Working with men who purchase sex

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> Therapist and client experiences at Kast Norway



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Foreword

Prostitution is a complex, and often divisive topic, which usually only focuses on the individuals who sell sex. In this report we seek to move beyond such limitations by exploring a frequently overlooked aspect: the experiences of those who purchase sex.

In 2011, Reform – Resource Center for Men began offering counseling sessions to men who purchase sex in a project called *Kast*. These counseling services, which adopt a psychosocial approach rather than a punitive one, are unique, with few comparable initiatives found elsewhere in the world.

Through interviews with both clients and employees this report explores the clients' experiences of Kast and the effects of this service. Additionally, through interviews with the employees of Kast, the report aims to create a better understanding of how the employees work with the clients.

A key takeaway from this work is the crucial role programs like Kast play. Purchasing sex is a highly stigmatized behavior, and often there are few services for people engaging in this behavior. This report demonstrates the positive impacts of working with these men, not only for their own wellbeing, but also because of its effectiveness at reducing demand for prostitution.

We would like to express our deep gratitude to the clients who participated in the interviews. Each client expressed a sincere hope that their personal experiences could provide help to others facing similar challenges. We hope that this report does just that, and it wouldn't have been possible without them taking the time to share what is a deeply personal topic.

We would also like to use this opportunity to thank Amalie Pedersen for her help with transcribing the interviews. Further thanks goes to the many individuals at Reform who helped make this report possible, from the employees who participated in the interviews, to Ina Slaveykov for her help editing the report, and the leader of Reform, Are Saastad, for his support and help throughout the writing of this report.

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Kast Norway

Since 2009, purchasing sex has been illegal in Norway, marking a legislative effort to prevent exploitation and coercion. Kast is a preventive measure aimed at customers in prostitution, with a focus on reducing the demand for sexual services. Kast is an acronym for *Kjøp av seksuelle tjenester*, which directly translated from Norwegian means *Purchase of sexual services*. Kast Norway is modeled after a psychosocial support program offered to those who purchase sex in Sweden with the same name¹, which was established in 1997. The

Reform – resource center for men is a politically independent non-profit organization founded in 2002, working with gender equality for boys and men.

Swedish program was established with the goal of preventing the purchase of sexual services. It was initially only located in Gothenburg and financed through public project funds, but in 2001 the program was transformed from being solely a project to a permanent effort organized by the local municipality. Similar KAST receptions are now available in several Swedish municipalities (Isaksson et al., 2021).

The public debate regarding prostitution in Sweden and Norway was relatively similar until 1999 when Sweden criminalized the purchase of sex. This law was the first of its kind in the world (Skilbrei, 1999), and it would be several years before the Norwegian government followed suit. However, already in 2003, the Norwegian Ministry of Justice had started working towards a similar law. A working group was set up to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of a ban on the purchase of sexual services. In their work they drew upon experiences from Sweden and the Netherlands, which had respectively banned the purchase of sex and legalized brothel operations (Stridbeck et al., 2004).

With a growing concern about human trafficking in Norway, the government launched its first plan of action plan to combat human trafficking in 2003. At the same time, the problem surrounding men who purchase sexual services became a topic for Reform. From Reform's perspective, when the goal was to reduce prostitution, the focus had to be on the demand side. This meant having an understanding of the reasons for individuals purchasing sexual services and using that knowledge to help those who do to change their behavioral patterns. In 2005 the Norwegian government released a new plan of action following up their work against human trafficking. The third plan, which was released in 2006, included a closer examination of legislation and reports concerning prostitution and human trafficking in Norway's neighboring countries.

In the wake of the 2005 action plan, Reform founded sexhandel.no. This was a website for discussions about the criminalization of purchasing sexual services and information on prostitution and human trafficking. The main goal of the website was to reduce the demand

¹ While the Norwegian Kast initiative is written in lower case letters, the Swedish initiative is written in caps.

for sexual services, as well as collecting information on what purchasers of sexual services needed to change their behavior.

In the spring of 2007, a proposal to criminalize the purchase of sexual services was submitted for consultation to Norwegian lawmakers (Ot.prp. nr. 48, 2007). In 2009, the law came into force, and buying sexual services became illegal in Norway (Skilbrei & Holmström, 2016). Reform published a report the same year, with knowledge gathered from the website project sexhandel.no. As a National Equality Center for Men, Reform believed that clients in prostitution should not just be stigmatized and seen as criminals. Instead, Reform believed it was important to understand the various forms of motivation behind purchasing sexual services, and to address these motivations through social measures. The report concluded that criminalization should also be supplemented with support services for purchasers, and that this group could benefit from counseling concerning their behavior. A model for how this type of initiative could be established was also outlined in the report (Reform - ressurssenter for menn, 2009).

In 2010 Reform was granted funding from Ministry of Justice and Public Security for a therapeutical and medical service for individuals who purchased sex. From 2011 individuals in the Oslo region could come to Reform for guidance and therapy, as well as to test for sexual transmitted infections (STI). At the end of the original three-year period, Reform concluded that they wanted to try out a therapeutical service, without STI-testing. The assumption was that this would result in more inquiries from individuals with a genuine need to change their sex-buying practices. In 2014, Sex og Samfunn, Norway's largest center for sexual and reproductive health and rights, introduced their own service targeted at individuals who purchase sex. Here they offer free STI-testing and counseling with a nurse if needed. The service serves as a valuable complement to the Kast initiative.

In the autumn of 2016, Reform expanded the offer to Trondheim as a pilot project, which lasted until 2017. The organization of the therapeutic service in Trondheim from Reforms' offices in Oslo proved to be challenging, and the customer demand was too low to justify it economically.

In recent years, Kast's focus has been on both the therapeutical and sexological help for individuals who purchase sex, and an emphasis on more long-term treatment for the clients. The number of clients has fluctuated yearly, with an average of 45 clients each year in the last five years.

Organization of the Kast Initiative

Kast is now situated at the offices of Reform - Resource Center for Men, centrally located in Oslo. The telephone and email services have national coverage, allowing individuals from across the country to make contact. The primary target audience consists of individuals purchasing sex, including potential buyers. Although Reform mainly targets men and boys in need, the Kast initiative is gender neutral, meaning both women, men and non-binary persons purchasing sex can reach out for assistance. Nevertheless, the majority of Kast's clients are men.

Consideration for a partner and the desire for an improved relationship often serve as a significant motivation to quit purchasing sex. Therefore, Kast provides a limited service to partners of individuals engaged in sex purchase, and couple therapy.

The service is promoted through paid advertising on social media platforms and Reforms website. Media coverage also generates a surge in clients contacting Kast. A potentially surprising entry point to the service for many clients has been through one of Norway's largest escort websites. Unknown why, the website links to Reform's counseling service.

Clients can initiate contact via phone, email, or through a contact form on Reform's website. Upon receiving the client's inquiry, a therapist is assigned to them based upon their needs and the availability of the employees. Clients residing in the Oslo region typically attend sessions in person at the office, whereas those outside this area have the option to conduct sessions through phone or online meetings. The therapists are bound by confidentiality, but for individuals concerned about anonymity, sessions can also be conducted over phone. The service is free of charge.

The first session usually consists of the therapist and the client getting to know each other and setting a goal for the sessions. Background information and challenges faced by the client are assessed using a standardized form, which is filled out after the first session. In addition to asking about family dynamics, income, and social background, the employees inquire about various aspects concerning the purchase. This includes who the sex is purchased from, where the transaction occurs, what triggers the sex purchase, whether the client suspects encountering trafficking victims, if they have been exposed to sexual transmitted infections, how the sex purchase poses a problem for them, and if the client has someone they can confide in about the sex purchase.

The therapists utilize a comprehensive approach to the client. In the sessions, both the relational aspects and the direct consequences of sex purchasing are addressed. Additionally, they explore and assess the presence of psychological issues, either as a result of, or preceding the act of purchasing sex. During the sessions clients can articulate emotions related to the sex purchase, often associated with feelings of shame and a loss of self-esteem. The therapists encourage reflection on the repercussions of the sex purchase which can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the implications of sex purchasing, including the risk that the person selling sex might be vulnerable to trafficking and coercion.

After the initial session, the client, together with the therapist, determines a follow-up plan that best meets their needs. Some may prefer weekly sessions, while others opt for monthly meetings. The duration of the treatment is tailored to each individual's need. In the past, Kast had a limit of 3-4 sessions per client. In recent years, a greater emphasis has been placed on a therapeutic approach to the clients resulting in more flexibility concerning the number of sessions a client can have. Through experience with the Kast initiative, it has been observed that many individuals face significant challenges related to their sex purchasing, necessitating a longer counseling process for several clients.

Based on the client's needs, a treatment plan is agreed upon. Some clients will only have a need for one or two sessions. Often these are individuals who have made a one-time purchase

and have the need to confide in someone and get reassurance that this action does not define them as a person. Clients who describe a form of dependence or reliance on purchasing sex are typically offered longer treatment plans, as well as clients with a high level of psychological distress. Many of the clients speak of significant challenges related to their sex purchasing and other challenges that result in them buying sex. Some of these difficulties include anxiety, depression, ADHD, bipolar disorder, sleep problems, and substance dependence. While one of the therapists has extensive experience in cognitively addressing these types of challenges, the other employee provides support to clients identified as needing sexological support and help.

