

Further information supporting Amanda Quick's oral evidence to the Criminal Justice Committee on Wednesday 8 October 2025

Following on from Amanda Quick's oral evidence to the Criminal Justice Committee on Wednesday 8 October 2025, we provide further evidence to back up claims she made during her evidence and in response to claims made by others.

1. The connections between men buying sex and VAWG and child sexual abuse in wider society.

Studies of men who buy sex (punters) show that they are significantly more likely than other men to rape and engage in all forms of violence against women. A [US study](#)¹ found that punters were nearly **eight times** more likely to rape than other men.

A [UN study](#)² in six countries found that buying sex was the second most significant common factor in the backgrounds and lifestyles of men found guilty of rape.

Another [study of men in five countries](#)³ reports that:

“Men who pay for sex are more likely to perpetrate sexual violence. In all five countries, men who reported ever using the services of sex workers were more likely to report sexual violence perpetration compared to men who had never paid for sex.”

[Research](#)⁴ has long found that violence against women is associated with men believing they are superior and **entitled** to sexual access to women. So it's not hard to see why buying sex makes men more prone to violence when we think about the reality of prostitution.

This is how one London punter described it when he was interviewed for a [2012 study](#):⁵

“Look, men pay for women because he can have whatever and whoever he wants. Lots of men go to prostitutes so they can do things to them that real women would not put up with.”

In the same study, nearly half of the men interviewed believed that once they had paid, they were entitled to do pretty much whatever they wanted to her – regardless what she wants. They held this belief, even while acknowledging that the encounter was damaging to her and

¹ <http://prostitutionresearch.com/comparing-sex-buyers-and-non-sex-buyers/>

² <http://www.svri.org/sites/default/files/attachments/2016-07-19/RBAP-Gender-2013-P4P-VAW-Report-Summary.pdf>

³ <https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/The-Making-Of-Sexual-Violence-June-2014-WEB-PREVIEW.pdf>

⁴

http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Michael_Flood/publication/24345795_Factors_Influencing_Attitudes_to_Violence_Against_Women/links/09e41502d7be455aa5000000/Factors-Influencing-Attitudes-to-Violence-Against-Women.pdf

⁵ <http://i4.cmsfiles.com/eaves/2012/04/MenWhoBuySex-89396b.pdf>

that she was probably pimped and coerced. This shows they have little or no empathy for the women involved.

The implications of this for all women and girls are chilling.

It follows that anything that increases the amount of prostitution that takes place – both in terms of the numbers of punters and the frequency with which they turn to prostitution – will lead to an increase in the amount of male violence in the wider community.

For more on this and references to further research, see <https://nordicmodelnow.org/facts-about-prostitution/fact-buying-sex-makes-men-more-prone-to-violence-against-women/>

2. The claim that the Nordic Model “pushes prostitution underground”

We are in touch with a Swedish organisation called Intedinhora, which is made up of women in Sweden who have experience of prostitution and who strongly support the Swedish Nordic Model law. When we put the claim that the Nordic Model pushes prostitution underground to Lea, their representative, she responded by asking whether there is anywhere in the world where punters want to have sex in the open.

She said, “The law makes little difference in this regard because they don’t want their wife, girlfriend or employer to find out and anyway most people want to have sex in private. The fact that the meeting in some countries takes place in public areas doesn’t mean that the selling part is safer. Women get killed every year in those small cubicles in the red-light district in Amsterdam. And in Sweden we haven’t yet had one reported murder of a person in prostitution by a john since the sex buyer law was established in 1999.”

For more about Intedinhora, see: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2020/12/28/swedish-sex-trade-survivor-group-backs-international-campaign-for-the-nordic-model/>

Switzerland provides further evidence that counters the myth that the Nordic Model would drive prostitution underground. During the Covid lockdown period, buying sex was prohibited. Government backed data demonstrates that there was **no decrease in trafficking referrals, victim identification, or victim assistance** during this period – which would not be true if the ban had pushed it underground. Furthermore a 2022 study, which alleged increased vulnerability of prostituted women, in fact proved the opposite. They found no increase in violence, although the usual pressure for unprotected sex persisted – a problem that has existed for decades, as Amanda testified.

