Red Light Green Light (76-minute version)

[Transcript]

Introduction

Cathy: I had an alcoholic mother. Father actually wasn't in my life, so I didn't ever have that father figure that a little girl needs.

Elle: I answered an ad in the newspaper. And the ad was looking for models. And so I was really excited about that because I thought, wow, you know, I can do this. And so I called them up on the phone, and they agreed to buy a plane ticket for me and fly me from Utah to Las Vegas.

Toshia: I remember pulling up to the nightclub. And I remember looking over at a car with these two guys sitting there.

Cathy: I see all my girlfriends having things, as we call it on the streets-- meaning that they were having gold around their neck, their hair was done all the time, their nails was done all the time. And I knew, in the back of my head, they did not have 9 to 5 jobs.

Elle: Initially, they had us do - it was a wet t-shirt contest. And they had us do some mud wrestling. And you know, they kept putting us off saying, we're going to get somebody in here to do your photo sessions. And then, they had us working in strip clubs.

Cathy: It was exciting, at first. I had this sense of, oh my god, someone loves me, because they were paying for me.

Toshia: I'm in my own vehicle. I didn't see a problem with following these guys to breakfast. Hey, they want to buy me breakfast, again. I can handle my own, or so I thought. And that was it. That was the start of my nightmare.

Cathy: I have, myself, been left for dead three times. I've woken up in a hospital, not knowing how I got there - my mother not even knowing who I was because I was totally dismantled.

Toshia: There was a time when I didn't think I would live because you're doing things that you could never imagine, things that you wouldn't wish on your worst enemy. And to be bought and sold is horrible.

[Title Screen]

Narrator: Prevention, prosecution, protection - these are the three ‘P’s of fighting sex trafficking. In the past few years, governments have started to prosecute pimps and protect victims. But for some reason, the first ‘P’ remains mostly silent. No one wants to talk about preventing sex trafficking in the first place. In fact, neither did we, because then we'd have to address the prostitution debate. My wife and I preferred to focus on sex trafficking, keeping prostitution as a separate issue altogether. But as we began to see the world through the lens of
prevention, the lines began to blur. So far, countries around the world have taken one of two approaches when it comes to commercial sex. The first is criminalization - to ban the buying and selling of sex, altogether. The second is legalization - to make buying and selling fully legal. So which is working? We want to explore the approaches taken by various countries. So we embarked on a journey to answer the question - what is the best way to prevent sex trafficking? In a world where a steady, never ending stream of trafficking victims drowns out the scrambling efforts of rescue and after care workers, it's time to re-evaluate our approach. At some point, we just need to turn off the tap.

**Amsterdam**

**Narrator:** When it comes to buying sex, Amsterdam is one of Europe's top destinations. The ban on brothels was lifted in 2000, making both the buying and selling of sex fully legal. We met with the head of the Amsterdam human trafficking and prostitution unit, a man with an incredible passion for finding victims and hunting down traffickers.

**Harold van Gelder:** Fighting trafficking is not the same as fighting prostitution. Prostitution is one of the branches in our society where, unfortunately, people are exploited by criminals. And that's the main interest of human trafficking - exploitation. So we do have prostitution. And yes, we have a legal framework here in Holland. In my idea, this system is not perfect. But maybe, you could tell me another country in the world where they have a better system. If you walk the red-light district in Amsterdam, there are a lot of police officers who work there. So it's quite normal that the police interviews the people who are working there. It's quite normal that the police can offer their help. If you have to be afraid for the police, like prostitutes do in a lot of countries, then they won't step forward if they need help.

**Narrator:** We visited De Wallen, Amsterdam's most touristy red-light district. The first thing we noticed was the way men treated the women in the windows.

**Saskia Wishart:** They say all kinds of horrible things, you know, calling them whores, rating their bodies, saying that one's fat and that one's skinny. And the girls hear it all. They're standing there and they hear the comparison. They hear the men talking about them. This is the only place in the world where they can get away with speaking like that. In no other environment would that be acceptable. That would be harassment. It would be considered a criminal offense. But in the red-light district, it's totally fine to completely dehumanize and disrespect a woman because she's standing in a window.

**van Gelder:** If you look at the figures, we, approximately, find 1,200 victims of human trafficking on a yearly basis in Holland. One third of them comes from Eastern Europe - and mainly Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria - that's the main. The second group comes from Western Africa - Nigeria, Sierra Leone. And the third group is our domestic Dutch girls who are forced into prostitution on a different method, a “loverboy” method, as you might describe it.

**Eline:** I'm Eline. I'm now 25. I was being groomed by loverboys when I was 18. So he brought me to a big club. I got a drink from him. He asked me, do you know this drink? The next thing I remember, I was naked around with all men and they raped me. And that was my first customer.
It was my 19th birthday. That was the beginning of a new life. If you just do what we want you to do, then we're not going to hurt your family. So I did what he wanted me to do. I gave him money and I had sex with men almost every night. Sometimes, there were just two men, sometimes nine, sometimes more. He forced me into prostitution in the Netherlands, but also in Belgium.

van Gelder: On a yearly basis we do, get, I think 30 arrests every year for traffickers. And it's a wide scale. It's one guy who is forcing his girlfriend to do prostitution, but it's also organizations who work together and have several girls, or several cities, where they are exploiting these girls.

Narrator: A study was conducted to learn more about the Hungarian women that ended up in the red-light district. It found that over half of them came from one impoverished town in Northeastern Hungary.

Wishart: In this research on the women from Hungary, 90 percent of the girls felt that what they had been told about working in Amsterdam, and what was the reality, they did not meet expectations. So they were told something different than what the reality was. Although, all of those girls knew that they were going to enter prostitution, they've been painted a very different picture.

van Gelder: We have achieved some of our goals when we lifted the ban on brothels, in 2000. We wrote down several goals, and we achieved a few of them. But 12 years later, it's still not perfect. So the challenge for us is, within the legal framework, to detect, for instance, victims of human trafficking. Because if I can force you into prostitution, I can also force you to tell a good story to the police if they're coming to investigate.

