# **Demand Deterrence Strategies:**

International Initiatives to Eliminate Demand for the Sex Trade

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#### Introduction

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Today's research on prostitution largely focuses on the women selling sex rather than on the men who buy sex. The rule of supply and demand highlights the significant role that the buyers play in maintaining prostitution. If there was not a demand for prostitution, then prostitution simply would not exist. In recent years, communities worldwide have started to acknowledge this perspective and have begun implementing demand deterrence strategies. This report highlights such strategies and may be used as a best practice guide for deterring the demand for prostitution around the world. CAASE does not necessarily endorse the strategies outlined in this report. Rather, CAASE has chosen to compile this listing as a resource for future demand deterrence initiatives. Some of the approaches enumerated here are insensitive to those in the sex trade and misrepresent their experiences. In order for any of these strategies to be effective, the culture can no longer view women in prostitution as perpetrators of a crime, nor can we blame them for the exploitation and violence perpetrated against them.

The first section of the report offers a description of the most common and the most successful demand deterrence strategies utilized worldwide. The two appendixes that follow enumerate specific strategies in greater detail and are organized alphabetically, according to location. Some of the strategies listed are no longer in effect. In such cases, their activities are described in the past tense. They remain a part of the report, however, to preserve any potential usefulness that may arise from knowledge of such programs in the future. The report will be continually updated to reflect changes in community responses to the demand for prostitution.

## A Note On Language

The word, "John," is a slang term referring to a man who purchases sex. While "John" is admittedly an informal term, it is has been widely adapted to name several demand deterrence strategies (i.e. "John" School, "John" TV, etc.) For simplicity's sake, the term is used here to reflect existing deterrence programs. CAASE explicitly refrains from referring to a buyer of sex as a "customer," so as not to equate commercial sexual exploitation with a simple economic transaction. This choice reflects CAASE's belief that the purchase of sex cannot exist as an equal transaction within a patriarchal society. Some programs described here use the term "kerb crawler," which is the phrase used in the UK to refer to men who purchase sex from their cars.

CAASE acknowledges that men, children, and teens—like women—are often prostituted. CAASE further acknowledges that some women do buy sex. Nonetheless, few refute the notion that women are highly overrepresented in the prostitution industry and that men are the dominant consumers of the sex trade. This report therefore focuses on the women impacted by commercial sexual exploitation and the deterrence strategies aimed at the men who demand it.

## **Demand Deterrence Strategies Addressed In This Report**

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Some of the most common deterrence strategies include: "john" websites, "john" TV, newspaper listings, "dear john" letters, public awareness campaigns, vehicle impoundment, zoning areas/probation areas, "report a john" programs, and road changes. These strategies primarily focus on reducing street level prostitution rather than indoor prostitution.<sup>2</sup>

### **Demand Deterrence Strategies:** Criminalizing the Demand

Sweden is the first country to create legislation which criminalizes the purchase of sex but not the sale of sex (Gould, 2001). On January 1, 1999 the purchasing of sex was criminalized in Sweden (Ministry of Industry, 2005). The law on the prohibition of the purchase of sexual services states that "the person who, for payment, obtains a casual sexual relationship is penalized—unless the action entails punishment in accordance with the Penal Code-for the purchase of sexual services with fines or imprisonment for a maximum of six months" ("Purchasing," 2004, p. 16). Since the implementation of the law, the number of women in street prostitution has dropped 41% ("Purchasing," 2004). In 2002, a survey revealed that approximately 80% of the Swedish public was content with the law on prostitution, including the majority of law enforcement and social service providers (Ministry of Industry, 2005; "Purchasing," 2004). One year after the implementation of the law, the arrest rate for those purchasing sex increased 300% (Ekberg, 2004). The National Criminal Investigation Department believes that the law has also discouraged traffickers from bringing victims to Sweden (Ministry of Industry, 2005).

Currently, other cities are looking at the Swedish model when identifying best ways to deal with issues of the sex trade. South Korea has implemented similar policy and England is debating the passage of similar legislation.

## **Demand Deterrence Strategies:** Naming and Shaming Tactics

Nations and cities worldwide have been implementing various strategies to deter the demand for the sex trade. Some of these strategies seek to "name and shame" men suspected or convicted of purchasing sex, in the hope that they will be deterred from future buying. Naming and shaming tactics typically include publicizing the name, photo, date of birth, and city of residence of men convicted for solicitation of prostitution though some cities publicize the information of men arrested for solicitation of prostitution. Publicizing the names and faces of men who have not been convicted has created some controversy in cities such as Oakland, CA. Venues for naming and shaming include newspaper listings, police department websites, community websites, television, and billboards.

<sup>2</sup> Indoor prostitution refers to prostitution that occurs indoors, such as through escort services, within bars, strip clubs, or other indoor venues.

Supporters of naming and shaming tactics consider them to be an effective deterrent. Critics often state that these strategies have a negative impact on the offenders' family. Furthermore, some believe the damage to one's reputation or the very act of shaming may actually incite one who purchases sex to continue his behavior. Yet another criticism is that naming and shaming tactics "serve to reinforce conservative sexual mores that reduce rather than increase sympathy for women in prostitution" (Monto, 2004, p.182). Some also view public shaming as a civil rights violation, especially when shaming occurs after arrest instead of conviction.

#### "John" Websites

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"John" websites list identifying information of men arrested or convicted for solicitation of prostitution. In the United States, links to these websites are often found on the city police website. Some websites include the photos of those in the sex trade, which further victimizes those being prostituted. "John" websites are being utilized in cities such as Chicago, IL and Arlington, TX.

Other "john" websites in the U.S. and in Canada use different approaches. Instead of publicizing the photos and names of the men caught soliciting for the purpose of prostitution, the Canadian websites publicize photos of vehicles and license plate numbers of men observed soliciting sex. Unlike websites that explicitly address the problem of demand as a social issue, many "john" websites in Canada focus on traffic congestion rather than the fact that these men are soliciting sex. The Canadian websites are typically community run and depend on the involvement and support of the community. These websites will often use terminology such as "hooker" and "ho" when describing those in the sex trade, which leads to further marginalization of women who are prostituted. Some websites go so far as to include jokes made at the expense of women in the sex trade.

Another important criticism of "john" websites is that they often disproportionately shame men of color. Though many studies have shown that Caucasian men are purchasing sex, men of color are overrepresented in the number of men arrested.

#### "John" TV

"John" TV is a naming and shaming tactic that typically displays the photo, name, and date of birth of men arrested for solicitation of prostitution. The segments are aired on the city's cable channel once or twice a week. Cities such as Detroit, Charlotte, and Fort Worth use "john" TV as a means to deter men from buying sex. Like "john" websites, "john" TV reflects the overrepresentation of minorities arrested for solicitation.

#### **Newspaper Listings**

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Newspaper listings are utilized similarly to "john" TV and "john" websites. Countries including Zimbabwe and England have listed the names of men arrested for solicitation of prostitution. Photos of the offenders are not posted.

#### "Dear John" Letters

Some cities send "Dear John" letters to the homes of those suspected of soliciting prostitution. In many cases, the letter is sent once the claim that a driver was seen soliciting prostitutes has been substantiated. In other cases, letters can be sent without proof of solicitation; engaging in conversation with a woman in prostitution is enough evidence to establish probable cause.

Letters often overemphasize the health risk to the "john" by making a connection between women in the sex trade and Hepatitis C, HIV transmission, and drug use and therefore further marginalize those in the sex trade by portraying them as "diseased women". Many advocates of those in the sex trade assert that focusing on women in the sex trade as contaminants further demeans them.

#### **Demand Deterrence Strategies:** Public Awareness Campaigns

Omaha, Oakland, and Atlanta have launched campaigns to raise awareness of sexual exploitation and to deter men from buying sex. In Atlanta, posters raise awareness about the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) and attempt to deter future buyers. The city also released three public service announcements, including one of Mayor Shirley Franklin addressing CSEC, another depicting a child victim of commercial sexual exploitation, and the last depicting a "john" who buys sex (City of Atlanta, 2008).

## Demand Deterrence Strategies: Vehicle Seizure

Some cities are seizing the vehicles of individuals arrested for solicitation of prostitution. In Denver, authorities have identified a vehicle used as a means to commit a solicitation of prostitution an offense, and the Denver City Attorney's Office files civil lawsuits against the owners of such vehicles. The vehicle is seized, and if the County Court determines that the vehicle is a public nuisance, it is impounded for six months to one year. The vehicle is returned to the owner when the impounding and storage fees as well as a civil fee of \$2,000 have been paid in full (American Prosecutors Research Institute, 2004). In Cincinnati, the city charges \$500 to release the vehicle (City of Cincinnati, 2006).

## **Demand Deterrence Strategies:** Zoning and Prohibition Zones

Zoning and probation areas are assigned to men convicted of solicitation

charges. The offender is restricted from certain geographical locations so that the offender cannot enter designated areas of prostitution activity. Cities such as Wichita and El Cajon have implemented zoning and probation areas to reduce prostitution related activity in a specified area.

