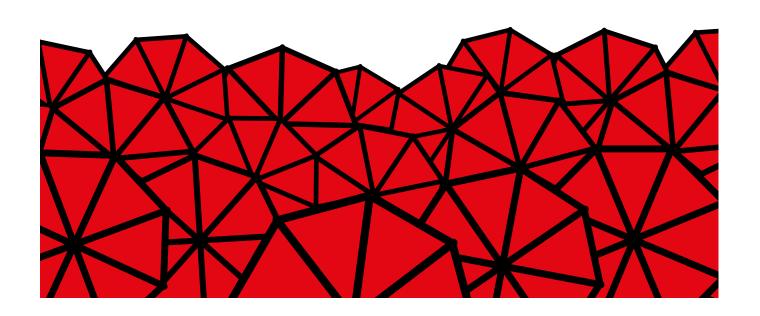


Global Network of Sex Work ProjectsPromoting Health and Human Rights

BRIEFING PAPER

#02 The criminalisation of clients





- Clients are criminalised under the Swedish Penal Code Chapter 11 (previously under the Sex Purchase Act, 1999). Laws requiring a landlord to terminate the lease if a tenant (or others) uses the premises for sex work include: Penal Code chapter 6 s.12.2; Land Code 12 s. 42.1.9; Condominium Act 7 s.18.8. Brothelkeepers and procurers are criminalised under the Penal Code chapter 12 s. 12. In S. Dodillet & P. Östergren (2011), The Swedish Sex Purchase Act: Claimed Success and Documented Effects, paper presented at Decriminalizing Prostitution and Beyond: Practical Experiences and Challenges International Conference, The Hague.
- See for example S. Jeffreys (2000), Challenging the Child/Adult distinction in theory and practice on prostitution, International Feminist Journal of Politics 2(3), pp. 359–379. See also for example how provisions criminalising the adult selling and purchasing of sex were included under the state of Illinois' Safe Children Act (HB-6462) of 2010. For a discussion of this issue in Sweden see D. Kulick (2003), Sex in the New Europe: The Criminalization of Clients and Swedish Fear of Penetration, Anthropological Theory 3(2), pp. 199–218.
- 3 See for example D. Hughes (2004), The Demand: Where Sex Trafficking Begins, presentation at the US Embassy of the Holy See, Rome. Hughes, affiliated with Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) states that: "The exploiters, including traffickers, pimps, brothel owners, organized crime members, and corrupt officials make-up what is known as the sex industry."
- See A. Rendland & P. Jakobsson (2011), The Nordic Model: Norwegian and Swedish Experiences, paper presented at the International Harm Reduction Conference, Beirut; Kulick, op. cit.; J. Berman (2003), (Un)Popular Strangers and Crises (Un)Bounded: Discourses of Sex-trafficking, the European Political Community and the Panicked State of the Modern State, European Journal of International Relations 9(1), pp. 37–86.
- ⁵ Kulick, op. cit.
- The term 'abolitionist' is highly criticized as a moniker for the anti-sex work current, because of its historical roots in racism. For more on this see J. Doezema (2010), Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking, London & New York: Zed Books.
- Others have referred to this trend as "carceral feminist". See, for example, E. Bernstein (2010), Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Antitra
- 8 See, for example, A.L. Crago (2003), Unholy Alliance: The Christian Right Are in Bed With Feminists Fighting for Anti-Prostitution Policy, retrieved from www.rabble.ca

The criminalisation of clients

The criminalisation of sex workers' clients is often claimed to be part of a new legal framework to eradicate sex work and trafficking by 'ending demand'. In 1999, Sweden criminalised sex workers' clients and maintained the criminalisation of third parties such as brothel-owners, managers, security and support staff¹. The individual selling of sex remained legal. This model is frequently referred to as the 'Swedish', 'Nordic' or 'End Demand' model. There is tremendous pressure in many countries to advance such legal and policy measures. The damaging consequences of this model on sex workers' health, rights and living conditions are rarely discussed.