For more information about this and full references see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2025/08/01/whats-really-happening-in-switzerland-a-case-study-in-regulated-prostitution/>

The argument that the Nordic Model pushes prostitution underground is also countered by the fact that in countries that have legalised prostitution and that require registration (such as Germany), the majority of women involved in prostitution are not registered – meaning that they are operating “underground” of the legalised system. There are many reasons that

women do not want to be registered and identifiable in this and similar ways. We discuss the reasons for this in the following document: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/Myths-and-misinformation-about-the-Nordic-Model-Final.pdf>

For an article by a former receptionist in a legal brothel in Melbourne, Australia, see: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2018/07/01/working-as-a-receptionist-in-a-legal-brothel-prostitution-is-anything-but-a-normal-job/>

3. European Court of Human Rights judgement (M.A. and Others v. France)

The European Court of Human Rights examined the Nordic Model in France in response to a claim brought by a group of “sex workers” who claimed that it had made it more dangerous. The Court unanimously ruled that the Nordic Model did not violate human rights and that the alleged negative effects (such as violence) of the Nordic Model law were present **before** it was introduced and that these negative effects are likely to be inherent to prostitution itself rather than connected with the Nordic Model legislation.

Here is an extract from the judgement:

[https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:\[%22002-14363%22\]}](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-14363%22]})

In response to claims that studies in Northern Ireland and France proved the Nordic Model made it more dangerous, we have already sent evidence that shows that these studies had many flaws. We have repeated this evidence in an appendix to this document.

4. Comparison of men’s general behaviour in Sweden and Germany

Amanda mentioned a study carried out by a Hungarian woman comparing men’s general behaviour towards women in Germany and Sweden. This was an error and in fact we only have anecdotal evidence about this.

In an interview about prostitution in Germany, Manuela Schon, a German sociologist, talked about this.

“We can see also how [our legal prostitution system] affects every woman in [Germany]. If I compare going to a bar in Germany with going to one in Sweden, there is a huge difference. If I go to a bar in Sweden, I can stay there with my friends all night, without being harassed. Nobody comes over and sits at our table without asking. But if I go to a bar in Germany, men are totally annoying. They sit at your table without being invited and talk to you without asking if you are interested. And women in Germany tend to see that as normal.

They don’t understand that it doesn’t happen everywhere. There’s a lot of talk along the lines of, “Yes we have a problem, we are sexually harassed by men, but we’re happy that prostitution exists so we don’t have to have sex with them because they can go to brothels.” I have heard that so many times.”

You can read the complete interview here: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2017/12/17/the-increasing-monopolisation-of-the-sex-industry-in-germany/>

5. The rise of child-on-child sexual abuse

Police data shows that 52% of alleged child sexual abuse offenders in England and Wales are now minors – a situation recognised to be exacerbated by ‘accessibility of violent porn’.

More on this here: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2024/jan/10/children-now-biggest-perpetrators-of-sexual-abuse-against-children>

6. Reduction in demand and trafficking

In 2019, Luba Fein, an Israeli researcher, conducted a review of the key research that had been undertaken on the results of the Nordic Model in the countries in which it had been implemented. She said:

*“All of the studies showed evidence of a **significant reduction in men’s demand for prostitution**. Although accurate estimates of the size of the population engaged in prostitution are difficult, the evidence suggests a reduction in the numbers involved over the medium and long term. Where the sex purchase ban is enforced, the sex trade becomes less viable and this discourages sex trafficking and pimping. One researcher went as far as to suggest that the sex purchase ban might be more effective in combating pimps and sex traffickers than laws that target them directly.*

While there is no clear evidence that the police are violent towards those engaged in prostitution, they do tend to target undocumented migrants and report them to the immigration authorities for potential deportation. Clearly this is unacceptable and states need to provide better support and assistance to foreign nationals who have been used and abused in the sex trade within their territory.