Narrator: Eline met a man who freed her from her traffickers. About a year later, he proposed and she said yes. On their wedding night, he revealed that he was an auctioneer and that his product was women.

Eline: So I said to him, okay, when do I have to work? Just tell me. He said no, I don't want you to work. You're my wife. Don't be so stupid. But you have to earn money, because in the hospital you don't earn enough. So you have to groom girls. And he told me what to do. He threatened me. He'd lock me up in a closet for 24 hours. And after 24 hours, I would listen to him. I did exactly what he wanted me to do. I was like a robot, like a copy of him. If he was aggressive, I became more aggressive. If he was mad, I was mad. If he was nice, then I was nice. I would lie to the police like he trained me. I would charm the police so he wouldn't get arrested.

Narrator: In an effort to gain a better understanding about the sex industry, we wanted to hear the perspective of someone who had willingly entered prostitution in the Netherlands. We spoke with a former sex worker named Marianne.

Marianne: I was sick and tired of having sex for free. I was living in a sexual liberal climate, and I was very promiscuous. Do know what? I'm not going to listen to all those stories about people’s ex-girlfriends and mothers, and having to wash sheets for myself, and serving breakfast. Just let them pay for that. And I had a great time. And there's a lot of money.
Melissa Farley: If you kind of imagine a triangle in your mind, at the top are a very few women who are not coerced much. Maybe they have the privilege of race, and not so much poverty. And they have friends that can help them get out after the first gang rape. That's, maybe, 2% of everybody in prostitution. The further you go down in this triangle, the more the coercion. On the bottom of the triangle are people who are physically coerced, frankly enslaved, kidnapped, trafficked with brutal mental and physical third-party control. In the middle is about 35% or 40% of everybody in prostitution. This is where the argument rages about choice. These are people who are coerced because of economic desperation. They can't pay the rent next month, their kids are hungry, they need to pay tuition.

Narrator: No matter which side of the legalization debate one falls on, everyone agrees on one fundamental truth. Human trafficking must be stopped.

Marianne: Trafficking should be banned. We all agree. But there is also sex work as labor. Our mayor he says about 80% to 90% are victims of trafficking. We don't know because there's no real counting. Somewhere, behind the windows, you can count them. But there are a lot of people working right now in the private house or in the bedroom or in a hotel, whatever. We don't know. But why should you count? I mean, the only issue is let sex workers get rights, so they can make their own decisions. My point is don't be an abolitionist. Just accept the fact that the sex industry is all over the world.

Narrator: Though Amsterdam has tried to separate sex trafficking from prostitution, they've run into a number of complications. Organized crime has infiltrated the red-light districts and the government has been forced to spend millions of euros on buying up brothels and then turning them into businesses, in an effort to have more control. The government is also trying to implement mandatory registration for everyone in the industry. Considering that almost every other occupation requires registration, this seems reasonable. However, sex workers don't want it, because it strips them of anonymity. And a formal record makes it difficult, or even dangerous, for them to move to another country where prostitution is prohibited. On the flip-side, lack of registration makes it more difficult for the government to spot trafficking victims, who suffer from that very same anonymity. Registering for a regular job does not involve such a dire catch-22, so it's interesting that some people say sex work is just a job.

Just a Job

Andrea Matolcsi: We would have to ask what other job, what other legitimate job, has a panic button in the office as many brothels do - for example, in the Netherlands - because there's such a high risk of violence and attacks from clients. We would have to see what other job has a mortality rate of its employees that's about 10 to 40 times more than the average population.

Max Waltman: There's almost no legal business where the practitioners get post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms just as high as treatment seeking Vietnam veterans from the 70s, or victims of a state organized torture.

Matolcsi: If we were to accept that prostitution is a job, and it's a profession like any other, then we also have to tolerate and accept certain implications. That would mean accepting that an
unemployed individual has to accept a brothel, a job for example, or have their unemployment benefits revoked. We would have to accept that brothel owners, and other operators from the sex industry, can go to high school campuses and college campuses on career day to recruit persons for their jobs.

Wishart: It's the easiest job to get in the Netherlands. You don't have to have an education. All you need is a passport. And you can go and sign up and register at the Chamber of Commerce, the city, and then you can rent a window. But obviously, we know that it's a lot more complicated, behind the scenes, in how that works. But it's the easiest job to get. It's one of the hardest jobs to leave because we know prostitution is not just a job but it's a label, and it's a sense of identity.

Toshia: You will have this insatiable, you know, hunger to want more and more. You feel this surge of power by being in sex work, okay, up until that john beats you, up until you become raped, up until someone puts a gun to your head. Okay. Then, they strip you of your power. And then, all of a sudden, you're paralyzed and you're really taking a good look at yourself, and saying is this money worth it?

Farley: The job of prostitution is sexual harassment. The things that are done to women in prostitution - grabbing, pinching, toxic, sexist, verbal remarks that have lasting and damaging effects - any of those things, if they were done to you or me, we would be able to bring a lawsuit against the perpetrator. For women in prostitution, that's just the job.

Janice Raymond: In other service industries, the people making the product are not the product. As one survivor said to me, you know, people say, well, you know, prostitution is just like McDonald's. You know a woman has to go to work in a place that she doesn't like and where she gets all sorts of guff. Well, I say to that, at least in McDonald's, you're not the meat.

Elle: I had these, just drug habits that were so hard for me to knock the drugs and the alcohol, which was a huge portion of my story. Because I always had to use that in order to get through what, you know, what the task was at hand - having to either dance and take off my clothes, or having to do sexual favors for gentlemen that, you know, they told me I had to do.

Cathy: Then I progressed to cocaine, and that was it right there. That was the drug that just took away everything.

