

EXPLORING MOTIVES TO PAY FOR SEXUAL SERVICES FROM OPINIONS ABOUT PROSTITUTION

CARMEN MENESES

Universidad Comillas, Madrid.

cmeneses@comillas.edu

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5368-4253>

ANTONIO RUA

Universidad Comillas, Madrid.

rvieites@icade.comillas.edu

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6915-2067>

JORGE UROZ

Universidad Comillas, Madrid.

juroz@comillas.edu

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3117-8798>

Cómo citar este artículo / Citation: Meneses, C., A. Rua and J. Uroz. 2018. "Exploring motives to pay for sexual services from opinions about prostitution". *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 76(1):e091. <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2018.76.2.17.47>

ABSTRACT

This study explores the opinions of Spanish men about prostitution, especially of those men who have paid for sexual services. It is based on a random study of 1048 men resident in Spain and aged from 18 to 70, carried out via a telephone survey, using a questionnaire made up of 37 questions. Of the men interviewed, 20.3% have paid for sexual services at some time in their lives, and 15% within the last year. From the results a typology of prostitution clients can be extracted depending on their motivation for buying sexual services: *Funners* (24.1%) who are seeking leisure and entertainment; *Thingers* (21.7%) who want sex with no involvement or commitment; another 21.7%, the *Couple Seekers*, who are trying to find a partner; the *Riskers*, (19.8%) who, as well as sex, are attracted by the associated risk behaviours; and the *Personalizers* (12.6%) who are those who want sex with intimacy and companionship. These groups differ in their sexual satisfaction and in their opinions or beliefs about the reasons women have for providing sexual services. In function of these different groups, recommendations are made for increasing prostitution clients' sensitivity and awareness about human trafficking.

KEYWORDS

Clients of prostitution; Prostitution; Trafficking for sexual exploitation.

EXPLORANDO LOS MOTIVOS PARA PAGAR SERVICIOS SEXUALES DESDE LAS OPINIONES SOBRE LA PROSTITUCIÓN

Copyright: © 2018 CSIC. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) License.

Received: 10/04/2017. **Accepted:** 13/02/2018

RESUMEN

Este estudio explora las opiniones de hombres españoles sobre la prostitución, especialmente de aquellos que han pagado por servicios sexuales. Se ha partido de una muestra aleatoria de 1.048 hombres de 18 a 70 años residentes en España, mediante encuesta telefónica, a través de un cuestionario con 37 preguntas. El 20,3% ha pagado servicios sexuales alguna vez en su vida y el 15% en el último año. Entre los resultados se destaca una tipología de clientes de prostitución en función de sus motivos para comprar servicios sexuales: los *Funners* (24,1%), que buscarían ocio y diversión; los *Thingers*, (21,7%) que desean sexo sin implicación ni compromiso; otro 21,7% los *Couple Seekers*, que buscan pareja; los *Riskers*, (19,8%) que además de sexo le atrae los comportamientos de riesgo asociados; y los *Personalizers* (12,6%) serían aquellos que desean sexo con intimidad y compañía. Estos grupos difieren en su satisfacción sexual y en sus creencias u opiniones sobre los motivos que las mujeres tienen para ejercer la prostitución. En función de estos grupos se realizan recomendaciones para la sensibilización y concienciación de los clientes de prostitución en la lucha contra la trata.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Cientes de la prostitución; Prostitución; Traficar para explotar sexualmente.

INTRODUCTION

The business of prostitution has been organized into a very broad and lucrative industry, forming part of the culture of consumption in late capitalism (Bretns and Hausbeck 2007). Sexual services have been configured as one more product or service, within a very wide range of personal services. In the sex industry important changes have taken place due to the introduction of new communication technologies together with globalization and migration processes (Bernstein 2001). However, this market is not seen in the same way in all the countries of the European Union. While countries such as Germany have regulated the sexual services market, others such as Sweden have criminalized it, punishing the people who pay for sexual services. In Spain prostitution is neither regulated nor prohibited: the Spanish penal code criminalizes neither the people who practice prostitution, nor those who pay for sexual services. However, this code has been reformed on two occasions during the democratic period. On the first occasion a certain decriminalization of the promotion of prostitution was introduced, which allowed for two changes: the emergence of advertising for the sale of sex, mainly in newspapers (Valiente 2004) and the proliferation, at the end of the nineties, of roadside brothels (Guardia Civil 2002). In fact, in Spain, in 2002, there were 1110 roadside brothels (Guardia Civil 2002), and in 2013 the police counted 1693 brothels (UCRIF 2013). In addition, in this reform an implicit distinction was made between forced prostitution and prostitution that had been freely chosen. Smuggling for the purpose of sexual exploitation was given the status of an offence in the Spanish penal code in the second reform in 1999, and the offence of trafficking for sexual exploitation was introduced in 2010. However, in recent decades, in some Spanish cities, municipal regulations have been drawn up enabling the fining of people who contract their clients in public, in some cases also affecting clients; nevertheless, the laws that affect people who practice prostitution tend to be enforced with greater vigour than those that affect the people who are seeking sexual services (Villacampa and Torres 2013). The intention of these penalty measures is to limit prostitution to private spaces that keep it invisible.

Prostitution is mainly female, although the presence of transsexuals and young men has grown over time (TAMPEP 2009). In Spain, it is estimated that there are some 113 000 women in prostitution in 2005 (Malgesini 2006), and although this study did not determine how many were foreigners, other studies have pointed to a percentage that oscillates between 70% and 90% (Meneses et al. 2003; Médicos del Mundo 2005; TAMPEP 2009). In fact, the main problem experienced by people who practice prostitution is not their condition as a seller of sex, but rather their condition as a foreigner with no rights of citi-

zenship (Chimienti 2010). This means that trafficking, smuggling and exploitation are facilitated, because these people find themselves in a position of vulnerability and will not report the abuse or the coercion that they experience in order to avoid being detained and deported to their countries of origin (Zimmerman et al. 2006). This is not the case for those people who practice prostitution in Spain and are native citizens – some of them may even be registered as self-employed in the social security system, in spite of there being no existing regulation covering the work (Poyatos 2011).

A negative consequence of the business of prostitution is smuggling and trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, which is prosecuted and penalized in every country of the European Union. What is more, recent years have seen an increase in concern about human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Europe, since between 2010 and 2012 more than 30,000 victims were recorded in the member states (Eurostat 2014).

For the study of both free and forced prostitution, or human trafficking for sexual exploitation, it is necessary to research both the offer of sexual services as well as the demand. A few decades ago it was highlighted that 1% of the studies on prostitution were focused on the consumers of sexual services (Perkins 1991), and many of those studies were focused on research into the risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV. There is a large disproportion between the agents who intervene in the world of sexual commerce, which leads us to talk about gender differences. It is men who require the sexual services and women who offer them, and the number of buyers exceeds the number of people who provide sexual services (Jordan 1997). The male population, and especially the buyers of prostitution, have more probability of entering into contact with a victim of human trafficking for sexual exploitation than the rest of the general population (Meneses et al. 2015). Studies on the demand for sexual services are rare, especially in Spain. Nevertheless, such studies are necessary as it is the collaboration with the buyers of prostitution that may prove decisive in the eradication of these crimes (trafficking and exploitation), at the same time as facilitating the normalization of prostitution itself (Di Nicola et al. 2009).