*All the studies indicate a very high rate of violence towards the people in prostitution, but **there is no definitive evidence of any actual increase due to the sex purchase ban**. Similarly claims that the sex purchase ban has driven prostitution underground and made it more dangerous are not supported by the research. Rather the evidence underlines the fact that prostitution is **always** dangerous.”*

Read more: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2019/12/22/has-the-nordic-model-worked-what-does-the-research-say/>

7. What would deter men from buying sex?

A [study of 110 men who buy sex in Scotland](#) found that the vast majority of sex buyers would be deterred from buying sex if they risked being caught and prosecuted and/or it becoming public, as the following chart from the study shows:

Table 5
What Would Deter Men From Buying Sex

Potential Deterrent	Percent of men who said they would be deterred
Being added to a sex offender registry	89
Having your picture and/or name on a billboard	86
Having your picture and/or name in the local newspaper	84
Having to spend time in jail	79
Having your picture and/or name posted on the Internet	78
A letter being sent to your family saying you were arrested for soliciting a woman in prostitution	77
Greater criminal penalty	72
Having your car impounded	70
Higher monetary fine	69
Required to attend an educational program for men who buy prostitutes	56

Other research has confirmed this. For example:

<https://i1.cmsfiles.com/eaves/2012/04/MenWhoBuySex-89396b.pdf>

8. Stigma and the power imbalance in prostitution

Research, such as that mentioned above, has shown that what would deter buyers most, and therefore be most effective in reducing demand for prostitution, is any kind of publicity. The prostitution industry goes to great lengths to protect sex buyers' anonymity. It is buyers and those who profit from the sexual exploitation of others who are most invested in maintaining the stigmatisation of prostituted women – because this increases the power imbalance between sex buyers and prostituted women. This does not change when prostitution is legalised or decriminalised. Introducing the Nordic Model would go some way to redressing this balance.

For more on this, see: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2025/04/10/why-is-the-sex-buyer-invisible/>

9. The economic and social costs of prostitution – to both individuals and society

In considering the financial costs of implementing the Nordic Model, it is imperative that the costs of NOT implementing it and allowing the industry to thrive is taken into account. The Scottish Government must take into account the costs of a thriving sex industry to the individuals who are directly involved and to society as a whole. These costs are likely to reduce under the Nordic Model over time, as they did in [Ipswich](#)⁶ – meaning that the Nordic Model represents sound economic investment.

For more on this, please see the Nordic Model Now! report: [The Social & Economic Costs of Prostitution & Other Forms of Sexual Exploitation: The Case for Investing in Equality](#).⁷ This is available as a free download and printed copies are available to buy in our website shop.

⁶ <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2017/11/14/how-a-nordic-model-approach-to-tackling-prostitution-was-implemented-in-ipswich/>

⁷ <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2025/02/11/the-social-economic-costs-of-prostitution/>

10. Barriers to exiting.

For more on why women often struggle to leave prostitution, see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/facts-about-prostitution/fact-women-often-struggle-to-leave-prostitution/>

For more on how counsellors, therapists, and medical and caring professionals can inadvertently create barriers to women exiting by their conviction that prostitution is a free choice and the use of the “sex work” terminology, which normalises prostitution, see:

<https://www.bacp.co.uk/bacp-journals/university-and-college-counselling/2022/march/working-with-students-involved-in-the-sex-industry/>

11. Trauma in prostitution.

We recommend this article by Dr Tal Croitoru, a trauma therapist, about her work with people who’ve experienced prostitution:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2019/05/21/an-emdr-therapist-on-what-shes-learned-working-with-people-whove-experienced-prostitution/>