#### **Road Changes**

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Certain cities such as Preston and Streatham in England have implemented road changes to redirect traffic with the purpose of reducing prostitution related traffic. Road changes include the creation of one-way roads, cul de sacs, road barriers, and road bumps ("Prostitution and kerb crawling" n.d.).

## **Driving Bans**

As of January 2004, the United Kingdom Home Office has declared that any person caught using a vehicle for kerb crawling risk an indefinite driving ban (Home Office, 2004).

## Demand Deterrence Strategies: "Report A John" Programs

Cities such as Edmonton and Winnipeg have "Report a John" programs on police websites where people can report offenders in their communities. These programs typically require a license plate number, type of vehicle, the location and time of the incident, and a description of the suspected offender. "Report a John" signs in Edmonton list a police phone number community members can call to report prostitution activity.

## **Demand Deterrence Strategies:** Anti-Social Behavior Orders/Acceptable Behavior Contracts

In the United Kingdom, Anti Social Behavior Orders/Acceptable Behavior Contracts are used with those caught buying or selling sex. Anti Social Behavioral Orders are court orders that prohibit an offender from committing further antisocial behavior and can also prohibit the offender from going to designated areas related to their crime. Anti Social Behavior Orders are in effect for at least two years and must be followed under threat of prison time. Acceptable Behavior Contracts are written agreements intended to encourage the offender to address their criminal behavior and its impact on the community. Acceptable Behavior Contracts are typically used with youth but can be used with adult offenders. These contracts typically are in effect for six months and list the antisocial behavior that the individual agrees to discontinue and the consequences if the contract is broken. Unlike Anti-Social Behavior Orders, the Acceptable Behavior Contracts are not legally binding documents (Home Office, 2008).

### **Most Successful Strategies**

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The most successful demand deterrence strategy appears to be legislation implemented by Sweden, which decriminalizes the selling of sex, but raises the criminal penalties for purchasing sex. Sweden's law overtly acknowledges the presence of sexism and violence against women in the sex trade industry. It is based on the belief that if communities and governments cannot identify the connection between prostitution and gender inequality, meaningful change will never take place.

Critiques of the Swedish law include that it does not help institutionalize a cultural shift away from a patriarchal structure and that it potentially pushes prostitution activity further underground, consequently putting women in greater physical danger. Legislative changes in other parts of the world are also often faulted for moving prostitution underground, without implementing initiatives aimed at reducing demand for men who purchase sex indoors.

In general, community support is crucial before beginning to implement demand deterrence strategies. Communities that have taken a comprehensive and holistic approach to prostitution have had more success in reducing prostitution related activity than those communities implementing a single strategy. Most importantly, demand deterrence strategies should always be coupled with exit and support services for those in the sex trade.

#### **Evaluation Procedures**

Though many cities have implemented these websites and television segments, a shortage of research exists evaluating the effectiveness of these strategies. Evaluation techniques that are used focus on recidivism rates, community satisfaction surveys, number of complaints called into the police department, the number of prostitution arrests, number of hits on the website, numbers of supportive letters versus unsupportive letters, reduction of traffic in the area, a reduction in the number of men who buy sex visiting the area, a decrease of women entering prostitution in the area, a reduction in crime rates, a reduction in the fear of crime, improved communication between police and the public, achievement of benign displacement, an increase in public expectations and confidence, and an increase in community cohesion.

#### Conclusion

Strategies for reducing the demand for prostitution have already been implemented across the globe. While this is an important first step, much more research is needed in order to maximize the effectiveness of such strategies. Furthermore, the importance of advancing the culture's awareness of the harms women in prostitution face cannot be underestimated. Understanding why men

buy sex is important when developing deterrence strategies. More research is needed on men's reasons for purchasing sex and potential deterrents. Evaluations are also necessary to determine the effectiveness of public awareness and education campaigns. CAASE recommends that communities be educated on the dynamics and harms of the sex trade when implementing strategies that target demand. Without that cultural shift, and without the support of community members, no demand deterrence strategy can gain optimal results.

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#### **Appendix A: UNITED STATES RESPONSES**

Location	Anchorage, AK
Type of Strategy	Seizing vehicles
Summary	A vehicle can be impounded for a solicitation of prostitution charge.
_	Fees for vehicle impoundment vary depending on the age of the
	vehicle, previous convictions, and the present charge.
Evaluation/Response	vehicle, previous convictions, and the present charge.  No known evaluation exists.

Municipality of Anchorage, Alaska. (2004). Retrieved January 23, 2008, from <a href="http://www.muni.org/legal/impound.cfm">http://www.muni.org/legal/impound.cfm</a>

Location	El Caion, CA
Type of Strategy	El Cajon, CA "John" Website
	http://www.elcajonpolice.org/Probation/solicitation_for_
	prostitution.html
Summary	Seizing vehicles Photos of offenders convicted of solicitation charges are placed
,	on the internet. Photos of women convicted of prostitution are also
	posted.
	posied.
	Geographic restrictions are placed on convicted offenders. They
	cannot attempt to contact female pedestrians in a designated area
	or offer rides. Loitering is prohibited. The offender can also have
	restrictions on cell phone, pager, and beeper use in the restricted
	area. Community members can call the police if they see the
	convicted persons in this area.
	convicted persons in this dred.
	El Cuian malias asimal vahidas af man amastad fan salisitian af
	El Cajon police seized vehicles of men arrested for soliciting of
Fundamentian /Domonos	prostitution.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	In July 2007 the California Supreme Court ruled that police can no
	longer seize vehicles after the driver is arrested. Cities cannot pass
	legislation with harsher punishments than state and federal laws for
	drug and prostitution charges.

El Cajon Police Department. (n.d.) Retrieved February 12, 2008, from http://www.elcajonpolice.org/Probation/solicitation\_for\_prostitution.html

Hazle, Brian. (2004, January 29). El Cajon begins seizing vehicles for solicitation of prostitution. Retrieved January 20, 2008, from <a href="http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/metro/20040129-9999">http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/metro/20040129-9999</a> 7m29johns.html

Location	North County, CA "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.oceansidepolice.com/plist.pdf
Summary	http://www.oceansidepolice.com/plist.pdf The website lists the name, date of birth, city of residence, and the
-	charges against women in prostitution and "johns." No photos are
	included.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Prostitution related convictions January 2007 through September 2007. (2007, December 3). Retrieved February 2, 2008, from <a href="http://www.oceansidepolice.com/plist.pdf">http://www.oceansidepolice.com/plist.pdf</a>

Location	Oakland, CA
Type of Strategy	Oakland, CA Operation Shame including:
02	Video surveillance
	Beat Feet—seizing vehicles
Summary	Photos of arrested "johns" on billboards Businesses use video surveillance cameras to capture sex trade
•	activity and the tapes are given to the police and prosecutors.
	Photos of "johns" on billboards. (Donated by Clear Channel)
	The faces of the johns were blurred to hide their identity. The
	message read "How much clearer do we have to make it? Don't john in Oakland."
Evaluation/Response	The billboards were implemented for eight months only because photos included men arrested and not necessarily convicted. Critics of the billboards asserted that "johns" could sue because this action suggests that the men are guilty before a trial. Many critics maintain that these efforts have not made a significant impact on the demand in Oakland.
	In July 2007 the California Supreme Court ruled that police can no longer seize vehicles after the driver is arrested. Cities cannot pass legislation with harsher punishments than state and federal laws for drug and prostitution charges.

Allen-Taylor, J. D. (2006, January 18). Dear Johns: For Shame. AlterNet. Retrieved December 20, 2007, from <a href="http://www.alternet.org/module/printversion/30942">http://www.alternet.org/module/printversion/30942</a>

Lee, Henry (2005, February 25). City promises billboard to shame johns. San Francisco Chronicle. Retrieved November 12, 2007, from <a href="http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2005/02/25/BAG4DBGN951.DTL&hw=billboard+fame+to+johns&sn=004&sc=884">http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2005/02/25/BAG4DBGN951.DTL&hw=billboard+fame+to+johns&sn=004&sc=884</a>

Location	Riverside, CA "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.riversideca.gov/rpd/press/2005releases/nov1105.htm
Summary	The website includes photos, name, age, city of residence, and
	charges pending against men arrested for solicitation. No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Riverside Police Department. (2005, November 2). Riverside police department official press release. Retrieved February 29, 2008 from <a href="http://www.riversideca.gov/rpd/press/2005releases/nov1105.htm">http://www.riversideca.gov/rpd/press/2005releases/nov1105.htm</a>

Location	Denver, CO	
Type of Strategy	"John" TV	
	"John" Website	
	www.denvergov.org/johnstv	
	Public Nuisance Abatement Program (vehicle impoundment)	

Summary	"John" TV (2002) airs twice daily. The program is 15 minutes long and includes photos of men convicted of solicitation of prostitution.  The "john" website posts the name, photo, birth date and date of conviction for men convicted of solicitation of prostitution.
	Public nuisance abatement program: if the court judges the vehicle to be a public nuisance, the vehicle is impounded for a time period of six months to one year, and the vehicle is released only if impoundment and storage costs have been paid. A \$2,000 civil judgment fee must also be paid.  Denver officials report that "John TV" has reduced prostitution
Evaluation/Response	solicitation by 40%.
	Since 1997, 40-50% of vehicle owners have not responded to civil action and the vehicle has been abandoned to be sold at public auction.

