

**Deconstructing The Demand for Prostitution:
Preliminary Insights From Interviews With
Chicago Men Who Purchase Sex**

Further Insights

**A Comparison of Men Who Purchase Sex Indoors
Versus Outdoors**

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Background

In December of 2006 and June of 2007 the Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation (CAASE), Prostitution Research and Education (PRE), and the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless (CCH) launched a research initiative in Chicago to investigate the cognitive and behavioral patterns of men who purchase sex. A research team of ten individuals, including three survivors of the sex trade, were trained by CAASE and PRE. In the course of four days in December of 2006 the interview team interviewed 54 men who purchase sex. Interviews were held in a public hotel lobby in order to ensure safety for the interviewer and to reassure interviewees that this was, in fact, a legitimate interview and not a police-sting. In June of 2007 the second 59 interviews were conducted. These interviews were held in private meeting rooms of Chicago Public Libraries.

Participants for this study were recruited by an advertisement that was published weekly in the Chicago Reader and Chicago After Dark (free news publications). The advertisement was also run daily in the “Erotic Services” section of Craigslist. Craigslist is a community website where people can find jobs, locate roommates, sell furniture, etc. It is also a website where people can advertise “erotic services” which is mostly code for prostitution. In the last year there has been increased public awareness of Craigslist as a location where pimps and johns sell and buy sex in great numbers. On Craigslist Chicago men can find thousands of women in prostitution who sell sex in homes, hotels, motels, apartment-based brothels and massage parlor brothels¹. We posted our ad in the “Erotic Services” section of Craigslist since we knew men who buy sex would likely be using that website. Our ad read as follows:

Chicago based Research Organization is looking to interview men who have paid for commercial sex. Interviews last two hours and are completely confidential.

We pay \$40.00 in cash at the end of each interview. If interested, please call XXX-XXX-XXXX or e-mail _____.

In total, the research team interviewed 113 men who buy sex.

In 2008, CAASE released Deconstructing The Demand for Prostitution: Preliminary Insights From Interviews With Chicago Men Who Purchase Sex,² which summarized the demographic and cognitive characteristics of the men who were interviewed. This report is meant to be the first in a series of addendums meant to give additional insights into men who buy sex.

¹ Diedrich, J. (2008). Craigslist child sex ads lead to arrests: Investigators follow rising use of the Web site in prostitution. Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, April 8, 2008. Retrieved April 8, 2008 from <http://www.jsonline.com/story/index.aspx?id=737115>

² Durchslag, R. & Goswami, S. (2008). Deconstructing the demand for prostitution: Preliminary insights from interviews with Chicago men who purchase sex. Available May 17, 2010 from: <http://caase.org/resources.html>

Methodology

As part of the interviews conducted in 2006 and 2007, men were asked if they buy sex indoors, outdoors, and if they arranged to buy sex via the internet. During the interviews, buying sex indoors was defined as procuring sex in venues such as bars, strip clubs, escort agencies, private parties, lap dance clubs, massage parlors, brothels, drug houses, saunas, and other non-street locations. Additionally, buying sex outdoors was defined as soliciting sex on the street or in a vehicle, and arranging to buy sex via the internet was defined as locating prostituted people through the internet.

This report separated the johns who had been interviewed into three groups: men who buy sex indoors: men who buy sex outdoors, and men who arrange to buy sex via the internet. Because many of the johns buy sex in multiple venues, these categories are not mutually exclusive, which is to say that at least some of the same men buy sex in two or more of the categories. Using these groups as independent variables, chi square tests were conducted to explore the possible relationships between the men who buy sex in each venue and various different demographic and cognitive characteristics.

Results

Where Men Buy Sex

As presented in [Deconstructing the Demand for Prostitution: Preliminary Insights From Interviews With Chicago Men Who Purchase Sex](#),³ the majority of the men interviewed (84 percent) purchased sex indoors, while just over half (57 percent) buy sex outdoors, and approximately one in three (34 percent) arranged to buy sex over the internet.