One of the therapists is trained in couples therapy and has experience dealing with the challenges that sex purchase poses for relationships. These conversations provide insight into the dynamic interplay between sex purchasing, romantic relationships, and the impact on partners. Many partners share experiences about trust issues, anxiety, shame, and secrecy that have affected their mental well-being. Some couples prefer one-on-one meetings without their significant other, whilst others prefer going into the process with their partner. Ultimately, the issue primarily revolves around the act of sex purchasing, and the therapist directs most of the focus towards the buyer and their actions. Partners will usually be referred to other counseling services following initial consultations with Kast.

The employees working with Kast have monthly guidance meetings conducted by an affiliate employee of Reform who is a specialist in psychiatry and clinical sexology. During these sessions the employees discuss different issues, experiences, and dilemmas they see unfolding with their clients. Outside of these guidance sessions the employees leverage each other's expertise, as well as tapping into the collective knowledge of other staff members at Reform.

Background

This section provides an overview of existing research about the individuals who purchase sex, which programs or services are targeted towards them, and the resulting impacts of these interventions. Where applicable, data about clients collected through the Kast program in the last three years (2021-2023) in Norway will be linked to the research on men who purchase sex (see Appendix 1). Nearly all individuals who reach out to Kast do so because they seek assistance to quit. This may result in the clients at Kast not being representative of the broader demographic of sex purchasers in Norway. However, including this information about Kast clients proves valuable as it provides insights into this particular demographic, complementing existing research on individuals who engage in purchasing sex more broadly.

A significant portion of the research presented is drawn from a Scandinavian context. This emphasis is reflective of the predominant location of psychosocial programs tailored for purchasers of sex and the associated research, primarily emanating from Sweden (Isaksson et al., 2020). Additionally, research from other countries, including the U.K., U.S., and Australia, is incorporated to offer a broader perspective, recognizing the diversity of research findings across different geographical and cultural contexts.

Research on men who purchases sex

While most of the research on prostitution centers around the sellers of sex (Birch, 2015; Farley et al., 2017; Storbækken, 2017), there is a growing field examining the purchasers (Berg et al., 2020; Deogan et al., 2021). It is important to highlight that even though most of the purchasers of sex are predominantly men, women and non-binary individuals purchase sex as well (Berg et al., 2020; Matthen et al., 2018). Given Reform's primary focus on men in their work, the studies presented here predominantly center on men who purchase sex. This emphasis aims to foster deeper understanding of male purchasers and effective intervention strategies, rather than perpetuating the misconception that only men engage in purchasing sex.

Research exploring the individuals who purchase sex underscores the diversity within this group. This includes differences related to age, relationship status, occupation, and socioeconomic status. In a Norwegian study, Schei & Stigum (2010) used data from several surveys focusing on sexual behavior conducted in Norway between 1992-2002. They found that on average about 13% of the men reported having purchased sex at least once (p. 136). Furthermore, within that group 37% reported having only purchased sex once, while 20% reported having purchased sex 10 or more times. Purchasers of sexual services were found to be a heterogeneous group, however when comparing to the general population some groups were slightly overrepresented. This included single men, those who had multiple sexual partners and those on disability pension (Schei & Stigum, 2010, p. 137). In contrast to this research, approximately 55% of Kasts clients are in a committed relationship while engaging in sex purchasing. This presents a deviation from the general pattern observed within the broader demographic.

The data used in Schei & Stigum's study (2010) is derived from the Norwegian surveys on sexual behavior conducted every five years from 1987 until 2008. Questions regarding the purchase of sex were introduced in 1992. The last survey on sexual behavior was conducted

in 2008. However, in 2008 the response rate was too low to provide any reliable results. This means that the latest figures on the number of individuals who have purchased sex are over twenty years old. The landscape for purchasing sex has changed greatly since this survey, including new laws making it illegal to purchase sex (Skilbrei & Holmström, 2016), and the rise of the internet which has changed how people buy and sell sex (Cunningham & Kendall, 2011).

In a Swedish survey conducted in 2017 of just over 6,000 men, 9.5% reported having purchased sex at least once (Deogan et al., 2021). Similar to the Norwegian surveys, the Swedish purchasers represented a diverse background of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds (p. 2052). However, some groups that were overrepresented included those who reported being dissatisfied with their sex life, searching for a sex partner online, and frequently using pornography (p. 2053). These findings have parallels with the clients contacting Kast. Many of Kast's clients experience their pornographic consumption as problematic, and from 2021-2023, 20 % of clients considered themselves to be dependent on porn, while 45 % reported watching pornography often (see Appendix 1).

Furthermore, the Swedish study revealed that individuals with a low-income level were more likely to have purchased sex. These findings differ from other studies in Sweden that found a higher proportion of those who purchase sex were employed, had a higher income, had experienced divorce or separation, and had been traveling with work (Priebe & Svedin, 2012). As Deogan et al. (2021) concluded, discrepancies in findings could be due to methodological differences in how the studies were conducted.

Research from various European countries and the U.S. indicates similar proportions of men engaging in sex purchasing as found in Scandinavian surveys. For instance, a U.K. survey revealed that 11% of participants had purchased sex (Jones et al., 2015), while estimates in the U.S. ranges between 10-20% (Shively et al., 2012) and 11-13% in Finland (Deogan et al., 2021). In the U.K., a survey found that 11% of men had paid for sex at some point, with 3.6% doing so in the past 5 years, and 1.1% in the past year (Jones et al., 2015, p. 117). Those aged 25-34 comprised the largest proportion of recent purchasers (p. 117). This aligns with observations made at Kast in the last three years (2021-2023), as the predominant age group of clients reaching out is between 30-39 years (43 %). Other factors associated with having purchased sex in the U.K. included being single, having a professional occupation, engaging in weekly binge drinking, and having several sexual partners (Jones et al., 2015, p. 118).

A study by Farley et al. (2017) on attitudes and behaviors among purchasers found some similarities among the individuals purchasing. Through interviews with 200 men, where half had purchased sex, they found that purchasers reported higher levels of preference for impersonal sex, and higher levels of hostility/aggression (p. 3616). Other studies however have found that many men purchasing sex are seeking out intimacy (Birch, 2015). What intimacy entails varies from person to person, whether it is having someone to have sex with, share a drink with, to hold and cuddle with, or just having someone to talk about their day with (Birch, 2015, p. 120).

As highlighted by Deogan et al. (2021), fewer studies delve into the motivations of men who purchase sex. Among the existing studies on motivations, various factors come into play,

falling under five overarching categories: 1) Seeking intimacy; 2) Avoiding intimacy (i.e., seeking sex without investing in a relationship); 3) Seeking variety (such as different partners or forms of sex); 4) Thrill-seeking (including the enjoyment of the excitement of illegal activities); and 5) Pathology (psychosocial reasons, including addiction or compulsion) (Shively et al., 2012, p. 7).

Different men purchase sex for different reasons.

In a study on men who purchase sex in Australia, Birch (2015) argues that there is a need for a more nuanced understanding of who these men are, and why they purchase sex. Birch (2015) found that those who purchase sex often do so to seek out intimacy or to address other unmet needs in their life. They were also more likely to report being single and seeking out sex due to loneliness. Other reasons for purchasing sex included impersonal sex, thrill-seeking behavior, and the attractiveness of the sex worker (Birch, 2015, p. 91). At the same time, as Birch (p. 98) argued "different men purchase sex for different reasons". Birch further highlights that it is important to recognize how these motivations vary from those purchasing sex for the first time to those who do so frequently. For example, those who purchase sex for the first time may do so as they feel they are awkward and lack social skills, and this could serve as a way for them to address their shyness (Birch, 2015, p. 104), whereas those who continue to purchase sex may do so to meet unmet needs for intimacy (p. 121).

The reasons why men purchase sex are both complex and multifaceted. Research examining both who these men are and why they engage in such behavior is diverse. This heterogeneity is a crucial finding, especially when considering how to effectively work with and support these men, as well as development of preventative activities. In the next section, we delve into the types of programs designed for men who purchase sex and explore the insights offered by existing research on the outcomes of these programs.

Programs targeted toward purchasers of sex

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Programs specifically targeted towards individuals who purchase sex are relatively scarce on a global scale. In a recent study mapping existing programs and their impacts on sex purchasers, Isaksson et al. (2020) conducted a systematic literature review. They observed variations in programs across different countries, including Norway, Sweden, the U.S., U.K., Canada, South Korea, and the Netherlands, highlighting differences influenced by legal frameworks and varying perspectives on prostitution and sex purchasers (Isaksson et al., 2020, p. 28). Notably, psychosocial support services for these individuals are uniquely present in Norway and Sweden (Isaksson et al., 2020 p. 28; Svedin & Wadsby, 2014).

To date, there has been very little research on Kast Norway. However, one master's thesis in 2013 aimed to explore Kast Norway's role in the field of prostitution. The study, conducted by Øverli (2013), involved interviews with various stakeholders, including Reform

employees, personnel from other NGOs working on prostitution, and government officials. Øverli's (2013) findings revealed both similarities and distinctions between Kast in Norway and Sweden. Notably, while Kast Norway shares the overarching goal of reducing prostitution, it is explicitly viewed as a service to assist men who may be struggling (Øverli, 2013 p. 61). Given Reform's unique position as a gender equality center for men and boys, this distinction holds significance in shaping its approach.