American Prosecutors Research Institute. (2004, August). Unwelcome Guests: A community prosecution approach to street level drug dealing and prostitution. Special Topic Series. Retrieved November 12, 2007, from <a href="http://www.ndaa.org/pdf/unwelcomeguests-04.pdf">http://www.ndaa.org/pdf/unwelcomeguests-04.pdf</a>

Best must see local TV. (2003). Retrieved June 30, 3008, from <a href="http://westword.com/bestof/2003/award/best-must-see-local-tv-38201">http://westword.com/bestof/2003/award/best-must-see-local-tv-38201</a>

Denver Johns TV. (2008). Retrieved January 13, 2008, from www.denvergov.org/johnstv

Isaacs, Lindsay. (2002, August 5). Denver uses shame tactics to stop prostitution. American City and County. Retrieved January 24, 2008, from <a href="http://americancityandcounty.com/news/government\_denver\_uses\_shame/">http://americancityandcounty.com/news/government\_denver\_uses\_shame/</a>

Location	Orlando, FL
Type of Strategy	Orlando, FL "Busted" (John) Website
	http://www.cityoforlando.net/police/vice.htm "Busted" website posts photos of those arrested for drug,
Summary	"Busted" website posts photos of those arrested for drug,
_	prostitution, and lewd acts charges. Identifying information includes
	name, DOB, date of arrest, location of arrest, and criminal charge.  No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known évaluation exists.

Orlando Police Department. (n.d.). Busted. Retrieved February 25, 2008, from <a href="http://www.cityoforlando.net/police/vice/vice.htm">http://www.cityoforlando.net/police/vice/vice.htm</a>

Street crimes unit project. (2002). Retrieved November 15, 2007, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2002/02-39.pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2002/02-39.pdf</a>

Location	Atlanta, GA
Type of Strategy	Public awareness campaign (PSA's)
	"John" Website
	http://www.atlantapd.org/index.asp?nav=vicearrests

Summary	Three Public Service Announcements (PSAs) are available for viewing through youtube.com. "Dear John" posters are available at <a href="http://www.atlantaga.gov/mayor/dearjohn_111006.aspx">http://www.atlantaga.gov/mayor/dearjohn_111006.aspx</a>
	Photos and names of "johns" and women in prostitution on the Internet for 3-6 months. Includes the name, photo, and arrest type.
	Fines for "johns" were increased from \$50 to \$10,000 from a misdemeanor to a felony, and minimum sentences were implemented for "johns" convicted of CSEC charges.
Evaluation/Response	implemented for "johns" convicted of CSEC charges. The City of Atlanta won a World Leadership Award for their efforts. The World Leadership Forum based in London gave the award. The "Dear john campaign" also received an Emmy Award from the Southeast National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences and a Bronze Anvil from the Public Relations Society of America.

Atlanta police department. (nd). Vice arrests. Retrieved March 15, 2008, from <a href="http://www.atlantapd.org/index.asp?nav=vicearrests">http://www.atlantapd.org/index.asp?nav=vicearrests</a>

City of Atlanta. (2008). Dear John campaign. Retrieved March 15, 2008, from <a href="http://www.atlantaga.gov/mayor/dearjohn\_111006.aspx">http://www.atlantaga.gov/mayor/dearjohn\_111006.aspx</a>

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Location	Chicago, IL
Type of Strategy	Chicago, IL Car Seizures
	"John" website
	http://www.chicagopolice.org/ps/list.aspx
Summary	http://www.chicagopolice.org/ps/list.aspx Website includes name, photo, sex, age, residence, location and
_	date of arrest, statute, and if their vehicle was impounded. Photos
	remain on website for 30 days from time of arrest.  No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Chicago Police Department (2005). Prostitution patron arrests. Retrieved January 28, 2008, from <a href="http://www.chicagopolice.org/ps/list.aspx">http://www.chicagopolice.org/ps/list.aspx</a>

Location	Wichita, KS "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.wichitagov.org/CityOffices/Police/FieldServices/
	North/Prostitution+Page.htm
	Loitering ordinance
	Zoning
	Billboards

Summary	On the "john" website, photos of arrested "johns" and women in prostitution are posted for 30 days from date of arrest. Identifying information includes name, photo, charges, arrest date, and city of residence.
	Police ordinances were created so that police could arrest "johns" with loitering for the purpose of soliciting prostitution. Before this ordinance, women could be arrested for loitering for the purpose of committing an act of prostitution, but the person purchasing could not be arrested.
	"Anti-prostitution emphasis zones" were established in which fines and jail time was increased if the act took place within the designated zone. A second conviction within the zone would mean a prison sentence of at least 30 days.
	"Mapping area" is a more concentrated area within the "anti prostitution emphasis zones." This area had the heaviest concentration of prostitution activity. A convicted offender who was arrested in the "mapping area" was not allowed to return to the "mapping area."
	"10 Most Wanted List" included names of women in prostitution, pimps, "johns", and drug dealers active in the area. Law enforcement officials requested high bonds from prosecutors and judges and also longer prison sentences upon conviction. "Broadway Reference Guide" contained a list of known offenders in the area. The list had photos which were put in patrol cars. Community billboards showed S.T.O.P signs (Stand Tough on Prostitution). Several local businesses helped fund the billboards. Police gave motel owners pictures of convicted women in prostitution and encouraged owners to refuse service to those involved in prostitution.
Evaluation/Response	Evaluation showed a 47% decrease in prostitution. 75% of businesses saw a decrease of prostitution activity. 90% of businesses felt that police efforts had a direct effect on reducing prostitution. 26 people were charged in the "Anti-prostitution zone." Fines increased from \$200 to \$1,000. Seven women in prostitution and two "johns" fell under the mapping ordinance. Displacement of prostitution occurred, and the number of escort services increased in the area.

Wichita Police Department. (2008). Anti prostitution campaign. Retrieved February 12, 2008, from <a href="http://www.wichitagov.org/CityOffices/Police/FieldServices/North/Prostitution+Page.htm">http://www.wichitagov.org/CityOffices/Police/FieldServices/North/Prostitution+Page.htm</a>

Wichita Police Department. (1996). South Central Prostitution, Project Wichita Police Department. Retrieved January 6, 2008, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/Library/Goldstein/1996/96-59(F).pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/Library/Goldstein/1996/96-59(F).pdf</a>

Location	Detroit, MI
Name of Strategy	"John" TV
-	Seizing vehicles
Summary	Photos and names of convicted "johns" on TV. Episodes are aired
_	once a week

<b>Evaluation/Effectiveness</b>	Business owners in areas of prostitution are supportive but the
	American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan is not supportive, stating
	that the "show could take us back to medieval times."

Fowler, B. (2003, March 3). Prostitute solicitors to go on Detroit TV. Associated Press. Retrieved November 17, 2007, from <a href="http://www.redorbit.com/news/display?id=4260">http://www.redorbit.com/news/display?id=4260</a>

Prosecutor wants 'Johns TV' in metro Detroit. (2002, November 15). Retrieved November 17, 2007, from <a href="http://www.clickondetroit.com/print/1788561/detail.html">http://www.clickondetroit.com/print/1788561/detail.html</a>

Location	Minneapolis, MN
Type of Strategy	Minneapolis, MN Seizing vehicles
	"John" Website
	http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/police/prostitution-convictions/
	convictions.gsp
Summary	convictions.asp Information of those convicted for the solicitation of prostitution will
-	be posted for six months. Identifying information includes name,
	photo, residence, age, height, date of conviction, and vehicle
	license number,
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	No known evaluation exists.

Minneapolis Police Department. (2008). Prostitution solicitation conviction photos. Retrieved January 22, 2008, from <a href="http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/police/prostitution-convictions/convictions.asp">http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/police/prostitution-convictions/convictions.asp</a>

Location	St. Paul. MN
Type of Strategy	St. Paul, MN "John" Website
	http://www.stpaul.gov/depts/police/prostitution_photos_current.
	html
Summary	Website posts photos of those persons arrested for solicitation of
	prostitution charges (both women in prostitution and "johns").
	Identifying information includes name, hometown, age, weight,
	height, vehicle description, license plate number, date of arrest, and
	location of arrest.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Saint Paul Police Department. (2008). Prostitution arrests photos. Retrieved January 22, 2008, from <a href="http://www.stpaul.gov/depts/police/prostitution\_photos\_current.html">http://www.stpaul.gov/depts/police/prostitution\_photos\_current.html</a>

Location	Asheville, NC
Type of Strategy	Asheville, NC Asheville Police Blotter includes:
	"John" Website
	http://www.ashevillenc.gov/departments/police/default.
	<u>aspx?id=10428</u>
	"John" TV
Summary	"John" TV Prostitution and solicitation arrests include name, photo, and date of
	offense. The information will be posted for up to 2 months.
	The Asheville Cable Channel features recent prostitution and
	solicitation arrest reports.  No known evaluation exists.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	No known evaluation exists.