Table 1: Indoor Locations in Chicago Where Men Buy Sex⁴

Location	Percentage
Bar	52%
Strip Club	46%
Escort Agency	36%
Private Party	36%
Lap Dance Club	31%
Massage Parlor	27%
Brothel	21%
Drug House	11%
Sauna	10%

³ Durchslag, R. & Goswami, S. (2008). Deconstructing the demand for prostitution: Preliminary insights from interviews with Chicago men who purchase sex. Available May 17, 2010 from: <http://caase.org/resources.html>

⁴ Ibid

Characteristics of Johns By Where They Buy Sex

Buying Sex in Multiple Venues

Many of the men interviewed reported buying sex in multiple venues. However, as illustrated below, not all men who buy sex do so in multiple venues. Figure 1 shows the variation between the number of men who buy sex outdoors by whether or not they also buy sex indoors. Figure 2 shows men who buy sex indoors by whether or not they also buy sex outdoors. Notice that what varies between these two charts is the proportion of men who buy sex in both venues (75% of the men who buy sex outdoors also buy sex indoors compared to 48% of the men who buy sex indoors that also buy sex outdoors).

Figure 1. Number of Men Who Buy Sex Indoors By Whether or Not They Also Buy Sex Outdoors⁵

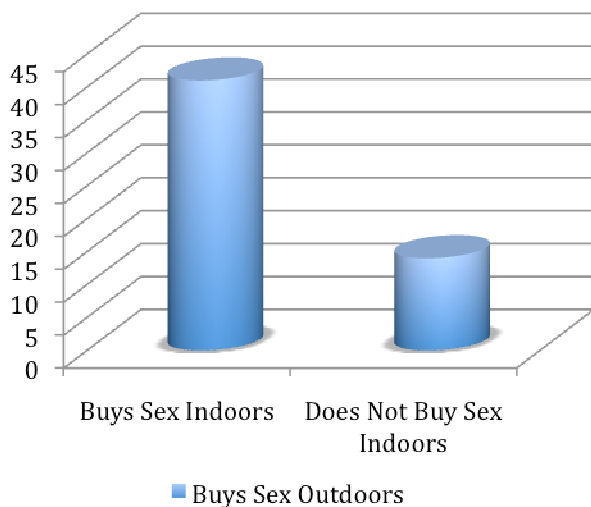
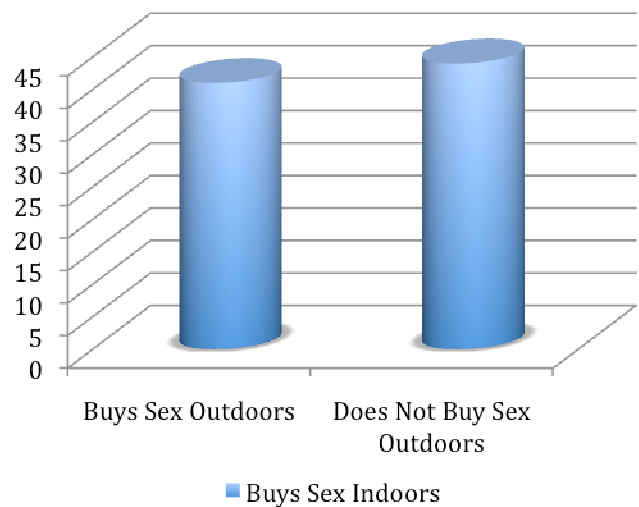


Figure 2. Number of Men Who Buy Sex Outdoors by Whether or Not They Also Buy Sex Indoors⁶



Additionally, as Figures 3 and 4 show, men who arranged to buy sex via the internet were much more likely than not to also buy sex indoors, yet less likely than not to also buy sex outdoors.

