



Germany

- Population: 82.7 million
- GDP per capita (in US dollars): 47,821
- Federal Republic
- Human Development Index (HDI): 0,916 (6th rank among 187 countries)
- Gender Inequality Index (GII): 0,041 (3rd rank among 147 countries)
- Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI): Score of 81 on a scale from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean)
- Founding Member of the European Union since 1952.

- No official national statistics on prostitution. A survey conducted by the daily paper *Die Welt* in November 2013 shows that there are between 100,000 and 200,000 prostituted persons in Germany.
- Between 3,000 and 3,500 prostitution establishments in the country, which generated 5.93 billion US\$ (5.475 billion €) in 2013. The same year, the sex industry as a whole has generated 15.8 billion US\$ (14.6 billion €) (*Die Welt*, November 3rd, 2013).
- Around 1.2 and 1.5 million men buy sexual services from a prostituted person per day.
- Regulationist country: the law of 2002 established prostitution as a job, and as a result made prostituted persons taxable. The management of brothels and the purchase of sexual services are allowed.
- A disputed bill has been presented in February 2015 and should enter into force in 2016. The aim is to improve the protection of prostituted persons by creating a mandatory framework and address the shortcomings of the 2002 Act.
- Trafficking for sexual exploitation is criminalized in section 232 of the Penal Code and is punishable with up to 6 months to 10 years imprisonment.
- Decreasing number of investigations and convictions for human trafficking. 77 convictions in 2013 (only 17 prison sentences). It is difficult to prosecute traffickers because the testimony of the victim is required to begin an investigation for exploitation.
- An abolitionist current has emerged opposite the excesses generated by the regulationist system.
- Country of origin, transit and destination of human trafficking.

- 85% of trafficking victims are of foreign origins, 75% of them come from European countries, mainly Romania and Bulgaria.

In May 2013, the magazine *Der Spiegel* headlined “Bordell Deutschland – Wie der Staat Frauenhandel und Prostitution fördert” (How the government encourages trafficking in women and prostitution). A few weeks later, the ARD program broadcast “Sex – Made in Germany”, a documentary directed by Tina Soliman and Sonia Kennebeck, which was the result of two years of investigation. Ten years after the law on ProstG (*Fondation Scelles*, 2014), prostitution was organized, which would have better protected prostituted persons and made prostitution a “job like any other”, their studies highlighted a grim picture: the explosion of prostitution, the commodification of women’s bodies, the increase in trafficking, and Germany as a destination for sex tourism. In addition to this assessment, these investigations have had a significant impact in German as well as international media (*Der Spiegel* investigation was broadcast in English) and opened the debate by asking: Is Germany the brothel of Europe?

Current evaluation

There are no official statistics on prostitution in Germany. Figures usually range from 400,000 prostituted persons (estimate from Hydra union) to 200,000 prostituted persons.

From 100,000 to 200,000 Prostituted Persons

In November 2013, the daily paper *Die Welt* wanted to address the lack of statistics and conducted a survey of the 80 largest cities in Germany. A questionnaire was sent out to the police and, in some cases, to municipal services. In response, investigators received different types of information: precise figures, estimates, extrapolations, or nothing at all. A quarter of these 80 cities had a vague idea of the importance of the phenomenon. Based on the data, the paper suggests between 100,000 and 200,000 prostituted persons in Germany depending on the calculation methods: either using the data collected for the 60 most important cities of the country, either using the most precise data provided by the city of Augsburg (244 prostituted persons per 100,000 inhabitants and projecting them to the whole country (*Die Welt*, November 4th, 2013).

Better Control of Trafficking?

According to statistics from the Bundeskriminalamt – BKA (Office of the Federal Criminal Police), the figures for human trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation are declining. The final report mentions 557 identified victims in 2014 (compared to 542 in 2013, 612 in 2012, and 640 in 2011). These figures can be interpreted in different ways. For some, this is a sign of better control of the situation and a real decrease in the cases of trafficking for sexual exploitation. For others, this decrease is offset by a greater attention to cases of forced labor (*U.S. Department of State*, 2015). For others, these figures are particularly worrying: they can be attributed to a decreasing number of investigations (and perhaps the resources devoted to this cause) and reflect the difficulties of the police forces accessing brothels. The

retired Commissioner, Manfred Paulus, commented about the BKA reports: “for me, it is not a ‘report’, but rather an illustration of policy failure!”