Asheville Police Department. (n.d.). Asheville police blotter. Retrieved March 15, 2008, from <a href="http://www.ashevillenc.gov/departments/police/default.aspx?id=10428">http://www.ashevillenc.gov/departments/police/default.aspx?id=10428</a>

Location	Charlotte, NC
Type of Strategy	Shame TÝ ("John" TV)
Summary	Names and photos of convicted "johns" are shown on TV.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	No known evaluation exists.

Baldas, T. (2005, August 1). Posting of 'johns' on the web raises rights issue. The National Law Journal. Retrieved November 12, 2007, from <a href="http://www.law.com/jsp/article.jsp?id=1122627913185">http://www.law.com/jsp/article.jsp?id=1122627913185</a>

Location	Raleigh, NC "Prostitution Dragnet"
Type of Strategy	"Prosfitution Dragnet"
	"Dear John" letter
	"John" Website
	http://www.raleighnc.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/
	PTARGS 0 0 306 202 0 43/http://pt03/DIG Web Content/
	category/Resident/Police/Cat-2CA-2005126-124221-Current
	Prostitution_Rel.html
	"John" TV
Summary	A cautionary letter was sent home to those suspected of soliciting. Individuals are identified through police and resident surveillance. Community members logged information on suspected "johns" and gave information to the police. If the information gathered was
	confirmed, a letter was sent home. The logs included date/time, location, type of vehicle, and description of those in the vehicle, license plate number, state, and the resident's observations.
	Photos of arrested offenders were put on the police website and cable television. Photos on the TV and website were shown for three weeks. Photos of women in prostitution are not shown on either medium. There are no current listings.
Evaluation/Response	medium. There are no current listings.  Community participation in reporting "john" activity decreased as
	the visibility of prostitution in the area decreased.
	From June 2003 thru 2006, only five of 470 "johns" had been rearrested.
	Raleigh police credit the low recidivism rate to Dragnet TV.

Raleigh Police Department. (2006, June 30). Operation Dragnet: Reducing the visibility of street prostitution in Raleigh, NC. Retrieved November 12, 2007, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2006/06-42.pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2006/06-42.pdf</a>

Weisel, D.L. (2004, August). Street prostitution in Raleigh, North Carolina: A final report to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services on the field applications of the Problem Oriented guides for police project. Retrieved November 12, 2007, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/library/researcherprojects/streetProstitution.pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/library/researcherprojects/streetProstitution.pdf</a>

Location	Omaha, NE
Type of Strategy	Billboards
Type of Strategy Summary	"Spotlight on Prostitution." Billboards including the names and
	faces of convicted "johns" in five locations. The billboards contain
	six to 12 names each. The billboards read, "If you are convicted of
	Soliciting a Prostitute You WILL see your NAME here!"
Evaluation/Response	Soliciting a Prostitute You WILL see your NAME here!" No known evaluation exists.

Billboard names anger some. (2004, August 6). WOWT. Retrieved December 16, 2007, from <a href="http://www.wowt.com/home/headlines/910892.html">http://www.wowt.com/home/headlines/910892.html</a>

Hughes, D. (2004). Best practices to address the demand side of sex trafficking. University of Rhode Island. Retrieved September 13, 2007, from <a href="http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/demand\_sex\_trafficking.pdf">http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/demand\_sex\_trafficking.pdf</a>

Location	Akron, OH
Type of Strategy	Akron, OH <u>"John" Be Gone</u> (12/03) includes:
	Seizing vehicle
	"John" Website
	http://publicsafety.ci.akron.oh.us/police/departments/
	operationjbg/newobj.html
	Loitering legislation The name, age, address, conviction date, and photo of convicted
Summary	The name, age, address, conviction date, and photo of convicted
	"johns" and women in prostitution are posted on the website.
	Legislation prohibiting loitering to engage in solicitation is used to arrest women in prostitution and "iohns."
Evaluation/Response	arrest women in prostitution and "johns." According to the John Be Gone website, since December 2003, 291 persons have been posted 428 times.
	223 photos of women in prostitution have been posted, but only 68 photos of "johns" have been posted.

Akron Police Department. (2003). Operation John Be Gone. Retrieved February 22, 2008, <a href="http://publicsafety.ci.akron.oh.us/police/departments/operationjbg/newobj.html">http://publicsafety.ci.akron.oh.us/police/departments/operationjbg/newobj.html</a>

Akron Police Department. (n.d.). Press release. Retrieved March 28, 2008, from <a href="http://gozips.uakron.edu/~evert/johnbegone.html">http://gozips.uakron.edu/~evert/johnbegone.html</a>

Location	Cincinnati, OH
Type of Strategy	Seizing vehicles
Type of Strategy Summary	Police seize the vehicles used for soliciting prostitution. A \$500 fine
-	is charged in order to release the vehicle.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

City of Cincinnati. (2006, December 1). Retrieved April 28, 2008, from <a href="http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/mayor/downloads/mayor\_pdf15036.pdf">http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/mayor/downloads/mayor\_pdf15036.pdf</a>

Location	Dayton, OH
Type of Strategy	Dayton, OH Newspaper listing
	"John" Website
	http://www.cityofdayton.org/departments/police/Documents/
	prostitutionad09-07.pdf
Summary	Prostitutionad09-07.pdf Name, age, and address of "johns" convicted of loitering to solicit
_	prostitution are posted in the newspaper and on the website.
	Offenses include soliciting for prostitution and loitering to solicit for
	prostitution. There are no photos posted.
Evaluation/Response	prostitution. There are no photos posted. In October 2007, city officials stated that the "john" website and
· -	newspaper listing has had some success.

Ambrose, P. (2007, October 8). Dayton proposed new prostitution crackdown law. *Indiana*News Center. Retrieved December 5, 2007 from
<a href="http://www.indianasnewscenter.com/news/local/10311762.html">http://www.indianasnewscenter.com/news/local/10311762.html</a>

Smith, W. (2007, September). Advertisement public record. Retrieved January 22, 2008, from <a href="http://www.cityofdayton.org/departments/police/Documents/prostitutionad09-07.pdf">http://www.cityofdayton.org/departments/police/Documents/prostitutionad09-07.pdf</a>

Location	Oklahoma City, OK
Type of Strategy	Oklahoma City, OK "John" TV-Video Vigilante
	"John" Website
	http://www.videovigilante.com/ Brian Bates is a resident of Oklahoma City who has been taking
Summary	
	action to impact street prostitution in the area. Since 1996, he has
	been using his video camera as a tool to raise awareness of the
	issue. Bates runs a website entitled "John TV" which exposes the
	faces of men caught buying sex on his video camera.
	Brian Bates states that the goals of his website are:
	"1.) To educate the public to the graphic realities of street prostitution in an effort to spur a continued dialogue on the subject.  2.) To expose and identify those who have preyed upon women lost to drug addiction and street prostitution. 3.) Use those caught and published here as an example to hopefully dissuade others.  4.) Expose the inability and/or unwillingness of certain city leaders, police, and prosecutors to positively impact street prostitution.  5.) To provide solutions to positively impact everyone affected by street prostitution based on my over 10-years experience. 6.) To persuade city leaders and law enforcement that continued policies of incarceration over rehabilitation are counterproductive and often further victimize women lost to street prostitution. 7.) To forward the
	ideology of decriminalization of 100% private, consensual and non- organized prostitution so that our limited resources can be focused on street, forced and organized prostitution and trafficking."
	Photos and videos of "johns" are available on the website. The videos highlight prostitution activity with specific focus on the johns. The videos tend to shame the men caught buying sex and emphasizes this activity on children in the neighborhood. The website is linked to youtube.com
Evaluation/Response	Arrests and convictions for prostitution charges of women in prostitution and "johns" are listed on the website. The website just recently removed women's photos and full names.  No known evaluation exists.
ranionion/ veshouse	140 KIIOWII GYAIUAIIOII GAISIS.

Bates, B. (2006). JohnTV.com. Retrieved October 15, 2007, from <a href="http://www.videovigilante.com/">http://www.videovigilante.com/</a>

Location	Portland, OR
Type of Strategy	Car Seizure
Type of Strategy Summary	Portland police can seize the cars of "johns." The ordinance does
-	not include pimps. No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known évaluation exists.

Portland to seize cars in drive on drinking. (1989, December 8). The New York Times.