Spain has only one national survey that offers data about the buyers of prostitution. This survey was published by the Ministry of Health and the National Statistics Institute in 2003, (INE 2004) and showed that in men aged 18 to 49 years old, 25.4% had paid for sexual services at some time, and 5.7% had done so in the previous 12 months. This behaviour was more prevalent in older men, those who had not been married or were not living with a partner, had low levels of education, were not born in Spain, were members of a religious group, had started their economic

activity at a very early age and those who had been drunk in the previous 30 days (Belza et al. 2008). Other studies have shown different figures in Spain for the previous year: 9.9% (Hubert et al. 1998) and 11% of men (Carael et al. 2006), with Spain being in both cases one of the countries with the highest rates of men paying for sexual services. However, the diverse methodologies used to gather the data and the length of time taken to collect it makes it difficult to compare and make accurate estimations about this behaviour. In the European context oscillations are found in the prevalence of paying for sex at some point in life, between 11.3% in Danish men, associating this behaviour with precocious sexual relations, multiple sexual partners, being single and living in the capital (Buttmann et al. 2011); and 13% in Norwegian men, also highly associated with early sexual debut, having many sexual partners, being single and with low probability of condom use (Schei and Stigum 2010). Finally, British residents are placed at 11% prevalence in life and 1.1% in the previous year (Jones et al. 2015).

The motivations and circumstances that lead men to seek and pay for sexual services have also been investigated in different studies, flagging up that these can vary culturally and can be linked to the gender and couple relationships that are established in each society (Månsson 2006). In spite of the difficulties inherent in the comparison of different studies, as they deal with cultures where men are suspended in webs of significance (Geertz 1973), the gathering of motivations can help us to understand this behaviour.

Diverse motivations for this conduct have been shown: a) some men want to enjoy different or more frequent sexual practices than usually available from their partners and go to persons practising prostitution because this may be the only way to obtain this (Monto 2001; McKeganey 1994); b) there are men for whom having sex with a prostitute is one of their sexual fantasies, as they are seen and perceived as super-sexual women who enjoy sex, giving rise to attraction or curiosity (Månsson 2006; Di Nicola et al. 2009); c) for other men is it a quicker, more direct and less complicated way of obtaining sexual services, involving less commitment and emotional implication, given that standardised relationships require greater effort (Xantidis et al. 2000; Monto 2004; Pitts et al. 2004; Campbell and O'Neill 2006); d) in other cases, prostitution allows men to have sex with different people, choosing different characteristics in the people who offer the services, such as ethnicity, physical attributes, sex or gender (McKeganey 1994; Xantidis et al. 2000); e) other clients find the illicit and clandestine nature of the sexual meeting attractive, either because it is a conduct that is socially reprehensible or because it is penalised in some countries (Månsson 2006); f) it has also been shown that some men have no other way of obtaining sex unless they

pay for it, either because they do not have a partner, or because they have some problem that impedes them establishing relationships with, or because they are rejected by, women (Campbell and O'Neill 2006); in this context, personal deficiencies, scarce capacity or ability to engage in relationships with a partner have been alluded to (Atchinson et al. 1998); g) in other studies it has been indicated that for some men prostitution is an alternative to solitary sexual activity, such as masturbation; that is to say, they have no other possibilities of having sex (Campbell and O'Neill 2006); h) some men seek in prostitution a way of maintaining control in their sexual relationships, or it can be a way of expressing their power over women (Atchinson et al. 1998; Monto 2004; Campbell and O'Neill 2006); i) another of the reasons is that prostitution offers a less complicated form of extramarital relations, and can be experienced by men as a lesser infidelity, as there is no commitment to the people who are offering the sexual services (Månsson 2006); j) finally, it has been indicated that there are men who feel lonely, whether they be single or married, and besides the sexual services, they are seeking companionship and relationships of love or friendship with the people who practise prostitution (Monto 2004). It is possible that behind these motivations there are different attitudes toward prostitution and toward human trafficking for sexual exploitation, with the existence of different degrees of collaboration with this social phenomenon (Cauduro et al. 2009). Therefore, it would be interesting to go deeper into how the motivation of clients of prostitution may relate to attitudes towards free prostitution or trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The objective of this study is to explore opinions about prostitution in Spanish men, both those who have paid for sexual services and those who have not done so. Secondly, the paper aims at exploring knowledge and beliefs on trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes; it explores how paying for sexual services may be related to certain socio-demographic variables, the motivations behind this behaviour, and how these might be related to the extent that buyers of prostitution are aware of – or turn a blind eye to – the trafficking of women and girls (Di Nicola et al. 2009). This study therefore also aims to offer suggestions for ways of engaging with the collective of men who pay for commercial sexual services in order to raise awareness of the trafficking of women and girls.

METHODS

A telephone survey was carried out in September 2014, interviewing Spanish men between the ages of 18 and 70 to collect their opinions on prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A questionnaire with 37 questions was created for a random sample. In general, more private or stigmatized issues are usually underestimated in surveys because people do

not tend to openly declare what they do in their private lives for various reasons; therefore, some international studies have suggested that a telephone survey is the most appropriate way to access this type of information (McKeganey 1994). A pre-survey check of the questionnaire was carried out in order to: (1) confirm that all the issues dealt with were in accordance with the objectives of the study; (2) check that the meaning of the terms used (standardization of meaning) was clear; (3) find out if it was necessary to re-order the questions to avoid one question influencing others; (4) confirm the time required to answer; (5) get feedback about the 'feelings' of those surveyed with regard to the questionnaire; (6) find out if the sex of the interviewer might influence the answers; (7) find out what type of telephone would be most appropriate to use (land line or mobile) and (8) gauge the degree of collaboration or rate of rejection. Those aspects of the questionnaire which were not completely clear were corrected and some questions were reordered, principally those that were related to the control or socio-demographic data. The final version of the questionnaire can be found at the end of the paper. The rejection rate was 67.5% in the study, (approximately 7 out of every 10 men surveyed refused to answer the questionnaire) and all the interviewers were men. Over a thousand (1051) surveys were completed via telephone interview, and the interview minimum length was eight minutes; 3 cases were excluded because the respondents were over 70. Anonymity was guaranteed to all the respondents, the objective of the study was explained to them, information about who was financing the survey was provided, and it was made clear that responding is completely voluntary.

Data Analysis

Once data collection was finalized, the data set was cleaned and prepared for analysis. First a descriptive analysis was undertaken for all the variables, followed by the bivariate and multivariate analyses needed to fulfil the objectives of the study. SPSS v. 20 for Windows was used.

Specifically, to test for a significant difference between buyers and non-buyers for each of the variables of interest, the relevant tests for association or dependency were carried out, as well as a comparison of univariate and multivariate means or equality in distribution, parametric or nonparametric, depending on the nature of the variables.

A binary logistic regression model was employed with the aim of achieving a multidimensional view of the variables that significantly influenced the condition of being a buyer or not. This is one of the principal statistics techniques used for classification into two groups; it is a model with qualitative output which endeavours to resolve problems caused by the need to discriminate between two populations, where the classification variable is a dependant binary variable. The binary logistic

regression model is based on obtaining the probability that an observation belongs to a determined set, in function of the behaviour of the independent variables, in the same way as the multiple linear regression model. However, the binary logistic regression model is preferred because the multiple linear regression model presents certain problems when the dependant variable is binary. The first problem is that the variance in the random perturbation is not constant and therefore will present heteroscedasticity; and secondly, on estimating the model of linear regression, the dependant variable should take on values exclusively between 0 and 1, because we are estimating the probability that an individual with characteristics defined by the dependant variable will belong to the option to which the value 1 has been assigned, in our case, the condition of being a buyer. For this reason, we want the model to directly give us the probability of belonging to each population and so guarantee an estimated value between 0 and 1 (See Rua and González, 2004).