European Victims

According to BKA, nearly 85% of victims are of foreign origin and 75% of them come from other European countries, mainly from Romania and Bulgaria (if German victims are added, nearly 90% of victims of sex trafficking are of European origin). Romania is the leading country of origin for victims in Germany: 211 Romanian victims were identified, accounting for 37.9% of the victims (compared to 125, or 23.1%, in 2013). Followed by Bulgaria: 89 victims, or 16% of the victims (compared to 143 victims in 2013, or 26.4%). Most of the women are from Roma or Turkish minority groups from Romania and Bulgaria. They speak little to no German, and most cannot read or write and sometimes have poor use of their own native language. In third place is German individuals: 15.8% of victims identified in 2014 were German, 16.6% in 2013, and 20.8% in 2012. African prostitution accounted for only 5.7% of identified victims (3.2% from Nigerian origin) and Asian prostitution for 1.3%.

Ever Younger Victims

The 2014 report from the BKA states that 48% of identified victims were under the age of 21 (51% in 2013). The proportion is even higher for German victims, 62% of whom were minors; two victims under the age of 14 were identified. A number of these victims, mostly young German girls, are victims of ‘loverboys’, who seduce them before forcing them into prostitution.

A Paradise for Procurers

Almost half of the victims identified by the BKA in 2014 were exploited in brothels and bars (244 in apartments, 210 in brothels and bars, 56 in the street, 35 in hotels). Germany has between 3,000 and 3,500 establishments for prostitution according to *Erotik Gewerbe Deutschland* (UEGD). All cities are implicated: there are 500 brothels in Berlin, but also 70 in the small town of Osnabrück in Lower Saxony (population of about 163,000) (2013 estimate/*Spiegel Online*). Approximately 1.5 million men visit prostituted persons in Germany on a daily basis (*Journeyman Pictures*, 2014), 1.2 million men according to the Ver.di Union (Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft).

The Explosion of Sex Supermarkets

In recent years, Freie Körper Kultur (FKK), or sauna-clubs have become more popular. These are usually huge, luxurious brothels, under the disguise of wellness and natural facilities, offering men various services: food, pool, sauna, prostitution.... The principle of these institutions: customers pay a flat rate from 75 to 108 US\$ (70 to 100 €), allowing them to consume unlimited food, drink, and sex. The women pay the same entry fee, plus taxes and rent for a room as most of them have no home and travel from one city to another, choosing to have a brothel room. At the Pacha in Cologne for example, the prostituted persons must pay 216 US\$ (200 €) per day (entry fee + room rental + tax + cleaning fee) to the owner, while the

average price of the trick is 54 US\$ (50 €). So prostituted persons must have at least four clients to pay their debt to the owner. Another rule is that men wear a bathrobe, while women must be virtually naked. In recent months, new establishments of this type have been opened, each time displaying a questionable bidding. In May 2014, the FKK van Goch was opened in North Germany near the Dutch border as the largest sauna club in North Rhine-Westphalia. In October 2014, FKK Ocean's opened in Dusseldorf, twice as large as the Pascha in Cologne (up to 120 prostituted persons and around 1,000 sex buyers per day). In July 2014, the Paradise chain opened a facility in the outskirts of Saarbrücken, making it the largest brothel in Europe!