The flawed logic behind 'ending demand'

The basic premise of criminalising buying sex is that clients' demand for sex is responsible for women entering, and remaining in sex work. In this framework, male and transgender sex workers are rarely recognised, while female sex workers are frequently conflated with children,² 'pimps' and traffickers³ in what are often anti-migrant narratives.⁴ Simultaneously, female sex workers are construed as victims with no agency – and as harmful to all women, family and the nation at large.⁵

Many advocates for the criminalisation of clients promote it as part of a 'neo-abolitionist-feminist'⁶ or 'fundamentalist feminist'⁷ ideology, wherein sex work is equated with violence against women, exploitation and trafficking. Clients are seen as 'abusers' who must be arrested and punished. This logic derives from the 'abolitionist' legal frameworks of the late 19th century, which are still in place in some European and Latin American countries. 'Abolitionists' believed that by criminalising those who recruited or profited from female sex workers, prostitution would be eradicated. The assumption was that no woman would consent to sexual exchange on her own. Given that this has not succeeded, neo-abolitionist/fundamentalist feminists have extended their target to clients, regarding them as the ultimate root cause of sex work.

This view overlaps with the views of prohibitionist groups, including religious conservatives and anti-feminist groups. Prohibitionists have traditionally favored criminalising all parties involved in sex work are now advancing the Swedish model and calling themselves 'neo-abolitionists'. This wide array of political factions share the core belief that sex work is inherently degrading, violent and wrong and consider the state responsible for eradicating sex work.



The line separating fundamentalist feminists and prohibitionist groups has blurred. They often work together to promote law and policies against sex work, a prime example being the American coalitions to

The common agenda is summed up by Swedish sex worker, Pye Jakobsson: "We want to save you. And if you don't appreciate it, we will punish you."

end demand.⁹ The overlap in their positions can be explained. Prohibitionists often acquiesce to exempt sex workers from criminalisation, if they agree to mandatory rehabilitation. Conversely, abolitionists have tended to uphold approaches that continue to punish or incarcerate sex workers who refuse rehabilitation. The common agenda is summed up by Swedish sex worker, Pye Jakobsson: "We want to save you. And if you don't appreciate it, we will punish you."¹⁰

The impact of law and policy based on this approach has devastating consequences for sex workers.

Variations on the Swedish model and the lobby for their implementation

Criminalising clients is hardly a new phenomenon. In many countries, legal measures aiming to eliminate sex work have been implemented for well over a century. These include laws that directly criminalise the buying of sex. 11 Other laws criminalise or penalise clients indirectly. This can be through laws criminalising people found in brothels or through laws against soliciting, communicating for the purpose of prostitution and 'kerb-crawling'. 12 Laws relating to conduct in public spaces, framed as 'reducing social nuisance' or 'protecting public order', are also frequently used to penalise clients. 13 While the theoretical framework for the Swedish model is quite unique, sex workers' experiences of the criminalisation of clients in different contexts add to the growing body of data about the lived consequences of such measures.

Sweden, in 1999, was the first country to use a radical feminist argument – i.e. sex work is inherently male violence against women – to justify new legislation that criminalises buying sex, while selling sex remains legal. ¹⁴ The Swedish government has retained laws that criminalise brothels and otherwise profiting from sex work. ¹⁵ Since its implementation, through the National Swedish Institute, the country has invested extensively in exporting this legal framework to other countries. ¹⁶ According to Gunilla Ekberg, the former government official responsible for prostitution policy in Sweden,

Part of my tasks was also to 'export' the Swedish anti-prostitution strategies – that is to influence legislators and women's groups in other countries to campaign for similar laws. And we saw huge changes. For example, South Korea, South Africa, Norway and other countries have enacted the same legislation that criminalises the buyer.¹⁷

Indeed in recent years, criminalising (or further criminalising) clients has been discussed by law-makers in India, France, Estonia, Finland, Croatia, the Philippines, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and Canada. ¹⁸ Justifications have sometimes departed from the Swedish conceptualisation, but all are based in the belief that sex workers are both damaged by sex work, and in turn, damaging to society.

The US government is another and far more influential source of international pressure in repressing sex work. In 2003 the American

- 9 See Bernstein, op. cit.; Crago, op. cit.; G. Soderlund (2005), Running from the Rescuers: New US. Crusades Against Sex Trafficking and the Rhetoric of Abolition, National Women's Studies Association Journal, 17(3), pp. 54–87.
- HCLU (2010), Interview with Pye Jakobsson, SWAN, Retrieved from www.swannet.org/node/1512
- ¹¹ For example, in most states in the United States.
- 12 For example, in Finland, Canada, England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Italy and Spain.
- 13 For example, in Finland, Canada, England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Italy and Spain.
- 14 Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.
- ¹⁵ Idem.
- ¹⁶ Idem.
- 17 Unnamed (2008), Abolishing Prostitution: The Swedish Solution, An Interview with Gunilla Ekberg, Rain and Thunder: A Radical Feminist Journal of Discussion and Activism, 41.
- 18 G. Ekberg, "Testimony Before Canadian Parliamentary Sub-Committee Hearings 38–1." (2005). Retrieved from http:// www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/ Publication.aspx?DocId=1823237& Language=E&Mode=1



