

The practices of male “clients” of prostitution: influences and orientations for social work.

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Introduction

We cannot understand what is at risk in the heterosexual rapport with prostitution without questioning the demand for prostitution, men’s motivations and asking ourselves about *what is bought*. This article analyses some research results found in Sweden and in other Scandinavian countries about the clients of prostitutes. I will also compare these results with studies done in other countries. The demand for prostitutes should be approached in a global manner. Therefore, we cannot limit ourselves only to the research done in Sweden. Indeed, the observations made in other Scandinavian research allow us to understand the role of men in prostitution in a more general way. Four main questions are asked here: (1) Who are the men looking for prostitutes? (2) What are their motivations? (3) How to interpret these motivations in the context of the change in sexual social rapport? And (4) how these masculine practices in prostitution can affect social work?

Who are the men looking for prostitutes?

We know that not all men buy sex. The reasons which bring men to buy sex vary greatly from one country to another or from one culture to another. The following table is based on diverse studies on the sexual habits in several European countries and in the United States between 1989 and 1999.

Table 1. *The proportion of men in different countries who buy sex at one time or another in their lives.*

Country	Percentage	Statistical base (N)	Year	Source
Finland	13	624	1999	Haavio-Mannila & Rotkirch, 2000
Norway	11	1 617	1992	Leridon et al, 1998
Sweden	13	1 475	1996	Lewin et al, 1998
Great Britain	7	7 941	1991	Wellings et al., 1993
Netherlands	14	392	1989	Leridon et al, 1998
Switzerland	19	1 260	1992	Leridon et al, 1998
Spain	39	409	1992	Leridon et al, 1998
Russia*	10	870	1996	Haavio-Mannila & Rotkirch, 2000
United States	16	1 709	1992	Michael et al, 1994

* The Russian statistics only concern the city of Saint Petersburg.

This table shows that Spanish men are the most frequent “buyers of sex,” practically four out of ten Spanish men (39%) have bought sex at one time or another in their life. British men have the least incidence of buying sex (7%). The proportion of sex buyers seems approximately identical in the three Scandinavian countries (Finland, Norway, and Sweden); a little more than one out of ten men have paid for sex at some time in their life. Curiously, the Dutch results (14%) are relatively low when we consider the commercial development of sex in this country and its liberal official approach. A possible explanation would be that the majority of sex buyers in this country would be foreign visitors, who cannot be reflected in this statistical research done at a national level. It should be noted however that the Dutch and Spanish results, (as well as those of Finland and Russia) remain uncertain being given the relatively weak statistical base.

Aside from these imprecise statistics, we can in any case question their reliability for several reasons. The act of paying for sex is considered in many countries as a transgression of norms that people prefer to hide from their entourage. We find an interesting example of this phenomenon in a study done on 661 German-speaking men on vacation in Thailand, the Philippines, the Dominican Republic, Kenya and Brazil. All the men questioned had in effect recognized having had sexual relations with local women. Even though the researchers classified them in the category of “sexual tourists,” these men did not at all identify themselves in these terms. Do they probably fear a strong public condemnation of sexual tourism, because the majority of men (almost 80%) reject this terminology (Günther 1998:71)? These men identified instead the relationship with these women to what Cohen calls “*open-ended prostitution*,”¹ a relation which frequently starts with an exchange of money for a sexual service, and which later, during a trip by the man to the country, “develops” into a “prolonged, diffuse and more personalized relationship which includes both emotion and economic interest” (Cohen 1996:275; also see Bang Fossum 2001). Also, certain men who pay for sex do not have a positive and strong sexual image of themselves. Recognizing for yourself and for others that one “has a need” to go see prostitutes may be felt as downgrading in relation to sexual norms. But the opposite is also true. Any feeling of shame vested in the fact of going to see prostitutes is also subordinated to another norm of masculine domination, that of having multiples sexual experiences. Thus, the Swedish study showed that the experience of paying for sex is predominant in men who had already had numerous sexual partners (Månsson 1998:242). This reality

¹ “*une finalité prostitutionnelle*” in French

contradicts the popular idea in which the client is a “lonely” man motivated by “sexual needs.” In another similar North American study, it was established that clients were more inclined than other men to affirm that they have had more than one sexual partner for the elapsed year, 59% against 19%. (Monto 2000:72)

It must be noted here that the social conditions at different periods of history mold the multiple expressions and forms of prostitution. Prostitution activity continually changes. New forms of contact between buyers and sellers are developing, which has an impact on the number of men who get involved with prostitutes. Today, prostitution is an integral part of the expansion of the sex industry at a global level. The intensification of trans-national trade with a view to prostitution is one of the integral elements of this commercial development. On the one hand, there is a more or less organized importation of women from third world and Eastern European countries for the brothels of rich western countries. On the other hand, sex buyers from rich countries are transported in a more or less organized manner to the poor regions of the world. When Swedish sex buyers were asked where they had had their last sex for money contact, nearly 70% of them responded that it had taken place abroad, whether it was during their vacation, their work, or a business trip (Månsson 1998:243).

