalrous gestures toward women by men should be encouraged. Close to 80% felt that special courtesies extended to women are demeaning because they keep them feeling helpless and in their place.

Almost 90% of women strongly disagreed (68.9%) or disagreed somewhat (25.2%) with the statement that in a marriage the husband should take the lead in decision-making. Over 98% of women disagreed with the statement that a man is sometimes justified in hitting his wife, with 89.3% indicating that they strongly disagree. Slightly fewer women disagreed with the statement that in most cases of wife beating the woman is just as much at fault as the man, with 76.2% saying they strongly disagree, and 15.6% disagreeing somewhat. 86.1% of women strongly disagreed with the statement that most charges of wife beating are made up by the woman to get back at her husband while 13.1% disagreed somewhat.

When it comes to women and careers, 82% of women strongly agreed that a woman should be able to enter the labour force and leave her husband at home to take care of the children, and another 11.5% agreed somewhat. Close to 85% of women either strongly disagreed (63.1%) or disagreed somewhat (21.3%) with the statement that many jobs should be closed to women because of physical requirements. Women were divided over the statement that the truly qualified woman in a career has no trouble achieving recognition and success, with 38.5% indicating they disagree somewhat and 13.9% strongly disagreeing, while 29.5% said that they agree somewhat, and 18% strongly agreed. Finally, almost 75% of women disagreed with the statement that women have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life.

On issues such as politics and daycare women again had fairly strong opinions. Over 90% strongly agreed that women should be equally included on all levels of political activity. 88.4% felt that the issue of comprehensive daycare should become a high priority for politicians and lawmakers, and 95.9% felt that care of children should be shared equally by both spouses.

Attitudes to Female Sex Sellers

Almost all the females (n=123) responded to questions about their attitudes toward female prostitutes. 45.5% agreed somewhat and 34.1% strongly agreed with the statement that female prostitutes are poor. 38.5% disagreed somewhat and 19.7% strongly disagreed with the statement that prostitution is immoral. Conversely, 58.5% of the women agreed that female prostitutes are “sleazy.” Only 27% of women felt that prostitutes are “over-sexed.” The majority of women believed that prostitutes carry disease, with 49.6% agreeing somewhat and 31.7% strongly agreeing. Close to 70% agreed that women who prostitute are alcoholics. Similarly, 77.2% think that prostitutes as drug addicts, with 51.2% saying they agree somewhat and 26% saying that they strongly agree with such a description. Women were divided over whether or not prostitutes jeopardize the family, with 47.5% indicating that they either agree somewhat (31.1%) or strongly agree (16.4%), while 52.5% either disagree somewhat (27%) or strongly disagree (25.4%). 14.8% of women agreed that female prostitutes are lesbians; the rest disagreed strongly (45.1%) or somewhat disagreed (40.2%). Overall, most women did not feel that women who sell sex are “psychologically abnormal,” with 38.5% stating that they disagree somewhat and 28.7% strongly disagreed.

Nearly 58% of the women agreed with the statement that female prostitutes are “hard working.” They were also divided over their feelings about the accuracy of describing these women as “normal,” with 53% disagreeing with this description. Most women did not feel that prostitutes provide a valuable service, with 45.5% stating they strongly disagree with this statement, and another 28.1% disagreeing somewhat. Likewise, 63.4% responded that they strongly disagreed with the idea that prostitutes prevent rape, and 21.1% disagreed somewhat. Almost 80% of women disagreed with the statement that prostitutes safeguard the family. Women were almost evenly divided on the contention that prostitutes are victims of a sexist society, with 51.6% either agreeing somewhat (33.6%) or strongly agreeing (18%) and 48.4% stating they disagree somewhat (25.4%) or strongly disagree (23%). They were also split over the statement that prostitutes are just doing another job, with 32.2% responding that they agree somewhat and 14% strongly agreeing, while 28.9% disagreed somewhat, and 24.8% strongly disagreed.

Attitudes to Male Sex Sellers

Slightly fewer women (n=119) answered questions about their opinion of male prostitutes. Most women (73.9%) either agreed somewhat (45.4%) or strongly agreed (28.6%) with the description of male prostitutes as poor, while 23.5% said they disagree somewhat. Only 34.7% agreed that they are lazy, with 42.4% indicating that they disagree somewhat and 22.9% saying they strongly agree with this statement. Women were divided over whether or not to describe these men as “gay,” with 37.8% indicating that they agree somewhat and 9.2% strongly agreed with this claim, while 33.6% disagree somewhat and 19.3% strongly disagreed. 35.3% of the women disagreed somewhat and 26.1% strongly disagreed with the claim that male prostitutes are psychologically abnormal.

58% of female respondents disagreed with the claim that male prostitutes as immoral. Just over half of the women (57.1%) agreed that male prostitutes are sleazy. Only 32.2% of women felt think male prostitutes are over-sexed. The majority (86%) of female respondents agreed with the claim that male prostitutes carry disease.

Over 70% of female respondents indicated that they agreed with the statement that male prostitutes are alcoholics. Similarly, 80% agree that they also are drug addicts (50.8% said they agree somewhat with this description and 29.7% strongly agreed).

47.5% disagreed somewhat and 11.9% strongly disagreed with the claim that male prostitutes are hard working, Just over 44% of women believed that these men were normal, while 43.7% disagreed somewhat and 11.8% strongly disagreed with this contention.

Very few women (6.7%) felt that male prostitutes help to prevent rape, with 69.7% strongly disagreeing with this statement and 23.5% somewhat disagreeing with it. Similarly, over 90% either strongly disagreed (51.3%) or disagreed somewhat (40.2%) that these male prostitutes safeguard the family. Also the majority either strongly disagreed (53.8%) or disagreed somewhat (27.7%) with the claim that male prostitutes provide a valuable service. Although many women felt that male prostitutes are just doing another job (37.8%), most either strongly disagreed (31.9%) or disagreed somewhat (30.3%) with this statement.

Attitudes To Street Prostitution

113 of the non-client women responded to questions about how street prostitution should be dealt with (n=113). The majority agreed that offering to purchase sexual services in a public place should be illegal, with 41% indicating they strongly agree and 28.2% agree somewhat with this perspective. Similarly, most women (68.9%) felt that offering to sell sexual services in public should be illegal.

Almost 90% of female respondents felt that street prostitution causes neighborhood decay. Women were divided over whether or not street prostitution should be prohibited in residential areas only, with 50.4% either strongly agreeing (18.3%) or agreeing somewhat (32.2%) and 49.6% either strongly disagreeing (28.7%) or disagreeing somewhat (20.9%) with this suggestion. Slightly more women felt that it should be restricted to red light districts with 38.3% stating that they agree somewhat and 20% strongly agreeing, while 24.3% strongly disagreed and 17.4% disagreed somewhat. Most of the women (83.6%) agreed that street prostitution reduces property values, with 44.8% strongly agreeing and 38.8% agreeing somewhat with this contention. When asked if street prostitution should be eradicated because used condoms are left lying around, 34.5% disagreed somewhat, 23.9% strongly disagreed, 29.2% agreed somewhat, and 12.4% strongly agreed. When the same statement was made about needles, 32.7% disagreed somewhat, 20.4% strongly disagreed, 30.1% agreed somewhat, and 161.8% strongly agreed.

Over 64% of women agreed that street prostitution damages the family, with 33.1% indicating that they strongly agree with this assertion, 31.4% agreed somewhat, 20.3% disagreed somewhat, and 15.3% strongly disagreed. The majority of women thought that street prostitution hurts children, with 39.7% stating that they strongly agree with this contention and 35.3% agreeing somewhat. Roughly the same proportion of women felt that prostitution has a negative effect on all women, with 37.6% strongly agreeing and 37.6% agreeing somewhat with this assertion.