The parameters of the model are estimated for maximum verisimilitude and the regression coefficients are not directly interpretable. Therefore, in this model special attention will be paid to the sign (if it is positive, it means that an increase in the explicative variable will presuppose an increase in the probability of being a buyer, and if it is negative, then an increase in the explicative variable will presuppose a reduction in the probability of being a client), and the odds ratio (OR), obtained from the regression coefficients (the exponential of the regression coefficient), which will indicate the risk of having an evaluated result or effect (being a client in this case) for a determined value of the explicative variable, with respect to the value reduced by a unit. If the independent variable is a quantitative variable, the OR that is obtained represents the probability of the predicted event for an individual with a value x , as opposed to the probability for an individual with a value $(x-1)$. If the variable is qualitative, the logistic regression only allows dichotomous categories, so that the OR is the risk of subjects with one value as opposed to the risk of subjects with the other value for this variable (Berlanga and Vilà 2014).

Finally, with the aim of obtaining a buyer typology based on the motivations that have led to them paying for sexual services, the set was segmented into different groups by means of the application of a non-hierarchical K-means cluster analysis. Using this multivariate technique, it is possible to obtain groups, segments or clusters that differ from each other but are homogeneous internally, thus obtaining a determined behavioural typology, in this case, of buyers. The cluster analysis was carried out on the factors obtained from the factorial analysis previously carried out on the initial set of variables, which gathered information on the different motivations that led to buyers paying for sexual services.

RESULTS

The total number of men surveyed was 1048, of which 20.3% (n=213) have paid for sexual services at some point in their lives and only 11.7% (n=25) affirm having paid in the last year. However, when we asked about the frequency during the last year 15% (n=32) responded to the question, which indicates that there is an additional 3% (n=7) who paid for sexual services in the last year (this was due to the fact that we intentionally avoided filtering the question).

Table 1 shows the socio-demographic differences between men who had been buyers and those who had not. Significant differences were found in the level of education (association between being a buyer and a low level, primary and secondary, of education and not being a buyer and high levels of education, baccalaureate and university), marital status (association between being a buyer and not being in a stable relationship and

not being a buyer and being in a stable relationship), life and sexual satisfaction (higher in non-buyers), age (higher in buyers) and employment status.

With regard to their opinions about prostitution in Spain, differences were found between the groups of men, with the exception of one of the options offered - *should be regulated as an economic activity* - which showed no significant differences at 5%, but did show significant differences at 10% (Table 2).

It is worth highlighting that among the reasons that women provide sexual services, differences were found only in *to get luxuries or extras*, which was chosen more often by buyers. There were no differences between respondents in their opinions about the reasons why men pay for sexual services. With regard to opinions about trafficking for sexual exploitation, the tendency was similar; there were scarcely any differences between buyers and non-buyers (Table 3).

Table 1.
Socio-demographic characteristics the buyers and non-buyers of prostitution, n=1048

	Non-buyers		Buyers		Total		p
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Born in Spain	766	91.8	193	90.6	959	91.6	.572
Born in another country	68	8.2	20	9.4	88	8.4	
Level of education							<.001
- Primary	147	17.7	71	33.5	218	20.9	
- Secondary	118	14.2	32	15.1	150	14.4	
- Baccalaureate	286	34.5	60	28.3	346	33.2	
- University	262	31.6	43	20.3	305	29.3	
- No education	17	2.0	6	2.8	23	2.2	
Marital Status							<.001
- Stable partner	519	62,7	125	58,7	644	61,9	
- No stable partner	308	37,3	88	41,3	396	38,1	
Type of relationship							.159
- None	104	13.6	37	18.5	141	14.6	
- Only casual	70	9.1	21	10.5	91	9.4	
- Stable and casual	11	1.4	5	2.5	16	1.7	
- Only stable	581	75.8	137	68.5	718	74.3	
Income less than 2000 Euros	583	83.2	160	82.5	743	83.0	.820
Income greater than 2000 Euros	118	16.8	34	17.5	152	17.0	
Life satisfaction (average/Deviation)	8.0	1.54	7.6	1.76	7.9	1.60	.003
Sexual satisfaction (average/Deviation)	7.6	2.09	7.2	2.19	7.5	2.11	.028
Age (average/Deviation)	43	14.4	47	12.7	44	14.19	<.001
Employment status							<.001
- Permanent job	332	40.2	70	32.9	402	38.7	
- Temporary job	87	10.5	21	9.9	108	10.4	
- Unemployed	106	12.8	38	17.8	144	13.9	
- Pensioner	110	13.3	38	17.8	148	14.2	
- Not working (students)	76	9.2	3	1.4	79	7.6	
- Self-employed	115	13.9	43	20.2	158	15.2	
Children							.330
Yes	503	60.7	137	64.3	641	61.4	
No	326	39.3	76	35.7	403	38.6	
Age group							<.001
[18-24]	95	11.4	8	3.8	103	9.8	
[25-34]	179	21.5	30	14.1	209	19.9	
[35-44]	176	21.2	55	25.8	231	22.0	
[45-55]	183	22.0	60	28.2	245	23.4	
>55	198	23.8	60	28.2	260	24.8	

Table 2.
Opinion about prostitution. n=1048

	Non-buyers		Buyers		Total		p
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Prostitution as a form of violence (yes)	445	53.5	73	34.8	520	50.1	<.001
Prostitution should be regulated like any other economic activity (yes)	668	80.4	184	86.4	856	81.9	.054
Prostitution should be left as it is (yes)	49	5.9	23	10.8	72	6.9	.012
Prostitution should be prohibited (yes)	165	19.9	24	11.3	191	18.3	.003
Punish or penalize the buyer (yes)	281	33.8	41	19.2	323	30.9	<.001
Punish or penalize the person provides sexual services (yes)	151	18.2	22	10.3	174	16.7	.006
Main reason for provide sexual services (yes)							
- They like it	188	22.6	61	28.6	250	23.9	.066
- Economic need	779	93.7	200	93.9	981	93.6	.934
- Obtaining luxuries or extras	328	39.5	103	48.4	431	41.1	.019
- Forced or threatened	645	77.6	155	72.8	802	76.5	.136
- They earn more money than in other jobs	492	59.2	132	62.0	625	59.6	.463
Why do men pay for sexual services? (average) (1: Very much agree-4.Totally disagree)							
- To obtain companionship	828	2.35	213	2.40	1045	2.36	.414
- They have no other possibility	828	2.29	213	2.25	1045	2.27	.585
- Distraction and leisure	828	2.62	213	2.73	1045	2.64	.119
- Like the risky and the forbidden	826	3.06	213	3.13	1043	3.07	.254
- To dominate the relationship	826	2.89	212	3.01	1042	2.92	.088
- Quicker	825	2.59	213	2.69	1042	2.61	.174