The development of “computer pornography,” the purchase and the sale of sexual services on the Internet constitutes another recent change in the structuring of the global sex industry. There is no doubt that the introduction of this new technology increased the availability of sex for sale. Today, we have little information on the way that this new technology affects the constancy and the structure of the demand. However, as Donna Hughes points out in her analysis of the sex industry: “In general, men remain secretive about their exploitation of women and children. One of the success factors of the ‘on-line’ sex industry comes from the fact that men can now download pornography and participate in prostitution acts from the privacy of their home or their office.” (Hughes 2000:10). A recent study of Swedish Internet users who take part in sexual activities showed that the most common and preferred activity of men consists of looking at pornography (69%) (Cooper et al 2003). Moreover, from the analysis of the content of approximately a thousand client emails (given to the researchers by a woman who had decided to stop being a prostitute) it appears that Internet clients are much younger and in a better socio-economic situation than the clients of street prostitutes (Nordvinter and Ström 2000:37).

Why do men look for prostitutes?

Here, we are going to deepen what we know today about the reasons which motivate men to buy sex. In most Scandinavian countries, studies have been carried out on a qualitative base with in-depth client interviews.

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Borg et al. 1981; Persson 1981; Månsson and Linders 1984; Varsa 1986; Prieur and Taksdal 1989; Andersson-Collins 1990; Hydén 1990; Lantz 1994; Sandell et al. 1996; Månsson 1998; Llyngby 2000.

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In analyzing these interviews and by focusing on the discourse of men who explain why they look for prostitutes, it is possible to distinguish several types of discourse. We can divide them into five major groups. These categories are not mutually exclusive and in several cases, we found several themes in the same interview.

<i>The fantasy of “dirty whore”</i>	Expression of contradictory feelings: curiosity, fascination and disgust. The image of the “dirty whore” reinforces sexual excitation.
<i>Another type of sex</i>	The idea that certain forms of sexual rapport cannot be experienced with women who are not prostitutes.
<i>No other women</i>	In reference to shyness, fear, an advanced age, a physical or mental handicap. “There are no other women for me”.
<i>Consumer of sex.</i>	Images of sex as a saleable product.
<i>Another type of woman.</i>	Images of the true feminine nature. Expressions of strong antifeminist notions.

Before digging deeper into these different themes, we need to underline that none of these categories explicitly refers itself to a reason linked to corporal necessity for men, except that called *Making one’s own sex market*. How can we explain this? Charles Winick made the same observation in his famous study on American buyers of sex in the 1960s (Winick 1962). The interpretation Winick gives to this is that the emotional meaning and that which undertones men’s approach when visiting prostitutes would predominate over their real desire for a sexual experience. We can also say that this desire for a sexual experience manifests itself and translates into different ways when the men look at or speak of the prostitute and themselves. This is the same as saying that what is really happening during a visit to a prostitute is less important than the meaning which the man attaches to it in his fantasy. This does not however mean that men do not frequently have sexual needs or desire when they buy sex. This simply shows that they do not speak about it when they explain the reasons for their visit to prostitutes. They speak about other things, which reveal the way that the demand is expressed. For example they often speak of “curiosity” or “excitement”.

Theme 1: *The fantasy of the “dirty whore”*

An example is the fantasy of the “dirty whore.” For certain clients, in a distinct and immediate manner, the image of the “whore” is sexually exciting. The

“whore” is perceived as a sexual animal, for violent desire and urgency, sexual desire which here is often tied to secrecy and guilt. The “whore” represents an aspect of a split feminine image, conveyed by patriarchal society. This image motivates the way that men enter into a relationship with women in different situations and not only in prostitution. De facto, the two images of the “Madonna” and the “whore” turn women into objects. While the first is respected, the second is scorned.