Attitudes to Morality and the Content of Criminal Law

Table C: Female Non-Client Attitudes to Sex, Morality and the Application of Law

Activity	Morally Unacceptable	Activity	Should Be Prohibited by Law
----------	----------------------	----------	-----------------------------

Sex With Persons 13 and Under	87%	Sex With Persons 13 and Under	95.2%
Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	79.8%	Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	88.7%
Pimping	78.9%	Pimping	82.1%
Sex With Animals	77.4%	Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	75.2%
Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	75.6%	Snuff Films	73.5%
Snuff Films	75%	Sex With Animals	65.3%
Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	69.6%	Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	54.8%
Extramarital Sex	67.2%	Selling Sexual Services in Public	51.6%
Sadism	55.6%	Buying Sexual Services in Public	50%
Selling Sexual Services in Public	52.8%	Sadism	37.4%
Buying Sexual Services in Public	52.4%	Buying Sexual Services in Private	27.9%
Masochism	49.6%	Selling Sexual Services in Private	27.9%
Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	38.4%	Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	25.2%
Buying Sexual Services in Private	32.5%	Masochism	24.6%
Selling Sexual Services in Private	31.7%	Voyeurism	11.5%
Group Sex	27.4%	Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	8.2%
Voyeurism	27.2%	Anal Intercourse	7.4%
Anal Intercourse	23%	Sexual Bondage	7.4%
Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	17.9%	Group Sex	6.6%
Phone Sex	17.5%	Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	5.8%
Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	15.9%	Phone Sex	4.9%
Sexual Bondage	15.1%	Premarital Sex	4.9%
Premarital Sex	15.1%	Masturbation	3.3%
Masturbation	10.3%	Oral Sex	3.3%
Oral Sex	11.1%	Extramarital Sex	Missing Data

Table C summarises the attitudes of female respondents (n=122) about the moral status of various sexual activities, and whether they should be prohibited by law. Over 75% of female respondents felt that sex with persons 13 years of age and under, purchasing sex from persons under 18, pimping, and sex with persons 14 and 15 years of age are activities that are morally unacceptable and should be prohibited by law. Although 69.6% of women felt that violent sexually explicit videos are immoral, somewhat fewer (54.8%) felt that they should be legally prohibited. Between fifty-one and fifty-five percent of females indicated that they felt that both buying and selling sexual services in public were immoral and should be legally prohibited. Conversely, between twenty-seven and thirty-three percent felt that these same activities, when

done in private, were morally unacceptable and should be prohibited by law. The greatest tolerance was shown for phone sex, non-violent sexually explicit videos, bondage, premarital sex, masturbation, and fellatio sex -- less than 18% of respondents indicated that these were immoral and/or should be legally restricted.

The Internet Male Non-Client Sample

Demographic Profile

The age of the male members of our sample who had never purchased sexual services (n=251)¹² ranged from 18 to 59, with a mean of 28. Eighty percent of the male non-client sample was under the age of 34. Most of these men were single (63.3%), with only 27.1% married or living in common-law relationships. 5.2% of the non-client men were separated or divorced. The sample was predominantly Caucasian (89.6%), with 3.2% of the men describing themselves as “inter-racial” and 2.4% as “Asian.” 76.8% of the non-client men reside in the United States, 12.6% Canada, 4.5% England, 2.8% New Zealand, and 2.4% Australia. The majority stated their religious affiliation to be either Protestant (27.5%) or Catholic (15.5%), while 35.9% claimed to be either Atheist (10.8%) or to have no religion (25.1%).

Educational Background

Almost all the male non-buyers (96.4%) had graduated from high school, with 64.3% stating that they had twelve years of education and 24.1% thirteen years. Of those who had gone on for further education (n=233), 36.5% had completed some university or college, 30.9% had a bachelors or teaching degree, and 12.4% a Masters degree.

Employment

Over half of the male non-clients stated that they were employed full-time, 34.8% were students, 4.4% were employed part-time, and 3.2% were students with part-time jobs.

Family Background

Of those who answered questions about their family background (n=241), only 20.7% stated that they had children. 40.9% of those men who had children (n=46) had one daughter, 14.6% had one step-daughter, 47.8% had one son, 23.9% had two sons, and 11.9% had one step-son. Of the 232 men who responded to questions about the number of siblings they had, 34.9% did not have any brothers, 40.5% stated that they had one brother, and 15.9% had two brothers. 38.6% had one sister, 15.3% had two, and 39% had none.

¹² Note this number differs from the tables presented in Appendix 1. That is because there are 18 missing values in the variable “paysex” which we were subsequently able to code by obtaining information from other variables.

Substance Use

Most of the 251 male non-clients who responded to questions about their use of various substance during the previous year indicated that they used alcohol but did not use marijuana/hashish, cocaine, LSD, speed, heroin, IV drugs, or nicotine. Alcohol use was moderate among this group with 23.1% claiming they used it less than once a month, 21.1% reported drinking one to three times a month, 15.1% two to three times a week, and 15.9% not at all. Marijuana or hashish was used by 26.8%, 60% of whom used it on less than one occasion per month. Cocaine was used by only 3.6% of these men, and all of these men used it less than once per month. Likewise LSD was used by only 5.2% of the sample (and all of them less than once a month), speed was used by 4.8%, of the men and heroin by 1.2%. Nicotine was used by only 39.2% of this group, with 19.6% using it four or more times a day.

Sexual Background

The majority of respondents who answered questions about their sexual background (n=237), said that their current sexual orientation was heterosexual (76.8%), 11.8% were bisexual, and 11.4% were gay. The majority of non-client respondents (42.6%), stated they had between two and ten sexual partners during their lifetime. 14.3% had never had a sexual partner, 14.7% had only one. The remaining 10.4% of the men had had between eleven and twenty lifetime sexual partners. 47% of the men reported having had only one sexual partner during the previous year. 27.1% reported between two and ten sexual partners. 22.7% of the men had not had a sexual partner the previous year. 49% of respondents stated that since they had left home they had not lived with a sexual partner for longer than three months, 31.2% had one cohabited with one sexual partner, and 19% had between two and ten.

Of the male non-clients who answered questions about their first sexual touching experience (n=183), 36.1% said that they experienced sexual touching for the first time prior to their fourteenth birthday, 17.5% said it was at age fourteen and fifteen 19.7% said at age sixteen and seventeen, and 15.3% at age eighteen and nineteen. 77.2% said this first sexual touching experience was with a friend or acquaintance, 12.6% said it involved a blood relative, and 7.2% said it involved a stranger.

Of the 211 respondents who answered questions about their first sexual intercourse, 10.9% reported that it was at age fourteen or fifteen, 21.3% said it was at sixteen or seventeen years, 27% said at the ages of eighteen and nineteen, 14.2% at twenty or twenty-one, and 13.3% at twenty-two or older. The majority (77.2%) identified a friend or acquaintance as their first intercourse partner, with 9.7% stating it was a stranger, and 6.9% a blood relative. In 57.3% of the cases the circumstances of this first intercourse were characterized as being with a boyfriend or girlfriend, 30.7% were casual or one-night-stands, and 4% described it as rape or incest.

8.6% of non-client male respondents reported that they had been sexually abused as a child. Of those men (n=23), 26.3% reported being abused by an older male blood relative and 21.1% said the abuser was an older male acquaintance. Most of incidents involved either masturbation (40.8%), fellatio (20.4%), or anal intercourse (12.2%). The median age at which the sexual abuse began was 8, with most abuse occurring at age 6. In 21.7% of the case there was one incident of

abuse, in 30.4% of the cases the respondent was abused between six and eleven times, and 30.4% sixteen or more incidents.

Sexual Safety Behavior

Of the male non-clients who answered questions about condom use with their spouse or regular sex partner (n=238), 37% said they either did not have a spouse or regular sex partner or did not engage in vaginal intercourse. Of the remaining males, 60.7% said they never use a condom during vaginal intercourse, 21.6% usually did, and 17.8% always used one. When it came to anal intercourse, 65% said the question was not applicable, 17.3% said they never use a condom, and 8% said they always used one. Finally, for fellatio 63.3% of respondents stated they never use a condom and 32.9% said the question was not applicable.

Of the male non-sex-buyers who answered questions about condom use with casual sex partners (n=233), 69.1% said they either did not have a casual sex partner or did not engage in vaginal sex with the one(s) they had, 14.6% said they always did so, and 8.6% usually. When it came to anal sex, 75.6% said the question was not applicable. Of those who practiced anal sex, 63% said they always used a condom. 60% of the non-client men had not had fellatio sex with a casual partner. Of those who did 72% reported that they never used a condom during oral sex (fellatio) with a casual partner, and another 16% said they did so only occasionally.

Beliefs About Why Men Buy Sex

A total of 247 male non-buyers responded to several rating-style questions as to why men buy sex. 87.9% of men said that loneliness was either a very important (44.5%) or important (43.3%) reason why men buy sex. 57.5% of non-client men said that sexual problems at home are an important reason, and 29.1% said that it was a very a very important reason why men buy sex. 53.1% of men felt that curiosity was important and 17.1% rated it as being a very important reason. Over 90% of men said the wanting acts a spouse would not do is either an important (53.4%) or very important (36.8%) reason. 86.9% of men thought that not being able to get sex in any other way was either very important (49.2%) or important (37.7%) in motivating men to buy sex. The desire for a brief encounter also was rated as an important factor by 49% of men, very important by 34.4%, and not very important by only 14.6%. Finally, 35.5% of non-client males said thought that a strong male sex drive was an important factor and 21.6% rated it very important; 33.9% said it was not very important.