Retrieved February 22, 2008 from

<a href="http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=950DEED8123BF93BA35751C1A96F948260">http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=950DEED8123BF93BA35751C1A96F948260</a>

Location	Nashville, TN "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.police.nashville.org/ppg/default.htm
Summary	http://www.police.nashville.org/ppa/default.htm The website posts information on arrested "johns" and women in
	prostitution. Identifying information includes a photo, name, and
	city or residence. Information is posted for 60 days from the date of
	arrest.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Nashville Police Department. (2008). Patronizing prostitution arrests. Retrieved March 20, 2008, from <a href="http://www.police.nashville.org/ppa/default.htm">http://www.police.nashville.org/ppa/default.htm</a>

Location	Arlington, TX
Type of Strategy	Arlington, TX "John" Website
	http://www.arlingtonpd.org/index.asp?nextpg=Prostitution/index.
	asp
	"Dear John" letters
Summary	"Dear John" letters "John" websites include arrested "johns" and women in prostitution.
-	Identifying information includes a photo, name, date and location of arrest. Postings remain for 90 days.
	arcon comige community of all participations and all participations are all participations and all participations are all participations
	"Dear John" letters are sent home to men arrested for solicitation.
	The letters include the photo of the "john" and a link to the CDC
	website information on STD's.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	No known evaluation exists.

Arlington Police Department. (2007). Arlington police department prostitution-related arrests.

Retrieved March 28, 2008, from

<a href="http://www.arlingtonpd.org/index.asp?nextpg=Prostitution/index.asp">http://www.arlingtonpd.org/index.asp?nextpg=Prostitution/index.asp</a>

Police send 'Dear John' postcards to dissuade prostitution. (2007, June 7). Retrieved December 10, 2007, from

http://search.yahoo.com/search;\_ylt=A0geu5o2D.1H68IAxzhXNyoA?p=Police+send+ %E2%80%98Dear+John%E2%80%99+postcards+to+dissuade+prostitution&y=Search &fr=&ei=UTF-8

Location	Dallas, TX "John" Website
Location Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.dallaspolice.net/index.cfm?page_
	ID=3716&subnay=57&openid=7
Summary	ID=3716&subnav=57&openid=7 The website includes arrested "johns." Identifying information
	posted on the website includes names, birthdates, hometown,
	photo, height, weight, date of arrest and charge.  No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Dallas Police Department. (2008, February). Arrests for prostitution and public indecency-related charges in the city of Dallas. Retrieved March 28, 2008, from <a href="http://www.dallaspolice.net/index.cfm?page\_ID=3716&subnav=57&openid=7">http://www.dallaspolice.net/index.cfm?page\_ID=3716&subnav=57&openid=7</a>

Location	Fort Worth, TX
Type of Strategy	"John" TV (2007)
	"John" Website
	http://www.fortworthpd.com/johntvarrests.htm

Summary	Photos on "John TV" can appear up to 16 times weekly and are updated monthly.
	Posting of photos do not require a conviction, only an arrest. Identifying information includes birth date, name, date and place of arrest, and last known city of residence and the charge. Information is posted for 20 days
Evaluation/Response	is posted for 90 days.  No known evaluation exists.

City of Fort Worth (n.d.). John TV debuts on cable show, web. Retrieved February 22, 2008, <a href="http://www.fortworthgov.org/generic/default.aspx?id=45342&terms=john%20">http://www.fortworthgov.org/generic/default.aspx?id=45342&terms=john%20</a> <a href="two.uksearchtype=1&fragment=False">tw&searchtype=1&fragment=False</a>

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Fort Worth Police Department (n.d.). Prostitution and indecent exposure arrests. Retrieved February 22, 2008, from <a href="http://www.fortworthpd.com/johntvarrests.htm">http://www.fortworthpd.com/johntvarrests.htm</a>

Miles, D. (2007, August 14). FW launches 'John TV' in prostitution battle. Retrieved December 5, 2007, from <a href="http://www.wfaa.com/sharedcontent/dws/wfaa/localnews/news8/stories/wfaa070813\_mo\_johntv.34686935.html">http://www.wfaa.com/sharedcontent/dws/wfaa/localnews/news8/stories/wfaa070813\_mo\_johntv.34686935.html</a>

Location	Waco, TX "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.waco-texas.com/city_depts/police/prostitution-sting.htm
Summary	The website includes names and photos of arrested "johns." It was
_	last updated in June 2006.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Waco Police Department. (2005). Prostitution sting. Retrieved November 12, 2007, from <a href="http://www.waco-texas.com/city\_depts/police/prostitution-sting.htm">http://www.waco-texas.com/city\_depts/police/prostitution-sting.htm</a>

Location	Richmond, VA "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	http://www.richmondgov.com/departments/police/Prostitution/
	Prostitution.aspx
Summary	No current arrests listed.
Summary Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Richmond Police Department (2008). Recent arrests for engaging in or soliciting prostitution.

Retrieved January 12, 2008, from

<a href="http://www.richmondgov.com/departments/police/Prostitution/Prostitution.aspx">http://www.richmondgov.com/departments/police/Prostitution/Prostitution.aspx</a>

#### **Appendix B: INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES**

Location	Calgary, Alberta, CANADA
Type of Strategy	<u>Vehicle Seizure</u>
	Calgary Ho Down! Website
	http://www.geocities.com/calgaryhodown/index.htm (created in
	1999)
Summary	Persons arrested for solicitation of prostitution can have their
•	vehicles impounded.
	The goal of the website is to:
	"obtain a reasonable level of safety for the people who live in
	the area by reducing sex related traffic and its accompanying
	, , ,
	problems.
	Our approach against the prostitution in our area does not directly
	involve the prostitutes as much as the men who pick them up. We
	believe that if we are able to adequately reduce the customer base
	that the prostitutes will either find a different line of work (ideal
	solution) or they will move to another area."
	The community members running the website post the vehicle license
	numbers of "johns," record individuals picking up or dropping
	off women in prostitution via a camera, contact employers if a
	commercial vehicle with visible stenciling is seen being used to
	purchase sex, and encourage neighborhood residents to contact the
	police to report prostitution activities.
	TI 1
	The website states that traffic flow is their main concern which is why
	there has not been a push to concentrate on the pimps and women
	in prostitution. It is also stated that pimps have not been targeted
	due to safety issues. The website also states "post-prostitute reform
	programs" are not one of the community's "immediate goals."  The website has received support from the community. Since August
Evaluation/Response	
	1999, the website has received 31,000 hits and more than one
	hundred emails. In 24 hours of the website being launched 45
	supportive e-mails were received. The site was last updated in May
	2001.
	Prostitution has decreased significantly in the community.
	The website credits the media for much of their success. Radio
	stations, television stations, and newspapers have requested
	interviews with the founder of the site.
	innerviews with the founder of the site.

Calgary Ho Down! (2001, May). Retrieved November 3, 2007, from <a href="http://www.geocities.com/calgaryhodown/index.htm">http://www.geocities.com/calgaryhodown/index.htm</a>

White, T. (2007, August 28). Calgary Police seize 64 john cars. The Calgary Sun. Retrieved December 27, 2008, from <a href="http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Canada/2007/08/28/4451825-sun.html">http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Canada/2007/08/28/4451825-sun.html</a>

Location	Edmonton, Alberta, CANADA "Report-a-John" program
Type of Strategy	
	http://www.police.edmonton.ab.ca/Pages/Prostitute/reportjohn.
	asp
	"Dear John" letter
	Seizing vehicles Community members can access the EPS website or telephone if
Summary	they wish to report a "john" in their neighborhood. Information requested by the police includes the location, date, description of the car, the license plate number, and description of the activity.
	Reports can be anonymous. The reported data goes to an EPS crime analyst. There is a similar process entitled "Report-a-Prostitute."
	"Report-a-John" signs were placed along 118th Street and included a telephone number. Signs stated, "This community does not tolerate prostitution."
	A "Dear John" letter is only sent to the home of the owner of the vehicle if reported information can be confirmed. They are rarely sent out. The "Dear John" letter states that the owner of the vehicle was seen interacting with a woman in prostitution. Health concerns in conjunction with prostitution are also addressed in the letter.
	Bill 206 was passed in the Alberta province on 10-31-06 allowing police to impound the cars of those individuals caught soliciting women in prostitution.  No known evaluation exists.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	NO Known evaluation exists.