Currently, the KAST program operates in six different cities across Sweden, alongside a similar initiative called Evonhuset in Malmo. The primary focus of research on KAST in Sweden has been on programs located in Gothenburg, Stockholm, and Malmo (Isaksson et al., 2020). These programs are run through the cities' social and welfare services (Kjellgren, 2019). Typically, KAST programs offer conversation-based services, providing assistance and support to individuals seeking to cease or discuss their engagement in purchasing sex. The teams often comprise social workers trained in therapy and sexology (Kjellgren, 2019). A common guiding principle observed across the various KAST programs is centered on "the concern of the individual about their hypersexual behavior, the presence of consequences of the hypersexual behavior, and strategies to reduce the hypersexual behavior and to improve sexual health" (Kjellgren, 2019, p. 105).

In contrast to the Norwegian model, KAST in Sweden collaborates not only with men who purchase sex but also with individuals who perceive challenges related to hypersexual behavior. Hypersexual behavior can be broadly defined as those who struggle with intensive and obsessive sexual fantasies and thoughts, that can result in behaviors such as a dependence on masturbation and pornography, purchasing sex and visiting strip clubs (Kjellgren, 2019, p. 103). Those who seek out KAST do so voluntarily, however 1/3 of those who visits KAST had been recommended to do so by medical or police authorities (Svedin et al., 2012). In addition to offering services towards men who purchase sex, many of the KAST programs in Sweden also have a service targeted towards the family members or partners of those who purchase sex, recognizing that these behaviors have many negative consequences for those around them.

In various parts of the world, programs often referred to as "John Schools" are implemented to work with men who purchase sex. The first John School was established in the 1990's in San Francisco as a part of a program called the "First Offender Prostitution Program" (Shively et al., 2008). Today, similar programs are implemented across the U.S., as well as in Canada, the U.K., and South Korea. (Isaksson et al., 2020). In a study reviewing the different John School programs across the U.S., Shively et al. (2012), found that the programs vary from each other in a number of ways, including by the length of the course, whether or not the course was offered as an alternative to a criminal sentence or as a part of their sentences, and variations in program costs, from nothing to up to 1500 USD (p. 62).

Although the programs often focus on sexual health, trafficking, and the harms of prostitution (Wilcox et al., 2009), they tend to lack guidance on understanding the motivations behind purchasing sex (Shively et al., 2008 p. iii-iv). In the U.K there are similar programs to the John Schools, which often go by the term of "kerb-crawler" programs. One of these particular programs in Ipswich offers more of a therapeutic approach than a punitive one (Shively et al., 2012, p. vi).

In addition to these programs, there are various preventative initiatives that target men who purchase sex, such as awareness campaigns, letter-writing campaigns to suspected purchasers, reverse stings, and numerous other examples. However, this report does not delve into the specifics of these initiatives, as its primary focus is on highlighting the specific programs or services offered to men who purchase sex. The next section will concentrate on the research regarding the effects of these programs.

Results and evidence from programs offered towards individuals who purchase sex

The existing studies focusing on psychosocial support show that programs offered to purchasers often have a positive impact. In a recent study of KAST Sweden, Kjellgren (2019), conducted interviews and distributed self-assessment forms to 26 men who were clients of KAST clinics. Of the 26 in the study, around half reported ever having purchased sex (Kjellgren, 2019, p. 107). The study found that those who received support from KAST experienced several positive outcomes, including a reduction in their hypersexual behavior, improved mental well-being, and higher levels of self-esteem (Kjellgren, 2019, p. 110). The men also reported a high-level of trust and satisfaction with the staff. This was in part explained by how KAST clinics often solely focus on similar sexual behavioral problems, and the clients experienced it as a safe and non-judgmental place (Kjellgren, 2019, p. 111). This finding in particular highlights the unique nature of working with individuals who purchase sex, and the important role that specific services targeted towards these individuals can have.

Previous studies on KAST in Sweden have demonstrated similarly positive outcomes for men who have sought assistance from the service. For instance, a study conducted in 2012 involving 28 male clients, approximately half of whom had purchased sex, revealed significant improvements in mental well-being and a reduction in hypersexual behavior (Svedin et al., 2012). Many participants also reported enhancements in their relationships with family and friends. Additionally, there was a similar finding to Kjellgren (2019) that there was a great level of trust amongst the clients to the staff at KAST. However, as both studies pointed out, it was hard to make any generalizations or larger conclusions as the number of participants was too few, and there was no control group as part of the study.

In a large study reviewing different John School program and their effects across the United States, Shively & Hunt (2012) concluded that John Schools appeared to reduce recidivism rates and result in the men having a better understanding about the negative impacts prostitution can have for society. These are similar findings to other research on John Schools (Kennedy et al., 2004). However, as Shively et al., (2008) recommended, there is a need for more research on which men the John School programs are effective for (p. x). As they highlight this is particularly relevant with those who may struggle with some form of sexual addiction (Shively et al., 2008, pp. 51–52). As discussed earlier, little of the John School curriculum is focused on how these men can develop strategies or skills to cope with the underlying needs and problems that cause them to purchase sex in the first place. This could mean that while these programs are affective at changing the attitudes of some men, it may be that those who may have developed a psychological reliance upon purchasing sex will not find these programs as effective.

In recognition that there is little research on this topic and the existing research has thus far been limited to smaller qualitative studies in Sweden, there is currently a larger study underway in Sweden from 2023-2026. The study will include all of Sweden's different KAST programs and aims to include a larger sample size with control groups. The aim is to create a more systematic and quantitative understanding of the effects of these programs.

In the Norwegian context little research has been conducted on how Kast operates, and the effects of this program. As there is still limited research on this topic, this report aims to both provide more knowledge about the larger topic of the impacts of psychosocial programs for those who purchase sex, by providing insights from the Norwegian context. However, what also emerges is that there is a need for more research on this topic in general in the Norwegian context. The last national survey including questions about purchasing sex was conducted in 2002 (Schei & Stigum, 2010). The landscape for purchasing sex has changed greatly since this survey, including new laws making it illegal to purchase sex (Skilbrei & Holmström, 2016), and the rise of the internet which has changed how people buy and sell sex (Cunningham & Kendall, 2011).

Method

To examine both the therapists' approach to their work and the experiences of Kast clients with their treatment, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted. This format offers the advantage of delving into various themes that surfaced during the interviews and exploring any new topics that may arise (Dunn, 2016, p. 150). All interviews were conducted in Norwegian, recorded, transcribed by a third party, and subsequently translated into English. The interviews were carried out by the primary author of this report, Kelly Fisher, who does not directly engage with Kast clients.

Interviews

The interview guides in this project drew inspiration from the interviews conducted for the Swedish report titled "KAST i Göteborg – en samtalsmottagning för köpare av sexuella tjänster" ("KAST in Gothenburg – a counseling service for buyers of sexual services") (Isaksson et al., 2021). While the questions bear similarities to those in the Swedish study, we have made slight adjustments to ensure better alignment with the Norwegian context and Reform's operational framework. The interview guides have been translated to english and can be found in the appendix.

A group interview was conducted with the two employees at Reform who are responsible for working with Kast clients. The interview focused on various themes including their working backgrounds, theoretical perspectives for how they work with their clients, and how they organize their sessions.

Client interviews were conducted individually to gain insight into their experiences with Kast, and the impact it has had for them. These interviews, lasting approximately 45 minutes each, were held at Reform's office in Oslo. It is important to note that these interviews were separate from the client's usual sessions with Reform staff.

All interviewees had engaged in the purchase of sex. Among them, two had ceased purchasing sex, while one was still in the process of attempting to quit. Following careful considerations and discussions amongst Reform's staff, it was decided that interviewing this client who was still attempting to quit would not negatively impact his treatment. This decision allowed for a diverse range of perspectives among clients at different stages of Kast treatment, facilitating comparisons to better understand their reflections about Kast's impact.

Analysis

To analyze the interviews, a thematic analysis was conducted to identify and interpret recurring themes within the dataset (Clarke & Braun, 2016, p. 84). Given the primary focus of this report to explore Kast clients' experiences, a thematic analysis was deemed suitable as it offers a systematic approach to categorize the data into relevant topics.

Initially, codes were generated during the review of the interview transcripts. These codes served to organize the data, capturing specific elements such as "experience with therapist" or "motivation for seeking help". Subsequently, a search for overarching themes was undertaken to unveil patterns within the data. The selection of themes derived both from observed patterns within the data, and insights from existing literature and earlier research.

Furthermore, the themes were strategically chosen to address the aims and objectives of this report.

Ethics and limitations

The selection of which clients were invited to participate in the interviews and this report was a result of careful consideration and discussions among Reform employees. This measure was taken to ensure that the interviews would not have a negative impact on the clients or disrupt their ongoing treatment. All the participants interviewed for this report participated voluntarily and were informed that they could choose to opt out at any point. Before the interview, they received information about the project and were provided with a consent form outlining how the interviews would be used. They were also informed that their statements would not impact further treatment with Kast.

Several steps were taken to anonymize project participants. This included editing and removing any identifiable data such as names, family members' names, occupations, and other information potentially traceable back to them. Additionally, participants were invited to review this report during its revision phase. This allowed them to provide feedback on quotes they believed could identify them and to ensure that we had understood them correctly in the interviews. Involving the participants to such a degree confirmed that they felt that their perspectives were accurately represented, and that quotes were not taken out of context.