Victimization By and Offenses Against Sex Partners

Of the respondents who answered questions about their experiences of victimization by sex partners (n=212), 94.8% stated they had never been robbed by a sex partner, 3.3% reported that they had been robbed once, and 1.4% said that they had been robbed on two or three occasions. Very few male non-buyers had ever been assaulted by a sex partner (5.7%), with the majority (92.4%) stating they had never had that misfortune. 94.3% of male non-client respondents had never been raped by a sex partner; 1.4% said that they had been raped once, 2.4% stated they had been raped on two or three occasions, and 1.4% said that it had happened more than ten times. 7.5% of non-client males reported that they had been verbally abused by a sex partner once, 17%

said that it had happened on two or three occasions, 3.3% said they had been verbally abused four to ten times, and 8.5% reported that it had happened more than ten times.

Of the respondents who answered questions about various offenses they had committed against sex partners, only 1.4% admitted to robbing a sex partner, 2.8% admitted to having assaulted a sex partner, and 1% had raped a sex partner. Fourteen men (6.7%) admitted they had forcibly confined a sex partner on one or occasions. 25.8% of males admitted verbally abusing a sex partner, with 9.4% saying they had done so once, 11.3% on two or three occasions, 1.9% between four and ten times, and 3.3% saying that they had done so more than ten times

Attitudes to Women and Men

Of the 240 male non-clients who answered a series of scale questions about their attitudes to women and men, most appear to be relatively progressive thinkers.

Most male non-buyers disagreed with the statement that men are less competitive than women, with 63.6% disagreeing somewhat and 29.8% strongly disagreeing. Men generally felt that women are more gentle, with 62.4% agreeing somewhat, 15.3% strongly agreeing, and only 20.2% disagreeing somewhat. When asked if they felt that women are more gullible than men, most males either disagreed somewhat (46.5%), strongly disagreed (12.4%) or agreed somewhat (36.9%). 45% of the men disagreed somewhat and 11.3% strongly disagreed with the statement that women are weaker than men, while 41.3% agreed somewhat and 2.5% strongly agreed with this statement. Men were fairly evenly divided as to their opinions about women being less adventurous than men. Most men agreed that men are more arrogant than women, with 63.5% stating they agree somewhat and 11.2% strongly agreed with this statement. Close to 60% of males felt that men are more independent than women. Similarly, just over 60% of men felt that men are more cruel than women. Almost 70% of men agreed that on average men are more egotistical than women.

Almost all men (95.8%) disagreed with the statement that women should be the ones to initiate sex, with 63% of men stating they strongly disagree with the statement, and 32.8% disagreeing somewhat. Accordingly, 96.3% of men felt that in a relationship, a woman should be as free as a man to initiate sex. Likewise, 97.9% of men agreed that a women should have the same sexual freedom as a man.

Close to 75% of men agreed that it is all right for a woman to have sex with someone she doesn't love. Oddly enough, close to 28% of men say they would have no respect for a woman who engages in sexual relationships without any emotional involvement, even though 79.5% felt that it is all right for a woman to have sex with someone she likes but does not love. Men had the same opinion of a man who has sex with someone he likes but does not love, with 78.7% of men saying that they agreed that it was all right.

Almost 90% of men disagreed with the statement that in some cases women enjoy rape, with 64.1% strongly disagreeing, and 25.7% disagreeing somewhat. Similarly, most men (91.7%) disagreed with the statement that most women who get raped have invited it in some way. Accordingly, 85% of men disagreed with the statement that women provoke rape by their appearance and behavior, while 13.3% of men agreed somewhat with this statement.

Most men agreed with the statement that chivalrous gestures by men to women should be encouraged, with 48.3% agreeing somewhat and 25.3% strongly agreeing. 88.6% of non-client men disagreed with the contention that special courtesies extended to women are demeaning.

Most non-client males disagreed with the statement that in a marriage the husband should take the lead in the decision making (49.4% disagreed somewhat and 31.8% strongly disagreed with this statement). Almost all the men disagreed with the statement that in most cases of wife beating the woman is as much to blame as the man (64.2% strongly disagreed and 25.4% disagreed somewhat). Accordingly, 91.7% of men disagreed that most cases of wife beating are made up by the wife to get back at her husband. Overall, 94.5% of men disagreed with the statement that a man is sometimes justified in hitting his wife.

The majority of men either strongly agree (58.8%), or agree somewhat (33.8%) that it is all right for a woman to get a job and leave her husband at home to take care of the children. When it comes to women and careers, non-client men were divided when it came to the statement that truly qualified women have no problems getting recognition and success (43.1% agreed somewhat and 12.6% strongly agreed, while 38.1% disagreed somewhat, and 6.3% strongly disagreed). Overall, men did not believe that certain jobs should be closed to women due to physical requirements, with only 20.8% of men stating they agreed with this statement.

Most men (95%) agreed with the statement that women should be included at all levels of political activity on an equal basis with men. Also 67% of non-client men felt that comprehensive daycare should become a high priority for politicians and lawmakers. Finally, 96.6% of men said that child care should be shared equally by both spouses, with 67.6% saying they strongly agree and 29% agreeing somewhat.

Attitudes to Female Sex Sellers

A total of 247 non-client men reported attitudes to sex sellers. They had mixed opinions. Most of the male non-buyers felt that female prostitutes are poor, with 54.3% agreeing somewhat and 24.3% strongly agreeing with this statement. Over 60% of men stated that they did not feel female sex sellers were immoral. Many men agreed that sex sellers are “sleazy,” with 38.6% agreeing somewhat, 18.3% strongly agreeing, 28.9% disagreeing somewhat, and 14.2% strongly disagreeing. Only 28% of the non-client men agreed that sex sellers are over-sexed. Over 80% agree that female prostitutes carry disease. Despite these negative views, 73% of the men felt that sex sellers are not lazy. Close to 70% of men thought that most prostitutes are alcoholics, and 75.9% felt that most of them are drug addicts. Most men said that they either strongly disagree (25.1%) or disagree somewhat (37.2%) with the statement that female prostitutes jeopardize the family. Over 87% of men did not believe that female prostitutes were lesbians, and close to 80% felt they were not psychologically abnormal.

Men were fairly evenly divided on the description of female prostitutes as hard working, with 43.3% agreeing somewhat, 13.4% strongly agreeing, 36% disagreeing somewhat, and 7.3% strongly disagreeing. Only 24.1% of men felt that prostitutes help to prevent rape, with 43.3% strongly disagreeing and 30.6% disagreeing somewhat. Likewise, 86.5% of men did not feel that female prostitutes safeguard the family. They also did not feel that prostitutes were victims of a sexist society, with only 33.9% agreeing with this statement; 36.7% disagreed somewhat and 29.4% strongly disagreed. Over 60% of men felt that they were just doing another job, and they

were almost evenly split as to whether or not they provided a valuable service, with 49% saying they either agree somewhat (36.4%) or strongly agree (12.6%), and 51% saying they disagree somewhat (28.3%) or strongly disagree (22.7%).

Attitudes to Adult Male Sex Sellers

Fewer men (n=233) were willing or able to provide opinions about adult male prostitutes, and those that did tended to have a fairly negative impression of them. The majority of men think that male prostitutes are poor (49.1% agreed somewhat and 12% strongly agreed with this characterization). Almost half the non-client men think that male prostitutes are immoral. Similarly, a little over half think that male prostitutes are sleazy (36.8% agreed somewhat and 19% strongly agree, while 29% disagree somewhat and 15.2% strongly disagreed with this characterization). Close to half (48.1%) feel that male sex sellers are over-sexed, while 34.8% disagreed somewhat and 17.2% strongly disagreed that they are. Over 80% felt that male prostitutes carry disease. Only 40.6% of men thought they were lazy, while 47.9% disagreed somewhat and 11.5% strongly disagreed. Most non-client respondents think that they are alcoholics, with 58.2% somewhat agreeing, 12.1% strongly agreeing, 25.4% somewhat disagreeing, and only 4.3% strongly disagreeing. Similarly, 76.7% feel that most of these men are drug addicts. 63.1% characterize male sex sellers as gay.

Only 40.5% of male non-clients think that male prostitutes are hard working, while 46.1% disagreeing somewhat and 13.4% strongly disagreed that they are. Over 80% of men either strongly disagreed (48.1%) or somewhat disagreed with the idea that male prostitutes help to prevent rape. Men were evenly divided as to whether or not to define these men as normal, with 47.6% agreeing they were and 52.4% disagreeing. 90% did not feel that male prostitutes safeguard the family. Non-client men were also quite reluctant to view male prostitutes as victims of a sexist society, with 44.6% stating they strongly disagreed and 39.4% disagreeing somewhat. Again, men were fairly evenly divided over whether or not male prostitutes were just doing another job, with 53% agreeing and 47% disagreeing. Only 33% of men think that male prostitutes provide a valuable service.