Table 3.
Opinion about trafficking. n=1048

	Non-buyers		Buyers		Total		p
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Has heard of human trafficking (yes)	735	88.4	198	93.0	937	89.4	.057
What he would do if faced with a trafficked person							.434
- Call the police	479	57.6	446	54.5	598	57.3	
- Give them money	8	1.0	4	1.9	12	1.2	
- Contact an NGO	38	4.6	8	3.8	46	4.4	
- Not get involved	55	6.6	11	5.2	67	6.4	
- Others	246	29.6	74	34.7	320	30.7	
More victims in Spain than in other countries							.006
- Yes	146	17.6	48	22.5	194	18.6	
- No, it's the same	282	34.1	88	41.3	372	35.6	
- Don't know	400	48.3	36.2	36.2	479	45.8	
The State should intervene more in human trafficking	787	94.9	200	93.9	991	94.7	.546
Actions that contribute to reducing human trafficking (yes)							
- Stronger laws against the traffickers	801	96.4	207	97.2	1012	96.6	.571
- Prostitution should be organized by the women themselves	641	77.4	170	79.8	813	77.8	.452
- Greater controls on borders	612	74.0	162	76.4	777	74.5	.472
- Greater controls in clubs and flats	767	92.4	193	90.6	964	92.1	.387
- Greater protection of women	744	89.7	200	93.9	948	90.6	.064
What is the main one?							.918
- Stronger laws against the traffickers	280	33.8	70	32.9	353	33.7	
- Prostitution should be organized by the women themselves	157	18.9	47	22.1	204	19.5	
- Greater controls on borders	60	7.2	14	6.6	74	7.1	
- Greater controls in clubs and flats	77	9.3	18	8.5	95	9.1	
- Greater protection of women	111	13.4	32	15.0	144	13.7	

Using the variable that divided the men into buyers and non-buyers, a logistic regression analysis was carried out to find out what might explain the probability of being a buyer (Table 4). Three models were considered:

In model 1 explicative variables of fundamentally socio-demographic character were taken into account: having been born in Spain or not, level of education, being in a stable relationship or not, having children or not, being actively employed or not, various age groups, taking as a reference point or baseline those over 55 years old. Level of education, income and age proved to be significant. Therefore, a low level of education, low income and being over 35 led to a greater prob-

ability of being a client. In model 2 the different reasons why men, whether buyers or not, believed that women entered prostitution were considered: because they like it, for economic reasons, to obtain luxuries or extras, because they are forced or threatened, because it is a way of earning more money than other jobs, or for other reasons. Obtaining luxuries or extras was the only reason that showed significance, coming out as the only significant variable at 5%. That is to say, buyers thought that women entered prostitution in order to obtain luxuries. Those who were not buyers said that women were forced to practice prostitution more often than those who were buyers, although with a value of $p=0.065$.

Table 4.

Logistic regression models of demographic characteristics (model 1) and prostitution (model 2) and trafficking (model 3) opinion associated with buyers and non-buyers of prostitution

MODEL 1	β	OR	IC 95%	p
Born in Spain Not born in Spain	-.270	0.764	0.427 - 1.365	0.363
Level of education - No education - Primary - Secondary - Bacalaureate - University	-.420	0.657	0.563 - 0.767	<.001
Stable partner No stable partner	-.363	0.696	0.463 - 1.046	0.081
With children No children	-.295	0.744	0.469 - 1.182	0.211
Income - More than 2000 Euros - Less than 2000 Euros	.560	1.750	1.080 - 2.838	0.023
Employment - Working - Not working	-.275	0.759	0.528 - 1.093	0.139
Age groups - > 55 years old (Baseline) - 55-35 years old - ≤34 years old	 .124 -.919	 1 1.132 0.399	 0.751 - 1.707 0.226 - 0.399	 <.001 0.554 0.002
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	ChiSquare (g.l)		9.268 (8)	0.238
MODEL 2	β	OR	IC 95%	p
Main reason for women provide sexual service (yes) - They like it - Economic need - Obtaining luxuries or extras - Forced or threatened - They earn more money than in other jobs - Others	 0.213 0.179 0.394 -0.335 -0.078 0.333	 1.237 1.196 1.483 0.715 0.925 1.395	 0.866 - 1.766 0.629 - 2.276 1.040 - 2.113 0.502 - 1.021 0.644 - 1.329 0.960 - 2.025	 0.242 0.585 0.029 0.065 0.674 0.081
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	ChiSquare (g.l)		10,408 (8)	0.292
MODEL 3	β	OR	IC 95%	p
1.- Punish or penalize the person provides sexual service 2.- Prostitution should be regulated like any other economic activity 3.- Prostitution should be left as it is 4.- Prostitution should be prohibited 5.- Punish or penalize the client 6.- Punish or penalize the person provides sexual service Prostitution as a form of violence	 -0.579 0.224 0.676 -0.119 -0.366 -0.226	 0.560 1.251 1.966 0.888 0.694 0.797	 0.400 - 0.785 0.770 - 2.034 1.123 - 3.442 0.517 - 1.524 0.439 - 1.096 0.453 - 1.403	 0.001 0.366 0.018 0.666 0.117 0.432
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	ChiSquare (g.l)		2.826 (5)	0.727

In model 3, different opinions about prostitution were taken into account: punishment or penalisation of the practice of prostitution, regulation of prostitution as any other economic activity, maintaining the current legal status of prostitution as it is (neither prohibited nor regulated), prohibition of prostitution, punishment or penalisation of the buyers, prostitution seen as a form of violence. Results show that at 5% it is more probable that the non-buyer holds the opinion that the prostitute should be punished or penalised, while it is more probable, also at 5%, that the buyer holds the opinion that prostitution should be left as it is. The remaining opinions, which were not significant, suggest that views such as those that hold that prostitution should be prohibited, punished or penalised – both the buyer and the provider - are more likely among non-buyers, whereas the opinion that it should be regulated like any other economic activity is more probable among buyers.

The null hypothesis - that the observed rates match the expected rates - was rejected in none of the three models (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test), as

can be observed in Table 4, showing the estimated regression coefficients, their Odd Ratio, a confidence interval of 95% for the Odd Ratio and the corresponding p-value associated with each regression coefficient.

Client typology and reasons for paying for sexual services

Focusing now on those men who have been buyers of prostitution, they were asked about their level of agreement (1- do not agree at all to 4 - agree very strongly) with 18 motivations for paying for sexual services: (To get things off my chest and share my problems; I have no other possibility; To obtain companionship; I obtain unusual sexual practices; It doesn't involve commitment; Sex is quicker and more impersonal; It creates fewer problems; I can choose different people; For curiosity; It is riskier; Because I am attracted by the forbidden; To have experienced sex; To experiment sexually, sexual training; To feel more of a man; To dominate the sexual relationship; To consume drugs; Sexual dissatisfaction with partner; To have fun). (See Table 5)

Table 5.
Motivational factors for paying for sexual services n=207

	Companionship	No commitment	Risk and masculinity	Leisure	Commonality
To get things off my chest and share my problems	.680				.539
I have no other possibility	.662				.477
To obtain companionship	.558			.482	.568
I obtain unusual sexual practices	.544				.506
There are no commitments		.756			.633
Sex is quicker and more impersonal		.645			.513
It gives rise to fewer problems	.431	.631			.610
I can choose different people		.592			.434
For curiosity		.461			.475
It is riskier			.696		.527
Because I am attracted to the forbidden			.612		.585
I am seeking experienced sex			.573		.509
To experiment sexually, sexual training			.557		.528
To feel more manly	.497		.551		.554
To dominate the sexual relationship			.506	.485	.555
To consume drugs				.630	.540
Sexual dissatisfaction with my partner	.532			.542	.604
To have fun		.441		.518	.475

With the aim of eliminating redundancy in the information contained in the 18 former variables and obtain those factors or dimensions underlying the behaviour of the buyers leading them to pay for sexual services, a factorial analysis was carried out, using a method that extracts the principal components, subjecting them to a Varimax rotation (Table 5). Both the inspection of the matrix of correlations, Bartlett's sphericity test ($p=0.000$) and the KMO (0.867) suggest the advantage of carrying out a factorial analysis. As a result of this, four factors were obtained which are able to explain 53.5% of the total variance, exceeding the respective commonalities in almost all cases by 0.5. All factorial loads were positive, which indicates that high values or factorial scores correspond to a high level of agreement with the expressed motivation.