Nevertheless, taking into consideration how the interviews were held at Reform's office and conducted by a Reform employee, this may have influenced the participants' answers. To address this potential concern, the interviewer emphasized that the employees directly involved with Kast clients were not involved in the analysis process. Moreover, any comments concerning Kast employees in the interviews would be anonymized and edited to prevent direct association. These measures were implemented to create an environment where clients felt encouraged to express themselves openly, particularly if they had critiques about the assistance they received.

Employee interviews

In this section we delve into the interviews conducted with Reform employees involved in the Kast program. Their insights as employees provide valuable perspectives about how Kast operates and the clients' experiences. We aim in this section to explore the employes' viewpoints and approaches to address the complex needs of their clients. We refer to the two employees at Kast as both employees and therapists.

Therapists' theoretical and professional backgrounds

Currently, two employees oversee Kast and are responsible for client meetings, each bringing different theoretical and professional backgrounds. Therefore, the organization and facilitation of treatment may vary depending on the client's specific needs and the therapist leading the session. As previously described, Reform initiated Kast not only to address the issue of prostitution but also to help a vulnerable group of men in need. This provides an important perspective and fundament for how Kast's therapists work with and think about this user group.

Employee 1 has been involved with Kast since nearly the beginning of the program. Their previous experience includes working with substance abuse and anger management. In their work with clients they incorporate various therapeutic approaches such as Acceptance and commitment therapy (Psychology Today, 2022) and Gestalt therapy (Brownwell, 2019).

While their previous work mostly focused on those struggling with substance abuse and anger management, they find their previous experiences relevant when working with men who purchase sex, noting parallels between those struggling with substance abuse and those purchasing sex:

Employee 1: Many of our clients describe it as an addiction, sometimes without my prompting. Sometimes they mention it after learning about my earlier experience working with addiction issues. However, it often comes up quite early in the conversations that they feel hooked and discouraged by their inability to quit, despite numerous attempts.

The recognition that their clients might be grappling with a form of dependency when purchasing sex significantly shapes their approach. Additionally, employee 1 draws on their experiences working with anger management and aggression issues in their sessions with Kast clients. Particularly, they emphasize the importance of recognizing that when individuals are experiencing emotions like anger, there are often underlying and interconnected feelings associated with these emotions:

Employee 1: I think that working with violence, aggression, and anger management serves as a foundation for our work. With both groups [individuals who purchase sex and those struggling with anger management] you guide them to acknowledge and tolerate unwanted feelings. This is particularly crucial for individuals who purchase sex. Many of them tend to operate on autopilot, neglecting to recognize their bodily and mental states, as well as the interconnectedness of their thoughts and behaviors in these situations. That is why establishing this as a fundament in our work serves as a valuable foundation.

As they explain, there are often additional emotions or feelings of discomfort that may influence their decision to purchase sex. Buying sex may offer as a means to avoid addressing these feelings directly.

The other employee working with Kast clients has a professional background in social work. Their primary approach to client interactions is grounded in a receptive, open, and nonjudgmental attitude. Additionally, employee 2 has undertaken various sexology courses, which shapes their approach to working with individuals who purchase sex.

For me it is important to try to understand the extent to which their sexuality is intertwined with their decision to purchase sex.

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Employee 2: I am very concerned with, and focused on, sexual health. For me it is important to try to understand the extent to which their sexuality is intertwined with their decision to purchase sex.

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Both employees pointed out that an important point of departure for their work is that they often feel that these men are overlooked by society. Employee 2 wrote their master thesis about prostitution and analyzed how the term is addressed in government proposals, and observed how purchasers were often overlooked in these government documents:

Employee 2: One of the main findings was that when discussing prostitution, the focus was not on those who buy sex; it was mainly on the sellers, and potentially on individuals acting as intermediaries or facilitators, such as pimps.

Employee 2 felt that this group was not only overlooked in research but also in the types of services or help available to them.

Employee 2: (...) but there aren't any other services available to this group (...) and if they do talk about with e.g. their psychologist, the response can vary widely. Some might feel judged, while others may encounter dismissive attitudes with psychologists saying things like: "is this really a problem?" or "I don't have expertise in this area" or even "I prefer not to discuss this; you should seek help elsewhere."

Similarly, employee 1 commented on their past experiences where they encountered numerous men in vulnerable situations who were often overlooked, disregarded, or lacked services available for them.

Employee 1: I believe it is crucial to challenge the judgments and stereotypes that society holds about men who purchase sex. The reality is much more complex and nuanced. These individuals often have nowhere else to turn to talk about their experiences, which is why I am passionate about the work I do. I strive to approach

this topic with nuance because it truly is multifaceted and requires time for many to navigate.

The first meeting

Both employees highlighted how the clients often are nervous in their first meeting. Therefore, they see it as essential to try and create a safe and non-judgmental environment. In the first meetings, both employees spend a bit of time to talk about themselves as a way of creating some form of trust and comfort for the clients.

Employee 1: I have always focused on the importance of the first meeting to establish a sense of trust between myself and the client. It's something I'm deeply committed to. I believe it's essential to be transparent about who I am without trying to portray myself as perfect. In the first few minutes, if the client isn't to eager to dive into the conversation right away, I take the opportunity to introduce myself. Often, clients are nervous, and creating a sense of safety helps. I believe it's a respectful way to meet people.

As Employee 1 comments, they might share aspects of their life that could be relevant to the person they are meeting. Employee 2 similarly aims to ease clients' nerves during their first meeting.

Employee 2: Because many clients are quite nervous, I often begin by introducing myself and clarifying that I'm not a psychologist, so they know who they're speaking with. I emphasize the confidentiality of our conversations, particularly since we often talk about intimate and private matters. Additionally, I assure them that they are not obligated to answer questions they feel uncomfortable with. In the first meeting, I also assess whether they may benefit from speaking with employee 1, especially if they demonstrate an addiction to purchase sex. I gather background information such as mental health, age, occupation, family dynamics, hobbies and other details to get a better understanding of their situation.

Employee 2 highlights their commitment to actively gain a better understanding of their clients. They particularly focus on exploring the client's relation to purchasing sex, probing for indications of potential issues with addiction. When they identify signs of addiction, they either redirect the client to employee 1, or seek employee 1's guidance.

Another crucial aspect of the initial meeting involves identifying the clients' objectives and goals for their session. The Kast team believes that this is an important step to enhance the sense of trust and security between them and the client. A key element of defining these goals involves understanding the client's underlying motivations for seeking help. These motivations can vary greatly among individuals and as underscored by the employees are instrumental for determining the treatment's duration.

Duration of treatment

Previously Reform had a policy limiting Kast clients to a maximum of four sessions. However, today, there is no restriction on the number of sessions a client can have. This means that the length and frequency of the treatment can vary from person to person. Some may attend only once, while others may come weekly or monthly over an extended period. Several factors influence the duration and frequency of treatment. As employee 2 points out, those who have only purchased sex once often require fewer sessions:

Employee 2: In my experience those who require fewer sessions have only bought sex once, and need someone to talk with about the shame they experience. For them, a single conversation can provide much-needed relief and assurance that they are not defined by this experience.

However, employee 2 emphasizes that this does not apply for all clients who are one-time purchasers, as some individuals may still require additional sessions to address significant feelings of shame and stigma. Other factors influencing treatment duration include motivation to quit, the presence of other mental health challenges and to which degree they have developed a form of addiction to purchasing sex. As employee 1 points out, it varies to what degree the clients see their purchasing as a problem and its consequences.

Employee 1: I am upfront about the fact that addressing this habit will be uncomfortable. Many seek relief and immediate improvement, which may occur after the first session, but it often gets harder as they dig into it. At times, I introduce discussions about consequences of this behavior early on, especially if clients underestimate the consequences of their actions. Some wish to break free because it conflicts with their values, while others justify their actions by claiming it's not harmful or even believe it prevents them from further breakdowns or self-harm such as suicide. This justification can serve as a defense mechanism against taking action, as they perceive it as a means for averting worse outcomes. Those who progress more rapidly are often those who have been exposed by their partners and recognize the gravity of their actions. Individuals who have not been exposed or those who are single may require a longer duration of treatment. Ultimately, the duration and success of treatment depend on factors such as the extent of involvement in purchasing sex and the depth of their reliance on it.

Client ambivalence can result from a perception that there are few consequences to their actions, or that purchasing sex serves as a preventive measure against engaging in more harmful behaviors. Consequently, this plays an important role in the structure of the sessions and included activities. Both employees stressed the importance of flexibility regarding frequency of client meetings. This approach enabled them to offer more comprehensive support to those struggling, and to provide tailored assistance to help them cease purchasing sex.

Activities Undertaken in Treatment

The sessions are not organized in a predefined manner. Instead, the structure is largely determined by the client's current state and needs on the day of the session. While there isn't a preset framework to the sessions, the employees say that the sessions frequently revolve around exploring the potential consequences of the clients' actions. For instance, one exercise involves having the client list all the consequences stemming from purchasing sex and categorizing them based on various aspects like personal impact, effects on relationships,

financial implications, and so forth. However, they also recognize the importance of addressing the client's self-perception, particularly if they exhibit high levels of self-criticism.