Attitudes About Street Prostitution Law

A total of 241 male non-buyers reported their attitudes to street prostitution. The majority appear to have a fairly lenient view of street prostitution and its effects. Opinion was split over whether offering to buy sex in a public place should be a criminal offense, with 44.8% either strongly agreeing (21.2%) or agreeing somewhat (23.7%), while 55.1% disagreed somewhat (30.7%) or strongly disagreed (24.5%). The respondents were similarly divided when it came to the appropriate legal status of selling sexual services in public, with 46.5% agreeing that it should be illegal and 53.5% disagreeing.

Many men (76.3%) feel that street prostitution causes neighborhood decay. 81.2% of men feel that street prostitution reduces property values. Slightly more men feel that it should be prohibited in residential areas only (60.8%) than those who felt otherwise. Almost 70% felt that it should be restricted to red light districts.

Males who had never bought sex were evenly divided over whether or not street prostitution damages the family, with 27.8% somewhat agreeing, 20.3% strongly agreeing, 32.4% disagreeing somewhat, and 19.5% strongly disagreeing with this statement. They were also split over the contention that prostitution hurts children in general, with 30.3% agreeing somewhat, 22.4% strongly agreeing, 29.5% disagreeing somewhat, and 17.8% strongly disagreeing.

Few non-client males feel that street prostitution should be eradicated because used condoms are left lying around everywhere, with 75.9% stating that they either strongly disagreed (39.7%) or disagreed somewhat (36.3%) with this statement. Likewise, 35.5% strongly disagreed and 32.1% disagreed somewhat with the idea that it should be eradicated because used needles are left lying around. Finally, only 43.2% of men felt that street prostitution has a negative effect on all women, while 32.4% disagreed somewhat and 24.5% strongly disagreed with this suggestion.

Attitudes to Morality and the Content of Criminal Law

Table D summarises the attitudes of non-client respondents about the moral status of various sexual activities, and whether they should be prohibited by law. Between seventy-five and eighty-six percent of all male non-clients felt that sex with persons 13 and under, pimping, and purchasing sex from a person under 18 are both morally unacceptable and should be prohibited by law. Although 76% of non-clients feel that sex with animals is immoral, only 52.9% feel that it should be prohibited by law. Between sixty-one and seventy-three percent of respondents feel that snuff films and sex with persons fourteen and fifteen years of age is both morally unacceptable and should be prohibited by law. Many men (56-66%) feel that violent sexual videos and sadism are immoral but were reluctant to say that these activities should be illegal (only 35.7% and 27.2% respectively, favoring criminalizing these activities). Roughly 45% of men feel that buying and selling sexual services in public are immoral activities and roughly 35% feel these activities should be illegal. Conversely, approximately 31% feel that buying and selling sexual services in private are immoral, but only 15.5% felt these actions should be illegal. Under 20% of non-client men feel that activities such as premarital sex, phone sex, sexual bondage, voyeurism, anal intercourse, non-violent sex images, masturbation, and fellatio sex are immoral. Less than 8% believe that any of these activities should be illegal.

Table D: Male non-Client Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality

Activity	Morally Unacceptable	Activity	Should Be Prohibited by Law
Sex With Persons 13 and Under	85.4%	Sex With Persons 13 and Under	85.7%
Pimping	78.1%	Pimping	73.6%
Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	76.4%	Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	73.4%
Sex With Animals	76%	Snuff Films	69.5%
Snuff Films	72.4%	Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	61.4%
Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	69%	Sex With Animals	52.9%
Extramarital Sex	66.3%	Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	35.7%

Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	66%	Selling Sexual Services in Public	35.4%
Sadism	56.5%	Buying Sexual Services in Public	35.0%
Buying Sexual Services in Public	46.2%	Sadism	27.2%
Selling Sexual Services in Public	45.4%	Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	21.7%
Masochism	45.1%	Buying Sexual Services in Private	16%
Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	31.9%	Masochism	15.8%
Buying Sexual Services in Private	31.8%	Selling Sexual Services in Private	15%
Selling Sexual Services in Private	30.6%	Voyeurism	7.4%
Group Sex	26.9%	Sexual Bondage	6.6%
Premarital Sex	20%	Group Sex	5%
Phone Sex	19.2%	Phone Sex	4.1%
Sexual Bondage	18.5%	Anal Intercourse	4.1%
Voyeurism	17.7%	Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	3.3%
Anal Intercourse	16.1%	Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	2.9%
Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	13.7%	Premarital Sex	2.9%
Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	12.9%	Fellatio Sex	1.7%
Masturbation	10.1%	Masturbation	.8%
Fellatio Sex	8.8%	Extramarital Sex	Missing Data

The Internet Client Sample

Demographic Profile

The male client sample (n=130) ranged in age from 18 to 67, with a mean of 37, the oldest of the three sub-samples. The majority of respondents are married or live in a common-law relationship (47.7%), 35.4% are single, and 14.6% are separated or divorced. The bulk of the men reside in the United States (84.2%), with the remainder living in Canada (10%), Australia (3.3%), or England (1.7%). 82.3% are Caucasian, while 6.2% are inter-racial, 3.8% Asian, 2.3% Latin American, and 2.3% African-American. 34.6% stated they are Protestant, 27.7% reported having no religion, and 16.2% said they are Catholic.

Educational Background

Slightly over 10% of the clients have less than twelve years of schooling, 69% have twelve years, and 14% had thirteen years; 93% indicated that they graduated from high school. Of the 118 men who had schooling beyond high school, 30.3% had a bachelors or teaching degree, 24.4% some university or college, and 20.2% a masters degree.

Employment

The majority of male clients stated that they are employed full-time (77.7%), 8.5% are students, and 4.6% are on a disability pension.

Family Background

Roughly one-third of the clients have no siblings, 37.7% have one sister, 34.9% have one brother, 18.5% have two sisters, 15.1% have two brothers, 15.9% have three or more brothers, and 10% had three or more sisters.

Just over 46% of male sex-buyers indicated that they had children (n=60), 48.3% had one daughter, 36.2% have one son, 22.4% have two sons, 21.6% have one step-daughter, 20% have two daughters, 14% have one step-son, and 14% have two step-sons.

Substance Use

Of the 129 male clients who answered various questions about their monthly use of substances during the previous year, 90% drink alcohol. 20.2% drink alcohol less than once a month, 31% drink between one and three times a month, 10% drink once a week, 13.2% drink two to three times a week, and 15.5% drink more than 4 times a week. 73.6% of male buyers did not report smoking marijuana or hashish, 13.2% stated they did so on less than one occasion per month, while the remaining 13.2% used it more than once a month. Only 3.1% of these men use cocaine or LSD, 3.9% use amphetamines, and none used heroin. Almost half (45.3%) of the sample used nicotine, with 32% indicating they used it four or more time a day and 13.3% less than four times a day.

Sexual Background

Of the 102 male clients who responded to questions about their first sexual touching experience, 47.1% stated that they were thirteen or younger when they first experienced sexual touching, 23.5% were between fourteen and fifteen, 13.7% were sixteen or seventeen, and the remaining 15.7% were older than seventeen. The majority (75.8%) identified their first sexual touching partner as a friend or acquaintance, 13.6% a blood relative, and 7.9% said it was a stranger.

Of the 127 male clients who responded to questions about their first sexual intercourse experience, 13.4% reported that it was prior to their fourteenth birthday, 17.3% said that they were aged fourteen to fifteen at the time, 25.2% said that they were between the age of sixteen and seventeen, 19.7% were between eighteen and nineteen, 12.6% were between twenty and twenty one, and 10.2% said that it was when they were older than twenty-one. Most respondents

stated that their first intercourse partner was a friend or acquaintance (71.8%), 20.3% said it was with a stranger, and 4.2% said it was with a blood relative. In 88.9% of cases the first intercourse partner was a female. Most of the time intercourse was with someone they were in a relationship with, such as a girlfriend (44.8%), however 39.2% stated that their first time was a casual or a one-night stand.

Approximately one in every five men in our sample who had paid for sex was sexually abused as a child (20.2%). Most often this abuse was committed by someone they described as a friend or acquaintance (39%), with 27.8% indicating it was a blood relative, and 11.2% a stranger. Most often the abuse involved masturbation (34.1%), fellatio (29.5%), or anal intercourse (18%).

Most of the male clients in our sample stated their sexual orientation at the time to be heterosexual (82.9%), 10.1% described themselves as bisexual and 7% as gay. Almost 28% of the men stated that they had more than forty sex partners during their lifetime, while 21.7% said they had between twenty-one and thirty, 20.2% between eleven and twenty, and 20.2% between two and ten. Slightly over 60% of the men said that they had between two and ten sex partners during the previous year, 17.1% only one, and 11.6% between eleven and twenty. 42.2% stated that they had lived with between two and ten sex partners since they left the family home, 35.9% only one, and 19.5% none.