Embraced or scorned, there also exists the idea of seduction. Even though more distant than “the Madonna,” “the whore” seems at the same time more accessible as a source of dreams and erotic fantasies. Many men are motivated by curiosity to have contact at least once in their life with a “whore,” to look at her, to experiment with this type of sexual relation. Also, the environment of prostitution provokes curiosity and excitement. In red-light districts or other places where the sex industry exists, the environment of prostitution functions like an “invitation” to sex. This is made obvious by the pornographic framework, for example in sex clubs and porn boutiques which line the “promenades” of large cities, or porn ads on Internet Websites. In no other place do we find women who so openly display themselves sexually.

This experience of excitation is no doubt linked to the contradictory character of the sex industry, at the same time repulsive and attractive. The disgust is an element of self-contempt in the relationship that certain people have with the notion of taboos and their secret drives. At the same time, it is known that the secret attached to sexual fantasy adds excitement in many cases. There is a temptation to dip into the hedonism of forbidden erotica. The British sociologist, Julia O’Connell Davidson (1998:141) explains the way that certain clients maintain contradictory feelings of seduction and self-contempt when they cast the image of the “dirty whore” on the woman who makes herself publicly available. This degradation of the prostituted woman allows the man to distinguish himself from her and to free himself of guilt. As the opposite of her, he remains socially respectable and morally innocent. The following extract, written in an email by a Swedish man, underscores the extremely hostile attitude vis-à-vis a woman who offers her services on the Internet. It is clear in this message that the “dirty whore” is at the same time repulsive and sexually exciting.

You dirty slimy whore!!! I hate you. The next time that I will visit Stockholm, I will hunt you down and I will beat you up. Like that, you’ll never be able to fuck again. You disgusting whore!!! If you were one of my acquaintances, I would beat you up until your ass is in your face...Everybody like you should be killed!!! Of course, I can imagine your panties, it would be great to jerk off inside them...If I was you, I wouldn’t let people like me come into your apartment. So

be careful!! Don't you have any pride? I pity you. At the same time, I could fuck you in the ass with my foot. Ciao!

PS. You'd better not answer me...!!!

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This annotation comes from a Doctoral thesis by Nordvinter and Ström (Department of Social Work, Gothenburg University, 2000, p.35) who studied Internet clients of prostitutes. This letter is one of the 1200 letters from clients which was given to the authors by a woman who had decided to leave prostitution.

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Of course, it is impossible to judge the seriousness of this man's threats to this woman. But this example seriously underlines the danger in prostitution; and no place is safe, not even the Internet, to hide from the intimidation and the violence.

Theme 2: *Another type of sex*

The idea of sexuality with an experienced and smart woman, willing to perform types of sexual acts that he would not ask of his wife or official partner, is often part of men's fantasies. More so, it is interesting to note here that certain men openly ask for a different and more passive role with a prostitute than that which they have in their regular relationships. In other words, the man buys himself the right to be passive and to be "seduced" by a sexually aggressive "whore." In a study done by the American sexologist Martha Stein (1974) on the clients of call-girls, it appeared that the act most requested of women was fellatio. Many clients, in particular the oldest, said their dissatisfaction came from the refusal of their wives to perform this type of act. The other most requested act was for the woman to be on top of the man. According to Stein, approximately half of the men took on a passive role, leaving the responsibility to take the initiative to the prostitute. Certain man also pay prostitutes to be sexually dominated, assaulted, humiliated, tyrannized or degraded in various ways. It seems then that men, when it's possible, prefer to abandon their socially constructed position of power in order to adopt another which authorizes them to give up control and ignore the demand for sexual performance.

At play here is a complex and contradictory game of power. The man here does not dominate the woman in a visible way. Yet he uses his power to create a situation where the traditional sexual roles are reversed. In reality, the woman's power which would be linked to her dominant position is only an illusion. It goes without saying that it is the man's wish to give up control. In reality the woman's value remains contingent on the fact that a "prostitute *stays* a prostitute." She doesn't have real value as a human subject. In the eyes of the client, her value stays, on the contrary, uniquely tied to her body and her sexual

performance. We can say that the client in fact dehumanized the prostitute and refuses to see in her something other than her body and her sexual performance (O'Connell Davidson 1998:150). However, it is probable that this vision will be contested by the man himself, in particular by those who are involved in what Cohen defines as open-ended prostitution. (See above). This type of relationship presupposes a tacit agreement where both parties participate in creating a "romantic" aspect of the relationship, and which conceal the economic and commercial aspects of the transaction. (Bang Fossum 2001:72).