Barlow, E. (2007, May 24). EPS adds online tool to john snitching program. Edmonton Sun. Retrieved November 3, 2007, from <a href="http://edmontonsun.com/News/Edmonton/2007/05/24/4205630.html">http://edmontonsun.com/News/Edmonton/2007/05/24/4205630.html</a>

Edmonton Police Service. (n.d.). Report a john. Retrieved March 29, 2008, from <a href="http://www.police.edmonton.ab.ca/Pages/Prostitute/reportjohn.asp">http://www.police.edmonton.ab.ca/Pages/Prostitute/reportjohn.asp</a>

Haydu, C. (2007, September 9). Edmonton leads in prostitution fight. Edmonton Sun. Retrieved November 3, 2007, from <a href="http://edmontonsun.com/News/Canada/2007/09/09/4481204-sun.html">http://edmontonsun.com/News/Canada/2007/09/09/4481204-sun.html</a>

Location	Winnipeg, Manitoba, CANADA "John" Website (community website)
Location Type of Strategy	"John" Website (community website)
	http://www.geocities.com/wccia/johns.html
	Operation Snapshot (website no longer available)
	Seizing vehicles
	Report Prostitution Activity

Summary	The "john" website was modeled after the <u>Calgary Ho Down!</u> Website and lists partial license plate numbers of vehicles in which the driver is suspected of engagement in prostitution activity. The listing includes the description of the car, the partial license plate number, the date, location, and description of the situation. The website warns viewers that many of the women have TB and it can be transmitted to another person without engaging in sexual acts. The website also lists dangerous "johns." Website states that the community realizes that it is not always the owner of the car that is engaging in illegal activity. Making the information public also lets the car owners know how their cars are being used.
	Operation Snapshot- post videos of men soliciting for prostitution on the internet with the goal of reducing the demand.
	Community members can report prostitution activity through the Winnipeg police website. Information requested is the complainant's name and address, date and location of the incident, and the physical description of the "john" and women in prostitution.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

West End Community Improvement Association. (n.d.). Do you know whose license plate this is? Retrieved February 25, 2008, from\_ http://www.geocities.com/wccia/johns.html

Winnipeg cops' john-cam raises privacy concerns. (2004, August 25). Retrieved November, 13, 2007, from <a href="http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1093471181426\_36?hub=Canada">http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1093471181426\_36?hub=Canada</a>

Winnipeg Police Service. (2006). Prostitution is a crime. Retrieved March 29, 2008, from <a href="http://www.winnipeg.ca/police/MoralsUnit/prostitution.stm">http://www.winnipeg.ca/police/MoralsUnit/prostitution.stm</a>

Winnipeg police service prostitution complaint form (n.d.). Retrieved February 25, 2008, from <a href="http://www.winnipeg.ca/police/MoralsUnit/mailform.asp?Recipient=wps-morals-unit&Title=Winnipeg%20Police%20Service%20Prostitution%20Complaint%20Form&Subjects=Prostitution%20Complaint&Message=Still%20need%20help?%20Please%20call%20the%20Winnipeg%20Police%20Service%20Non-Emergency%20Line%20at%20986-6222</a>

Location	Centretown Ottawa, Ontario, CANADA
Type of Strategy	Centretown Ottawa, Ontario, CANADA "John" Website
Summary	http://geocities.com/centretownjohns/ The goal of the website is to raise awareness about prostitution in
_	the area. The website provides enough identifying information for
	"johns" to be able to recognize themselves. The website designers
	only include license plate numbers of those vehicles that they see
	and cannot post the observations of other community members.
	Community members can e-mail the website and let them know
	to be aware of certain vehicles. Descriptions include the date,
	description of the car, partial license plate number, and the location
	of the activity. No known evaluation exists.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	No known evaluation exists.

## Centretown john list. (n.d.). Retrieved December 10, 2007, from <a href="http://geocities.com/centretownjohns/">http://geocities.com/centretownjohns/</a>

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Location	Ottawa, Ontario, Canada "Dear John" letter (10/07)
Type of Strategy	"Dear John" letter (10/07)
	http://cbc.ca/news/interactives/letters/community-safety-letter/
	index.html
	Ottawa West "John" Website (last updated May 2005)
Summary	http://www.geocities.com/ottawajohns/johnpagehome.html The "Dear John Letters" is a one-year pilot program. An estimated
•	40-50 letters will be sent. The letter informs the recipient of that
	there is a correlation between street prostitution and drug use, HIV
	and Hepatitis C. Letters can be sent without solicitation. Speaking
	with a woman in prostitution is enough to send a letter home. A
	sample "Dear John letter" is available online.
	sample Dear John lener is available offine.
	The second of the conduction to the first flow of the second conduction to the second
	The goal of the website is to "reduce street level prostitution in our
	community." The website does not seek to explicitly identify those
	purchasing sex. Identifying information includes the time, date,
	location, vehicle description, and partial license plate number. In
	order for the car to be posted on the website, the car must have
	been seen interacting with a woman in prostitution who is visibly
	soliciting.
<b>Evaluation/Response</b>	soliciting. There is criticism that the letter is discriminatory to women in
	prostitution and further marginalizes them. The letter makes a
	connection between women in prostitution and Hepatitis C and HIV
	transmission as well as drug use.
	Further criticisms find that these letters are an infringement on
	privacy rights.

- Community safety letter. (n.d.). CBC News. Retrieved January 28, 2008, from <a href="http://cbc.ca/news/interactives/letters/community-safety-letter/index.html">http://cbc.ca/news/interactives/letters/community-safety-letter/index.html</a>
- Elayoubi, N. (2007, October 4). Dear John letter comes under fire. Sun Media. Retrieved November 19, 2007, from <a href="http://ottsun.canoe.ca/News/OttawaAndRegion/2007/10/04/4548421-sun.html">http://ottsun.canoe.ca/News/OttawaAndRegion/2007/10/04/4548421-sun.html</a>
- Ottawa sex trade customers, you've got mail. (2007, October 2). CBC News. Retrieved November 19, 2007, from <a href="http://www.cbc.ca/canada/ottawa/story/2007/10/02/ot-johns-071002.html">http://www.cbc.ca/canada/ottawa/story/2007/10/02/ot-johns-071002.html</a>
- The Ottawa West "John" Website. (2005, May). Retrieved November 10, 2007, from <a href="http://www.geocities.com/ottawajohns/johnpagehome.html">http://www.geocities.com/ottawajohns/johnpagehome.html</a>
- Willing, J. (2007, November 17). City's 'dear john' letters draw fire. Sun Media. Retrieved November 19, 2007, from <a href="http://ottsun.canoe.ca/News/National/2007/11/17/4662679-sun.html">http://ottsun.canoe.ca/News/National/2007/11/17/4662679-sun.html</a>

Location	Vanier, Ontario, CANADA "John" Website
Type of Strategy	"John" Website
	www.geocities.com/vanier_johns/ (last updated in 2004)

Summary	Website includes links to other "john websites."
	The goal of the website is to reduce prostitution activity in the area
	by focusing on "johns." The site lists the date of occurrence, a
	description of the car, and a partial license plate number.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Vanier john website. (2004, March). Retrieved November 19, 2007, from <a href="https://www.geocities.com/vanier\_johns/">www.geocities.com/vanier\_johns/</a>

Location	Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, CANADA
Type of Strategy	Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, CANADA Saskatoon "Ho" Train Website
	http://members.shaw.ca/sk-ho-train/sk-ho-train.htm Saskatoon "Ho" Train is sponsored by the Renew our Community
Summary	Saskatoon "Ho" Train is sponsored by the Renew our Community
	Committee (R.O.C.C.) of Saskatoon and is modeled after the
	Calgary Ho Down! Website.
	"R.O.C.C. began to patrol the streets at night, recording the license plate numbers of johns' vehicles cruising the area, looking for prostitutes. These plate numbers were delivered to the vice
	department of the police service for their attention. R.O.C.C. is now patrolling both day and night and co-operating with the police
	service in reporting these johns. Our hope is to discourage the
	prostitution and the associated anti-social activities and return our
= 1 · · · / >	community to its former safe and peaceful condition. " No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Saskatoon "Ho" Train. (n.d.). Retrieved December 3, 2007, from <a href="http://members.shaw.ca/sk-ho-train/sk-ho-train.htm">http://members.shaw.ca/sk-ho-train/sk-ho-train.htm</a>

Location	United Kingdom Anti Social Behavior Orders (ASBO's)
Type of Strategy	Anti Social Behavior Orders (ASBO's)
	Acceptable Behavior Contracts (ABC's)
	Driving ban
	Public Awareness campaign- Posters available at
	http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/kerb-crawling-marketing-
	material/
	http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/publicity_catalogue/
	pdf/KCBM%20-%20Kerb%20Crawling%20Costs%20More%20
	Than%20You%20Think%20BEERMAT.pdf?osCsid=015b0ab727988
	<u>f76a2d638cb43fb7700</u>
Summary	ASBO's are given to women in prostitution and kerb crawlers.
	Consistently breaching the order could lead to five years
	imprisonment.
	The stipulations of an ABC prohibit the kerb crawler from entering a designated area and from purchasing sexual services in the future. ABC's are not legally binding and are less serious than an ASBO. As of January 2004, a court can disqualify convicted kerb crawlers from driving.
	"Kerb crawling costs more than you think" is a public awareness campaign with the objective that spreading deterrence messages will get men who buy sex to think about consequences of their actions. The marketing strategy focused on legal consequences upon arrest and also social effects. Radio advertising was also implemented in seven pilot areas.

Evaluation/Response	Far more ASBO's are being given to women in prostitution instead
· -	of kerb crawlers who are receiving ABC's or just getting away with
	a caution from the police. Kerb crawlers are more likely to receive
	ABC's rather than ASBO's.