- 19 K. Kempadoo (2007), The war on human trafficking in the Caribbean. Race and Class, 49(2), pp. 79–85; M. Capous-Desyllas (2007), A Critique of the Global Trafficking Discourse and U.S. Policy, Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare 34(4), pp. 57–79; A.L. Crago, (2010), The Scar on My Face: The State-Sponsored Scape-goating of Sex Workers for HIV in Sambia, 2004–2008, Canadian Congress of Social Sciences, Montreal.
- 20 J.H. Kim (2007), Korea's New Prostitution Policy: Overcoming Challenges to Effectuate the Legislature's Intent to Protect Prostitutes from Abuse, Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal 16(2), pp. 494 – 523; Human Rights Watch (2010), Off the Streets: Arbitrary Detention and Other Abuses against Sex Workers in Cambodia, New York: Human Rights Watch; V. Magar (2006), Lost In Translation, unpublished manuscript; Crago, op. cit.
- 21 US State Department (2011), Trafficking In Persons (TIP) Report: Prevention.
- 22 For Cambodia: Human Rights Watch, op. cit.; for Guatemala: Coordinator of OMES, interview, June, 2010; for South Korea: see discussion below.
- 23 See, for example, the argument to criminalise the buying of sex described by Sigma Huda in U.N. Economic and Social Council. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights aspects of the victims of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, (E/CN.4/2006/62), February 20 2006.
- 24 See Rendland & Jakobsson, op. cit.
- 25 Idem
- ²⁶ See A new law makes purchase of sex illegal in Iceland (21 April 2009), retrieved from http://www.jafnretti.is/jafnretti/ ?D10cID=ReadNews&ID=523
- 27 Republic of Guatemala, Congress, Ley contra la violencia sexual, explotación y trata de personas, Decreto Numero-9 2009.
- 28 Republic of Korea, Act on the Punishment of Procuring Prostitution and Associated Acts, 2004; Republic of Korea, Act on the Prevention of Prostitution and Protection of Victims Thereof, 2004.
- 29 Republic of South Africa, Sexual Offences Act. Section 20(1), 1957; Republic of South Africa, Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Act, Section 11. 2007.
- 30 Republic of Lithuania, Amendment to Article 182-1 of the Administrative Offences Code, 2005.
- 31 State of Illinois, Safe Children Act, (HB-6462), 2010.
- 32 State of New York, Amendment to New York Penal Code, 2007.
- 33 Another notable trend is the laws specifically targeting clients of trafficking victims. Finland has criminalised clients of trafficking victims; however, not knowing that the person was trafficked can be a defense, unless an intermediary is paid. England criminalised clients of trafficking victims under a system of strict liability. This means that not knowing the person was trafficked is not a defense. Under American and Norwegian leadership, NATO banned their soldiers from the "purchase of sexual services linked to trafficking". Data is not yet available on the impact these measures have on reducing trafficking or on sex workers' working conditions.
- 34 Executive Order 13387-2005, Amendments to the Manual for Courts-Martial, 2005, 70 Fed. Reg. 60701.
- 35 UNODC (2008), Conduct of peacekeepers and other law enforcement personnel, United Nations Toolkit to Prevent Trafficking In Persons, Section 9(17), p. 481: "All members of peacekeeping operations are prohibited from visiting or purchasing sex at off-limit locations such as bars, nightclubs, brothels or hotels where sexual exploitation and abuse in the form of prostitution are present."

government became a strong adherent of ending demand in order to fight what it termed 'sexual slavery'. New York and Illinois have since adopted laws that severely punish clients. In the same year the US State Department began publishing an annual Trafficking in Persons Index. This is a three tier category system, which grades countries ostensibly according to their performance in preventing trafficking. More often, however, it rewards countries for intensifying crackdowns on sex work and illegal migration. When a country is placed in the lowest category it can have its foreign aid revoked. This index has placed enormous pressure on many governments to repress sex work. On 2011 the index called for the criminalisation of clients worldwide.

Several countries, including Guatemala, Cambodia and South Korea, have since passed trafficking laws based on the premises of either an abolitionist or prohibitionist viewpoint, which conflates sex work with trafficking. These are being ruthlessly implemented, to shut down brothels and inhibit sex workers from working.²² In the cases of South Korea and Guatemala, they have also criminalised some or all forms of paying for sex.