Factor 1 will be named *Companionship*, owing to the fact that the variables with greater factorial load are those that are related to the fact that, as well as sex, the men were looking for someone to listen to them and give them a certain amount of companionship (To get things off my chest and share my problems; I have no other possibility; to obtain companionship, among others).

Factor 2 is called *No Commitment*, because it gathers those variables that imply obtaining sex with no ties (it doesn't involve commitment; sex is quicker and more impersonal; it creates fewer problems, among others).

Factor 3, *Risk and Virility*, gathers variables related to these two concepts (it is riskier; because I am attracted by the forbidden; I am looking for experienced sex; to test myself sexually, sexual training; to feel more of a man; to dominate the sexual relationship).

And lastly, Factor 4, *Leisure*, where the variables connected mainly to the use of drugs and entertain-

ment are gathered (to consume drugs; sexual dissatisfaction with my partner; to have fun).

These motivational factors are similar to those obtained by Meneses (2010) in a sample of Spanish men and by Pitts et al. (2004) in Australian men.

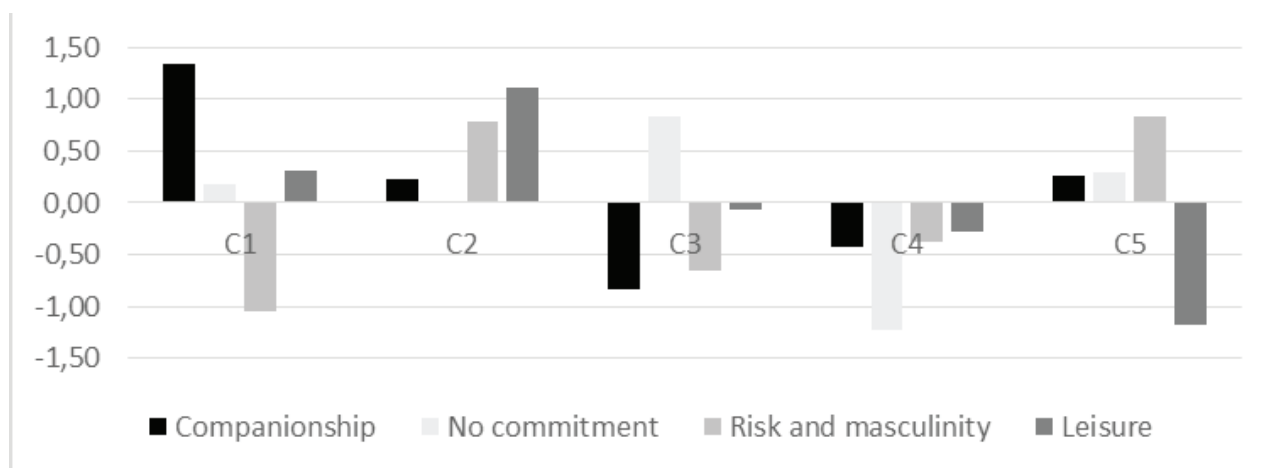
An analysis of conglomerates was carried out from the four factors obtained to uncover buyer groupings in relation to their motivation for paying for sex, and five different groups or profiles were found (Figure 1).

The first cluster (12.6%, $n=26$), which we could call **Personalizers**, is made up of men who want sex with companionship and warmth with the women who provide sexual services, because the factor of companionship presents a median value significantly above the global average with difference with respect to the rest, and on the other hand, the risk and virility factor showed a below average score, given that they were not aiming to prove their masculinity as much or to be part of a risky situation.

On the other hand, the second group or cluster (24.1%, $n=50$), which we will call **Funners**, scored a differentiated average with regard to the remaining groups, fundamentally in two factors, those of Risk and Leisure; these two aspects were the main reasons why the buyers belonging to this segment paid for sexual services. For these men, paying for sexual services is a way of spending their free time and having fun.

In the third group (21.7%, $n=45$) the factor of absence of commitment stood out, which grouped those buyers into what we might call **Thingers**, because for this group women were fundamentally an instrument of pleasure (Marttila 2003; Månsson 2006), as they wanted to obtain sex with no kind of affective or sentimental involvement, where the variety in women with whom they could have sex was the most important attraction, and the women who provide sexual services are seen as objects of sexual satisfaction for them.

Figure 1.
Final cluster centers (average)



The fourth group (21.7%, n=45) included those clients who might be called **Couple Seekers**, as all factors scored below average, with the exception of the factor of commitment (see Figure 1); they might therefore be seen as those men who approach women who provide sexual services not for the traditional reasons for which sexual services are paid for, but because they are looking for something totally different, which in general men don't usually seek from this collective of women. These men were looking for a commitment with the woman who offered them sexual services, because they were seeking a more permanent relationship with her, compared to the remaining groups. This is a relationship which, in addition to the intimacy and sex, offers a partner who will look after them and the home (Oso 2010).

In the last group (19.8%, n=41), **Riskier**, buyers stand out who are attracted by risk and the attraction that goes with paying for sexual services compared with having non-commercial sexual relationships. However, the aspects of virility and domination were also present in this group.

In addition, socio-demographic characteristics were analysed within these five groups, as well as their opinions on prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation, in order to discover if there were significant differences or not amongst them in these three areas (Table 6).

Differences in averages were found between the groups for some variables. In the first place, with regard to sexual satisfaction ($p=0.027$), in an interval of 1 to 10, the lowest average scores were found among the *Personalizers* (=6.2; DS=2.7),

who were seeking companionship, and the highest among the *Couple Seekers* (=8.0; DS=2.0); the rest did not show large variations between them, g2 (=7.2; DS=2.3), g3 (=7.2; DS=1.9), y g5 (=7.5; DS=2.0).

In second place, the responses related to the opinion of the men who pay for sexual services in reference to their motivations to pay for these services were classified in an interval of 1- indicating disagreement to 4 - indicating strong agreement; of the six motivations presented, in five of them differences appeared in the average scores in the answers obtained according to group. Thus, a) for the motivation *to obtain companionship* ($p=0.041$), the group of personalizers obtained an average score that was greater (3.04) than the other groups (g2=2.6; g3=2.4; g4=2.5; g5=2.6); b) for the motivation *because they have no other way of meeting their sexual needs* ($p=0.016$), again the group of personalizers had a greater average score (3.1) than the other groups (g2=2.8; g3=2.8; g4=2.4; g5=2.7); c) for the motivation *for the pleasure of experiencing risk and the forbidden* ($p=0.001$), it was the second group, the Funners, that achieved a higher average score (2.2) compared with the rest (g1=1.6; g3=1.8; g4=1.6; g5=2.0); d) for *to dominate the relationship* ($p=0.01$), it was also the Funners that achieved the highest average score (2.5) in comparison with the other groups (g1=1.9; g3=1.8; g4=1.8; g5=1.8); e) finally, for the motivation *because it was quicker* ($p=0.02$), the Funners again achieved the highest average score (2.6) compared to the rest (g1=2.0; g3=2.4; g4=1.9; g5=2.5).