Farley: I spoke to a woman in an upscale brothel in Johannesburg, South Africa, who had been trafficked from Eastern Europe. She was very proud that she was taking good care of her son who is in a very good school. And she told me that he didn't know what she did to make money. And one day, when she was getting ready to go to work, she had her prostitution clothes on. And what had happened is, when anyone goes into the prostitution transaction, there is a shutdown that happens emotionally. The person switches into another part of the self who prostitutes. Her son, unexpectedly, ran downstairs and saw her and was scared. It had nothing to do with the clothes she was wearing. He said to her, Mommy, where are your eyes?
Narrator: Knowing that disassociation is key to exploitation, pimps, themselves, create alternative identities for the girls. They often brand their victims to demonstrate that they are property. In Florida, a pimp recently tattooed his name on a 13-year-old girl’s eyelids. Even Marianne, who entered the sex trade willingly, admits that it can be tough.

Marianne: They should be prepared in working in the sex industry because it's a job but it's not very easy. I mean, you should be a little strong.

Narrator: Ironically, it's the weakest, most vulnerable in society that usually end up in the sex trade. So we looked at the experience of the average person in prostitution, and a number of factors stood out.

Poverty

Rachel Lloyd: Are there were women in the sex industry who as adults - with options, and an education, and financial other options - chose to go into the sex industry? I can concede that yes, there are. Are they representative of millions of women and girls around the world who ended up in the sex industry because of lack of choices, not because of choice? No. I mean, that's such a small contingent. They tend to be a more vocal contingent as when they talk about right, choice, and empowerment, and those kind of things. But that's not true for most women and girls who end up in the sex industry. So we're talking about an industry that preys upon - that makes its money off the backs of folks who are vulnerable.

Narrator: In Switzerland, we met a woman who had been trafficked from Brazil. We'll call her Juliana. She used to work in a restaurant where she barely made enough money to feed her children. One day, a customer started coming into the restaurant. She began slipping her extra money and telling her she was too beautiful to work there.

Juliana: She began to tell me marvelous things of paradise - showed me pictures on her bookcase. She told me about snow and clothes, things I didn't even dream of. She told me about other beautiful things that I would have, at the snap of a finger, and not work in that hot sweaty stress filled life. Do you want a better life? I said yes, I want it. I didn't even ask what I would have to do. So she and her boyfriend took care of getting my passport and tickets, and a man met me at the airport in Europe, who knew all about me. I wondered, how does he know all this? He brought me to a legal brothel. They called it a sauna.

Parentlessness

Lloyd: People have a tendency to think about trafficking in that like snatch you off the streets, hold you at gunpoint, kind of way. And for some of my kids, that's true. More likely, did my young people make a choice? Yeah. But a choice at 14, a choice based on worth - on going back to the group home where they were being sexually abused, going back to their mother’s house where they were witnessing domestic violence, or going to stay with this guy. And so whether people made a choice to be in the sex industry, they made a choice to remove themselves from one harmful situation and go to something that looked like it might be better.
Narrator: Orphans in Eastern European institutions often end up in the sex trade. JK Rowling, whose famous stories involve an orphan named Harry Potter, started an organization called Lumos. Their goal is to restore children's rights by ending institutionalization. We met with her CEO to learn what puts these children at risk for trafficking.

Georgette Mulheir: The trafficker will give them the slightest bit of attention and affection, and they will just do anything for them. They're incredibly emotionally vulnerable. The second reason is because, educationally, children in institutions, in general, don't do very well. So they leave institutions quite often, with very few qualifications - really are going to struggle and be disadvantaged in getting employment. So they're more vulnerable, in that sense, anyway. The third reason, most of us, when we reach the age of 18, and leave home 18 or 19 or 20, we don't really leave home. We come home at Christmas and Easter. We come home at weekend if we've run out of food or whatever, and we want a hot dinner. We come home and Mom provides it for us. This happens for most of us, doesn't it? And that transition to adulthood, it's actually quite gradual. The kids leave the institution, that's it. They've got no one. And then the fourth reason that compounds this is, they do not understand the basic rules of society. So in the institution, although the care - the so-called care - is nowhere near good enough to look after children. What has been provided for them, has been provided for them without them understanding how any of this works. They never get involved in shopping for food, cooking food. They never get involved in actually doing, necessarily, washing, doing their own clothes, etc. They don't know how to buy a bus ticket. They don't know how to get on a bus. And for example, in the Republic of Moldova, a study found that young women who grew up in institutions were 10 times more likely to be trafficked than their peers.

Racism

Toshia: It's a big stumbling block when your child has gone missing, but they won't show her picture on the five o'clock news. It's a big deal that you have to pass her picture around on Facebook on social networking asking, have you seen this child? When maybe, Misty, who could have been a blonde haired, blue eyed beautiful young lady went missing two months ago, and her picture is still up. So you can't help but notice the stark differences that these girls and boys of color are being ignored. So you tell me what that is.

Narrator: In every country we visited, racism played a huge role in prostitution. In the US, black and Hispanic girls were overrepresented. In Canada, it was first nation girls. In Switzerland, there were a surprising number of Brazilians. In the Netherlands, it was Hungarians. In Hungary, it was the Roma community. In Austria, refugees are only allowed three legal occupations. The first is collecting garbage on the streets. The second is selling newspapers at train stations. And the third is prostitution. In Vienna, we drove by the city's convention center late at night, just in time to see traffickers drop off the girls for their shifts. The women were lined up by country on the street, standing in the cold as their traffickers sat in warm cars nearby. Customers would select a woman, and park in the convention center parking garage. Visible minorities everywhere are experiencing horrific exploitation, due to racism.
**Age**

Michael Shively: The typical person who begins selling sex, does so as a child. You know, that's the average starting point. And I'm not just talking about the studies that may be skewed and may be dramatic, like saying that the starting point is 12 years of age. But even the studies that have much more conservative starting points - the surveys of women that sell sex and then asked them, you know, when did they first start doing this? A very high result from a survey is 18. But even 18, that's an average, which means, roughly, that half are younger. So even with a very conservative starting point, you're talking about half are starting as children. That's, by definition, trafficking.

Lloyd: We agree that young people can't choose to have sex under a certain age. They can't choose to drink. They can't choose to drive. They can't vote. They can't go to war. Right? All of those things that we agree young people can't do, but then they can choose to be in the sex industry.