⁵ Pearson chi-square=10.477, $p < .01$

⁶ Ibid

Figure 3. Number of Men Who Arrange to Buy Sex Via the Internet by Whether or Not They Also Solicit Sex Indoors⁷

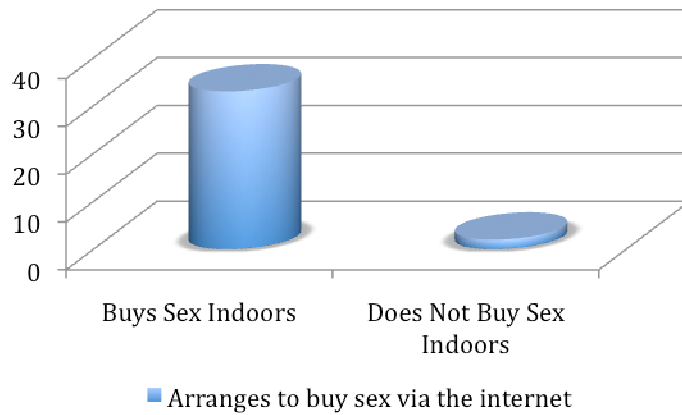
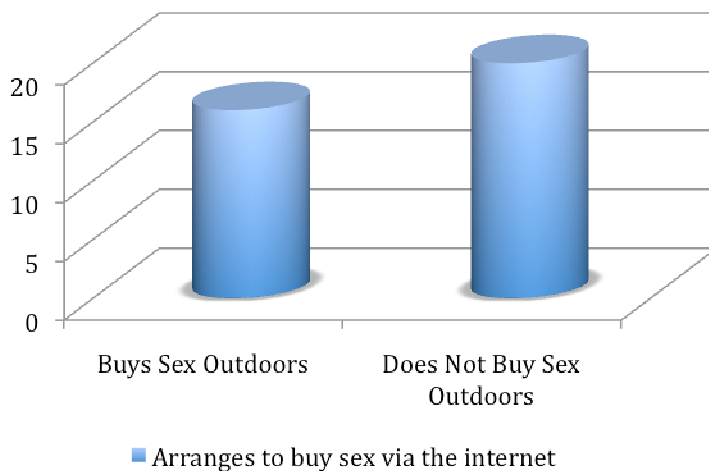


Figure 4. Number of Men Who Arrange to Buy Sex Via the Internet by Whether or Not They Also Solicit Sex Outdoors⁸



Race of Johns, by Where They Buy Sex

There were significant differences found in the races of johns depending on where they buy sex (see Table 1). White European American males represented the highest proportion of all men who buy sex indoors (43%) and who arranged to buy sex via the internet (54%). By contrast, African American males represented the highest proportion of all men who did

⁷ Pearson chi square=3.536, p<.10

⁸ Pearson chi square=3.281, p<.10

not buy sex indoors (63%) as well as those who did *not* arrange to buy sex via the internet (49%). However, African American males did represent the largest proportion of men who buy sex outdoors (58%), while only 17 percent of those who buy sex outdoors were White European American.

Table 1. Race of Johns by Where They Buy Sex

Venue	Other	African-American	White European-American	Total
Buys sex indoors ⁹	23.3% (n=20)	33.7% (n=29)	43% (n=37)	100% (n=86)
Does not buy sex indoors ¹⁰	25% (n=4)	62.5% (n=10)	12.5% (n=2)	100% (n=16)
Buys sex outdoors ¹¹	25.4% (n=15)	57.6% (n=34)	16.9% (n=10)	100% (n=59)
Does not buy sex outdoors ¹²	19.6% (n=9)	19.6% (n=9)	60.9% (n=28)	100% (n=46)
Arranges to buy sex via the internet ¹³	21.6% (n=8)	24.3% (n=9)	54.1% (n=20)	100% (n=37)
Does not arrange to buy sex via the internet ¹⁴	25% (n=17)	48.5% (n=33)	26.5% (n=18)	100% (n=68)

* Percentages and counts are for rows.

Johns' Income by Where They Buy Sex

Perhaps not surprisingly, significant differences were also found between the income levels of johns based upon where they buy sex (see Figure 5). Just under half (46%) of the men who buy sex indoors reported a yearly income of over \$60,000, compared to 57percent of those who arrange to buy sex via the internet, and only 18 percent of those who buy sex outdoors.