Employee 1: I work a lot to uncover self-criticism. I think that self-criticism, and not in the sense of "I did something dumb today" but more in the sense of "I am a bad person", can be very destructive for their motivation. If they think that they are a bad person, they might also question if they even should quit purchasing sex. When it is reinforced in such a way, there is no point of quitting. So, I think that exposing their own destructive self-criticism is extremely important. There's always a duality here, dare to stick a knife into what is painful and difficult, but at the same time show them that they are more than sex buyers, they are good men too.

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Navigating difficult emotions while avoiding harsh self-judgment is a complex challenge, as employee 1 acknowledges. To foster this understanding, employee 1 uses an exercise called "I am vs. what I do". This helps clients recognize that they are distinct from their actions, empowering them to define themselves beyond their mistakes. For instance, instead of saying "I am a bad person", a client would say "I have done a bad thing." Focusing solely on the negative can leave clients feeling powerless, hindering their capacity for change. Building tolerance for uncomfortable emotions is another important element of employee 1's approach. They work to support the clients in developing the ability to tolerate discomfort and painful emotions.

Employee 1: In gestalt therapy, we emphasize cultivating tolerance for uncomfortable feelings. We have a saying that goes: "when you tolerate pain and discomfort, and accept it, you experience a more authentic happiness". To embrace life on life's own terms is about enduring a lot of discomfort.

In addition to helping clients to tolerate discomfort, employee 1 also strives to ensure that they experience a sense of accomplishment in their progress. Even in the event of a relapse, employee 1 may highlight the positive changes the client has made. Cultivating a sense of achievement or recognizing progress is crucial according to employee 1 for clients striving to quit purchasing sex.

As described earlier by employee 2, individuals who purchase sex often do so due to underlying issues or unmet needs. Therefore, they incorporate activities to gain a better understanding of these underlying issues while also assisting clients in identifying alternative strategies for coping without resorting to purchase sex.

Employee 2: The act of purchasing sex itself isn't the primary issues. Often, there are other factors that leads them to purchase sex. Our approach involves identifying these triggers and then working towards developing alternatives to these actions. As I've learned from my colleague, simply saying "no" to purchasing sex isn't enough; there must be a viable alternative in place, allowing them to say, "I'd rather" choose a different course of action.

This exercise proved to be highly beneficial for working with clients. Drawing inspiration from strategies employed with individuals dealing with addiction and substance abuse, the objective is to help clients identify alternative activities when they feel the urge to purchase sex. Merely instructing someone not to engage in sex purchasing is often ineffective, particularly if they perceive it as an addiction. Instead, the focus is on actions that can serve as substitutes or alternatives to their desire for purchasing sex. What a suitable substitute for purchasing sex is can vary widely from person to person. For some, engaging in masturbation instead may prove helpful. Both employees stress the importance of discussing healthy habits related to porn use and masturbation when relevant to the client. In the following excerpt, they delve deeper into this topic:

Employee 1: I've encountered young men who struggle to masturbate without porn; they can't achieve ejaculation only through their own fantasies.

Employee 2: Especially with younger clients who have never masturbated without porn, I encourage them to try practicing without it, to find pleasure independently.

Employee 1: That is very important. When addressing sexual health, porn use can be both harmful or enriching. Given its close association with escort websites, attempting to masturbate without the internet can be beneficial.

Employee 2: Yes, it's a helpful exercise, and I often suggest to clients: "Go home and masturbate without using porn. See how it goes".

The employees note that the frequent presence of links to escort sites on porn websites can easily tempt clients. They also acknowledge the challenges some clients face in relation to their sexual health, particularly in instances where the clients find it difficult to masturbate without relying on porn. As employee 2 described earlier, sexual health is seen as an important underlying factor in why some men purchase sex. Consequently, they try to help clients cultivate a more positive relation to their sexual health. One approach involves encouraging clients to explore their own bodies through masturbation, using solely their own fantasies, and reframing masturbation as a positive activity including exploring one's own body without shame.

Clients Experiences

In this chapter, we delve into the perspectives and experiences of three individuals who have purchased sex and sought out Kast. To ensure anonymity, they have been assigned pseudonyms. Kristoffer, in his mid-thirties, cohabits with his girlfriend. Petter, also in his thirties, resides with his partner and young children. Lastly, Thomas, a man in his seventies, is married with adult children. The section is organized to highlight key themes emerging from these interviews, offering a detailed understanding of the client experience and the impact of the Kast program.

Motivation for contacting Kast

While all clients contacting Kast have personal and unique reasons for seeking help, they all share the need to talk about their sex purchase and how it impacts their life. This also goes for the three clients interviewed. All three clients contacted Kast because they realized they had a problem with buying sex and needed help quitting. Petter felt he was addicted to purchasing sex and wanted assistance to stop:

Petter: This is something that has been going on for a long time, and I have tried to stop many times, by myself. Maybe it is similar to gambling, or using cocaine, or something. You might say to yourself "this was the last time, now I'm going to stop." Then a little time goes by, a week, two weeks, and then the urge is back and then it gets worse than it was, in a way. And so, all I've felt from this, the worst, the hardest, is that you can't talk to anybody about it. I've said it before, I'd rather be addicted to cocaine. It would have been easier to say to anyone, to my partner, that "I'm addicted to cocaine, can you help me?" But buying sex, it's like, you can't tell anyone. There is no one to talk to. You are completely alone with the problem. So, I just wanted to talk to someone, really. That was it. It had to come out, sort of.

In Petter's remarks, he not only expressed a need for assistance in quitting because he felt addicted, but also conveyed a sense of having nowhere else to turn to discuss these issues. Similarly, Kristoffer acknowledged feeling addicted to purchasing sex. His situation reached a crisis point when his girlfriend discovered that he was buying sex, which served as a primary motivation for him to reach out to Kast:

Kristoffer: I have a partner that I live with, and we have been together for many years. So, it was a crisis when it was discovered that I was doing this. I also personally wanted to address this problem; it is something I know that I am personally struggling with. So, this is actually the only place to get help with this. It is really a taboo topic.

Like Kristoffer, Thomas also contacted Kast after his partner discovered he had bought sex:

Thomas: When she found out, it put us in an extremely difficult situation, both me and my wife, and I kind of felt like everything was falling apart, and I did it very quickly [got in contact] after she found out, the same day or the day after because I realized I needed help.

All the clients spoke about how buying sex is a highly stigmatized topic, and one that comes with a lot of shame. To be able to speak about this issue and have a chance to sort through their different thoughts played an important role for why they would seek out Kast. However,

due to how sensitive of a topic this is, several of the clients highlighted how they felt they couldn't take this problem to a regular psychologist. The specialized nature of Kast, specifically tailored for individuals who buy sex, motivated them to seek assistance from this service:

Petter: I felt that it wasn't enough to talk to a psychologist, in a way. I had to have someone dealing specifically with this problem. Otherwise, I wouldn't have been able to, I think, I wouldn't have contacted just a psychologist, I wouldn't have done that.

Similarly, Kristoffer shared:

Kristoffer: Should someone seek out a psychologist, or a sexologist, or what should someone seek out actually? You don't find this as a topic in the search list for psychologists.

This perception was further reinforced when Kristoffer began going to another therapist after he started at Kast. While the goal of meeting this therapist was to speak about other issues he was grappling with, he also brought up that he struggled with purchasing sex. The therapist then told him that they were unable to help him with that:

Kristoffer: When I brought up this issue, the psychologist said that this was outside his area of competence. They actually recommended to me to try and find another service.

These comments and experiences demonstrate the delicate and sensitive nature of the issue at hand. This complexity adds an additional layer of challenge for these men when seeking help.

Experiences with Kast and the therapist

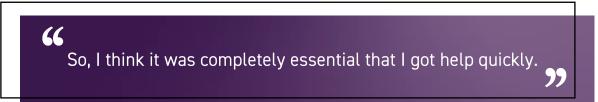
One theme that emerged from the interview was the importance of getting help and treatment quickly after getting in contact with Kast. Each client commented on how this was something that they appreciated.

Kristoffer: I got in contact via e-mail, and think I got an answer the next day. I was given the option for a session whenever I needed. I don't think it was many days before I came for a session, and talked with someone and overall, it was very streamlined. I sent the first e-mail anonymously and it was a very simple process. But to be able to get help so quickly was really important.

Getting help quickly becomes particularly important when clients perceive themselves as in a crisis. This urgency was evident in Kristoffer's situation, where his partner had discovered his involvement in buying sex, prompting him to seek help quickly. Thomas, also facing a crisis, intensified by overwhelming shame, even revealed contemplating self-harm, further emphasizing the need for getting the help that he needed quickly:

Thomas: I was at a point where I was thinking whether there was any point in living for a period, but I shook that off quite quickly. So, I think it was completely essential that I got help quickly. I don't know what I would have done had I received a message saying, you can get a session in a month. I was feeling suicidal, and, I am not sitting here and saying that I would have done it, but I did have the thought and it was

detailed. Both time, place, and the way, which I think the therapist was really shocked about.



Thomas' case where he was considering taking his own life is quite extreme, but it underscores the importance of getting a first session scheduled quickly.

All three clients felt a lot of shame about the fact that they had purchased sex. This could create a situation where they were quite anxious when coming to their first meeting. The importance of being met in a respectful and non-judgmental way was emphasized:

Thomas: I felt really anxious the first time I came here. I really felt like a total asshole. Worst person in the world. And the way I was received, both with the person I first spoke with on the phone who gave me a quick and friendly answer. But also, how I have been followed up and when I stand in the door there [at Reform], and like when you met me now... it can sound a bit trifle now, but then it was so important, that you felt that people met you with a smile and didn't just stand there, being upset with you. I was waiting for people to be pointing fingers, being very negative, but that instead it was very calm, it was really good.