**Child Abuse**

Elle: I never met a single person who wasn't molested as a child, or raped, that was dancing. Every single one of us were taken advantage of as a child.

Harmony Dust: One of my earliest childhood memories was being exposed to pornography by my dad when I was three years old. I was sexually abused throughout my life by multiple people, both men and women, starting at the age of five, and raped as a teen - just sexually broken from the beginning.

Narrator: Despite her brutal childhood, Harmony was determined to get an education. She went to college, but found herself struggling to make ends meet. She became a stripper at age 19, after her college professor reassured her that it was a viable way to make more money. For the next three years Harmony lived a double life as Monique, a dancer in a strip club. Though she ended up being one of the highest paid strippers at the club, her pimp boyfriend took most of her money. Her professor came into the club for his bachelor party.

Dust: Obviously, not everyone who's been sexually abused ends up in the sex industry. But up to 90% of women in the sex industry have been sexually abused. And I think that part of that is because we learn to become familiar with things sexualized and objectified. And we learn to become familiar with this idea that our body is not our own. And sex, for me, was used as a weapon against me. And so then entering sex work, now I have this false sense of empowerment that perhaps I could take back control of what had been exploited. And I could use this weapon, sex, to my advantage.

Narrator: So why is the average woman in prostitution? Well, it's normally a mix of poverty, parentlessness, racism, age, and child abuse. From what we can see, the commercial sex trade seems like a very high-risk industry.
Shively: There are many things that are against the law, where the harm doesn't have to occur. It's just risky behavior. Drunk driving, far more often than we can accept, it goes wrong and people do get hurt. So we've decided that drunk driving, even though probably 90% plus of all the drunk driving events have no harm that you can measure, it's still unacceptable because of the risk it poses to others.

Harm Reduction

van Gelder: If you are now entering a brothel, you can see some amazing things like alarm knots on the wall and near the bed so, if there's a problem, a loud alarm will go off. That raises the safety of the working conditions of the prostitutes.

Matolcsi: A lot of these individuals, though, they want to minimize the harm that people are experiencing in prostitution so that they're going to give them condoms. They're going to help them file a report to the police every time there's a violent client attacking them. They're going to give them clean needles.

Raymond: They'll describe techniques like, never have a pillow on the bed because he might use it to smother you. Always hide something under the bed that you could use if he tries anything that would be violent.

Shively: I think an equivalent is to say we found child labor sweatshops, and the answer to it is to put a fan in the room. You know, it's - they talk about harm reduction. Sure, you can reduce it. You know, if you have excessive heat in a work environment, it's better to be at 98 than 102. But it's still hot, and it's still not okay. And it's still not what people should be doing. It's not the conditions they should be living in.

Matolcsi: And all of these harm reduction efforts are absolutely vital. They're absolutely necessary. But we're going to have to keep doing them on a larger and larger scale. If we don't address the root causes, and if we don't address the demand, we're going to have to put even more effort, even more resources - governments are going to have to put more funding and more staff towards helping the increasing amount of people who are going to be involved in the industry, and who need help - if they don't address the reason that this industry exists in the first place.

Shively: While you can make arguments for some benefits for the people in those systems, the majority of the commercial sex markets remain outside of those legal and regulated systems. So even in parts of Australia, where they have legal brothels, there have been studies that found 80% of the brothels are illegal brothels, you know, where they don't get any of those protections from whatever they may be. The women that insist on condom use make far less money than the ones who don't. The men will pay a premium for unprotected sex.

Cathy: There has been times where you got this certain john that don't want to use one - but you want this money so bad, meaning myself, at this time because of my habit - I did almost anything, sometimes, for it.
Matolcsi: If you speak to people who have been able to accept prostitution, then they will tell you, obviously, they appreciate the work that people do to give them condoms, and to give them needles, and to help them, and to do harm reduction. But they really appreciate and what really makes them feel like a human being and an individual is when someone says, do you want to get out? I think you're worth more than this.

Narrator: During the transatlantic slave trade, some pro-slavery countries wanted to regulate slavery by promoting standards of hygiene on the ships, and by making the voyages shorter so they wouldn't be as hard on the slaves. Some claim that the trade itself was not bad, but had merely been abused.

Farley: If we, in the United States, have gone down that path with slavery, we would never have gotten rid of the institution. Maybe we would have separated out field slaves, who got whipped more, from house slaves that got better quality food. Maybe we would have decided that children in slavery were worth rescuing, but adults were - what? I mean, do you see how the logic of that argument - when you have an abusive institution like slavery or like prostitution, of course, some people are harmed less.

Juliana: To keep up with all the costs, I would meet with around nine to 12 men a day. They would pay 100 to 150 francs, and sometimes, someone would pay 2,000 francs to spend the whole day with me. That was before I came too drugged and sick to work. There was one Brazilian girl that they threw out the window and claimed it was suicide, but I knew it wasn't. We had to live in that world and think it was normal. I lived in fear. I was mistreated by clients who would throw me on the bed and have violent, animal sex with me. I had to be treated for a lot of gynecological problems.

Narrator: Despite being a legal brothel, Juliana was often forced to have sex without a condom. After she escaped, the police visited the sauna and interviewed the remaining girls. All the women said that the owner was great and that they were being treated well. Juliana is currently under police protection in Switzerland, and her mother and her children are in hiding in Brazil. Switzerland's most recent answer to the problem of dangerous conditions within prostitution is drive-in sex boxes. But as prostitution survivor Trisha Baptie says, it's not the location that makes you unsafe. It's the man that you're in that location with that makes you unsafe.

Pimping

Christopher Baughman: I was around 12 years old. I was hanging out with my best friend at his mom's apartment, I guess. You know, in the neighborhood that I grew up in, there wasn't a whole lot of money so it was a, you know, it was pretty much a project. His home was kind of like my home, my home was kind of like his home. This particular Saturday morning, we were hanging out, playing GI Joe and there was like a knock at the door. His mom didn't go open the door. She locked it and told us to be quiet. What happened after that was, the knock kind of became like a pounding. And ultimately, the door got kicked in. And I just remember, we were freaking out. There was no phone in the house to call 911. This guy walks in and he just drags - he just drags - my boy's mom out of the house down the stairs, and just starts to like beat her. And he's kicking her and he's calling her names in the dirt, in the front, kind of in the front yard
area. And we're screaming and we're throwing rocks, and we're doing everything that we can - begging for someone to help. But nobody came.