Bindel, J., Atkins, H. (2007). Streets apart: Outdoor prostitution in London. Retrieved April 15, 2008, from <a href="http://www.eaves4women.co.uk/POPPY\_Project/Documents/Recent\_Reports/StreetsApart\_14Jun07doc.pdf">http://www.eaves4women.co.uk/POPPY\_Project/Documents/Recent\_Reports/StreetsApart\_14Jun07doc.pdf</a>

Home Office. (2007). Campaign to deter kerb crawling. Retrieved May 13, 2008, from <a href="http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/kerb-crawling-marketing-material/">http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/kerb-crawling-marketing-material/</a>

Home Office. (2004, January 7). Vehicle Crime. Retrieved Mary 13, 2008, from <a href="http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/vehiclecrime/vehiclecrime39.htm">http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/vehiclecrime/vehiclecrime39.htm</a>

Location	Middlesbrough District/Cleveland Police, ENGLAND M.A.P. Project (Multi-agency Action Against Prostitution)
Type of Strategy	M.A.P. Project (Multi-agency Action Against Prostitution)
	"Dear John" letter
	Anti-Social Behavior Orders (ASBO's)
	Newspaper listings
	Road changes
	Undercover Cameras by police (2003-2004)

#### **Summary**

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The M.A.P. Project focused on reducing prostitution, kerb crawling, and other antisocial behavior in Middlesbrough. The UK Home Office describes anti-social behavior as falling into three different categories of street crime, environmental crime, and bothersome neighbors.

In August 1998, 1,000 community members signed a petition indicating more policing efforts were needed to address prostitution in their area. The Multi-agency Prostitution Task Group was formed to implement an action plan to tackle prostitution. In October 1998, police prosecuted kerb crawlers in cases with ample evidence. Letters were sent home in cases where there was insufficient evidence. These efforts were somewhat successful. All kerb crawling offenders were scheduled to report to court on the same day each month so that the Magistrates could raise awareness about prostitution activity as a problem in their area. The intention was to deter repeat kerb crawling offenders, to prevent further kerb crawling activity, raise awareness about the issue in the community, and to make the communities safe. Anti-Social Behavior Orders were made for those repeat offenders which resulted in banning the individual from the town centre. Any female age 17 or under would not be arrested for prostitution charges unless the multi-agency group decided that arrest was necessary in order for the individual to exit the sex trade. Arrests of women in prostitution proved to be an ineffective deterrent. Media was used to raise the public's awareness of the violence involved in prostitution. The media strategy included publicity around the twelve court dates for kerb crawling offenders and for police operations. The media attention given to the twelve court days is credited by police for assisting in few repeat offenders. Social data questionnaires were given to kerb crawlers who reported for summons. The questionnaires were meant to give police a further understanding of the kerb crawler and how to lower recidivism rates. Streets were also redesigned to discourage kerb crawling activity (i.e. Improving lighting, road closure, and addition of street signs).

The "Kerb the Crawler" campaign began in February 2003 and involved the Middlesbrough police in collaboration with the Evening Gazette to name and shame convicted kerb crawlers in the newspaper. Undercover surveillance cameras were used to record license plate numbers of vehicles used for kerb crawling activities in areas of high prostitution.

Evaluation/Response	The project has been successful in reducing the number of women in the sex trade. The publicity and media surrounding the project acted as a deterrent for those considering kerb crawling activity. The Social Data Questionnaires were to be analyzed by the University of Durham in 2000.
	The head of the Middlesbrough Vice Team, Gary Gamesby, stated that "the Gazette's Kerb the Crawlers campaign shows that we can make a difference by working together with the media."
	The UK Home Office national prostitution strategy is modeled after the strategies implemented in Middlesbrough. Since the beginning of the Kerb the Crawlers campaign, kerb crawling arrests have decreased from approximately 250 each year to 100 in 2005. The number of women in the sex trade has decreased from 250 in 1998 to 60 in 2005.

- McKenzie, S. (2004, January 8). Let's drive them out. Evening Gazette. Retrieved February 23, 2008, from <a href="http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/teesside-news/2004/01/08/let-s-drive-them-out-84229-13794026/">http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/teesside-news/2004/01/08/let-s-drive-them-out-84229-13794026/</a>
- Home Office. (2008). Types of ASB. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <a href="http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/anti-social-behaviour/types-of-asb/?version=3">http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/anti-social-behaviour/types-of-asb/?version=3</a>

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- Strange, G. (2000). Middlesbrough police district multi-agency action against prostitution project. Retrieved February 20, 2008, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/tilley/2000/00-05.pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/tilley/2000/00-05.pdf</a>
- Underwood, M. (2003, July 8). Brake on sex travel. Evening Gazette. Retrieved February 23, 3008, from <a href="http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/teesside-news/2003/07/07/brake-on-sex-travel-8422913155168/">http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/teesside-news/2003/07/07/brake-on-sex-travel-8422913155168/</a>
- Underwood, M., & Doult, B. (2006, January 17). Nation follows Tees lead. Evening Gazette. Retrieved February 23, 2008, from <a href="http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/teesside-news/2006/01/17/nation-follows-tees-lead-84229-16594694/">http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/teesside-news/2006/01/17/nation-follows-tees-lead-84229-16594694/</a>

Location	London, ENGLAND
Type of Strateay	Acceptable Behavior Contracts (ABC's)
Summary	London, ENGLAND Acceptable Behavior Contracts (ABC's) Four day pilot was implemented by the Westminster Council.
	Drivers circling Sussex Gardens had their photo taken and had to
	sign an Acceptable Behavior Contract. If the offender does not
	uphold their end of the contract, an officer will go to their home.
	The pilot is being implemented by the Westminster Council.
Evaluation/Response	The pilot is being implemented by the Westminster Council.  The Westminster Council plans to implement eight similar operations
	monthly if the pilot project is successful.

Kerb crawlers sign pledge to quit. (2006, March 17). BBC News. Retrieved March 20, 2008, from <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\_news/england/london/4815864.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\_news/england/london/4815864.stm</a>

Location	Hampshire, ENGLAND
Type of Strategy	CCTV and increase of arrests for kerb crawlers
	"Dear John" letter

Summary	In October 2002, police focused their efforts on arresting kerb crawlers. This operation ran for six nights a week for one month.  CCTV cameras were at the scene during the arrests.  During this operation almost 100 men were caught kerb crawling.
Evaluation/Response	10 men received a summons to court and 78 received letters of
	warning. Men were informed that if convicted, they could be sentenced to 5 years in prison.

Kerb crawlers targeted by vice squad. (2002, October 31). BBC News. Retrieved March 20, 2008, from <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\_news/england/2383127.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\_news/england/2383127.stm</a>

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Location	Streatham, South London, ENGLAND Road change and increase of arrests for kerb crawlers Residents associations united to form Streatham Against Kerb
Type of Strategy	Road change and increase of arrests for kerb crawlers
Summary	Residents associations united to form Streatham Against Kerb
·	Crawlers in 1987. STKC modeled their project after the Finsbury
	Park multi-agency approach which involved better traffic
	management, more policing, and participation of residents in the
= 1 .º /B	grea.
Evaluation/Response	The number of arrests increased dramatically especially for those
	in prostitution. Road closures appeared to deter kerb crawlers. The
	multi-agency approach resulted in a reduction of traffic in the area,
	a reduction in the number of kerb crawlers visiting the area, few
	new women in prostitution working in the area, a reduction in crime
	rates, a reduction in the fear of crime, improved communication
	between police and the public, achievement of benign
	displacement, an increase in public expectations and confidence,
	and an increase in community cohesion.
	and an increase in commonly conesion.
	The residents reported that prostitution and kerb crawling was
	reduced in their area. Their level of victimization by crime had
	decreased and they stated that they were more likely to report
	crime to the police. Problems associated with the multi-agency
	approach included lack of coordination, agencies having different
	priorities and serving different commitments, the pressure to
	compromise, and the issues of accountability and responsibility to
	each other.

Matthews, R. (1993). Kerb-crawling, prostitution and multi-agency policing. Crime Prevention Unit Series. Retrieved March 20, 2008, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/problems/street\_prostitution/PDFs/fcpu43.pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/problems/street\_prostitution/PDFs/fcpu43.pdf</a>

Location Type of Strategy	Preston, Lancashire, ENGLAND OPERATION KERB (Jan. 2002-Dec. 2002)
Type of Strategy	OPERATION KERB (Jan. 2002-Dec. 2002)
7.	Road Change
	Acceptable Behavior Contracts (ABC's)
	"Dear John" letter
	"Dear John" letter (Jan. 2003)

Summary	With Operation Kerb, a local radio station (Rock FM) related messages that would deter kerb crawlers. During this initiative offenders reported to court on the same day each week. Letters were sent to the homes of vehicle owners seen frequently in the area of high prostitution activity. All arrested offenders signed an ABC and up to the writing of this report, there were no breaks in the contract. The police department collaborated with the Preston City Council community safety department to redirect traffic through road changes in order to redirect traffic.
Evaluation/Response	In 2003, prostitution related problems still existed and there was a lack of funding. Complaints of prostitution activity were reduced but residents still felt there was a problem. "Dear John" letters were sent home. If a vehicle owner was seen in the area after being sent a letter, the officer would give the owner a verbal warning. At the release of the Operation Kerb report, 425 letters were sent home with 37(8.7%) repeat offenders. From 2001-2002, the number of prostitution related complaints were reduced 47%. At the outset of the project there were 70 regular women in prostitution and that number was reduced to 20. No known displacement of prostitution has occurred and prostitution has been greatly reduced.
	In 2003, there were only two kerb crawling arrests and no arrests in 2004. Eighty-nine percent of the vehicle-owners who were sent letters were not seen again in the problem area. "Dear John" letters were viewed as a success by the police force. The number of women in prostitution decreased by 76% to 17 women in prostitution and there was a reduction in the residents' complaints about kerb crawlers.