⁹ Pearson chi square=6.227, p<.05

¹⁰ Ibid

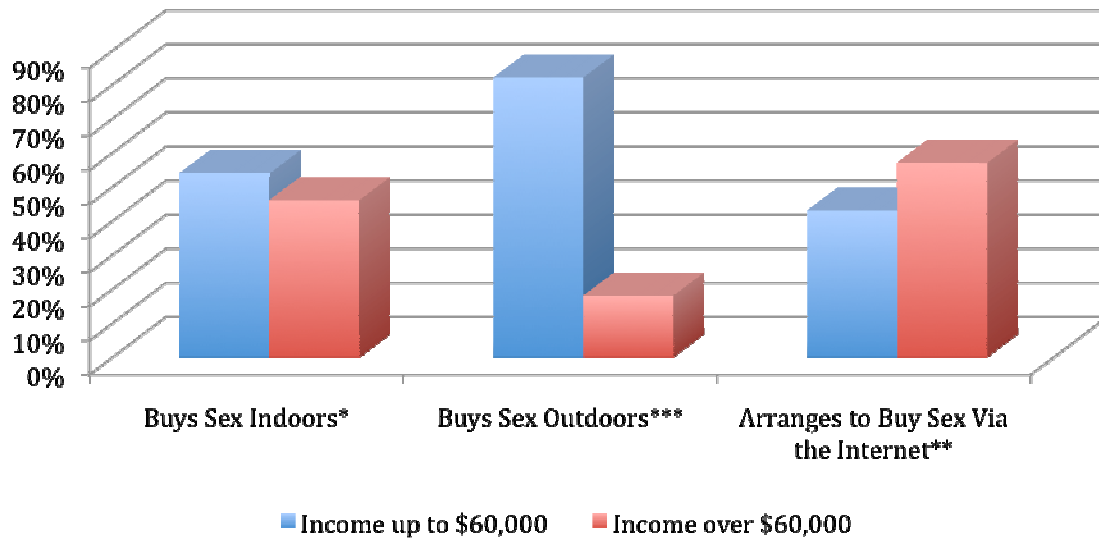
¹¹ Pearson chi square=23.309 p<.001

¹² Ibid

¹³ Pearson chi square=8.662, p<.05

¹⁴ Ibid

Figure 5. Percentages of Johns' Yearly Income Levels by Where They Buy Sex¹⁵



Johns Beliefs About Prostitution by Where They Buy Sex

As part of their interviews, johns were asked the percent to which they agreed statements related to various aspects of prostitution. While in many situations, statistical analysis found no statistically significant variance between the johns' responses to many of these questions and where they purchase sex, there were a few situations in which a relationship was found between the extent to which a john agreed with a statement and where he purchased sex.

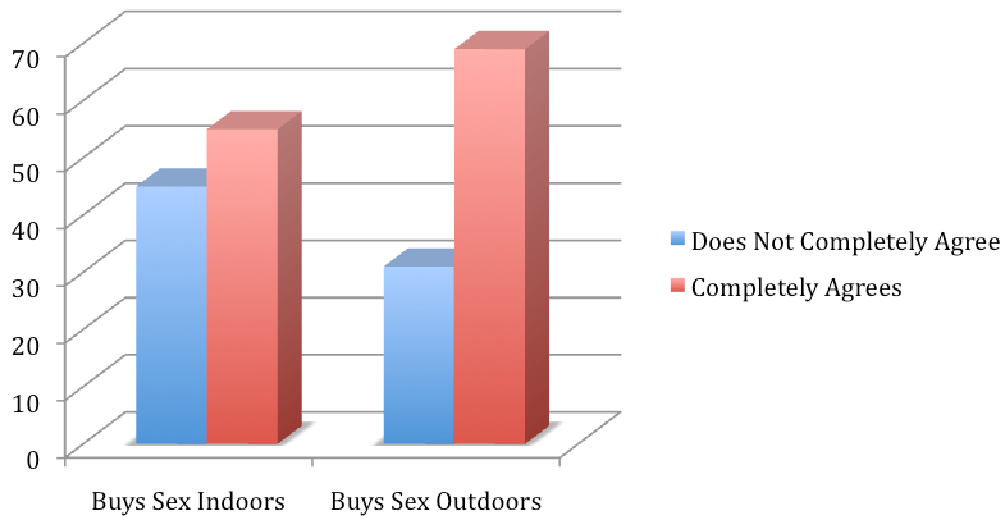
As shown in Figure 6, the number of johns who completely agreed¹⁶ with the statement "Prostitution is a sex act between consenting adults" differed depending on whether the johns buy sex indoors (55 percent) or outdoors (69 percent). Additionally, it is also worth noting that a much higher proportion of johns who buy sex indoors (45%) were more likely to *not* completely agree with this statement than those who buy sex outdoors (31%). These results indicate that men who buy sex indoors are less likely to completely agree that prostitution is a sex act between consenting adults, while men who buy sex outdoors are more likely to agree with this statement. These findings are particularly interesting given that men who buy sex outdoors were more likely than not to believe that over 50% of prostituted women entered prostitution before the age of 18¹⁷ (the responses of men who bought sex indoors or via the internet were not statistically significant).