**Narrator:** As Maslow's hierarchy teaches us, humans have needs that must be met in order to function as healthy individuals. Pimps exploit these needs, and use them to their advantage. In fact, you can buy their training manuals online.

**Lloyd:** You make sure they're physically exhausted. You take away the things that feel comfortable and normal for them. You isolate them from people that might be supportive of them. You try to change their identity in some way. You withhold affection, and use affection or love or reward sparingly, and in a way that is designed to kind of manipulate someone. We train our animals like this, right? And over time, human beings will respond to that level of training.

**Elle:** We always had, what they called, a bodyguard for us. But these men took big time advantage of us girls. You know, they - we had to do sexual favors for them. They made us feel like we were really special all the time, you know? They told us that we were their favorite, and they played mind games on us.

**Shively:** There are profits to be made and drug traffickers are actually diversifying their portfolios. And drug traffickers and gangs are, systematically, getting into human trafficking because the penalties are far less likely to befall them. They're very good at manipulating the people they exploit, so that they are not cooperative with law enforcement. Without their cooperation, it's very difficult to make cases against them. Whereas, if they have a kilo of cocaine in the trunk, and just it being there, you're done. But you can have three human trafficking victims in your back seat and, as long as they're scared or well-trained or are suffering from Stockholm syndrome, they're just people in a car.

**Raymond:** The burden of proof is on the woman. If she wants to claim exploitation, what does she do? She goes to the police. If the prosecutor agrees to take a case, she has to prove she's been forced. She needs evidence of that. Either she has to testify against her exploiter, or she has to have some kind of material evidence that would prove force.

**Elle:** The pimps need to be forced to pay back the moneys when they're caught. They need to pay back the moneys that the girls have given them. I also think that the johns need to be arrested for this. They need to be put in jail for-- it's not fair for us prostitutes to be put in jail, when everybody else goes free. The johns don't get caught. The pimps don't get caught. We're the ones putting our lives out there, on the line every day for the men.

**Las Vegas**

**Narrator:** Contrary to popular belief, prostitution isn't actually legal in Las Vegas. However, it's legal in surrounding areas all over Nevada, creating a prostitution culture in the whole state. Due to its city slogan that draws crowds from all over the world, Las Vegas has developed a booming sex industry.
Toshia: What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas. That tells all. That tells the public, the people, to come on here and do what you want to do, because we're going to keep this a secret. It's all about secrets here in this city. Prostitution - this is our culture. You notice that when you go down on the strip, and you're getting all these pamphlets pushed in your face. You can't even take - a family can't even walk down the sidewalk with their 9, 8-year-old child without some pamphlets being thrust in their face.

Baughman: I recently had an opportunity to speak to about 1,500 students at a high school. About 15 girls came up and said, I go to school here. You know, I go to school every day. I have good grades. I also work after school - so for whatever the purpose is, as well - whether it's to have money or whether it's to help my family. But what I'm dealing with is guys coming to the mall, you know, telling me I could make so much more money if I just left Foot Locker - if I just left, you know, the burger stand that I work at. They're coming at our youth from every direction.

Toshia: And everybody is involved - you have the hotel chains, the concierges, taxi cab drivers. So people come here with a whole mindset of getting into something, adult-like, and leaving the trash here so they can go back to where they come from whole and wholesome.

Baughman: I can't say this enough. It is everybody's kid. It's everyone's daughter. It's not, it's not just a runaway anymore.

Andrea Swanson: Kobe had come into her life. She brightened up. She woke up. She was happy. She looked like her light was going back on. She was wanting to get involved in different things at school. And so we were ecstatic that this boy had come into her life.

Baughman: They're going to come off as everything any parent would ever want their daughter to be with. That's what they come off as. So what - here's what we've seen. Here's what will traditionally happen. They will introduce themselves to that young woman, treat her like gold for however long it takes to make her fall totally in love.

Swanson: He would sign the letters, her husband. You're my wife. Your husband loves you. In the game, you know - talking about some of Hannah's friends who were in the game - words like that, that I had no idea referenced prostitution and pimping.

Baughman: I've seen guys and interviewed people that I've dealt with that have told me - you know, hey, I started to get into this girl's head at 17 when she was still in high school. I waited for her to turn 18 before I took her from her family, because I didn't want to deal with the juvenile - with the additions to the penal code, the juvenile statutes. So for me, I don't mind waiting. I don't mind being patient. What's the difference - 17 or 18? Criminals are becoming more and more intelligent on how they target and when they put girls out.

Swanson: Her clothes had changed. Her hair and nails were being maintained. She wasn't coming home. She was 18 now. I couldn't make her come home anymore. She sent us four pictures of our daughter for us to identify her. And when the fourth picture came over, it was the same picture that popped up on my phone when Hannah's number called my phone. I said, that's Hannah. And she said, well, then we have a problem, because we took those off a back page on
her ad, soliciting. Her pimp had put her there. Her phone records, 2 o'clock in the morning, a call would come in from every state in this country to Kobe's phone. Kobe's phone would call Hannah's phone, and the records show this. Hannah's phone would call Kobe's back and the john would meet Hannah at a hotel. That's how the phone records helped convict Kobe.

**Narrator:** Kobe was arrested in July, and released in December. Shortly after his release, he moved into a motel with Hannah.

**Swanson:** So I flew home from Virginia. And every plane trip to Las Vegas - I don't know how many times you've traveled here but if you are flying into Las Vegas - the plane is full of partiers. And people are hooting and hollering and - we're going to Vegas and we're going to party. And they're drinking already. And that plane trip - home for me, but they were going on vacation - was the worst thing I ever experienced because I knew my daughter was on the street. And I looked down the aisles of that plane and I said, which one of these men will call my daughter tonight? Which one of them, if they knew it was my daughter, would change their mind?