Operation Kerb: Multi-agency problem solving approach to street prostitution in Preston. (2003). Retrieved February 23, 3008, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2003/03-56(F).pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2003/03-56(F).pdf</a>

Pearson, G., & Armes, S. (2005). Safer sex works: Don't drop the POP. Retrieved February 23, 2008, from <a href="http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2005/05-08(F).pdf">http://www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2005/05-08(F).pdf</a>

Location	SCOTLAND
Type of Strategy	Prostitution (Public Places) (Scotland) Act 2007
	Advertising/Posters
	Anti Social Behavior Order (ASBO's)
	Acceptable Behavior Contract (ABC's)

Summary	The Prostitution (Public Places) Act criminalizes solicitation for the purpose of prostitution and loitering for the purpose of prostitution punishable by fines up to 1000 pounds.
	A four week campaign entitled "Kerb crawling – it's criminal" began in January 2008 to publicize the new kerb crawling legislation. The campaign involved advertising indoors including bathrooms and outdoors in the four Scottish cities in which prostitution has been identified as a severe problem (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee).
Evaluation/Response	Tayside police have created leaflets in four languages for the purpose of educating men on the new law under which kerb crawlers could be made to sign acceptable behavior contracts (ABC's) These contracts could be sent to their homes. Offenders could also be given anti social behavior orders (ASBO's) if they are caught again soliciting or loitering for the purpose of prostitution. No known evaluation exists.

Bynorth, J. (2007, October 6). Kerb-crawlers face crackdown as new law gives the police greater powers. Sunday Herald. Retrieved January 28, 2008, from <a href="http://www.sundayherald.com/search/display.var.1741558.0.kerbcrawlers\_face\_crackdown\_as\_new\_law\_gives\_the\_police\_greater\_powers.php">http://www.sundayherald.com/search/display.var.1741558.0.kerbcrawlers\_face\_crackdown\_as\_new\_law\_gives\_the\_police\_greater\_powers.php</a>

Smith, K. (2008, January 12). Government moves to curb kerb crawlers. Sunday Herald.
Retrieved January 28, 2008, from
<a href="http://www.sundayherald.com/news/heraldnews/display.var.1961716.0.government\_moves\_to\_curb\_kerb\_crawlers.php">http://www.sundayherald.com/news/heraldnews/display.var.1961716.0.government\_moves\_to\_curb\_kerb\_crawlers.php</a>

Location	Leith, SCOTLAND
Type of Strategy	Leith, SCOTLAND Volunteer Patrols
	Anti Social Behavior Orders (ASBO's) Volunteers divided into three patrol units to monitor the streets for
Summary	Volunteers divided into three patrol units to monitor the streets for
_	kerb crawlers. Additional volunteers monitored from their vehicles.
	Patrollers used placards that read, "You Can't get No Satisfaction in
	Leith" and "Get Back to Where you Once Belonged."
	Use of "Antisocial Behavior Orders" were issued to women in
	prostitution and kerb crawlers. Undercover police concentrated
	more of their efforts on kerb crawlers. No known evaluation exists.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Halstead, S. (2003, January 25). Citizens are ready to curb crawlers. Edinburgh Evening News. Retrieved February 8, 2008, from <a href="http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/ViewArticle.aspx?articleid+2396601">http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/ViewArticle.aspx?articleid+2396601</a>

Location	FINLAND
Type of Strategy	Law prohibiting the purchase and selling of sex in public places.
Súmmary	Law prohibiting the purchase and selling of sex in public places. In 2003, a law was put into effect prohibiting the purchase or
_	selling of sex in public places. The previous law only prohibited the
	selling of sex.
Evaluation/Response	No known evaluation exists.

Sex buyers fined in Helsinki - police want prostitution off streets (2004, February 13). Retrieved February 12, 2008 from <a href="http://www2.hs.fi/english/archive/news.asp?id=20040213IE1">http://www2.hs.fi/english/archive/news.asp?id=20040213IE1</a>

Location	15 km Outside Perugia, ITALY Road Blocks
Type of Strategy	Road Blocks
	Anti-Slavery Law
Summary	Anti-Slavery Law Road blocks were implemented to deter men from buying sex.
_	
	An old slavery law punishing an individual who "reduces anyone to
	a state of slavery" to up to 20 years in prison was utilized.
Evaluation/Response	a state of slavery" to up to 20 years in prison was utilized.  No known evaluation exists.

Widmann, L. (2004, May 29). In Italy, a new approach to tackling prostitution. International Herald Tribune. Retrieved October 23, 2007, from <a href="http://www.iht.com/articles/2004/05/24/women\_ed3\_.php">http://www.iht.com/articles/2004/05/24/women\_ed3\_.php</a>

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Location	SOUTH KOREA
Type of Strategy	Act on the Punishment of Procuring Prostitution and Associated Acts, & the Act on the Prevention of Prostitution and Protection of Victims Thereof
Summary	In 2003, the Act on the Punishment of Procuring Prostitution and Associated Acts, & the Act on the Prevention of Prostitution and Protection of Victims were introduced. Prostitution is illegal and the law gives harsher punishments to traffickers, pimps, and brothel
Evaluation/Response	owners.  More than 90% of those convicted of violating the law only received minor punishments (fines, educational training, community service, warnings). There is evidence that more buyers are turning to the internet and phones. Activities in these venues have quadrupled since 2005. According to the National Police Agency records, red light districts in South Korea have dropped 42% since the implementation of the law. The sex trade at karaoke bars, barber shops, and massage parlors increased 26%.
	There is criticism that the law does not take into account the cultural shift that needs to take place such as more rights for women in the workplace and more economic opportunities for women. The law had support by female legislators and the public.
	Some people blame the closing of brothels as the reason for the economic recession. In general the media has not been supportive of the laws. Evidence has shown that Korean men are traveling abroad to buy sex. In December 2004, 70% of the public found the new laws to be necessary.

Anti-prostitution law makes South Koreans buy sex online. (2007, October 8). *Pravda*. Retrieved January 17, 2008, from <a href="http://english.pravda.ru/news/world/08-10-2007/98370-prostitution-0">http://english.pravda.ru/news/world/08-10-2007/98370-prostitution-0</a>

Hughes, D. (2005, June). The demand for victims of sex trafficking. *University of Rhode Island*. Retrieved on February 12, 2008, from <a href="http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/pubtrfrep.htm">http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/pubtrfrep.htm</a>

Kim, H. (2007, October 7). Koreans resort to Internet to buy sex. Retrieved January 17, 2008, from <a href="http://www.macon.com/274/v-print/story/157040.html">http://www.macon.com/274/v-print/story/157040.html</a>

Location	SWEDEN
Type of Strategy Summary	Law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services In 1999, a law went into effect which criminalizes the purchase of
Súmmary	In 1999, a law went into effect which criminalizes the purchase of
-	sexual services and is punishable with fines and up to six months
	in prison. In Sweden prostitution is viewed as violence against
	women and girls and as having negative implications for individuals
	and society. The Swedish model seeks to abolish prostitution.
	Government money was provided for the implementation of the law.  One year after the implementation of the law, the arrest rate
Evaluation/Response	One year after the implementation of the law, the arrest rate
	for those purchasing sex increased 300%. From 1999-2004, the
	number of women in prostitution decreased from 30-50%. There
	is criticism that prostitution has been forced underground and to
	surrounding countries.

Ekberg, G. (2004). The Swedish law that prohibits the purchase of sexual services. Violence Against Women. 10(10), 1187-1218.

Purchasing sexual services in Sweden and the Netherlands: Legal regulation and experiences. (2004, October). Retrieved September 13, 2007, from <a href="http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/kilde/jd/rap/2004/0034/ddd/pdfv/232216-purchasing\_sexual\_services\_in\_sweden\_and\_the\_nederlands.pdf">http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/kilde/jd/rap/2004/0034/ddd/pdfv/232216-purchasing\_sexual\_services\_in\_sweden\_and\_the\_nederlands.pdf</a>

Location	ZIMBABWE
Type of Strategy	Operation No to Prostitution (newspaper listings)
Type of Strategy Summary	Operation No to Prostitution (newspaper listings) The goal of Operation No to Prostitution was "to eliminate the
	public nuisance caused by sex workers."
	Most clients caught by the police paid fines but their names were also being printed in two government-run daily newspapers.
Evaluation/Response	Sting operations were also conducted.  This action was criticized as merely being a way for law enforcement to build more credibility among the public. No known
	evaluation exists.

Johwa, W. (2004, August 18). Zimbabwe: Time's up for the "Kerb Crawlers." Inter Press Service. Retrieved November 3, 2007, from <a href="http://www.aegis.com/news/ips/2004/IP040809.html">http://www.aegis.com/news/ips/2004/IP040809.html</a>