Sexual Safety Behavior

Most male clients stated that they never use a condom during vaginal intercourse with their spouse or regular sex partner, 13.3% did so only occasionally, and 10.9% always did. For 21.1% of the men, the question was not applicable. 54.8% did not report having anal intercourse with their spouse or regular sexual partner. Of those who did, 53.24% indicated that they never use condoms during anal intercourse with their spouse, while 16% always do, 14.3% usually do, and 10.5% occasionally do. 24.8% reported that they do not engage in fellatio with their spouse. Of those who do, a very small proportion (7.3%) use condoms always; 89.44% reported that they never do.

When it came to condom use with casual sex partners, 29.9% responded that they always use a condom during vaginal intercourse, 18.9% that they usually do, 12.6% that they occasionally do, and 7.9% that they never do. 29.9% said that they did not have sexual intercourse with casual partners. 46% said that they do not engage in anal intercourse with casual partners. Of those who do, 56% responded that they always used condoms, 19% usually did so, 10% occasionally, and 10% that they never do so. 25.8% of the clients said they did not engage in fellatio with casual sex partners. Of those who did, 47% said that they never used condoms, 24% said they did on occasion, 16% said they always used condoms, and 8.5% reported that they usually did.

77% of the clients reported having vaginal intercourse with commercial sex partners. Of those who did, 87% reported that they always used condoms during vaginal intercourse with commercial sex partners, 5.5% said that they usually did so, 2.4% occasionally did so, and 1.6% said that they never do. 52.8% of clients said that they never engage in anal sex with commercial sex partners. Of those who do, 85% said they always use condoms, 5% usually do, and 3% never do. 19% of clients did not engage in fellatio with commercial sex partners. Of those who do, 51% said they always use condoms, 17% said they usually do, 10% said they occasionally do, and 18% said that they never do.

Beliefs About Why Men Buy Sex

Close to 90% of men who buy sex felt that loneliness was an important reason why men in general buy sex, with 49.6% rating it very important and 40.3% important. 54.3% of male buyers felt that sexual problems at home were an important reason, 29.9% said it was very important; 15.5% said it was not very important, and 2.3% said it was not at all important. Most of these men felt that curiosity was an important reason for men buying sex (41.4% said it was important, and 35.9% said it was very important); 21.1% said it wasn't very important. A little over 90% of male buyers indicated that the desire for specific sexual acts that a spouse would not do was an important reason, with 47.7% rating it as important and 43% as very important. 34.4% of the clients felt that not being able to get sex any other way was an important reason and 35.2% said it was very important; in contrast almost one-quarter (24.2%) said this was not a very important reason. Again, close to 90% of men agreed that desire for a brief uncomplicated sexual encounter was an important reason why men buy sex, with 50.4% rating this as very important and 38.8% important; only 10.1% said that it was not very important. Finally, 38.8% of sex-buying men said that a strong male sex drive is an important reason why men buy sex, 34.1% said it was very important; only 23.3% said it was not very important.

Victimization By and Offenses Against Sex Partners

Most clients who answered questions about their experiences of victimization by a sex partner (n=128) stated that they had never experienced victimization. 16% of these men stated they had been robbed by a sex partner on one occasion, 3.2% said this had happened more than once. A little more than 10% of the clients had been assaulted by a sex partner (8.6% once, 2.3% two or three times, and 2.4% four or more times). 7% of these men stated they had been raped by a sex partner. Many male buyers indicated that they had experienced verbal abuse by a sex partner, 14.1% on two or three occasions, 8.6% once, 7% between four and ten times, and 7% more than ten times.

As with experiences of victimization, most male sex buyers stated that they had never committed an offense against a sex partner. Less than 3% stated they had robbed a sex partner, 6.3% said that they had assaulted a sex partner, 3.1% had raped a sex partner, and 8.7% had forcibly confined a sex partner. The only incivility that members of this group of clients indicates that they have committed with any degree of regularity is verbal abuse of sex partners: 10.2% stated that they had verbally abused a partner on one occasion, 9.4% said that they had done so two or three times, 3.1% had one so between four and ten times, and 4.7% had done so more than ten times.

Attitudes to Women and Men

128 clients responded to the various questions about their attitudes to men and women.. Almost all the men sampled either disagreed somewhat (50.4%) or strongly disagreed (40.3%), with the statement that men are less competitive than women. Over half said they agree somewhat that men are more independent than women, and another 16.8% stating that they strongly agreed with this statement. Over 75% agreed that men are more arrogant than women. Roughly 64% of the

clients agreed that men are more cruel than women. And roughly 65% with the statement that men more egotistical than women.

A little over 80% of male sex-buyers agreed that women are more gentle than men, with 60.9% saying they agreed somewhat, and 21.1% strongly agreed with this statement. Almost half of men sampled felt that women are more gullible than men, while 41.9% disagreed somewhat and 9.3% strongly disagreed with this claim. Slightly fewer men felt that women are weaker than men, with 37.2% somewhat agreeing and 7% strongly agreeing, while 48.1% disagreed somewhat, and 7.8% strongly disagreed. A little over half (55%) of the clients agreed with the statement that women are less adventurous than men.

When it comes to sexual relations, 98.4% of male sex-buyers disagreed with the statement that men should always be the ones to initiate sex with a woman. Accordingly, 83.7% strongly agreed that in a relationship, the woman should be as free as the man to initiate sexual activity, and 12.4% agreed somewhat; only 3.9% of the clients disagreed with this statement. 80.5% of men strongly agreed that women should have the same sexual freedom as a man and 15.6% agreed somewhat.

When asked if they felt it was all right for a man to have sexual intercourse with someone he knows well, and likes but does not love, 72.9% of male sex-buyers strongly agreed that this would be OK, and 21.7% agreed somewhat. When the same question was asked about women, 65.1% strongly agreed and 29.5% agreed somewhat. When asked if it was acceptable for a woman to have sex with a casual acquaintance, 57.4% of male sex buyers strongly agreed that this would be acceptable and 31% agreed somewhat. Conversely, 14% of men agreed with the statement that they would have no respect for a woman who engages in sexual relationships without any emotional involvement, while 61.2% strongly disagreed and 24.8% disagreed somewhat.

Roughly 10% of clients agreed that if a woman is making out and lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if the man forces sex on her, while 56.6% strongly disagreed with this, and 31.8% disagreed somewhat. Similarly, 15.5% of these men agreed somewhat and 2.3% strongly agreed that in some cases women enjoy rape, while 71.3% strongly disagreed and 10.9% disagreed somewhat. Over 90% disagreed with the statement that most women who get raped have invited it in some way. Close to the same amount disagreed with the contention that most women provoke rape by their appearance and behavior, with 61.2% saying they strongly disagree and 25.6% that they disagree somewhat with this statement.

Many of the male clients agreed that male chivalry towards women should be encouraged (86.7%). Only 14% of men agreed somewhat with the statement that special courtesies extended to women are demeaning, while 44.2% strongly disagreed and 40.3% disagreed somewhat.

When asked to respond to the statement that in a marriage, the husband should take the lead in decision making, 43.8% of male clients disagreed somewhat, 28.1% strongly disagreed, 22.7% agreed somewhat, and 5.5% strongly agreed. When it comes to spousal violence, 93% of male sex buyers disagreed with the statement that a man is sometimes justified in hitting his wife (78.3% strongly disagreed with this suggestion, and 14.7% disagreed somewhat). Roughly 60% of clients strongly disagreed with the statement that in most cases of wife beating the woman is just as much at fault as the man, and 29.7% said they disagreed somewhat. As to the claim that most cases of wife beating are made up by the women to get back at her husband, 63.1% of clients strongly disagreed, 27.9% disagreed somewhat, and only 8.5% agreed somewhat.

When asked if it was acceptable for a woman to enter the labour force and leave her husband at home to care for the children, 57.4 % of the clients strongly agreed, and 38% agreed somewhat (38%); only 4.6% disagreed. Despite this, almost one-third of the men felt that many jobs should be closed to women because of physical requirements. A similar number felt that women have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. They roughly divided over whether or not a truly qualified woman in a career has no trouble achieving recognition and success. 35.7% agreed somewhat, and 20.9% strongly agreed with this proposition; conversely, 35.7% of the clients disagreed somewhat, and 7.8% strongly disagreed.

When it comes to women being included in politics on an equal level with men, 80.6% of clients either strongly agreed and 15.5% agreed somewhat. When asked if the issue of comprehensive daycare for all should become a high priority for politicians and lawmakers, 41.1% agreed somewhat and 34.9% strongly agreed; 19.4% disagreed somewhat, and 4.7% strongly disagreed. Meanwhile, almost all of the men felt that child care should be shared equally by both spouses (94.5%).