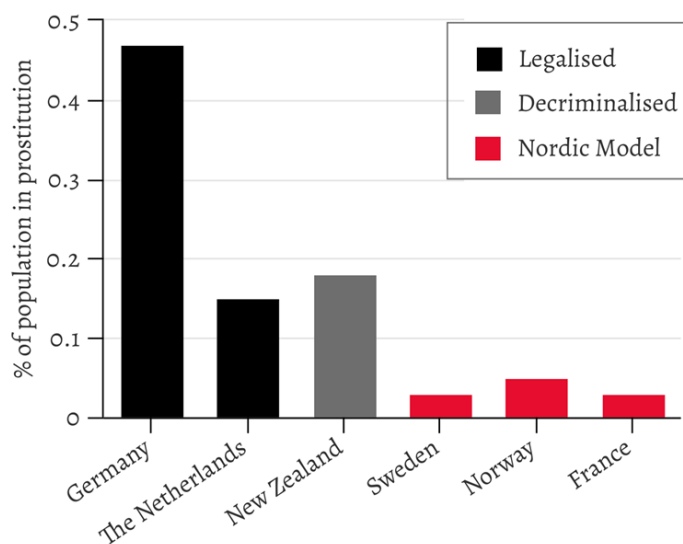
12. Violence in prostitution

For a summary of several research studies, see: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/facts-about-prostitution/fact-prostitution-is-inherently-violent/>

13. Reduction in the numbers of women involved in prostitution

Publicly available data strongly suggests that a far smaller percentage of the population is involved in prostitution in the Nordic Model countries of France, Sweden and Norway than in fully decriminalised New Zealand and legalised Germany and the Netherlands, as shown in the following chart.

For full references, see: <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2025/08/10/the-nordic-model-vs-full-decriminalisation/>



14. Bias in research

Universities and research bodies in the UK are now dominated by the “sex work is real work” ideology and students and academics report difficulty in getting approval and/or funding for research that takes a neutral or opposite approach. We suspect that this is also true in many other countries. The number of highly publicised research studies that conclude that the Nordic Model approach is a failure and full decriminalisation a success would tend to back this up.

Many of these studies are of very poor quality and often the study data does not back up the headline claims – but they are used repeatedly to justify fully decriminalising the industry.

Here are some examples:

(a) Rape. A study, published in the [Journal of Law and Economics](#),⁸ claimed that liberal prostitution laws reduce the incidence of rape. This was reported widely in the media and in response loud voices demanded the decriminalisation of prostitution. Esther, a prostitution survivor, [wrote a response](#)⁹ showing that the study was based on a multitude of flawed assumptions and misleading analysis of the data.

A data scientist who wishes to remain anonymous subsequently investigated the statistical analysis of the study and found many serious issues that call its validity into further doubt. After trying, but failing, to get the journal editor to investigate the concerns, they approached Retraction Watch, which has now [published a report](#).¹⁰ Unfortunately this has had much less publicity than the original flawed study.

(b) New Zealand. Sex industry lobbyists all over the world claim that New Zealand’s fully decriminalised prostitution system is safer for “sex workers” and strengthens their human rights, using the NZ government’s official reports and assessments to back this up. However, a data scientist has now carefully examined the hundreds of pages of those official reports and assessments and has found that in fact the data shows that decriminalising prostitution has been an utter failure. You can read [Smith’s analysis here](#).¹¹ Also, see our [infographics](#)¹² that summarise Smith’s findings.

For a discussion with a woman who was involved in prostitution in New Zealand under its full decriminalisation law, about the actual impact of the law, see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2022/11/17/on-decrim-chelsea-geddes-on-new-zealands-decriminalised-prostitution-system/>

⁸ <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/720583>

⁹ <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2023/03/22/do-prostitution-laws-in-europe-affect-the-incidence-of-rape-analysis-of-a-recent-study/>

¹⁰ <https://retractionwatch.com/2023/06/26/editor-wont-investigate-data-concerns-about-paper-linking-anti-prostitution-laws-to-increased-rape/>

¹¹ <https://nordicmodelnow.org/2023/09/25/what-really-happened-in-new-zealand-after-prostitution-was-decriminalised/>

¹² <https://nordicmodelnow.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/What-REALLY-happened-in-NZ-after-prostitution-was-decriminalised-Infographics.pdf>

(c) Norway. A 2016 study by Amnesty International into the operation of the Nordic Model in Norway is still frequently cited to prove that the Nordic Model is a failure. Our [review of this study](#)¹³ shows that the research was biased and of poor quality, and that there is no justification for using it to claim that the “Nordic Model doesn’t work” or that the “Nordic Model endangers women in prostitution.”