Theme 3: *No other women*

The ardour of desire for *women* in general, and not only prostitutes, remains the most recurrent discourse in this theme. In this situation, it concerns men who do not have relationships with woman and who consider that they have major difficulties to come into contact with them. This observation comes from Martin A. Monto's North American study where the statistics suggest that certain men who pay for sex say they have problems getting involved in conventional relationships. "42% (out of 700 interviews, *my commentary*) recognize that they are "shy and awkward" when they try to start a relationship with women and 23% underline their difficulties in meeting women who are not strippers or prostitutes. » (Monto 2000:80).

The affirmation: "There are no other women for me" does not necessarily mean that these men do not have the opportunity to meet women. This mostly refers to men's subjectivity and what they consider to be available in the sex industry. However, O'Connell Davidson criticizes the line of thinking which envisions prostitution as a form of sexual therapy or care. She explains that the fact of presenting the prostitute like a "sympathizer" with a big heart authorizes the client to pretend that it is solitude and not desire which pushes him to look for prostitutes. "But behind this speech, the sexual scenarios generally have as much to do with vengeance and control, as with any other client," emphasizes O'Connell Davidson (1998:152). Indeed, in his private fantasy world, the client thinks that it is the prostitute's duty to make him perform well and to help bring him up to a position of control. The client simply transfers his need to perform on her. This is one of the keys of his vulnerability, but also of his potential danger. To make the prostitute responsible for his performance (and a sexual release) signifies that he also projects his possible impotence on to her. It is here that this position of power becomes dangerous for her. A man who is not able to have an erection can become dangerous. A strong tie between sexual impotency and violence exists in these cases. A man who considers himself excluded, not only from the sexual act, but in a deeper way from an experience of an able man who feels alive, can very well lead to the prostitute's murder (Månsson 1988:39).

Theme 4: *Consumer of sex*

Prostitution is a practice which mainly concerns men. In order to understand what men are looking for in prostitutes, it is necessary to take masculine sexuality and human relations into account. Sexuality and the relations between the sexes are socially constructed which explains that the way men live and speak about prostitution remains dependent on social and economic particularities prevalent in a given society. In this way, there exists today a group of clients, mainly composed of young men for whom the representation of social relations of sex and sexuality is modeled by the images massively produced by our modern society in pornography, publicity, and TV entertainment programs. For these men, anything is possible, including in the domain of sexuality. This approach creates solid bases for prostitution because in prostitution, the possibilities seem infinite, once the consumer accepts paying. This leads to an essentially mercantile vision of sexuality, where sex is comparable to a consumer product rather than an intimate relationship. Sex is, before anything else, perceived as a physical necessity which requires attention at regular intervals, like a recurrent need to “clean the pipes.” This approach is not very new from an historical perspective. This theme in fact returns to the archaic patriarchal ideology which defends heterosexual prostitution as a natural and inevitable phenomenon. In this ideology, prostitution is perceived as an old institution and as the oldest profession of women. In the last capitalist era, this vision found its typical expression in what Blanchard calls *McSex*, which returns to the idea that it is necessary to buy a sexual partner, anywhere where she is available. According to a man interviewed, going to a prostitute is “like going to McDonalds;” most of the people are looking for a good, fast meal at a good price. It’s satisfying, it’s fattening, and after, you get out of there quickly” (Blanchard in Monto 2000:80).

Norwegian sociologists Priour and Taksdal (1989; 1993) call sex buyers *the cheaters*. They affirm that the cheaters are “the most modern players of the sexual game”, men who refuse meetings with women due to fear of losing themselves in an egalitarian relationship. They feel “dissatisfied but safe.” For fear of being seduced, the cheater/buyer of sex takes refuge in a world he can control thanks to the power of money. These men complain about women who would expect too much from them. They are afraid of not being capable of meeting all the expectations of their family, employers and society. They are tired of being responsible. In prostitution, no expectation exists. Men are free to do as they please after they have paid. No emotional investment or ties exist.

Theme 5: *Another type of woman*

For many European and North American men, access to the equality of rights for women is felt as a loss of masculine supremacy. Certain men react vigorously to this, showing regressive and anti-feminist attitudes. They do not accept these changes and hang on to the old notions of masculine domination over women. We should interpret these reactions as the expression of a true sense of loss, which is translated into a need to compensate or to divert it by aggressiveness toward women in various contexts.