Table 6.
Differences found between the groups of buyers

n=207	Personalizers (g1)	Funners (g2)	Thingers (g3)	Couple Seekers (g4)	Riskier (g5)	Total	p
	12.6%	24.1%	21.7	21.7	19.8		
Sexual satisfaction (average/Deviation)							
	6.2 (2.7)	7.2 (2.3)	7.2 (1.9)	8.0 (2.0)	7.5 (2.0)	7.3	.027
Why do men pay for sexual services? (average) (1: Totally disagree -4: Very much agree)							
To obtain companionship	3.04	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.6		.041
They have no other possibility	3.1	2.8	2.8	2.4	2.7		.016
Distraction and leisure	2.4	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.3		.110
Like the risky and the forbidden	1.6	2.2	1.8	1.6	2.0		<.001
To dominate the relationship	1.9	2.5	1.8	1.8	1.8		.01
Quicker	2.0	2.6	2.4	1.9	2.5		.02

DISCUSSION

This study offers an approximation to the prevalence of paying for sex commercially in Spain by men between 18 and 70, which is situated at 20% at some time in their life, and at 15% in the last year. This data differs from the previously cited Spanish survey (INE, 2003), where the data showed a lower frequency for some time in their life and higher for the last year (25.4% and 5.7% respectively). This discrepancy may be linked to the methodological procedure, or to a reduction in the prevalence of this behaviour among Spanish men in the course of their life, although not annually. It is also true that the majority of studies that involve research on this population are focused on behaviours which put health at risk, specifically sexually transmitted infections, given that this is considered to be a collective that may be a bridge in the transmission of these diseases (Jones et al. 2015), and not on the topic that interests us, i.e. collecting their opinions on prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation. The data obtained in this study continues to show Spain with a greater prevalence than neighbouring countries, since in other recent European studies incidences of around 10% per year were found (Schei and Stigum, 2010; Buttmann et al. 2011; Jones et al. 2015).

The results obtained show differentiated characteristics between those who are buyers of prostitution and those who are not. As with other studies, being older and having a lower level of education seems to be a characteristic found among men who pay for sexual services (Pitts et al. 2004; Belza et al. 2008; Buttmann et al. 2011), but this study also adds differences with respect to employment status and level of income (Jewkes et al. 2012b).

Opinions about prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation collected from the male respondents do not show much difference among them, except that buyers claim that the legal status of prostitution in Spain should be left as it is, whereas the non-buyers are more inclined towards the penalization of those who practise prostitution. It may be that this opinion has been influenced by the punitive regulations that have been introduced in many Spanish cities since the year 2000, imposing fines on those people who solicit on the streets, as a way of eliminating street prostitution (Villacampa and Torres 2013). Such sanctions have been publicised by the mass media, pointing out that prostitution carried out on the streets can generate noise, sights which are not appropriate for minors and other illegal activities that surround this activity, such as the consumption and sale of drugs.

One aspect that seemed very relevant was that most interviewed men had heard about trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes (89%). But this fact does not mean that they have deep knowledge; in

other words, that they are really aware of the degree and extension of the crime, or that they are particularly sensitive to it. In fact, the buyers interviewed highlighted significantly, as opposed to those who were not buyers, the existence of more victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Spain than in other countries. This piece of information could be both worrying and interesting. Although we do not know the reasons behind this perception, it might be turned to our advantage with regard to the possibility of increasing awareness of trafficking for sexual exploitation in buyers, and therefore promoting different interventions in response to it.

Focusing on the men who had paid for sexual services, four motivational factors for this behaviour were found, which when compared with other studies (Pitts et al. 2004; Meneses 2010) is an intermediate number of explanatory factors. These factors group the main reasons for paying for sexual services that have been mentioned in studies on this subject (Jordan 1997; McKeganey and Barnad 1996; Xantidis et al. 2000; Kinnell 2006; Månsson 2006; Della Giusta et al. 2009; Marttila 2003). However, this study has gone further, given that based on these motivational factors an important contribution is offered: the classification or typology of buyers in function of their reasons for paying for sexual services. Adequate knowledge of the demand for sexual services, and especially what motivates many men, can help us to better understand this collective and the phenomenon of prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation (Cauduro et al. 2009). Five groups of Spanish men that pay for sexual services can be characterized in function of their motivations. Firstly, the *Personalizers*, who are those who not only look for sex but also want to find intimacy, companionship and warmth from the person who provides them with the sexual practices. They also seek someone they can speak to in the people who provide sexual services; in addition, they are buyers who have few opportunities to fulfil their sexual and affective needs. This type of buyer has been referenced in other studies because it is usually a common one (Solana 2003; Pitts et al. 2004; Della Giusta et al. 2009). It is possible that this type of buyer may see prostitution positively and justify it as a service and a need for many men (Marttila 2003). They may be a possible ally in the fight against trafficking for sexual exploitation because to a certain degree they want the person who provides them with sexual services to do so in a voluntary way and not under coercion (Jordan 1997). Secondly, there is the group called *Funners* for whom paying for sexual services is a leisure activity- fun, a form of masculine entertainment in a context in which the women are there to entertain them and offer them different and varied sexual practices; in other words, the sex is fun (Xantidis et al. 2000). In this study a group of younger men has not stood out amongst them, but

in other qualitative studies they were the predominant point of reference, because the sexual services form part of their entertainment and on occasion provided the end to a night when they had not been able to obtain free sex. Thirdly, we highlight a group called *Thingers*, those that stand out for wanting to obtain sexual relations without commitment, quickly, in an impersonal way, with no kind of affective attachment that might generate problems. This type of buyer uses women as sexual objects; they provide for their pleasure without them having to worry about the sexual satisfaction of their partner (Jordan 1997; Huysamen and Boonzaier 2015). These could be buyers for whom the variety of sexual practices or sex with different women presupposes an attraction to prostitution, because it is possible they cannot obtain this in any other way (Monto 2001; Peng 2007). Very probably this type of buyer will not want problems or involvement and will not be a good ally in the fight against trafficking. Fourthly, there is the *Couple Seekers* group, which is presented as a hypothesis, as it has been flagged up in some qualitative studies (Meneses et al. 2015). As has been mentioned, this is a buyer in whom none of the motivational factors analysed stands out, because what they want is to find a partner, as they haven't managed to do so in their usual relationships. In this way they try to find a woman who will provide them with pleasure and intimacy, as well as looking after the domestic tasks at home. This type of buyer could be a collaborator in the detection and reporting of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, given that their ultimate aim makes them more likely to be sensitive to the life circumstances of the women who provide sexual services. Finally, we highlight the group called *Risksters*: those buyers who enjoy risk and dominating in sexual relationships, who are attracted by the forbidden and for whom paying for sexual services is an element of masculine identity, or who are seeking new sensations and clandestine relationships (McKeganey and Barnad 1996; Xantidis et al. 2000). It is possible that among these buyers are those who want sexual practices without protection because they perceive risk differently (Leonard 1990). In this sense, the use of psychoactive substances, especially alcohol and cocaine, may also accompany the sexual practices, adding an additional component of risk (Lever and Dolnick 2000; Li et al. 2010; Jones et al. 2015) or the avoidance of the use of sexual protection by paying more for the services (Sawyer et al. 2001). It is possible that this type of buyer would distance himself from helping victims because he would not want to find himself involved. However, the possible involvement that we suppose for each group is nothing more than a hypothesis, as the results obtained from the groups and their view of trafficking for sexual exploitation is not that conclusive. For example, it might be expected that the *Personalizers* and even the *Couple Seekers*, would

have greater sensitivity toward women who might be exploited or sexually trafficked, and therefore we might find differences in their opinions. However, in this study such differences could not be seen among the different types of buyers. In terms of social characteristics, the only significant finding was the greater sexual satisfaction among the *Couple Seekers* because they wanted something more than sex; and to a lesser extent this was highlighted among the *Personalizers* precisely because for them sex without intimacy was not satisfactory.