Similarly, Petter shared:

Petter: They [the employee] were just open and receptive and never judgmental. So, for me at least, that was what was needed. Also, this might be a bit strange, but for me I felt that it was good that the employee was a woman, actually. Because then I felt that it made me even more responsible. It could certainly have been the other way around, that it could have been harder to talk to a woman, and I remember when I first found out it was a female employee, I felt a bit like, "oh shit, maybe I should talk to a man about this", because it kind of felt like a men's issue. But then I felt that I wanted to feel the consequences of my actions, and if it made it worse to talk to a woman, then that's only good.

Several important themes emerge from these quotes. First and foremost, Petter's reflection on his interaction with a female employee is noteworthy. Despite initial hesitancy, he expresses that it was, in fact, beneficial as he felt more accountable for his actions. Furthermore, is the significancy of being approached in a non-judgmental and respectful manner. This theme not only surfaced in the interviews but has also been underscored by other researchers on this topic (Svedin & Wadsby, 2014). Kristoffer also spoke about being met in a non-judgmental way, and how he felt that the program was catered and adjusted to his specific situation and the problems he was facing.

Kristoffer: I was a bit nervous the first time I came here. It is a very weird topic to talk about, it is very personal. And I feel that there is no judgment here. I have spoken with several people here and experienced them to all have a high level of competence. The service has been targeted, and it is very good to have someone to speak with regularly. I feel that there is enough time and resources to receive a follow up, and I personally know that I have a need for a lengthier follow up. I feel that I get the help that I need. Sometimes in the public sector or with other services you can feel that you just are one in the assembly line.

As mentioned earlier, there is another service in Oslo for individuals who purchase sex. At this service they provide an STD-check and a voluntary follow-up conversation with an employee. Kristoffer had been to this service before, and felt the conversation and service was more systematized and less catered to his own situation. As shown in the above quote, Kristoffer experienced that the service was shaped to his need at Reform, and that the flexibility for when and how often he got help played a big role in him seeing Kast as a helpful service.

However, the assistance they received was not solely seen as beneficial for the clients themselves. Several of them found value in the fact that their partners could also have sessions with the therapist. For both Thomas and Kristoffer, who found themselves in situations where their partners discovered their involvement in purchasing sex, this aspect of Kast's service was deemed essential:

Kristoffer: For a period, she needed to talk with someone about me, and for someone to take care of her. This is a resource center for men, so the fact that you also offer sessions for her, it is probably outside of your core area. But it is maybe the thing that I appreciate the most. I didn't realize initially that you provided this service, I am not sure if it says so on the website, but for those in my situation I think it is completely necessary. It has been traumatic for all involved. The goal of the therapist isn't that we will continue to be together, the goal is that we should both take care of ourselves. I think they have managed that really well, they have handled it really professionally. It is probably quite confusing for a therapist to stand on both sides, and I feel that this is quite unique.

Similarly, Thomas would share:

Thomas: Of course, the partner who has been affected has a need to speak with someone. So, I think that it is important that the service offers that. Like that the person who feels very hurt, and hasn't done anything, but nevertheless feels very hurt, that they don't hear "no we don't have that. We help those who have done something wrong, but we don't help you". I think that can be a scary answer.

For both Thomas and Kristoffer it was clear that their partner also needed someone to speak with. The fact that their partners could meet with the therapist at Reform was an important part of working through the problem. As Kristoffer comments, he wasn't initially aware of this and felt it wasn't very clear from the website. This is done intentionally from Reform's side. The funding Reform receives to operate the Kast project comes from a grant aimed at

preventing the purchase of sexual services, primarily through conversations with individuals who buy sex. However, they do offer conversations with partners, when necessary, as it can be helpful for the therapy process of the individual who purchases sex, since there is currently a lack of services for this group. This service is not advertised as much due to capacity constraints.

The clients also emphasized one aspect they felt was missing in the service, expressing their desire to either be placed in a group with other men facing similar challenges or to be paired with a peer-mentor whom they could meet and confide in:

Petter: So, I have said to the staff here, you could put people together. Like you could see if two clients are similar, and maybe they, if they want, you could introduce them. Where they can meet and talk. I think that would have helped, I think that would have been quite good for many, to just feel, "shit, OK, damn it, I'm not alone". And maybe help each other, also in our free time. Like when you are just sitting there and have cold sweats and feel tempted, you could call them, and say "I'm sitting here, can you talk to me again about this?".

The other clients interviewed also expressed their belief that this could be beneficial and would contribute to further strengthening the initiative. Over the years, Reform has made several attempts to secure funding for group therapy sessions for individuals who purchase sex but has yet to receive funding.

Coping skills and strategies learned during Kast sessions

A key part of the sessions at Kast is to help and understand what the cause for the client might be for purchasing sex. From there the employees work with them through different exercises to develop habits and routines that will help them to choose to do something else instead of buying sex in the future. Each client is unique and comes with their own specific situation and challenges they are grappling with. This means that the help, exercises and support they are given are catered to their own situation and the issues that they are struggling with. However, among the clients we spoke with, they all felt that because of their sessions with Kast, they had gained a better understanding of why they buy sex, and in which situations were they at risk of doing it.

Petter would share that prior to Kast he thought he understood why he bought sex. However, due to his sessions at Kast he had been able to dig deeper and see that also other factors were at play.

Petter: I have always thought that it was because we didn't have enough sex at home. But after a while I started to think maybe it wasn't that simple. Because I've been in a long-term relationship before where we didn't have a lot of sex, and I didn't do it then. I found out she had been cheating for a long time. And when I found out, it was over, I took my things and moved out. I feel that my naivety disappeared a little. Then I thought, "OK, what the fuck, if she can do that, anything can happen". And so, I took a break from dating and when I got into my next serious relationship, that is when it [buying sex] started. I also became afraid that when my current partner went out on the town, I would become very anxious and upset with her when she had been out. But I have realized that maybe I bought sex to have some kind of protection, because I thought "okay, but she's probably going to do this [cheat] eventually. So at least I've done it first, and then I'm on the safe side. Totally sick, maybe, to think that. But I think this thought was more important than I originally realized. Because I've also thought that, like when she goes out, "yes, but that's okay, she can do it if she wants, because look at what I've done", if you get it? But then me buying sex developed into something larger. But it was probably a contributing factor, an underlying cause, which I haven't realized until now. Because now I have been forced to think about my feelings, like, "but why did I get so mad when she was out?" I know she's the nicest person in the world, she wouldn't do that. And then I was forced to dig deep. So, all these realizations, I think, make it easier to stop buying sex. And that's what I mean by taking responsibility for one's actions. I can't do this to protect myself from her cheating on me. It is not right.

As Petter shares, buying sex served as a way to protect himself from getting hurt. Due to deeper reflections concerning reasons for why he had purchased sex, he has realized that being cheated on played a larger role than he had initially thought. This realization was quite important, and one that would also help with him developing new skills to avoid buying sex again in the future.

For me, it is to cover up my own feelings, to escape those feelings.

Kristoffer also shared how he had gained a better understanding about why he bought sex as a result of his sessions at Kast:

Kristoffer: I hadn't thought too much about why I did it before I came here. Now that I have begun to understand the cause I think it is kind of weird that I hadn't realized it before. For me, it is to cover up my own feelings, to escape those feelings. It is like a drug, a numbing effect, for me at least, it can certainly be very different for other men who buy sex. I don't drink, have never used drugs, anything. It is in one way or another my form of using drugs. If it hadn't been this, it could have been something else.

Here we see a different underlying cause and motivation for why Kristoffer buys sex than from Petter. Kristoffer has had a difficult childhood and struggled with different issues and used buying sex to suppress those feelings, while Petter used to buy sex to protect himself from being hurt.

When it came to new skills or ways of coping, the participants shared several exercises they had been taught that helped them in one way or another. For Thomas this included being able

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to accept and handle difficult situations and having a better understanding of the consequences of his actions.

Thomas: There are particularly two things I have gotten help with. One was to be aware of the consequences of what I did, both towards myself and my loved ones. I especially think about my wife but also partly about the prostitutes I have been with. Now I haven't done anything very wrong with them, apart from buying, I mean even then, but still, I have never... But the therapist has also helped me with just taking it one day at a time. My wife was extremely angry at me, and it was very tense at home, it still sometimes isn't great, but it has gotten better. But in this difficult situation, I had to just accept and tolerate that this was how it was, it would eventually become better. Every time I had a session, I got help with this, I said it to the therapist, it was easier to live every time I came here.

Here Thomas shares several things that he has worked with in Kast that have helped him. Thinking about the consequences of his actions is something that the other clients highlighted and is something that is as a specific goal of the therapists.

Another strategy brought up was instead of just saying "I won't buy sex", the clients focused on what they could substitute that action with. This was something both Kristoffer and Petter shared was helpful for them. Petter told that after discussing it with the therapist, he started trying to masturbate using his own fantasies instead of using porn and then using this as an action to replace purchasing sex with.