According to me, we should be concerned about the compulsive sexual odyssey of many men in prostitution to the light of these changes. In the same way, the increase in the demand for women victims of the white slave trade and imported must also be included in this perspective. This become clear when we look at the marketing of prostitution, in which racist and ethnic stereotypes play an important role. Asian women are presented as loving and submissive, African women as savages and Latin-American women as free and easy (Månsson 1995). It is not complicated to visualize the way that these stereotypes develop in the discourse of men and their fantasies about “another type of woman,” which would compensate for the decrease of their masculine sexual power in their daily relationships. This is what Julia O’Connell Davidson also concludes in her study on sexual tourism. “Sexual tourists ...are certainly not the only ones to feel this turmoil, but they distinguish themselves by the fact that they attach an immediate *erotic* meaning to this loss” (O’Connell Davidson 2001:13). These men project on the women that they meet abroad the image of natural femininity. According to them, they are close to “the natural state” (or true femininity), which implies that they recognize the essential differences between the sexes. They have accepted their role « natural from birth » as comfort for masculine sexual needs. According to O’Connell Davidson this vision should necessarily be a concern in the context of anxiety and of discontent that certain men feel in this “new” political order in the occidental world. (ibid:14).

I also share this analysis. There also exist other expressions of this modern form of prostitution which springs from this way of thinking. We can observe them in the interconnection held by homosocial ties which unite male clients in the development of “communities” on the Internet. These men find each other on certain Web sites to exchange and to sell information on their experiences, their contacts and transactions with prostitutes in their country or abroad. Some of these associations make us think of old fraternal lodges whose function was to foster friendships, business, politics and leisure activities while at the same time supporting and reproducing the powerful myth that masculinity is forged in the exclusive company of men (Tosh, 1994). In this sense, the modern version of these homosocial alliances on the

Internet should be dreaded as a nostalgic resurrection of human privilege, which justifies the free access and the use of prostitutes.

What are the implications for social work?

After having analyzed men's discourses on their motivations for buying sex, appears clearly in what this action makes sense at several levels, whether it is in an individual or social dimension. Complex interactions between these dimensions must be taken into consideration in order to understand this phenomenon in its global nature. At the psychological or social level, this respond to the demands of different sexual satisfaction and/or would bring solutions to the problems that confront men in their relations with women who are not prostitutes. We must however emphasize that women in the same situation do not choose this solution. The use of prostitution is an essentially masculine practice. To understand what these men are looking for with prostitutes, it is necessary to take into account masculine sexuality and social sexual relationships.

Reducing the demand for prostitution supposes both individual and societal change. Until today, it has been women who have been at the head of the line in the battle for these changes. But for a radical change to happen, the participation of men becomes necessary. The fundamental question that we should be asking today is the following: Is there a sufficient number of men who are ready to commit themselves to blocking sexist policies and to question the beliefs on the differences between the sexes, the idea of masculine sexual "needs," and the stigma which weighs on "devouring" feminine sexuality? By observing today's situation in Europe and in North America, we find that there exist dynamic relations between the old and the new images of masculine life at all levels of society: in professional and family life, and in the domain of love and sexuality. Some men are committed to developing a larger repertoire of their life in social, emotional and sexual domains. Also, there simultaneously exist tendencies to consolidate traditional models through regarding the opposite sex as objects. It is in this context that aggressive anti-feminist attitudes arise and violence against women develops. These attitudes are reinforced by most of the cultural mechanisms which surround our daily life in our contemporary society. These mechanisms are not only institutionalized by the global sex industry which includes prostitution, white slave trade and other forms of sexual exploitation, but also by the State and by the market. That is why we must deal with this industry as a priority.

We need a consciousness raising campaign and a long-term educational program in order to fundamentally reexamine the question of sexuality, human relations and prostitution. This type of campaign should be geared toward children and

adolescents in particular (Anderson & O'Connell Davidson 2003). Certain people consider however that educational campaigns are not enough to stop the exploitation by men of women in prostitution. This situation requires penal measures like laws that forbid the purchase of sexual services. Such a law was introduced in Sweden in 1999.

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This law went into effect on January 1, 1999 (1998:408). It says that a « person who obtains occasional sexual relations in exchange for payment must be pursued for the *purchase of sexual services* with a fine or a maximum six-month prison term. The attempted purchase of sexual services is punished in Chapter 23 of the Swedish Penal Code.

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. This relatively small change in legislation has brought about intense debates inside and outside the country. We can propose several reasons for this reaction. The first is that this law was proclaimed during a period when very stormy debates about prostitution were already going on at an international level, debates mainly about public control and regulation of prostitution. The Swedish initiative to end “the oldest profession” by penalizing the purchase of sexual services has run up against mockery and consternation from those who push for prostitution and commercial sex to be considered like a job and a legitimate industrial sector in society. Those who, on the contrary consider that prostitution is an expression of masculine exploitation and violence against women, consider this law as a major rupture and an important step toward a more egalitarian society.