**Baughman:** Come here, have a great time. We've got a lot of wonderful, wonderful things to offer. You know, but understand that if you are considering purchasing a person, you know, for sexual gratification, there is always something else behind that. And I can't tell you the amount of times that some of the victims that have come for help have said - I asked the guy that paid for me to help me, and he wouldn't.

**Normalization**

**Farley:** We compared college aged young men in Nevada with college aged young men elsewhere in the US - in other words, young men who are growing up around legal brothels with young men who didn't. And we found that they were more likely to accept rape myths - the idea that women say no, but they really mean yes. If a woman looks sexy, she's asking for it. There was a greater acceptance of rape myths among the Nevada men, which isn't surprising, given the confirming data that there's a very high actual rate of rape in Nevada.

**Baughman:** When people tell me, you know, about how great the brothels are, and how it's regulated and those things, I just kind of scoff at it - because I already can tell you - I've investigated guys, people, pimps, traffickers, that have put women in brothels.

**Farley:** I have looked at, and been in the middle of, prostitution zones, legal and illegal, in 10 countries on five continents. And the only place I've ever had a gun pointed at my head was inside a Nevada legal brothel, by a man who was used to controlling every aspect of women's lives. There's an atmosphere of predation in the brothels. Many of the women are heavily medicated. We did encounter trafficked women from Romania and Eastern Europe in the Nevada legal brothels. We reported one legal brothel, in northern Nevada, to the FBI because the entire brothel was monolingual Chinese women.

**Narrator:** Nevada isn't the only place where the norm of prostitution leads to exploitation. When prostitution zones were legalized in Budapest, Hungary, girls started calling into helplines saying
that their own fathers and brothers had pushed them into the trade, because now it was legal and the family needed the money.

**Johns**

**Nate Larkin:** In total, over a 12-year span, I spent $300,000 on porn and hookers. I was-- that behavior, I believe, is largely dissociative. I really have to go away from myself to do it, and I was pretty much gone for 12 years. I picked up a girl, thinking that I was being chivalrous, offering her a ride on a rainy afternoon. I didn't know that she was soliciting until she got in the car and propositioned me. And so I paid the 20 bucks and had, you know, very messy, you know, first experience, commercial sex in my car. It was humiliating. It was degrading but, at the same time, there was enough pleasure associated with it. It was enough of an irresistible memory that I went back to it, and that became a pattern for me.

**Cathy:** Where they come from? Everywhere. What they look like? People. Are they nice? Some. Did I have regulars? Yes. And what we call regulars is the steady ones that I would meet on a Tuesday, at a certain time, every week. You become comfortable with that person because you know that person. Can they switch on you? Yes.

**Larkin:** It's certainly not lovemaking, and it's certainly not fulfilling. So for me, it always ended with regret and a promise that that would be the last time.

**Cathy:** You know, they try to make you feel sorry - believe me, my wife left me and I need company, blah, blah, blah. But that's not what they're there for. They're there for a bit of control. I think all johns have a control issue.

**Larkin:** I never wanted to get emotionally involved. I didn't want to know names. I didn't want a continuing relationship. I still was maintaining, in my own mind, this fiction that I was being faithful to my wife in an emotional way - merely taking care of a physical need. It was kind of like getting a haircut. I just needed an awful lot of haircuts. I spent my kid's childhood, spent 20 years in my wife's life, I spent 20 years in my life.

**Narrator:** Some argue that johns are the best people to identify trafficking victims and report traffickers to the police. These men could be called ethical johns - heroes of the night. But how could they tell if a woman was trafficked? And would the average john actually report it?

**Shively:** Many of the women who are, in fact, being trafficked, they have a pimp who tells them that they have a quota. If they don't come home with $500 or $1000, whatever the quota is, they're going to get beat up. They're not going to eat. They're going to sleep in the car, rather than the hotel rooms. All kinds of ways that they can get coerced into coming back with the money. The women generally present themselves to the john as if it's voluntary, other than a few, very rare, sadistic johns that may get off on the fact that someone was forced into it, if he was a true sadist. Other than that, and the research suggests they're very rare, most men are buying sex with a fantasy in their head.
Larkin: I became aware of trafficking late during my period of active addiction, shortly before I entered recovery. By this time, I had learned that a lot of massage parlors were fronts for prostitution, and that there was really no pretense that there was a massage parlor. Just walk in, state what you want, you got the girl. And I didn't know, at that point, how those girls had made their way to America. I didn't know the terms under which they were being kept. I didn't understand that they were working to pay back an enormous debt. I didn't know that they were moved from location to location, even though, as I would go back to patronize the same place, there would be different faces. But it did start to dawn on me that there were forces behind the girls. At that point, I'm sad to say, at that point in my sickness and just the craziness of my behavior, that was not enough to deter me.

John School

Narrator: A john school is an educational program for sex buyers who've been caught for the first time. Instead of giving a criminal record, they can choose to pay for a one day program where they will be informed about the negative consequences of their actions - like the health risks and the realities of people in prostitution.

Bill Margolis: We've had over 850 men attend the program to date, and we've had only four re-offenders. The program is totally funded by the arrestees themselves. Some of the proceeds that are derived, from the arrestees, go to help women's programs around Los Angeles.

Shively: We looked at the costs of doing a john school, and found that the city can recover its cost for the john school with six to nine guys in a class - depending on how you count the cost. They would run 50 men at a time through it. So they are netting a lot of revenue from the men that they were using for survivor programs, and to help reimburse the city for what it takes to process them and what it takes to arrest them.

Margolis: You know, we get a full gamut of men that come through, whether it's the 18-year-old Hispanic that might be working as a bus boy, or to the 65-year-old CEO of a company. And we bring up our guest speakers who are from sex addicts anonymous. And we usually have two gentlemen that come in. They talk and give their story, which is very powerful. You could hear a pin drop in that room and a lot of guys were tearing up.