Often, laws have been changed as a result of the combined forces of lobbies by local actors, Swedish support and American pressure. Increasingly, the notion of ending demand is gaining currency with the United Nations, partially due to Swedish and American lobbying.²³

Emerging new laws are not uniform. Despite an investigation by the Norwegian police refuting the successes of the Swedish model, Norway has criminalised buying sex²⁴ and has preserved its existing laws against brothels.²⁵ In 2009, Iceland criminalised buying sex while retaining existing laws against brothels.²⁶ Furthermore, in 2010, the Icelandic government banned strip clubs.

Sometimes, clients are targeted in order to shut down brothels. Guatemala introduced new laws against brothels and criminalised clients who pay an intermediary for sex work. Selling sex remains decriminalised.²⁷

While making the buying of sex illegal, most countries have maintained or increased the criminalisation of sex workers. For example,

- ▶ South Korea's new laws criminalise clients and brothel-owners while retaining the criminalisation of sex workers.²⁸
- South Africa now criminalises clients but has retained laws that criminalise brothel-owners and sex workers.²⁹
- Lithuania extended penalisation to clients, while retaining it for sex workers.³⁰
- In the US, the End Demand Coalition succeeded in increasing the sentence for both clients *and* sex workers in the state of Illinois.³¹ The penalties for buying sex have increased in New York while those for selling sex have been maintained.³²
- Clients of sex workers are now criminalised in Scotland and Italy. Sex workers remain criminalised through offenses related to soliciting.

A number of new laws also apply transnationally.³³ For example, Norway has made it illegal to purchase sex abroad, including for those in military service. The American Department of Defense has rewritten the Uniform Code of Military Justice to include "patronising a prostitute" as a criminal offense for soldiers.³⁴ The UN has banned peacekeepers from purchasing sexual services, and from frequenting zones or establishments where sex work might take place.³⁵



Impact of end demand legal frameworks on sex workers

Increased repression of sex workers

Many supporters of the Swedish Model state that decriminalising sex work is a cornerstone of their vision. However it is clear that most

In both South Korea and the US, the only way a sex worker can avoid incarceration is by accepting rehabilitation

countries implementing the Swedish model are further outlawing sex work. In the state Illinois for example, laws to end demand have resulted in elevating the selling of sex to a felony, punishable by imprisonment up to a year.³⁶ In 2002, fewer than 3,500 sex workers were arrested in South Korea. After the passage of the Swedish-inspired law reforms, this number rocketed to 16,951 in 2004 and 18,508 in 2005.³⁷

In both South Korea and the US, the only way a sex worker can avoid incarceration is by accepting rehabilitation. In South Korea, the judiciary or police officer decides if a woman is worthy of rehabilitation, based on her 'character' and the motives of the case.³⁸

Even in contexts where the selling of sex is legal, if women work together indoors, and pay each other for rent or expenses, they can be criminalised under laws against brothel-keeping or profiting from prostitution.³⁹

It is common for sex workers to be disproportionately targeted for arrest under unrelated laws. In Sweden and Norway, although selling sex is not a criminal offence, the intensity of police repression against sex workers has led to large numbers being arrested and deported for illegal immigration.⁴⁰ In fact, during the first year of Sweden's new law, prosecutors were unable to indict numerous sex workers because they were deported before their statements were recorded.⁴¹

Further, sex workers experience higher levels of harassment due to the policing of clients on the street.⁴² Police officers in Sweden often clandestinely film women engaging in sexual acts to obtain evidence against clients. The women are then subjected to invasive searches.⁴³ Sex workers have neither the rights of the accused nor of victims in trials against clients.⁴⁴ In South Korea and Sweden, police stake out the homes and workplaces of women suspected of engaging in sex work.⁴⁵

Increased violence and discrimination

A major claim of the Swedish government is that criminalising clients has significantly reduced the number of sex workers. This assertion is based on a decline in the number of street-based sex workers, a fact which a number of researchers attribute to the growth of other 'hidden' forms of sex work.⁴⁶

Indeed, in several countries, it has been observed that police surveillance and arrest of clients has displaced sex workers. Sex workers are reported to increasingly use the internet to solicit customers or to have moved to venues that masquerade as other businesses such as massage parlors, hair dressers and hotels.⁴⁷