¹⁵ * Pearson chi square=5.095, p<.05; ** Pearson chi square=6.88, p<.01; ***Pearson chi square=23.169, p<.001

¹⁶ "Completely agreed" was determined by a john's report that he agreed with the statement 100% (60% of all johns who answered the question agreed with the statement 100%)

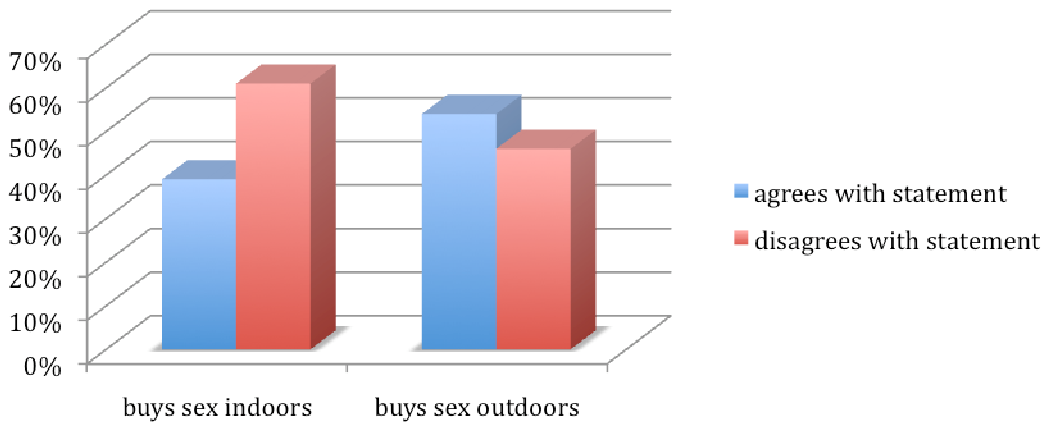
¹⁷ Pearson chi square=10.680, p<.01

Figures 6. Percentage of Johns Who Completely Agree that Prostitution is a Sex Act Between Consenting Adult by Whether They Solicit Sex Indoors¹⁸ or Outdoors¹⁹



Similarly, johns who buy sex indoors were less likely to agree²⁰ that with the statement “If a man is paying for sex, the woman should do whatever he wants.” Indeed, as illustrated in Figure 7, only 39 percent of the men who buy sex indoors agreed with this statement, compared to 54 of the men who buy sex outdoors.

Figure 7. Percentage of Johns who Agree That “If A Man Is Paying For Sex, The Woman Should Do Whatever He Wants” by Whether They Solicit Sex Indoors²¹ or Outdoors²²



¹⁸ Pearson chi square=4.411, p<.05

¹⁹ Pearson chi square=3.086, p<.10

²⁰ Johns were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with the statement. Any level of agreement was coded as “agreed.” 43% of all johns who answered the question agreed with this statement

²¹ Pearson chi square= 5.723, p<.05

²² Pearson chi square=5.949, p<.05

Other statistically significant relationships that were found include:

- Men who arrange to buy sex via the internet were more likely than not believe that prostitution is an addiction for the john²³
- Men who buy sex indoors²⁴ (54%) and via the internet²⁵ (81%) are more likely than not to view pornography over the internet at least once a month, compared to 34 percent of men who buy sex outdoors.²⁶

²³ Chi square=7.501, p<.01

²⁴ Chi square=5.279, p<.05

²⁵ Chi square=27.390, p<.001

²⁶ Chi square= 7.387, p<.01