Attitudes to Female Sex Sellers

Of the 128 male clients who answered a series of questions about their attitudes to adult female prostitutes, 68.8% agreed that most are poor. 69% of the clients disagreed with the statement that prostitutes are lazy (23% agreed somewhat and 4.8% strongly agreed). Over 80% of clients did not feel that prostitutes were immoral (44.5% strongly disagreed and 37.5% disagreed somewhat). When it came to whether or not prostitutes are sleazy, 34.4% agreed they are, but 47.7% disagreed somewhat, and 18% strongly disagreed. Only 14.2% agreed somewhat and 3.1% strongly agreed with the statement that female prostitutes are oversexed. Over half the clients felt that prostitutes carry disease, with 49.2% saying they agree somewhat and 11.7% strongly agreeing.

As to describing female prostitutes as alcoholics, 48.8% of clients agreed somewhat, and 6.3% strongly agreed; 38.6% disagree somewhat, and 6.3% strongly disagree. 57% of the clients agreeing somewhat and 12.5% strongly agreed with the proposition that prostitutes are drug addicts.

About one-fifth of male clients agreed with the statement that female prostitutes are lesbians, while 43.8% disagreed somewhat and 38.3% strongly disagreed. 43.8% of clients said they strongly disagree and 34.4% disagree somewhat with the proposition that sex sellers are psychologically abnormal. Roughly 30% of the men thought that prostitutes jeopardize the family, while 35.2% strongly disagreed and 34.4% disagreed somewhat.

Almost 75% of clients indicated that they agree somewhat (60.2%) or strongly agree (14.1%) that female prostitutes are normal. Most of the men agreed that sex sellers are hard working, with 56.3% agreeing somewhat and 16.4% strongly agreeing. The majority of clients felt that prostitutes are just doing another job (86.7%), and 79.7% agreed that the women provide a valuable service. 35.9% of clients agree somewhat and 7% strongly agreed with the proposition that prostitutes help to prevent rape; conversely, 28.1% disagreed somewhat and 28.9% strongly disagreed with this claim. When it came to the view that prostitutes safeguard the family, 50.8% of male clients disagreed somewhat, and 22.7% strongly disagreed. 60% of clients either disagreed somewhat (35.9%) or strongly disagreed (26.6%) with the proposition that prostitutes are victims of a sexist society.

Attitudes to Male Sex Sellers

109 male clients answered the questions about male prostitutes. 43.1% disagreed somewhat and 1.8% strongly disagreed with the proposition that male prostitutes are poor; 37.6% agreed somewhat and 15.6% strongly agreed. The majority of clients disagreed that male prostitutes are lazy, most indicating that they either disagree somewhat (44.4%) or strongly disagree (17.6%) with this claim, the remaining men either agreed somewhat (28.7%) or strongly agreed (7.4%). Most clients disagreed somewhat with the contention that male prostitutes are psychologically abnormal; 47.7% disagreed somewhat and 13.8% strongly disagreed with this statement, the remaining 35.7% agreed somewhat (28.4%) or strongly disagreed (7.3%). Most of the men agreed with calling male prostitutes gays, with 43.6% saying they agree somewhat and 29.1% strongly agreeing, while 22.7% disagreed somewhat and 2.7% strongly disagreed.

About one-quarter of the men who buy sex in our sample agreed with the view that male prostitutes are immoral, while 38.5% disagreed somewhat and 33.9% strongly disagreed. 35.8% agreed somewhat and 7.3% strongly agreed that male prostitutes are sleazy; however, 34.9% of clients disagreed somewhat and 20.2% strongly disagreed with this description. Similarly, 38.3% of men disagreed somewhat that male sex sellers are over-sexed and 22.4% strongly disagreed. Again the majority of clients feel that male prostitutes carry disease (49.5% agreed somewhat and 25.7% strongly agreed with this statement).

When it came to our male sex-buyers opinions about male sex sellers alcohol consumption, many men agreed somewhat (53.2%) that they were alcoholics, 11% strongly agreed, and 31.2% disagreed somewhat. The same opinions were evident when it came to whether or not male sex sellers are drug addicts; 54.1% of clients agreed somewhat, 18.3% strongly agreed, and 24.8% disagreed somewhat with this characterization. Very few of the male buyers in our sample agreed that male prostitutes jeopardize the family (49.5% disagreed somewhat and 28.4% strongly disagreed with the suggestion).

45.4% of clients disagree somewhat and 6.5% strongly disagreed with the statement that male prostitutes are normal, while 39.8% agreed somewhat and 6.5% strongly agreed. Men were divided over whether or not male sex workers are hard working. 41.3% of the men agreed somewhat and 22% strongly agreed that male prostitutes are just doing another job. Again, clients opinions were divided over the claim that male prostitutes provide a valuable service -- 47.2% agreed and 52.8% disagreed with this statement. Few of the clients thought that male prostitutes help to prevent rape, with 47.7% saying they strongly disagree with this statement with an additional 33.9% disagreeing somewhat. When asked if male prostitutes safeguard the family, 59.6% disagreed somewhat and 25.7% strongly disagreed with this statement. Finally, few clients agreed that male prostitutes are victims of a sexist society (44% of the clients indicated that they disagree somewhat and 33% strongly disagreed with this statement).

Attitudes to Street Prostitution

When asked if offering to purchase sexual services in a public place should be a criminal offense, 41.9% of male sex buyers strongly disagreed that it should be and another 27.9% disagreed somewhat. Similarly, 40.9% strongly disagreed and 28.3% disagreed somewhat with the argument that selling sexual services in a public place should be a criminal offence.

When male clients were asked if they agreed that street prostitution causes neighborhood decay, 68% agreed that it does. And 70% clients supported the suggestion that street prostitution should be prohibited in residential areas. 77% of the clients favour restricting street prostitution to red light districts. 47.7% of clients agreed and 29.7% strongly agreed that street prostitution reduces property values.

When clients were asked to respond to the statement that street prostitution should be eradicated because used condoms are left lying around everywhere, 46.5% said they strongly disagree, 33.1% disagreed somewhat, and 15% agreed somewhat. When the same question was asked about needles, 40.2% said they strongly disagree, and 34.6% disagreed somewhat. 65% of clients do not believe that street prostitution hurts the family. Roughly 60% of the clients believe that street prostitution hurts children. When it came to the effect it has on women, few men felt that it had a negative.

Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality

Table E: Client Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality

Activity	Morally Unacceptable	Activity	Should Be Prohibited by Law
Sex With Persons 13 and Under	80.5%	Sex With Persons 13 and Under	87.3%
Snuff Films	79.5%	Snuff Films	81.7%
Sex With Animals	71.1%	Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	68.5%
Pimping	68.5%	Pimping	66.4%
Sex With Persons 14 and 15 Years of Age	65.6%	Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	65.4%
Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	62%	Sex With Animals	45.7%
Sadism	61.7%	Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	36.5%
Purchase of Sex from Person Under 18	59.7%	Sexually Explicit Videos (violent)	35.4%
Extramarital Sex	48.4%	Sadism	29.7%
Masochism	45.7%	Buying Sexual Services in Public	24%
Sex With Persons 16 and 17 Years of Age	37.8%	Selling Sexual Services in Public	23.2%
Buying Sexual Services in Public	29.5%	Masochism	17.3%
Selling Sexual Services in Public	29.5%	Voyeurism	4.8%
Group Sex	18.8%	Sexual Bondage	4.8%
Premarital Sex	17.8%	Selling Sexual Services in Private	3.3%
Sexual Bondage	17.2%	Phone Sex	3.2%
Selling Sexual Services in Private	17.2%	Buying Sexual Services in Private	3.2%
Anal Intercourse	17.2%	Group Sex	2.4%
Buying Sexual Services in Private	16.3%	Anal Intercourse	2.4%
Voyeurism	15.5%	Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	2.4%
Sex Images Through Internet/Computer	14.1%	Premarital Sex	2.4%
Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	13.2%	Masturbation	2.4%
Phone Sex	13.2%	Sexually Explicit Videos (no Violence)	1.6%
Masturbation	12.4%	Oral Sex	1.6%
Oral Sex	11.7%	Extramarital Sex	Missing Data

Table E summarises the attitudes of clients about the moral status of various sexual activities, and whether they should be prohibited by law.

Over 80% of all male sex-buyers felt that sex with persons 13 and under and snuff films were both morally unacceptable and should be prohibited by law. Between sixty and seventy percent stated that pimping and sex with persons 14 and 15 years of age was morally unacceptable and should be prohibited by law. Although over 60% of clients felt that activities such as sexual sadism and violent sexual videos were immoral, only 29% and 35% would criminalize these activities. 29.5% of men felt that buying and selling sexual services in public was immoral and 24% believed these activities should be illegal. When these activities occur in private places, the percentage of men who feel they are immoral dropped to between 16 and 17% and only 3.2 to 3.3% said that commercial sex in private places should be prohibited by criminal law.