For our response to Amnesty’s prostitution policy, see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2016/05/28/response-to-amnestys-prostitution-policy/>

(d) The WHO. The WHO (World Health Organisation) recommends that countries fully decriminalise “sex work” because, they claim, this reduces the spread of HIV. However, investigation shows the modelling studies on which this recommendation is based are flawed; the Nordic Model is incorrectly conflated with prohibition; and the recommendation ignores other health risks of prostitution and the negative impact of full decriminalisation on the status and safety of women and girls. For more on this, see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/myths-about-prostitution/myth-the-nordic-model-hinders-the-global-fight-against-hiv/>

(e) LSE Policy Brief. *Bending reality to match ideology: A critique of ‘Criminalising the Sex Buyer: Experiences from the Nordic Region’* claims that the Nordic Model *de facto* criminalises selling sex and increases economic marginalisation. It is frequently used to justify full decriminalisation. For a data scientist’s thorough debunking of this study, see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2024/02/15/bending-reality-to-match-ideology-a-critique-of-criminalising-the-sex-buyer-experiences-from-the-nordic-region/>

More information. For more about how British and many international institutions have been captured by the sex industry lobbyists, see:

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2024/01/27/how-the-british-establishment-was-captured-by-sex-work-lobbyists/>

¹³ <https://nordicmodelnow.org/myths-about-prostitution/myth-amnestys-research-in-norway-has-proved-the-nordic-model-is-harmful-to-sex-workers/>

Appendix

This appendix provides information that has already been sent to the clerk of the committee.

Response to the study quoted on Northern Ireland.

Here is a link to our analysis of the official study on the results of the Nordic Model in Northern Ireland. We show that the study does **not** provide evidence that the Nordic Model in Northern Ireland “is a total failure” or that it has led to a “dramatic rise in attacks on sex workers” as has often been claimed. Rather the research findings indicate that there has been an utter lack of official commitment to the funding and prioritisation of prosecuting sex buyers and providing specialist services to help people exit prostitution. And yet even so, the study shows that there has been a significant decline in the numbers of prostitution buyers.

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2019/11/21/response-to-the-queens-university-belfast-review-of-the-operation-of-northern-irelands-sex-buyer-law/>

A few years later, a data scientist we work with, did a further analysis on the study and the data it is based on and found that there was in fact a measurable reduction in the scale of the sex industry (as measured by decreased advertising, decreased numbers of people being advertised for commercial sex online, and a decrease in the number of people in street prostitution) in Northern Ireland after the Nordic Model Model was implemented. It also refutes claims of violence in the aftermath of the Nordic Model and contextualized these claims within broader crime trends.

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2024/01/16/a-reanalysis-of-the-equality-model-in-northern-ireland/>

Response to the claims that the Médecins du Monde study into the Nordic Model law in France proved an increase in violence.

There has been serious critique of the Médecins du Monde study in France. Nordic Model Now! obtained permission to publish an English translation of a response made by Amicale du Nid, a French NGO that provides services to women involved in prostitution.

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/2021/01/02/critique-of-the-medecins-du-monde-study-into-the-nordic-model-law-in-france/>

Response to general claims of the Nordic Model making prostitution more dangerous.

To test the claim that the Nordic Model is more dangerous for “sex workers” than full decriminalisation, the data scientist mentioned above looked in detail at the homicide data for women involved in prostitution whose murders were related to their prostitution. This data is collected and collated by German social scientists who run the [Sex Industry Kills project](https://sexindustrykills.de/).¹⁴ If the claim were true that the Nordic Model is more dangerous than decriminalisation, we

¹⁴ <https://sexindustrykills.de/>

would expect to see higher rates of homicide of women involved in prostitution in countries that have implemented the Nordic Model and lower rates in countries that have implemented full decriminalisation – or legalisation, which is similar. **In fact the data shows the exact opposite.**

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/myths-about-prostitution/myth-the-nordic-model-is-more-dangerous-for-sex-workers-than-decriminalisation/>

Quotes from sex buyers' reviews about women they have paid to use sexually.

<https://nordicmodelnow.org/myths-about-prostitution/myth-punters-care-about-the-women-they-buy/>