Petter: Before coming here, I tried to google how to quit buying sex, like: "What can be done?". The therapist has helped me come up with some things, like trying to reward yourself a little more. Like instead of buying sex, you can masturbate and try to reward yourself. "Okay, now you did this instead of doing that, and it was good.", and trying to enjoy it a little more, rather than it just being something to get over and done with. So, it has helped quite a bit. To get a new way of thinking, maybe to rewire the brain a bit that... it's a reward thing, having sex, I think. So maybe try to instead, go to the toilet, sort of, and masturbate and then think that, "ok, it was good that you did that, now you don't have to do that." It works surprisingly well.

Here Petter reflects about how he tries to have a more positive relationship to his own sexuality. This demonstrates how Kast also contributes to positive sexual health, and a new understanding of one's own sexuality.

Self-experienced effects from Kast

As described earlier, two of the clients interviewed had quit purchasing sex, while the third was still in the process of trying to quit. For the two who had quit, they shared that Kast had helped them to reach their goal of quitting. As Petter shared, by coming to Kast he felt he was being held more accountable for his actions, and that helped him to quit.

Petter: It was also one of the reasons that I sought out Kast, because then you are held a bit more accountable. Because when you do it [buy sex], you have to lie a lot. Like, all the time. To others, but especially to yourself, which I got really tired of. You kind of try to justify it all the time. In many ways, like for example with infidelity, you start to think that it is sort of okay. In such an insane way, you think that "it's okay if I do this, because someone else has done this to me", or... "She's probably going to do this to me anyway, so it doesn't matter". But eventually, I felt like "damn, I can't take any more of this." And then you need someone to tell the truth to and just admit that "you know what I've done here. And I can't bear to do it anymore.". And I think that's the hardest part of the whole thing... Just buying sex, it's so fucking shameful that you kind of... There's no one to talk to. You can't tell anyone. Who am I going to tell that to?

For Petter having a system of accountability helped him in his process of quitting. However, as he later pointed out the urge to buy sex still comes occasionally. This, he shares, is like other addictions, where the feeling had decreased but not disappeared. He highlighted this in connection to how he had been practicing masturbating without the use of porn:

Petter: I want to try and see if I can manage to just fantasize about things. Because even if you have stopped buying sex, it isn't something that just goes away on its own. Like it doesn't go away, the desire. So, one must fight all the time, like. Every day. I don't know how much time it takes; I don't think it will ever go away actually. If you smoke, like, and you go around, and occasionally you will think "shit, now it would have been so good with a cigarette". Even though you quit, the urge isn't gone forever.

Kristoffer was the client who was still in the process of quitting. He felt Kast had helped him make progress on quitting, despite occasionally relapsing. As he reflected, Kast had helped stop him from spiraling into something worse:

Kristoffer: I personally have experienced that over the past few years I have been in a downward spiral. Slowly, but over the years it has gotten worse, become more destructive. I sometimes wonder where I would have wound up if not for the initiative here. I had a period in the summer when I wasn't here for treatment, and I started to fall back into my old patterns. I experience that I am quite a self-destructive person. I don't know what would have happened if I hadn't been here. There is a clear connection between me having a better life and getting treatment. It is clear to me that I need a continuous follow up. I notice that when I have been here for a meeting there are positive effects. I should have been a bit better at working with things. I can't go here for the rest of my life. But I must get better and practice these exercises at home.

As Kristoffer shares, he is still working on quitting, and this requires more work from himself. However, he highlights how important Kast is for him in this process. From helping him to stop the destructive cycle he had been in, to feeling that his overall quality of life is better due to getting treatment. This was a theme that came up with the other clients as well. Not only had Kast helped them with their problem, but it also helped them with their self-esteem and self-perception issues and their mental health overall. As Thomas shared, Kast helped him think less poorly of himself:

Thomas: I spent a long time with [the therapist] and talked about it. The fact that I was completely hopeless, and that I was the biggest asshole in the world. It took us a long time to change those thoughts. We spent a lot of time on that.

Is there something wrong with me and my relationship with women?

Petter would reflect on how Kast similarly helped him to be less harsh with himself.

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Petter: So, you always try to find a meaning, like "Why did this happen?". How is it possible for a person who never in their life could think of themselves as a person who does something like this, and then become one of them? And then try to find out, "why am I like this?", "what the hell happened?". You have to dig extremely deep within yourself. Trying to figure out why I'm doing this. "Is there something wrong with me?", "Is there something wrong with my relationship with my partner?", "Is there something wrong with me and my relationship with women?", "Am I a psychopath?", "What is going on here?". I've gained quite a good insight into things, I've become much more forgiving, accepting... If I see someone on the street, for example using heroin, I would before be like "My God, what are they doing?". But now I think more like, "shit, that could have been me". It's me, in a way, and I think that everyone has their own things too. So now I try to work a bit more on myself, and take responsibility, you could say. I think maybe that's where I've gone through all sorts of phases here, from depression to almost wanting to kill myself, just like, "damn it, I can't take it. What is this? I can't bear to go on with this.", to really just realize that "OK, I don't want to do this". And it's hard, but the only thing that can solve this, is that I stop and to do that I have to take responsibility for stopping it.

Petter feels that through Kast, he has gained a better understanding of his problem. As his comments reveal, he was really struggling with understanding what kind of person he was and the fact that he had bought sex. This resulted in him feeling depressed and questioning his mental psyche, but because of Kast this had changed and overall, he had become more accepting and forgiving of himself and others.

Discussion

In this section we summarize and discuss the findings from the interviews. As outlined earlier, the data from this report is based upon a small qualitative study with three clients and employees at Reform, meaning that the findings cannot be generalized about the broader impacts of this type of program. The intent of this report is not to make a definitive conclusion about the effectiveness of such a program. Rather it is to provide unique insights into the Norwegian context of how Kast operates and the experiences of clients who receive help from Kast. These findings, along with the recommendations, are meant to provide new knowledge for interested actors in how to work with, and support individuals who purchase sex.

Positive benefits from going to Kast

It's evident that Kast has had several positive effects and impacts on the clients. One of the most significant is its role in supporting the clients to find alternatives to sex purchase. Even the client who still engaged in this behavior noted the program's effectiveness in aiding his efforts to quit. He emphasized the noticeable impact of attending Kast sessions versus experiencing prolonged breaks between them.

Kast not only helped these men quit purchasing sex, but also helped to improve their relationship with themselves and with those around them. Their self-esteem improved and they reported being more optimistic about life and less self-critical towards themselves. The balance between being less self-critical while also holding oneself accountable is, according to the therapists, important when working with these types of issues. A part of this process involves separating the self from one's action, which further makes it possible to change how you react and respond to difficult emotions and experiences.

Improving relationships extended beyond romantic partnerships to encompass family and friendships for the clients. One client, reflecting on his sessions at Kast, noted a heightened sense of trust in his partner and a reduction in anxiety and jealousy within their relationship. Many clients highlighted improvements in their sexual health as a result of their engagement with Kast. One client, for instance, mentioned adopting a more mindful approach to masturbation, following suggestions from the staff. This involved refraining from viewing pornography and instead relying on personal fantasies. Notably, a majority of Kast's clients report struggling with a problematic relationship with pornography, often feeling addicted or consuming it excessively (see Appendix 1). Focusing on positive sexual health appears to be an important part of helping clients and aligns with existing research findings (Deogan et al., 2021). As this is a topic that one of Reform's employees specializes in, it would appear that this can be a key topic to include when working with Kast clients.

The positive impacts described have also found been found in several of the different studies that have been conducted on KAST in Sweden (Isaksson et al., 2021; Kjellgren, 2019; Svedin & Wadsby, 2014). Our results compliment these studies, indicating that a psychosocial service targeted towards individuals who purchase sex appears to have several positive effects. In addition to being effective at helping these men quit buying sex, it also aids them addressing issues they feel has a negative impact on themselves and those around them.

A specialized, empathetic, and judgement free service

Reform's objective in launching Kast was not only to tackle matters related to prostitution but also to assist a segment of men they perceived as vulnerable and facing challenges (Øverli, 2013). This perspective is evident in how employees discuss their motivations for engaging with this group, aiming to approach them in a nuanced and reflective manner. This intention also resonates with clients, who perceive Kast as a secure and supportive environment to address this issue.

A central topic that emerged from both the therapists and clients was the need of establishing a non-judgmental environment. Clients emphasized that discussions around purchasing sex are often fraught with shame and stigma, heightening the importance of feeling accepted without judgment. This sense of entering a non-judgmental space where they could openly express themselves was important in fostering trust with the employees. It's essential to emphasize that this non-judgmental stance is coincided with accountability.

Previous research has shown a sense of trust from the clients is an important part of their overall satisfaction when talking about this issue. As Kjellgren (2019) found in his research, the clients trusted the program more because it was specialized in working with those who purchased sex. As was shown in our findings, the clients felt it was difficult for them to know where else they could have gone to get help with their problems. The clients interviewed commented on how they trusted the employees and Kast overall. Among the reasons they felt this trust, also had to do with that Kast specialized in helping those who purchase sex.

Both employees highlighted that this group of men often is overlooked in society, and that there is little understanding about who they are and the problems they are struggling with. This works as a motivation for the employees to work with these men, and as a reason to have an open mind to the clients struggles. This was reflected in how they structured their sessions, where the focus mainly was to create a shared understanding of the problem, and to ensure they are on the same page for what goals they have for coming to Kast. Two of the clients interviewed felt that they struggled with addiction when it came to purchasing sex. The acknowledgment of this struggle by Reform's staff, and their efforts based on this shared understanding of the problem, was something the clients felt was a positive aspect of their experience with Kast.