- 36 State of Illinois, op. cit.
- 37 Republic of Korea Ministry for Gender Equality, cited in J. Herskovitz (2006). South Korea sex trade revamps after clampdown. Reuters.
- ³⁸ Republic of Korea, op. cit.
- ³⁹ Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.
- 40 Kulick, op.cit.; Rendland & Jacobbson, op. cit.
- ⁴¹ Kulick, op.cit.
- 42 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs (2004), Purchasing Sexual Services in Sweden and the Netherlands.
- 43 Kulick, op. cit.; Dodillet & Östergren,
- 44 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs, op. cit.
- 45 Rendland & Jakobsson, op. cit.
- 46 Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (2007), Prostitution in Sweden 2007; Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.; BRÅ (Brottsförebyggande Rådet) 2000, Brå rapport 2000:4, "Förbud mot köp av sexuella tjänster. Tillämpningen av lagen under första året."
 Brottsförebyggande rådet, Stockholm.
- $^{
 m 47}$ This is reported in Sweden, South Korea, Norway and Canada. According to the Korean Institute of Criminology, 60% of those who said they purchased sex in 2005 claimed to have done so in massage parlours. The Financial Supervisory Service of Korea reported credit card spending in massage parlours to have increased 23% in 2005 as compared with 2004 (the year of passage of the law criminalising clients). Quoted in N. Schwartzmann (2008), Special Law on Prostitution Turns Four Years Old, Asian Correspondent, retrieved from asiancorrespondent.com; Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.; A.L. Crago (2011), Legal Barriers to Fighting Violence Against Sex Workers: The Montreal Experience, paper presented at the CRI-VIFF Conference, Montreal; Rendland & Jakobsson, op. cit.; Herskovitz, op. cit.



Since client criminalisation in Sweden, sex workers are at greater risk of violence and infectious diseases

However, sex workers whose living conditions are precarious are often unable to work in sectors of the sex industry that require set routines, start-up funds or familiarity with technology. In Sweden, women on the streets have reported greater competition, declining prices and harsher

conditions.⁴⁸ To compensate for fewer clients, women accept clients who are drunk, aggressive or refuse condom use.⁴⁹ Since client criminalisation in Sweden, sex workers are at greater risk of violence⁵⁰ and infectious diseases.⁵¹

Police surveillance patrols aimed at locating clients drive sex workers into less public areas where they could be more vulnerable to violence.

Should violence occur, they would be unlikely to get help.⁵² In the city of Edinburgh, in Scotland, sex workers reported 66 incidents of violence in 2006, compared with 126 after the implementation of kerb-crawling measures the following year.⁵³ In Montreal, during a three month period of widespread anti-client sweeps in 2001, sex workers reported three times the amount of violent incidents, and five times the amount of violent incidents with a deadly weapon than prior to the sweeps.⁵⁴

Sex workers face major obstacles in reporting violence and coercion, given that exposing oneself as a sex worker to a police officer can lead to more harassment and the risk of deportation.⁵⁵ Likewise, a client encountering a sex worker who has been coerced, or is in danger, is unlikely to report it to the police for fear of incriminating himself. The Norwegian National Police Board found that the Swedish law has made it harder to gather evidence against individuals who have coerced or exploited sex workers.⁵⁶ In addition, Sweden's National Board of Health and Welfare found that the criminalisation of clients may lead to an increase in exploitation of sex workers by third parties.⁵⁷

Thai sex workers have likewise reported that since the prohibition on US soldiers purchasing sex, their working conditions have become more dangerous. Often, soldiers will only meet sex workers in isolated locations or request that one woman service multiple soldiers to avoid drawing attention.⁵⁸

There is no evidence that the Swedish law has reduced trafficking in persons in the sex industry. ⁵⁹ In an evaluation of the Swedish law in 2010, seven current sex workers were interviewed. All stated that stigma against them had increased since the passing of the law. Unfortunately, this was reported as a positive development since it might deter women from doing sex work. ⁶⁰

Decreased access to health and social services

Laws criminalising clients, and laws against brothels, impede sex workers' ability to protect their health at work. In Sweden, a study by the Norwegian National Police Board has found that many street-based sex workers compensate for loss of earnings, as a result of client criminalisation, by not using condoms.⁶¹ In South Korea, indoor venues such as massage parlours tend not to keep condoms on the premises because this can be regarded as evidence of sex work.⁶²