Finally, the literature has shown another type of buyer that we believe is not represented in our study; the buyer that uses violence in the sexual services for different reasons (Lowman and Atchison, 2006) and who is usually violent towards women who provide sexual services (Miller and Schwartz 1995; Bridget et al. 2002; Meneses et al. 2003; Kinnell 2006; López 2012; Jewkes et al. 2012a).

However, buyers with violent behaviour have been referenced by the key informants or by the people who practice prostitution, not because they actually recognise themselves as such. The questions about violence in this study were indirect and it will be in future investigations when we will delve into this particular client profile.

Buying sexual services has several dimensions, amongst which we can highlight the personal (needs and experience), and the social or cultural (the image and sexual tolerance of paid sex) (Månsson 2006). The typologies described in this study require us to go deeper into these profiles in future studies, as other categories and variables that have not been taken into account in this study (such as sexual identity or the frequency in paying for sexual services) could reveal additional characteristics of the buyers. On the other hand, the social significance for masculinity associated with paying for sexual services, the continual change in gender relations and the loss of masculine supremacy or power may presuppose a masculine discomfort which leads men to resort to prostitution for a multitude of motives and life circumstances.

This study has a series of limitations that should be taken into account. The first is with reference to the sample on which the results are based. While it is true that it is a wide random sample, it is not representative and therefore we cannot generalise the results to all Spanish men. Secondly, another important limitation is derived from the limitations of the survey and the questionnaire. In this sense the qualitative methodological focus allows us to approach the questions that were being researched in greater depth; however, the power of generalisation is lower. Finally, we must emphasize that there are specific issues that arise when asking about sex, sexual services and prostitution. These form part of the private hidden sphere of people's lives, and when this has an impor-

tant component of stigma or social unacceptability, people tend to avoid communicating or recognising their behaviours for fear of social condemnation. The latter was an issue in the questionnaire carried out by telephone interview, leading to an underestimation of the annual prevalence for paying for sexual services, and it is almost certain than many other respondents have chosen not to report their behaviour.

However, in spite of the limitations described, this study offers three relevant contributions: a) there are few studies in Europe, and more specifically in Spain, that can offer estimation on the prevalence of paid sexual services. From studies carried out in Europe (Hubert et al. 1998; Carael et al. 2006; Schei and Stigum 2010; Buttman et al. 2011; Jones et al. 2015) which researched the behaviour of paying for sexual services, Spain shows the largest percentage obtained, and the data collected in this study continues to confirm this tendency; b) there are also few studies that focus on the men who pay for sexual services, given that in general academics and social researchers usually focus on the women who offer these sexual services - in this sense this study contributes by offering a typology of Spanish buy-

ers which might be similar in other social contexts and which shows that there is no homogeneity in this masculine behaviour; and lastly, c) an attempt has been made to understand the opinions of Spanish men, particularly those who pay for sexual services, towards prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation. This subgroup of men could be an ally in the battle against human trafficking for sexual exploitation and we need to continue our research to be able to improve the sensitivity and awareness of this collective against this international crime which attacks the human rights of individuals, and especially of women and girls.

FUNDING: This study was funded by Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain (CSO2014-5520907732).

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical approval: This article does not contain experiments with human participants or animals. Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

REFERENCES

- Atchinson, C.H., L. Fraser and J. Lowman.1998. "Men who buy sex: Preliminar Finding of an Exploratory Study". Pp 172-203 in *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers and Johns*, edited by J. E. Elias, V. L. Bullough, V. Elias and G. Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Belza, M.J., L. de la Fuente, M. Suárez, F. Vallejo, M. García, M. López, G. Barrio and A. Bolea. 2008. "Men who pay for sex in Spain and condom use: prevalence and correlates in a representative sample of the general population". *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 84: 207-211. <https://doi.org/10.1136/sti.2008.029827>
- Berlanga, V. and R. Vilá. 2014. Cómo obtener un Modelo de Regresión Logística Binaria con SPSS. *REIRE: revista d'innovació i reserca en educació* 7(2): 105-118.
- Bernstein, E. 2001. "The meaning of the purchase. Desire, demand, and the commerce of sex". *Ethnography* 2(3): 389-420. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661380122230975>
- Brents, B. and K. Hausbeck. 2007. "Marketing sex: US Legal Brothels and late capitalist consumption". *Sexualities* 10(4): 425-439. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460707080976>
- Bridget, N., N. Hotaling and M. Monto. 2002. "Male customers of prostituted women". *Violence Against Women* 8(9): 1093-1112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780102401101755>
- Buttmann, N., A. Nielsen, C. Munk, L. L. Kai, and S.K. Kjaer. 2011. "Sexual Risk Taking Behaviour: Prevalence and Associated Factors. A Population-Based Study of 22 000 Danish Men". *BMC Public Health* 11: 764. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-11-764>
- Campbell, R., and M. O'Neill. 2006. *Sex Work Now*. Portland: Willan Publishing.
- Carael, M., E. Slaymaker, R. Lyerla and S. Sarkar. 2006. "Clients of sex workers in different regions of the world: hard to count". *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 82: 26-33. <https://doi.org/10.1136/sti.2006.021196>
- Cauduro, A., A. Di Nicola, Ch. Fonio, A. Nuvoloni and P. Ruspini. 2009. "Innocent when you dream. Clients and Trafficked women in Italy". Pp. 31-66 in *Prostitution and Human Trafficking*, edited by A. Di Nicola, M. Lombardi, A. Cauduro and P. Ruspini. New York: Springer.
- Chimienti, M. 2010. "Selling sex in order to migrate: The end of the migratory dream?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(1): 27-45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903266101>
- Della Giusta, M., M. L. Di Tommaso, I. Shima and S. Strøm. 2009. "What Money Buys: Clients of Street Sex Workers in the US". *Applied Economics* 41(18): 2261-2277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036840701222561>
- Di Nicola, A., A. Cauduro, M. Lombardi and P. Ruspini (eds.). 2009. *Prostitution and Trafficking. Focus on clients*. New York: Springer.
- EUROSTAT. 2014. *Trafficking in human beings*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Geertz, C. L. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books INC.
- Guardia Civil. 2002. *Tráfico de seres humanos con fines de explotación sexual*. Madrid: Unidad Técnica de Policía Judicial.
- Hubert, M., N. Bajos and T. Sandford. 1998. *Sexual behavior and HIV/AIDS in Europe. Comparison of national surveys*. London: UCLM Press
- Huysamen, M. and F. Boonzaier. 2014. "Men's Constructions of Masculinity and Male Sexuality through Talk of Buying Sex". *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 17(5):541-554. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2014.963679>
- INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística). 2004. "Salud y hábitos sexuales". *Boletín Informativo del Instituto Nacional de Estadística* 4. Madrid: Ministerio de Economía y Hacienda del Gobierno Español.
- Jewkes, R., R. Morrell, Y. Sikweyiya, K. Dunkle and L. Penn-Kekana. 2012a. "Men, Prostitution and the Provider Role:

- Understanding the Intersections of Economic Exchange, Sex, Crime and Violence in South Africa". *PLoS ONE* 7(7): e40821. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0040821>
- Jewkes, R., R. Morrell, Y. Sikweyiya, K. Dunkle, and L. Penn-Kekana. 2012b. "Transactional Relationships and Sex with a Woman in Prostitution: Prevalence and Patterns in a Representative Sample of South African Men". *BMC Public Health* 12:325. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-12-325>
- Jones, K., A. Johnson, K. Wellings, P. Sonnenberg, N. Field, C. L. Tanton, B. Erens, S. Clifton, J. Datta, K. R. Mitchel, P. Prah and C. H. Mercer. 2015. "The Prevalence Of, and Factors Associated With, Paying for Sex among Men Resident in Britain: Findings from the Third National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (Natsal-3)". *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 91:116–123. <https://doi.org/10.1136/sextrans-2014-051683>
- Jordan, J. 1997. "User Pays: Why Men Buy Sex". *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 30:55–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000486589703000105>
- Kinnell, H. 2006. "Clients of female sex workers: men or monsters?". Pp 212-234 in *Sex work now*, edited by R. Campbell and M. O'Neill. London: Willian Publishing.
- Leonard, T. 1990. "Male clients of female street prostitutes: unseen partners in sexual disease transmission". *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 4(1):41-55. <https://doi.org/10.1525/maq.1990.4.1.02a00040>
- Lever, J. and D. Dolnick. 2000. "Clients and call girls: seeking sex and intimacy". Pp 85-100 in *Sex for sale. Prostitution, pornography and the sex industry*, edited by R. Weitzer. New York: Routledge.
- Li, Q., X. Li and B. Stanton. 2010. "Alcohol use among female sex worker and male clients: An integrative review of global literature". *Alcohol & Alcoholism* 45(2):188-199. <https://doi.org/10.1093/alcalc/agg095>
- López, J. 2012. "Una aproximación etnográfica a la prostitución: cuando las trabajadoras sexuales hablan de los clientes". *RES* 18:31-62.
- Lowman, J. and C. Atchison. 2006. "Men Who Buy Sex: A Survey in the Greater Vancouver Regional District". *Canadian Review of Sociology Revue canadienne de sociologie* 43(3): 281–296. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618X.2006.tb02225.x>
- Malgesini, G. (coord.) 2006. *Impacto de una posible normalización profesional de la prostitución en la viabilidad y sostenibilidad futura del sistema de pensiones de protección social*. Informe ESCODE 2006. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. Secretaría de Estado de la Seguridad Social.
- Månsson, S. 2006. "Men's Demand for Prostitutes". *Sexologies* 15: 87–92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sexol.2006.02.001>
- Marttila, A. M. 2003. "CONSUMING SEX – Finnish Male Clients and Russian and Baltic Prostitution". *Gender and Power in the New Europe, the 5th European Feminist Research Conference*, August 20-24, Sweden: Lund University. <https://prostitution.procon.org/sourcefiles/consuming-sex-finnish-male-clients-and-russian-and-baltic-prostitution.pdf>
- McKeganey, N. 1994. "Why Do Men Buy Sex and What Are Their Assessments of the HIV-Related Risks When They Do?". *AIDS Care* 6(3): 289–301. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540129408258641>
- McKeganey, N. and M. Barnad. 1996. *Sex work on the streets. Prostitutes and their clients*. London: Open University Press.
- Médicos del Mundo. 2005. *X Informe de Exclusión social*. Madrid: Médicos del Mundo.
- Meneses, C., E. Rubio, J. Labrador, A. Huesca and B. Charro. 2003. *Perfil de la prostitución callejera. Análisis de una muestra de personas atendidas por APRAMP*. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas Madrid.
- Meneses, C. 2010. "Factores motivacionales en una muestra de hombres españoles que pagan por servicios sexuales". *Revista Asociación Española Neuropsiquiatría* 30(107): 393-407.
- Meneses, C., J. Uroz, A. Rúa, C. Gortazar and M. J. Castaño. 2015. *Apoyando a las víctimas de Trata*. Madrid: Delegación del Gobierno para la Violencia de Género. Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad. Unpublish Report.
- Miller, J. and M. Schwartz. 1995. "Rape myths and violence against street prostitutes". *Deviant Behavior* 16(1): 1-23 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.1995.996798>
- Monto, M. 2001. "Prostitution and Fellatio". *The Journal of Sex Research* 38(2): 140-145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490109552081>
- Monto, M. 2004. "Female Prostitution, Customers, and Violence". *Violence Against Women* 10(2): 160-188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801203260948>
- Oso, L. 2010. "Money, sex, love and family: economic and affective strategies of Lation American Sex Worker in Spain". *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies* 36(1): 47-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903250899>
- Peng, Y. W. 2007. "Buying Sex: Domination and Difference in the Discourses of Taiwanese Piao-Ke". *Men and Masculinities* 9: 315–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X05284227>
- Perkins, R. 1991. *Working Girls: Prostitutes, their Life and Social Control*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Pitts, M. K., A. Smith, J. Grierson, M. O'Brien and S. Misson. 2004. "Who Pays for Sex and Why? An Analysis of Social and Motivational Factors Associated with Male Clients of Sex Workers". *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 33(4): 353–358. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:ASEB.0000028888.48796.4f>
- Poyatos, M. 2011. "Una juez se da de alta como prostituta en la seguridad social". *Libertad Digital*, 29 de octubre. <http://www.libertaddigital.com/sociedad/2011-10-29/una-juez-se-da-de-alta-como-prostituta-en-la-seguridad-social-1276439795> [Consulta 9 de octubre de 2016].
- Rua, A. and C. I. Gonzalez. 2004. "Predicción del rendimiento académico final a partir de asignaturas cuantitativas". *Revista Rect@* 1: 1-11. Actas XII Jornadas de ASEPUMA.
- Sawyer, S., M. Metz, J. Hinds and R. Brucker. 2001. "Attitudes Towards Prostitution Among Males: A 'Consumers Report'". *Current Psychology: Developmental Learning Personality Social* 20: 363-376. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-001-1018-z>
- Schei, B. and H. Stigum. 2010. "A Study of Men Who Pay for Sex, Based on the Norwegian National Sex Surveys". *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health* 38: 135–140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494809352531>
- Solana, J. L. 2003. *La prostitución, tráfico e inmigración de mujeres*. Granada: Ed. Comares.
- TAMPEP 2009. *Sex work in Europe. A mapping of the prostitution scene in 25 European countries*. Amsterdam: TAMPEP International Foundation. <https://goo.gl/HZ6fkb> [Consulta el 18 octubre 2016].
- UCRIF. 2013. *Relación de clubs de alterne en España*. Documento no publicado. Madrid: Ministerio del Interior.
- Valiente, C. 2004. "La política de la prostitución: el papel del movimiento de mujeres y los organismos de igualdad en España". *REIS* 105: 103-132.

- Villacampa, C. and N. Torres 2013. "Políticas criminalizadoras de la prostitución en España". *Revista Electrónica de Ciencia Penal y Criminología* 15(06): 1-40.
- Xantidis, L. and M. McCabe. 2000. "Personality Characteristics of Male Clients of Female Commercial Sex Workers in Australia". *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 29(2):165-76. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1001907806062>
- Zimmerman, C., M. Hossain, K. Yun, B. Roche, L. Morison and C. H. Watts. 2006. *Stolen smiles: a summary report on the physical and psychological health consequences of women and adolescents trafficked in Europe*. London: The London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine.

CARMEN MENESES-FALCÓN, PhD in Social and Cultural Anthropology, Department of Sociology and Social Work, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Universidad Pontificia Comillas. Her research lines focus on gender studies and social exclusion, risk, health and qualitative social research methods.

ANTONIO RUA-VIEITES, PhD in Physical Sciences and BA in Statistical Techniques, Department of Quantitative Methods, Faculty of Economics and Business Sciences, Universidad Pontificia Comillas. Research lines on risk and social exclusion, quantitative methods of social research.

JORGE UROZ-OLIVARES, PhD in Sociology, Department of Sociology and Social Work, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Universidad Pontificia Comilla. His research lines are centred on childhood, social policies, and social exclusion.