Male Client Behavior, Internet Sample

Substance Use

We asked male sex-buyers a variety of questions about how often they use specific substances during their commercial sex encounters. 22.4% of the men said they occasionally used alcohol when with a sex-seller, while 56.8% report that they never do. Only 12.8% of these men used marijuana when with a sex seller, and the large majority reported that when they did, it was only occasionally. Only one client said he occasionally used cocaine when buying sex. None of the clients reported using crack speed, or heroin. When asked what substance they had used during their most recent encounter, 81.6% said none, 12.8% said alcohol, and 5% said marijuana.

Condom Use During Last Purchase

Of the 121 male sex-buyers who responded to the question about whether or not they had used a condom during their last commercial encounter, 72.7% indicated they had.

Table F: Number of Lifetime Commercial Sex Purchases

How many times bought lifetime

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	One time	9	6.9	7.5	7.5
	2-5 times	25	19.2	20.8	28.3
	6-10 times	13	10.0	10.8	39.2
	11-50 times	41	31.5	34.2	73.3
	51-100 times	13	10.0	10.8	84.2
	101-500 times	17	13.1	14.2	98.3
	501 or more	2	1.5	1.7	100.0
	Total	120	92.3	100.0	
	Missing	System Missing	10	7.7	
Total		10	7.7		
Total		130	100.0		

Types of Sex-Seller Visited: Lifetime

The men who had bought sex in our sample were asked a variety of questions about the frequency with which they purchased sexual services, and the types of venues they frequented. The number of reported lifetime sex purchases are shown in Table F.

While 55.5% of clients who responded to the question (n = 128) had met sex sellers on the street (10.9% had done so once, 14.8% had done so between two and five times, 10.9% between six and ten times, 10.2% from eleven to fifty times, and 8.6% more than fifty times). 56.6% of the clients who responded to the question (n = 122) had used escort services (8.2% had done so once, 21.3% had done so between two and five times, 11.5% six to ten times, 11.5% between eleven and fifty times, and 4.1% had done so over fifty times). 36% of the clients who responded to the question (n = 119) indicated that they had met sex sellers in clubs or bars (11.8% had done so once, 12.6% had done so between two and five times, 11.8% had done so more than five times). 26.3% of the clients who responded to the question (n = 118) met sex sellers in hotels (7.6% once, 9.3% between two and five times, and 9.3% more than five times). 59% of clients who responded to this question (n=120) had purchased sexual services in massage parlours (12.5% once, 17.5% two to five times here, 12.5% six to ten times, 9.2% between eleven and fifty times, and 7.5% more than fifty times). 45% of the clients had met prostitutes in brothels (10.8% once, 12.5% between two and five times, 7.5% six to ten times, 9.2% eleven to fifty times, and 5% more than fifty times). Out of the 115 men who answered the question, 45% had met sex sellers through advertisements (12.2% once, 13.9% between two and five times, , 6.1% between six and ten times, 8.7% between eleven and fifty times, and 6.1% more than fifty times).

Type of Sex-Seller Visited: Previous 12 Months

Of the 93 clients who answered this question, 30% had purchased sex only once during the past 12 months, 29% had done so between two and five times, 20.4% had done so between six to ten times, and 20.4% had done so between eleven and fifty times.

Again, a series of questions were asked to determine the number of times the clients in our sample had purchased sex in different venues over the past twelve months. A total of 116 men responded to each of the venue specific questions. 25% of men stated they had met a sex seller on the street during the previous 12 months (9.5% had done so once, 6.9% two to five times, 1.7% between six and ten times, and 5.2% eleven to fifty times). 28% had used escort services (11% had done so one, 7.8% between two and five times, 4.3% six to ten times, and 5.2% over ten times). 16.4% had met sex sellers in clubs and bars (6% had done so once, 7.8% had done so between two and five times, and 2.7% more than five times). Less than 8% of the clients met a sex seller in a hotel (5.2% had done so once, and 1.7% between two and five times). 33.1 % had met sex sellers in massage parlours (8.5% had done so once, 12.7% between two and five times, 8.5% six to ten times, and 3.4% more than ten times). 25% of clients had met sex sellers through advertisements (11% had done so on one occasion, 7.6% two to five times, and 6.8% five to ten times). Finally, 12.6% of men reported visiting brothels (1.8% had done so once, 3.6% between two and five times, 4.5% six to ten times, and 2.7% more than ten times).

General Reasons Why Clients Buy Sex

Very few male clients indicated that getting drunk was related to their sex buying behavior (only 14.4% stating that this was an important factor). Slightly more men said that viewing “pornography” motivated them to buy sex, but 50.4% reported that sexually explicit imagery was not at all important, and 28% said that it was not very important. Many men said the same about going to strip clubs: 39.5% reported that this experience was not at all important and 33.9% reported that it was not very important.

45.6% of clients indicated that *having the time* was a key reason why they bought sex when they did, a further 32.8% said this was important. Only 11.6% said it was not important. When it came to the importance of the time of day, 40.7% said it was not at all important, 25.2% said it was not very important, and 34.1% said it was important or very important. Almost all men felt that having available funds was either very important (46.4%) or important (43.2%). 52.8% reported that the physical attractiveness of the sex seller was either important (28.2%) or very important (24%). 39.2% reported that physical attractiveness was not at all important and 8% suggested it was not very important.

73% of the clients said that *relieving stress* was a very important or important factor in the decision to buy sex. Likewise, 73% said *impulse* was an important or very important reason. Over 77% rated the *relief of their sex drive* as either an important (42.1%) or very important (35.7%) reason for buying.

Conversely, having an argument with their spouse was seen as important or very important by 14% of the clients.

Most of the men who had bought sex in our sample stated that traveling to another country was either not at all important (49.6%) or not very important (14.6%) in their decision to buy sex. Conversely, for 35% of the clients this was either important (17.1%) or very important (17.9%). Traveling to another city was an important factor for 53% of the clients.

Area Where Sex Purchased

Table G shows the percentage of male clients in our sample who indicated that they had purchased sexual services in various areas around the world.

Table G: Areas Where Clients Have Purchased Sexual Services

Country	Yes (%)
North America	83.0
Western Europe	52.0
British Isles	46.8
Japan	38.3
Thailand	31.8
China	19.6
Eastern Europe	15.9
Central America	15.6
Other Asia	14.3
Australia/New Zealand	13.6
South America	11.9
Middle East	11.6
Indonesia	7.3
East Africa	7.1
North Africa	4.8
South Africa	2.4
India	2.4
West Africa	0

Preferred Day To Purchase Sex

We asked clients a variety of questions about the day of the week they preferred to buy sex. 90% of the 108 respondents who reported this information indicated that they either had no particular preference. When a preference was indicated, most often it was either a Friday or Saturday.

Preferred Time of Day to Purchase Sex

A total of 113 male sex buyers indicated the time period during which they preferred to contact a sex seller. As with the preferred day of week, the majority had no particular preference. When a

preference for a specific time frame was indicated, it was between 8:00 p.m. and 11:59 p.m.. One exception was massage parlors where the period noon to 3:59 was slightly more popular.

Sex Act Most Often Purchased When With Sex Seller

Out of the 127 male clients in our sample who responded to the set of questions on sexual service preferences, 77.8% indicated they engage in fellatio as the main activity on at least some of the occasions, with 15.9% indicating that they did so on more than 80% of occasions. 85% of the clients stated they engage in fellatio as foreplay on some occasions, 39.4% doing so over 80% of the time. Similarly, 83.5% engaged in vaginal intercourse when with a sex seller, with 44.9% stating they did so 80% of the time or more. Close to 80% of the men responded that they were sometimes masturbated, although the majority (59.4%) did so less than 20% of the time. Finally, the least popular type of intercourse reported was anal, with 84.3% of men stating they did this either not at all (65.4%) or less than 20% of the time (18.9%). When they were asked what type of sexual service they paid for on their most recent visit, 29.1% responded that it was fellatio, 27% said half and half, 17.9% said masturbation, 15.8% said vaginal intercourse, and 10.2% said anal intercourse.

Victimization By and Offenses Against Sex Sellers

Client Experiences of Victimization by Sex Sellers

Most of the 119 male clients in our sample who responded to a series of questions about their experiences of being victimized by a sex seller responded that they had not been victimized at all. When victimization was experienced by these men it most often took the form of not receiving services paid for. 27.7% of the men reporting that this had occurred once, 12.6% said that it had occurred on two or three occasions, and 3.4% said that this had happened on more than three occasions. Over 20% of the men stated they had been verbally abused (10% on one occasion, 8.3% two or three times, and 2.5% more than three times). Only 6.7% of male buyers indicated they had been assaulted by a sex seller, while 22.7% had been robbed, most just once (16.8%). Close to 25% said that money or objects were stolen from them when with a sex seller, with 16.1% reporting that this occurred only once, and 8.4% more than once. Finally, 3.2% of the men said they had been drugged and robbed by a sex seller.