Craig Gross: This is a real issue that people are going through - just like drug addiction - just like any other addiction. Oftentimes, most people around you aren't aware of what you're going through, so it's even easier - it's even harder to stop. You know, if I smoke and I'm addicted to cigarettes, everybody in my family knows because they could smell it on me where, with this one, you can hide it. But eventually, it's going to come out. And eventually, most addicts wait until they get caught.

Margolis: I find it very interesting that, after that 45-minute session with our guest speakers, I'm going to say about a third of the men come back into the classroom and pick up the literature for sex addicts anonymous.
Gross: Then one of the signs of addictions is that you can't stop and that you're no longer in control. And so when this is controlling you, you're in trouble.

Margolis: This young man came up to me with tears in his eyes. He could barely speak English and he said, Detective Margolis, I want to tell you I have a newborn baby at home. It’s about six months old and I've been married for a year and a half. And me and my wife, we have problems and I didn't know what the problems are. But he looked at me and he had tears running down his eyes. He says - I think I have a sexual addiction problem and I'm going to go get some help for it because I care so much about my wife and my baby. But I could never figure out what was wrong with me.

Economics 101

Narrator: Most anti-trafficking efforts focus on restricting supply. There's some incredible work being done to reduce the vulnerabilities within high-risk communities. This often takes the form of awareness programs and job creation, and both are vital. But if restricting supply is the sole focus, we run into problems.

Shively: The one thing we know about markets, for drugs or chickens or human beings to be exploited, is that, if demand is strong, the traffickers are going to innovate. It could be that we have success with vulnerable kids in malls and bus stops. Maybe we would get really good at identifying them and getting them out of there before they fall prey to traffickers. They're going to find someone else if there's profit to be made. And that's what points to the solution, which is demand. You know, demand drives the market. It's the revenue stream for human trafficking.

Narrator: So the question is, how do we dry out the market?

Eric Neumayer: We tried to find out whether the legalization of prostitution is likely to increase or decrease inward flows of international human trafficking. It's very simple and it makes intuitive sense. If something is illegal, you're less likely to demand it because there's always the risk of being prosecuted. So all other things equal. Once you legalize it, there will be more demand and supply of it. What we did is we took other important explanatory factors into account, to make sure that our variable that captures the legalized status of prostitution doesn't simply pick up other factors, which have nothing to do with it.

Narrator: After conducting a thorough empirical analysis for a cross-section of 150 countries, Neumayer and his team found that, on average, legalized prostitution increases human trafficking inflows.

Neumayer: In Germany, after the additional legalization of the prostitution market, there seemed to be a further increase in reported inflows, which sort of supports the quantitative analysis from the global sample.

Narrator: In the 1980s, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania was part of a pimp circuit, or as we would call it today, a domestic human trafficking network. It went through Pennsylvania and into upstate New York, and the women would be transferred from city to city to city. Wilkes-Barre
police spent decades going after the women and the pimps, but nothing ever changed. In the late 80s, they started to address demand. In a town of 50,000 people they would arrest 50 to 100 johns on a weekend, and then they'd publish their names in the local newspaper. Within two years, traffickers took Wilkes-Barre off the pimp's circuit. The market had dried up. It seems obvious that we need to address demand. But at the same time, we don't want to make the supply side illegal because the overwhelming majority of the women are victims, not criminals. It's almost as if we need a third way.

Sweden

Raymond: Once upon a time, Sweden was the poster country for sexual liberalism. Basically, Sweden was a country in which, it was perceived at least, that anything goes sexually in the country. The Swedes were loose about pornography. They were loose about prostitution. They were loose about anything that had sex in the title.

Narrator: But then things changed. Anchored in the cultural value of gender equality, parliament introduced a law that became known as the Nordic model. They decided to criminalize the purchase of sex while, at the same time, decriminalize the selling of sex. In essence, they decided to go after johns, while helping women get out of the trade. At first, people were resistant to the idea because no one had ever tried it before.

Patrik Cederlöf: The background of the Swedish sex purchase legislation was more a discussion about gender equality, men's violence against women. So the first years, I mean, I started to work in '98 with these issues. And at first, when you were going abroad to an international conference or something like that, and you were - people were asking about the Swedish model or you started to talk about the Swedish model - people was, not every time but many times, they were laughing and said you're stupid. You're crazy in Sweden. But 2002, when we put a light on human trafficking, we could also, pretty far, see that this Swedish legislation is a very good tool to fight human trafficking. And since then, I think it's easier, also, to discuss the Swedish model.

Neumayer: It became clear from comparing Sweden to Denmark - so Sweden now prohibited, Denmark now legalized - that the reported inflows of human trafficking were far larger in Denmark than in Sweden, despite Sweden having a larger population size than Denmark.

Waltman: Several other effects are related to do passing a law as well. The public attitudes - there are many more people, now, favorable to the law. The percentage is around 70% of the total population is favorable to the law. Whereas, before the law was passed, I think the number were around 40%. So then it was a large minority only favored the law. Now there is a large majority. And also it has caused public authorities to be more favorable to people in prostitution who want to escape.

Cederlöf: We can even hear that the organizers are discussing these - especially when they have wiretapping the telephones in the case - they already say that it's too difficult to run these kind of businesses in Sweden. I think we have to choose something else.
Waltman: Purchaser wants to avoid every situation where they might get caught and the pimps know this, so it gets more expensive for the pimps to deal with all these issues. They have to have more apartments. They have to pay more rent, pay other people, in order to get this business working.

Raymond: Law is not just penal, it's also normative. It says what a country thinks about itself in this realm. So that if a country legislates against the buying of women, it says this buying will not be tolerated in a country that, indeed, wants to promote gender equality.

Narrator: Pro-prostitution groups suggest that going after demand will simply drive prostitution underground.

Waltman: Prostitution never really is underground, or clandestine, because it's in the nature of the business having to advertise and make itself visible for starting a new group called clients. So it's an oxymoron to talk about underground prostitution.