A flexible and individualized offer

The clients expressed gratitude for the flexibility in scheduling sessions with the therapist. Furthermore, all clients appreciated the prompt assistance they received after reaching out to Kast, underscoring the importance of timely support in addressing their needs.

The employees noted the high level of flexibility in their approach to working with clients. Sessions are not bound by a predetermined structure but instead adapted to the client's needs on any given day. This personalized approach was consistently appreciated by the clients, who felt that the treatment they received was tailored to address their individual concerns. As outlined earlier, individuals who purchase sex are a heterogenous group, with a wide variety of reasons for purchasing (Deogan et al., 2021; Schei & Stigum, 2010; Shively et al., 2008).

This underscores the importance that a service such as Kast should be flexible and adapted to meet each individual client's situation and demands.

Areas of Improvement for Kast Norway

Overall, the clients seemed quite satisfied with the support they got from Kast and the professionality of the employees. However, there were some ways in which the clients felt that Kast could improve its service. As one of the clients commented, he felt that it wasn't very clear that Reform offered sessions for couples to meet with a Kast employee, or for the partner to have an individual session with an employee. This demonstrates that for many of the clients it is important for them and their partners to get help working through the damage that has occurred in their relationship.

The clients expressed interest in additional support mechanisms offered by Reform, such as group therapy sessions and peer partnerships. They believed that participating in group sessions with individuals facing similar struggles or being paired with someone who has had similar experiences would be beneficial. These opportunities would provide them with a chance to connect with others, share their experiences, and navigate the challenges they were encountering. By fostering a sense of community and reducing feelings of isolation, these initiatives could enhance the effectiveness of the Kast program and offer clients valuable support networks.

One additional area for potential improvement identified by clients relates to the gender of the employees at Reform. Currently, Kast Norway has two employees—one male and one female. As one of the clients shared, he felt uncertain about being assigned to a female employee, and while in the end he found the experience positive, others may have different preferences. Research in the broader field of therapy and psychology suggests that some individuals may prefer to work with a therapist of the same or opposite sex (Seidler et al., 2018). Thus, ensuring that Kast can accommodate such preferences by offering clients the option to work with an employee of their preferred gender could enhance the accessibility and effectiveness of the service.

Recommendations

There are a number of complex factors involved in why men purchase sex. Programs need to have a comprehensive and empathetic approach. The findings from this report should be taken into consideration by diverse stakeholders and groups that are interested in working with men who purchase sex and the broader field of prostitution. Recognizing that different recommendations may be relevant depending on the user group, the recommendations are organized by different user groups.

Support Services and Healthcare

Evidence-based approach

Services should develop a comprehensive understanding and specialized expertise tailored to this group's needs, ensuring targeted and adaptive support.

Adaptive Session Flexibility

Recognizing the varied needs of clients, flexibility in the number of sessions is important. Reform's experience underscores the importance of offering extended support beyond standard session constraints for some clients.

Swift Access to Initial Appointments

Clients reaching out may be in urgent need, and swift access to support is vital.

Positive sexual health

Many individuals who purchase sex often experience poor sexual health. Focusing on positive sexual health, and self-gratification without shame is important.

Support for partner

Clients emphasized the significance of their partners receiving assistance, making it imperative to extend services beyond the primary client.

Peer-to-Peer Support Initiatives

Efforts should be made to establish peer-topeer or larger support groups. The clients all highlighted how they felt it would be useful for them to speak with others who had been through the same challenges, and that this would help them feel less isolated.

Norwegian policy makers

Sustainable funding

Kast plays a unique and vital role in Norway, offering psychosocial support to individuals who purchase sex. Based on this report's findings, and client feedback, Kast has a preventative impact. Securing increased, and committed long-term funding is crucial to reach more clients, maintain flexibility, and respond promptly to new inquires.

Nationwide Survey on Sex Purchase:

Given the significant changes in the prostitution market, conducting a new nationwide survey is imperative. With the act of purchasing sex now illegal, as well as a rise in online purchase through escort sites, a fresh survey would offer insights to the current landscape, providing a better understanding of sex purchase prevalence, and associated nuances.

Awareness Campaigns:

A targeted media campaign can nuance the public discourse on sex purchase and reach individuals who may be struggling with the issue. This initiative aims not only to educate the public but also to connect with those in need of support.

Geographical Expansion of Kast:

Recognizing that sex purchase is not solely confined to Oslo, an expansion of the service is in place. Identifying areas with the highest demand elsewhere in Norway is crucial for potential expansion

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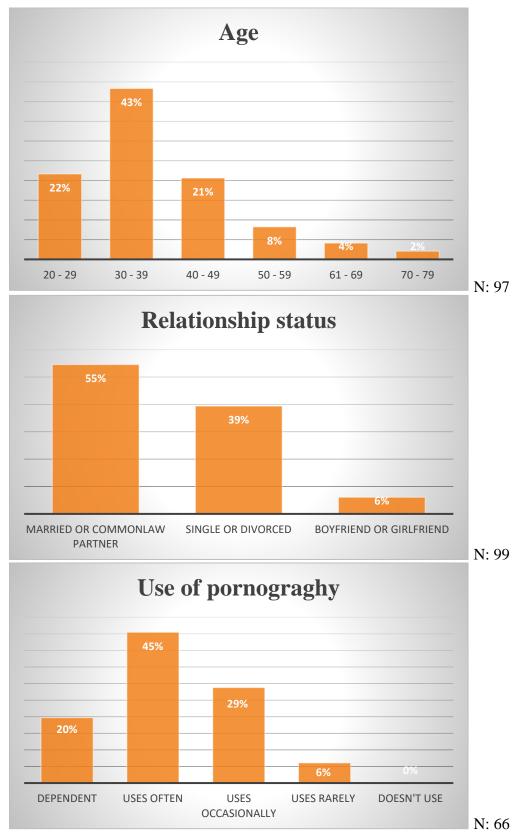
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Appendix 1: Graphs from Kast clients in the years 2021, 2022 and 2023

The three graphs are based on numbers collected through a standardized form, where the therapists register anonymized findings about the client. The question about porn use is subjective and based upon how the clients describe their own porn use.



Appendix 2: Interview guide – therapists

- 1. What is your professional background? Relevant work experience / educational background?
- 2. Is your work based upon any specific theories or therapeutic approaches? If so, which?
- 3. Describe the first thing that happens when a client contacts Kast.
- 4. What happens in the first session?
- 5. Which factors play a role in determining the frequency and length of the treatment?
- 6. Are there any specific components or exercises that are always included in the treatment? If so, why?
- 7. Do you as therapists have a specific approach to working with your clients? If so, which, and why?
- 8. How would you describe the therapy/treatment your users receive in three words? Can you elaborate?
- 9. Do you believe the client should achieve something specific through the treatment, and if so, what?
- 10. How much of the treatment procedure (and why) is written down, and how much is based on your experience and intuition regarding what the user needs?
- 11. How has the treatment itself changed over the years? New routines or elements? Why? What has driven the development?
- 12. How do you justify why you do what you do?

Appendix 3: Interview guide – clients

Clients background for seeking out Kast

- 1. Have you been to therapy before?
- 2. Did you seek out Kast on your own initiative?
- 3. How did you find out about Kast?
- 4. Why did you seek out Kast?
- 5. Did you know what you wanted help with at the time, and if so, what was it?

Clients' goals for Kast

- 6. What goals did you have for the conversations? Did you have any specific goals or changes you wanted to make to feel like you had received the help you wanted?
- 7. Have you achieved your original goal?
- 8. Did you maintain the same goal throughout the treatment?
- 9. If you changed your goal in the during your treatment, what became your new goal? Have you achieved this new goal?

Client satisfaction with Kast

- 10. How satisfied are you with the overall help you received (for example availability of employees)?
- 11. To what extent did you feel understood and respected in the treatment?
- 12. Did you receive the help you wanted? Did you talk about what you wanted and needed to talk about?
- 13. What in the treatment do you feel has helped you the most?
- 14. What significance did the therapist have? What did the therapist do that you thought was good/bad? What did they do in the treatment that made you feel that way?
- 15. Was there room for you to express your opinion about the treatment? Did you say what you thought? In what way did you influence the treatment you received?

Clients' learnings from Kast

- 16. Have you acquired tools and skills to handle your emotions and behaviors differently?
- 17. Have the tools/the new understanding you gained helped you act differently than you would have previously?
- 18. Have you gained better insight into what causes/caused you to purchase sexual services?
- 19. Has the treatment influenced your decision to abstain from buying sex?
- 20. Has the treatment influenced your attitude towards yourself, your emotions, and your view of yourself? If so, how? Have you gained a new understanding of how your emotions affect your behavior?
- 21. Has the treatment influenced your attitude towards yourself, your emotions, and your view of yourself in your relationship with your family? Parents, siblings, partner, children?

Recommendations for Kast

- 22. Is there anything missing in the treatment that you believe should have been included?
- 23. If you were to seek help again, would you seek out similar treatment?
- 24. If a friend needed similar help, would you recommend the treatment to him or her?
- 25. Overall, how satisfied are you with the treatment you received?