Client Experiences of Offending Against A Sex Seller

When it comes to the commission of offenses against sex sellers, very few clients admitted to having ever doing so. Verbal abuse was inflicted on a sex seller by 11.7% of male clients, with 9.2% claiming to have done so on only one occasion. Less than 2% of the men said they had ever forcibly confined a sex seller, and slightly more than 2% had robbed one. 1.7% of clients said they had assaulted a sex seller on two or three occasions, and 1.6% said they had committed a rape.

Gender of Last Sex Seller

In 89.3% of cases male clients stated the gender of their last commercial partner was female, while 8.2% was male, and 2.5% was transgender.

Sharing of Information

Slightly more than 52% of male sex buyers who responded (n = 122) reported that they had never talked to anyone about their use of commercial sex services. Of those men who had spoken to others, 36.6% said this other person was a male friend, 12.2% reported that the person was a work colleague, 11.5% said a female friend, and 10.7% mentioned another sex seller. When asked if they inform their spouse about their purchase of sexual services, 59% said they never informed their wife/spouse, 5.7% said they occasionally did so, 3.3% said they usually did so, 6.6% said they always did (the remaining 25% did not have a spouse or regular sex partner). Only 7.3% of clients said they had asked their non-commercial sex partner to approach a sex seller for them. When asked if they use their real name when with a sex seller, 29.5% of men said they always did, 28.7% usually, 17.2% occasionally, and 18.9% never. Close to 75% of clients indicated that they talk to sex sellers about their personal problems.

Legal Experiences

Five of the one-hundred and twenty-three male clients who responded to the question indicated that they had been charged with a prostitution related offense; of these only one was found guilty.

Deterrent Effect of the Law

Of the 120 men who responded to various questions about the effect of the law on sex buying behavior, 49.2% said that the law deters them from visiting sex sellers on the street. Over 56% said that laws where they reside affects where they go to contact a sex seller, and 50.4% said that the laws affect where they go to have intercourse as well. Despite the effect that the law has on sex buying activities, close to 85% of men said they would still buy sex if it were to be made totally illegal.

66.1% of the male clients sampled stated that they had not heard of John School prior to filling out the survey. When it was explained to them close to 80% felt that it would be an effective way to prevent men from meeting sex sellers on the street.

When asked to choose which preventative strategies they felt would be most effective in getting men to stop buying sex on the street, 21% of the clients mentioned viable off-street alternatives, 14.3% mentioned their spouse finding out, 14.3% mentioned public exposure, 14% mentioned fear of AIDS, and 12% mentioned being recognized by someone they know. When asked what they felt would stop men from buying sex in general, 27% said spouse finding out, 25.8% said public exposure, 21.3% said fear of AIDS, 12.9% mentioned changed social attitudes toward sex, and 11.8% said criminalization.

Observed Significant Differences Between Male Clients and Non-Clients

At this point we have not had much of an opportunity to compare the responses of clients and non-clients and women and men. Some preliminary findings are presented in Table H below.

All of the findings presented in Table H below are based on a Chi-Square test for difference at the .05 level of significance, and each finding is presented in order of the variables appearance in the survey. Most of the variables presented were recoded to eliminate non-relevant responses prior to applying the Chi-Square test.

**Table H: Variables Where Significant Difference Between Clients and Non-Clients
Were Observed**

Variable	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of Freedom	Number of Respondents	Level of Significance
Ethnicity	3.898	1	379	.048
Marital Status	27.769	2	377	.000
Occupational Status	20.887	2	356	.000
Years of School	19.929	3	362	.000
Highest Level of Education	10.906	3	348	.012
Nicotine Use	9.125	3	378	.028
Number of Sexual Intercourse Partners During Previous 12 Months	79.691	2	380	.000
Number of Sexual Intercourse Partners in Life	38.189	2	380	.000

Number of Sex Partners Lived With for More Than 3 Months	37.560	2	375	.000
Sexual Abuse	8.894	1	368	.003
Condom Use With Spouse (Vaginal)	8.823	3	250	.032
Condom Use With Casual (fellatio)	11.295	3	184	.010
Do You Have Spouse/Regular Partner	3.688	1	377	.055
General Reasons Men Buy Sex				
Curiosity	16.652	3	373	.001
Cannot get sex any other way	17.447	3	372	.001
Strong Male Sex Drive	11.519	3	374	.009
Experiences of Victimization By Sex Partner				
Robbed	18.999	2	340	.000
Experiences of Offending Against A Sex Partner				
Robbed	17.342	1	340	.000
Attitudes to Women and Men				
Woman should be able to have sex with casual	9.754	1	369	.002
I have no respect for a woman who engages in sex without emotion	9.227	1	369	.002
all right for woman to have sex with someone she doesn't love	14.759	1	368	.000
Sometimes women enjoy rape	4.428	1	366	.035
chivalrous gestures should be encouraged	8.477	1	366	.004
All right for a man to have sex without love	15.978	1	368	.000
If women lets things get out of hand and man forces sex it is all	3.890	1	369	.049

right				
Husband should take the lead in decision making	4.189	1	367	.041
Attitudes About Female Prostitutes				
Poor	4.335	1	375	.037
Hard Working	9.146	1	375	.002
Helping to Prevent Rape	14.132	1	373	.000
immoral	15.289	1	375	.000
Sleazy	17.107	1	374	.000
Oversexed	5.786	1	371	.016
Diseased	21.197	1	375	.000
Alcoholics	6.295	1	373	.012
Normal	4.564	1	373	.033
Safeguarding the Family	9.781	1	373	.002
People Doing Another Job	21.735	1	374	.000
Providing a Valuable Service	32.965	1	375	.000
Attitudes About Male Prostitutes				
Immoral	11.468	1	340	.011
Sleazy	4.163	1	338	.041
Jeopardizing the Family	10.834	1	340	.001
Gays	3.811	1	340	.051
People Doing Another Job	3.922	1	339	.048
Providing a valuable service	6.475	1	338	.011
Attitudes About Street Prostitution				
Purchase in public should be illegal	20.329	3	370	.000
Selling in public should be illegal	20.479	3	368	.000
Causes neighborhood decay	14.100	3	368	.003
Damages the family	15.705	3	367	.001
Hurts children	8.792	3	368	.032
Has negative effect on all women	9.615	3	369	.022

Attitudes About Sex and Sexuality				
Extramarital Sex Immoral	10.191	1	375	.001
Sex with 16-17 illegal	9.894	1	364	.002
Buying sex in public immoral	9.542	1	377	.002
Buying sex in public illegal	4.249	1	363	.039
Selling sex in public immoral	8.672	1	377	.003
Selling sex in public illegal	5.292	1	363	.021
Buying sex in private immoral	10.027	1	372	.002
Buying sex in private illegal	12.837	1	360	.000
Selling sex in private immoral	7.395	1	368	.007
Selling sex in private illegal	11.212	1	356	.001
Purchase of sex from under 18 immoral	10.155	1	373	.001
Snuff films illegal	7.456	1	344	.006

The British Columbia Client Sample

To be completed.

REFERENCES

Ashmore, R.D., Del Boca, F.K., and S. Bilder (1995) "Construction and Validation of the Gender Attitude Inventory, A Structured Inventory to Assess Multiple Dimensions of Gender Attitudes." Sex Roles 32(11/12):753-785.

Atchison, C. (1996) "Turning the Trick: The Development and Partial Implementation of a Multi-Dimensional Research Instrument Designed for Clients of Sex Sellers." BA Honours Thesis. Simon Fraser University.

Atchison, C. Fraser, L. and Lowman, J. (1997) Men Who Buy Sex: Preliminary Findings of an Exploratory Study" Paper presented at the 1997 International Congress on Prostitution, Van Nuys, California, March 13-16.

Barnard, M.A., McKeganey, N.P. and A.H. Leyland (1993) "Risk Behaviours Among Male Clients of Female Prostitutes." British Medical Journal 307:361-2.

Gilfoyle, T. (19??) City of Eros, Prostitution in New York City 1790-1920. Norton Press.

Highcrest, A. (1997) At Home on the Stroll: My Twenty Years as a Prostitute in Canada. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf.

Lowman, J. (1986) "Street Prostitution in Vancouver: Notes on the Genesis of a Social Problem" Canadian Journal of Criminology, 28:1:1-16, 1986.

Lowman, J. Atchison, C. and Fraser, L. (1996) Men Who Buy Sex, Phase 1. A report prepared for the BC Ministry of Attorney General.

McKeganey, N. and Barnard, M. (1996) Sex Work On the Streets: Prostitutes and Their Clients Buckingham: Open University Press.

Perry, M. (1995) "Internet Sex Survey." <http://www.survey.net/sv-sex.htm>.

Vancouver Police Department (1997) Street Prostitution Enforcement Media Release.