Social workers have traditionally been skeptical about the use of repressive measures as a means to change people's attitudes and their behavior. One of the arguments used against this strategy by certain members of this profession in Sweden was that this law would be counterproductive and would force as many clients as prostitutes to enter “into clandestineness,” which would have the effect of undermining the efforts of social workers to help them and influence behaviors. Those on the other hand who were in favor of the law pointed out the positive consequences, notably the fact that the anonymity of men in prostitution would thus be removed, and that the client would all of a sudden be forced to be confronted by the social and human implications of his actions. They believe that in the short-term, there would probably be an increase of frustration and restrictions linked to the notions of comfort and privileges inherent to men. In the long-term on the other hand, this would possibly bring about the end of relations with women based on “cheating.” This could, in reality, provoke a masculine awareness on the consequences of the purchase in prostitution and signify a release for the men who decide to take up the challenge of a socially egalitarian relationship with their partners.

But this type of change cannot happen by itself. This presupposes an active intervention, which does not use only legal measures to prevent men from going to see prostitutes, but also social support and treatments. We can affirm this because we need to indicate that there exist mainly two distinct groups of men who buy sex. We can call one of these groups *occasional* buyers. These are men who buy sex on a few occasions during their entire life. This group is the most responsive to legal measures. Most of the time, the risk of public proceedings has a discouraging impact on their behavior.

We will call the other group *habitual* buyers. This group concerns men who regularly go and see prostitutes during more or less long periods of their adult life. They are very numerous but “consume” a large number of contacts with prostitutes (Månsson 1998). The sexual life style of this group of clients is analysed by Sandell et al (1996). Their relationship to women is described as “sexualized” and “profoundly perturbed.” Some of them suffer from serious problems of sexual dependence. The excessive commitment to prostitution and pornography creates many difficulties including financial, work, relationships as well as personal. “The profound disturbance” also refers to those who project their psychological problems on women, by using a more or less excessive violence to humiliate and degrade them. This group is undoubtedly not very responsive to legal measures, which means that fines or prison do not prevent them from buying sex time after time. Working with these men and treating their problems is certainly the greatest challenge of social work.

For several years, there has existed a type of experience of social assistance directed at men in Sweden whose results are promising (Hedlund 2002). The majority of men who have used the opportunity to speak to a psycho/social counselor have described their problem as being “out of their control”, “like a fish”; “I’m always thinking about sex” etc. Certain of them had been directed to long-term psychotherapeutic treatments. Whatever the inherent problems of each case, we can observe a feeling of liberation in all these men after having broken the silence about this behavior which brought about feelings of excessive guilt, the loss of relationships with others and other social and psychological problems. For these men, returning to their old life seems to them to be returning definitively to an obscure tunnel.

Conclusion

From an historical point of view, the attention given to clients, whether it is from a research point of view or from social and penal practices, constitutes a major change of perspective. We must recognize that the role of the client in the sex industry has rarely been addressed. In the past lived the fundamental idea that a group of women should be accessible for men’s sexual needs. They existed to

satisfy men's desire. The image of the "whore" remained the most somber vision that men had of femininity. Linked to seduction, contempt and disgust, she stays uniquely defined by a sexuality that one gets in exchange for money. Such emotionally charged images have never existed about the male consumer. He has always remained anonymous and invisible. The only image of the client which prevails is built around a rigid and one-dimensional vision of a biologically determined masculine sexuality, stimulated by a permanently aroused desire, which nothing can change. This approach denies the fact that sexuality is socially and culturally constructed, and that it is only in this perspective that we can understand it. Research done on the sexual attitudes of men in different countries shows that the scale of clients goes from a small percentage in one country to 40% in another. We can thus conclude that in order to understand the reasons for which men look for prostitution, it is necessary to consider the specific cultural and historical circumstances surrounding male sexuality. And just as these circumstances can evolve, masculine sexuality and the demand for prostitution can as well.

It is obvious that an effective change in this domain requires us to radically reconsider the responsibility of men in prostitution. For this, it is necessary to define prostitution as an integral part of the masculine question. Prostitution concerns masculine sexuality and not feminine sexuality. Without the male demand for prostitution, there wouldn't be any women prostitutes.

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