Narrator: Others have pointed out that if buying sex is criminalized in one place, it will just spring up somewhere else - like a game of whack-a-mole. While this is certainly a possibility, we need to take a look at the 80/20 rule. If buying sex was legal in my hometown, it would be easy to hop up for a quick visit to a brothel. But if sex is illegal, it's a lot harder to hop on a plane, fly to another country, pay for sex, and then come home and explain the bill to my family. It's time and cost prohibitive. Yes, there are always going to be men who are willing to pay for sex, but a significant portion of demand dries up when men are held to account. And who's to say that we can't implement demand reduction laws in every country in the world.

Raymond: Within the spate of 10 years in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the UK also and now possibly in France, that the tide has turned against legalization, and that countries are actually launching legislation that says legalization is not the answer, and that we definitely have to do something about our prostitution problem, about our sex industry problem. And that we have to face the issue of what do we do with the buyers, legally. This is a big tide that's turned. And I am very optimistic.

Narrator: Sweden still has plenty of room for improvement. Exit programs can still be strengthened. And giving women a legal venue to sue clients and traffickers would work wonders. But based on the body of evidence, it's quite clear that legalizing prostitution creates an increase in demand for paid sex. And it far exceeds the number of willing workers, at which point traffickers bring people into the trade. Here's what it comes down to. Commercial sex is the end destination for all sex trafficking victims. Therefore, we can't legalize demand, the economic engine that drives the trade in the first place. We do, however, see a flaw in making prostitution fully illegal. Women are seen as criminals. And the research shows that the average person engaged in prostitution is likely there because of force, fraud, coercion, and economic necessity and therefore should not be treated as criminals but as victims of circumstance. Maybe we should consider the benefits of decriminalizing those who are selling sex, providing them with support and services, while at the same time criminalizing and enforcing action against anyone who would attempt to purchase another human being.
van Gelder: I've been to Sweden. I spoke on the Congress and felt that is really a difficult, different view from society to gender equality. And you can find that in several moments in your life in Sweden, for instance. If you compared the possibilities for a guy after being a father before he starts to work, there's a lot of time off and financial compensation to be a father and with your child. And in Holland, it's less. And the fact that they see prostitution and really believe that prostitution is a sex crime against women. Buying sex is something that Swedes - 70% of the people there know that. So it's a different approach. And I think if I as a Dutchman would point out one of our values is that freedom. We don't want the government to interfere too much in our society.

Shared Freedom

Narrator: Freedom and rights are strong cultural values in many countries. One could argue that, in a free world, a person should have the right to purchase another person's body. Ideally, we should be able to do whatever we want to do. But there are limitations to freedom. For example, my right to kill ends with everyone else's right to life. This also means that your right to buy another person's body ends with everyone else's right not to be trafficked. This is about proportional rights. If we legalize the purchase of sex, people are forced into prostitution to meet the demand. This is about democracy, the good of society as a whole. We have one freedom, and it's a shared freedom. If you live on a deserted island, you have the right to eat all the food and cut down all the trees. But what happens when there's one other person on that island? Suddenly, your sole freedom becomes your shared freedom. You no longer have the right to eat all the food, because the other person will starve. You can't cut down all the trees, because the island will erode into the ocean. We practice this principle in society all the time. You can't drive through a school zone at any speed you please. You can't cut down a tree on your property if it's going to land on your neighbor's house. You can't drive drunk. We have one freedom. And we need to start sharing it equally.

Real Freedom

Larkin: Well, I'm so grateful, first of all, that I was caught by my wife. And that gave me the gift of desperation. It gave me the motivation I needed to get help to get into recovery and to start to get honest.

Dust: I was standing in the middle of the strip club. And it hit me that I had been created with a purpose. And I looked around. And I said, this can't be it. This cannot be what I was put on this planet to do. You are loved. And you are valued. And you are purposed. And I believe that if you were to quiet your heart and just let that sit in your heart that you would have a stirring in you and know that that's true, that you are meant for more.

Larkin: And it was there I found that the release, the freedom from this compulsion, something I'd never been able to attain and hang on to on my own, was only available if I was willing to be honest with other people. I was going to have to enlist the help of other people. As I became willing to do that, pushed, really, by desperation, I found over time that the miracle did happen, that the obsession did lift, that freedom did come. I'm not immune to lust. And the desire still comes from time to time. That's why I protect myself with boundaries and brothers. And there
are places I don't go anymore. And I don't travel alone any longer. I don't stay in hotel rooms by myself anymore. I take practical measures like that so that if I am tempted again in a vulnerable moment, I've got some safety rails to keep me from going over the edge.

**Dust:** As men take a stand and make a decision to get free and to not participate in the commercial sex industry, it's going to lead to freedom for the women, because not only are we now going to have men who are going against the grain and saying that we are going to shatter cultural norms. And we're going to make a decision to not be okay with sexualizing and objectifying women, but seeing them as real people with real purpose and value and treat them differently. That's going to change the culture.

**Larkin:** Now I understand that I really do need real relationships, not commercial relationships. You can't hire friends. You can't purchase love. Now that I'm not settling any longer for artificial intimacy, I'm able to experience real love. There is freedom. You're just not going to find it on your own. You're going to have to sacrifice your pride to get free.

**Can't Be Bought**

**Cathy:** I was facing penitentiary time. So the judge that knew me well and was really, really tired of me gave me one more chance in life. And he court committed me to a program which is called the Mary Magdalene Project for Prostitution. And that is what saved my life today.

**Toshia:** I survived for a reason. So saving these young ladies has been my life's mission. And if I save one I can sleep at night.

**Elle:** I've become a much stronger person for my struggles that I went through. And I don't feel any longer like I'm a victim. I now feel like I'm a survivor.

**Eline:** Then she said tomorrow, we'll be into safety. And I said, yeah, right, of course. But she kept her promise. I became myself for the first time in so many years. And I always said to her, if I can help, I will come back to the Foundation. I can give help to the girl, because I really understand the girls. So now I'm working every day in the Foundation to help.

**Cathy:** Your body's a temple. My body is a straight temple. I can't be bought anymore.

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