- 48 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs, op. cit.; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, op. cit.; Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.
- 49 This is reported in Canada and Sweden.
 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police
 Affairs, op. cit.; Swedish National Board
 of Health and Welfare, op. cit.; Dodillet &
 Östergren, op. cit.; Crago, op. cit.
- 50 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs, op. cit.; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare op. cit.; Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.; P. Östergren (2003), Sex Workers Critique of Swedish Prostitution Policy, retrieved from http://www.petraostergren.com/pages.aspx?r_id=40716
- 51 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs, op. cit.; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare op. cit.; Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.
- ⁵² Crago, op. cit.
- 53 SCOT-PEP quoted in M. Autin (2008), La pénalisation du client en Europe et dans le monde, Fondation Scelles.
- 54 A.L. Crago (2008), Our Lives Matter: Sex Workers Unite for Health and Rights, New York: Open Society Foundation.
- 55 Kulick, op. cit., Ostergren, op. cit., Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.
- Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs, op. cit.
- 57 Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, op. cit.; Kulick, op. cit.
- ⁵⁸ Empower Thailand (2005), Criminalization of US Soldiers Purchasing Sexual Services.
- ⁵⁹ Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.
- 60 A. Skarhed (2010), Prohibition on the purchase of sexual services: An evaluation 1999-2008 (English Summary).
- 61 Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police Affairs, op. cit.
- 62 Y. Lee & Y. Jung (2009), The Correlation between the New Prostitution Acts and Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Korea, The Korean Journal of Policy Studies, 24(1), pp. 111–125.



Police harassment compels many sex workers to frequently change areas or work from hidden locations. This hinders their ability to connect with health and social services. In South Korea and Sweden, health

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authorities have expressed concern about negative consequences of the law on sex workers' health.⁶³ In addition, researchers in South Korea have found a correlation between the new prostitution acts and an increase in sexually transmitted infections.⁶⁴

Funding for health projects that support sex workers' rights is seriously compromised by the end demand trend. The most successful HIV interventions to date have been those that are peer-led, relying on individual and collective empowerment to improve sex workers' working and living conditions.⁶⁵ However, these types of projects receive little or no funding or support from governments, or from other agencies that are informed by models that construe sex work

as violence. In South Korea and Sweden, only projects which target women leaving sex work receive funding. These projects are inherently discriminatory as access to educational and vocational training, health and counseling services is contingent upon stopping sex work.

Decreased access to housing and shelter

Laws against purchasing sex, profiting from sex work, or against renting a space for sex work, can render landlords and hotel owners who rent to a sex worker liable. In many countries, landlords have the legal right to terminate leases and evict without notice individuals suspected of being sex workers – even when the selling of sex is not a crime. 66 This also affects individuals who live in low-income social housing, on whom it can have a particularly severe impact. 67 In Norway, police are known to pose as clients and call sex workers' advertisements in order to find out their address. They then threaten to charge the landlord under pimping laws if they do not evict the sex worker immediately. Women often lose their deposits, which can amount to three months rent. 68 Once listed as evicted sex workers, it is difficult to rent a new home. In 2011, this was part of an orchestrated campaign by the Oslo police named Action Homeless. 69

In Norway, police have notified all hotel chains that they will face charges for renting rooms to women who are known sex workers. As a result, hotel chains prohibit sex workers from checking in to any of their hotels. Some are reported to be racial profiling women who they believe could be sex workers.⁷⁰

In summary, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that legal measures criminalising clients, brothel-owners, managers and support staff within the sex industry eliminate or significantly reduce sex work. The available evidence suggests instead that such measures are increasing repression, violence and discrimination against sex workers. This diminishes sex workers' access to health care, social services and housing. The criminalisation of clients is not a human rights-based response to sex work.

⁶³ Schwartzmann op. cit.; Dodillet & Östergren, op. cit.

⁶⁴ Lee & Jung, op. cit.

⁶⁵ See C. Jenkins (2000), Female Sex Worker HIV Prevention Project: Lessons Learnt from Papua New Guinea, India and Bangladesh, UNAIDS Best Practice Collection, Geneva: UNAIDS; D.T. Swendeman, I. Basu, S. Jana, M.J. Rotheram-Borus, S.J. Lee, P.A. Newman & R.E. Weiss (2004), Evidence for the Efficacy of the Sonagachi Project in Improving Condom Use and Community Empowerment Among Sex Workers: Results from a cohort-control study, presented at the International AIDS Conference, Bangkok.

⁶⁶ For example, this is the case in Sweden, Norway and Canada.

 $^{^{\}rm 67}$ This is the case in Norway and Canada.

⁶⁸ Written communication from Astrid Rendland, Director of PION, a sex worker support centre in Oslo. 2011, July 12.

⁶⁹ Idem.

⁷⁰ Idem.