Unlimited Commodification

The rapid development of this market has deeply permeated society. "Prostitution is now accepted in much of the civil society, visiting prostitutes and purchasing women is considered 'cool'," explained Helmut Sporer, Commissioner General of the Criminal Police of Augsburg in October 2013. Men visiting brothels in groups has become a normal custom and the clients are uninhibited. "There is a new type of prostitution client. He is assertive and confident. This is clearly visible when brothels are being supervised. Before, customers were embarrassed to be seen in these establishments. If their names were written down they began to sweat and panic" commented Commissioner Sporer. The commodification of the woman's body has no limit. The press revels in the constant "innovations" in this field: recruiting "a brothel tester" at a site of sex workers to record the hygienic qualities and safety of brothels in Berlin. An application for paying meetings has been created to link prostituted persons and clients. In a country where prostitution is a "job like any other," nothing prevents it from being advertised. On city walls, posters for local brothels have taken over those for car brands. This often arouses discussion and demonstrations. Some municipalities have managed to counter this problem, but many have not. In Oberhausen in June 2014, the campaign touting the "Flatrate Sensation for 45 €" was prohibited and the brothel incriminated was ordered to remove their posters at their expense (*ShortNews*, November 17th, 2013). However in Leverkusen in June 2015, a complaint from a resident calling for the ban of a poster promoting a brothel in the name of the protection of children was not completed. Because the city had a law from 2001 calling prostitution legal, they deemed it not immoral (*Leverkusener Anzeiger*, June 10th, 2015).

The sex industry even has its own television program. For seven years, RTL 2 has been saving brothels in crisis in the show "*Pimp my Puff*" ("support my brothel"), which follows a similar model to "*Kitchen Nightmares*", two "sex industry" experts come in to take control of the failed brothel and help restart it.

The Opposite of "Paradise"

The owners of these establishments present themselves only as intermediaries. Michael Beretin, marketing manager for the Paradise chain said "it is the women who contact us, because they want to work with us". According to Beretin they set their own rate and choose their clients (*Worldcrunch*, July 6th, 2014).

However the reality tells a different story. "In every brothel in Germany, there are victims of trafficking" declared Leonie von Braun, a prosecutor from Berlin, "I cannot say whether or

not the exploiters know.” The former Commissioner of Police of Ulm, Manfred Paulus, explained further that “today we have luxury brothels, decorated with marble and stainless steel. This does not mean that procurers are not hiding behind this façade, backed by a mysterious company called ‘GmbH & Co.KG’. If we look into the mailbox of this company, we could find Albanian clans, the Russian mafia, or even ‘Hell’s Angels’” (*Emma*, September/October 2014). Violence is omnipresent: there have been nearly 40 murders or attempted murders of prostituted persons since 2010 (*SexIndustrykills.de*, December 14th, 2015), some of which were committed within establishments (and this is only including numbers reported by the press). Even *Paradise* is not the paradise it claims to be. Michael Beretin was arrested in November 2014 along with five others, for human trafficking, procuring and swindling during a major police operation conducted in Germany, Austria, Bosnia and Romania (900 German police officers visited places of prostitution, like brothels, apartments, cars... in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, Westphalia, Saarland, Saxony).

Germany Facing this Phenomenon

Weaker Results

Faced with this phenomenon, Germany is seeming increasingly powerless. Year after year, the number of prosecutions, trials, and convictions for trafficking for sexual exploitation have been decreasing (*U.S Department of State*, 2015):

	2011	2012	2013	2014
Investigations	482	491	425	No data
Proceedings	139	142	118	No data
Convictions	117	115	77	No data

The penalties imposed have also been decreasing: out of the 77 convictions in 2013, only 17 people received sentences ranging from 2 to 10 years of imprisonment. The trend has similarly followed to the number of suspects: from 689 in 2012 to 625 in 2013, and 507 in 2014. Note that among these decreasing numbers, 24% of them are German (compared to 31% in 2012). Some think these figures show the situation is under control.

In fact, these numbers show the powerlessness of Germany and the 2002 law which was intended to combat sexual exploitation. The 2002 law opened up a gap in the legislation, blocking any sort of action. Heike Rudat, of the Berlin criminal police, suggested that “because promoting prostitution is no longer illegal, it is much more difficult to prosecute procurers. To begin an investigation of exploitation, now we need victims to testify, and they never do” (*Le Journal International*, January 2nd, 2014).

German policy under scrutiny

In February 2014, the Group of Experts on Action against Human Trafficking of the Council of Europe (GRETA) began their assessment work of the implementation of the European Convention on Action against human trafficking. Germany did not ratify the 2005 Council of Europe until December 2012, for a theoretical entrance in April 2013. However, on this date, the European transcript into the German national law was delayed (the Member

States had to achieve this transcription into the domestic law before April 6th, 2013). This slowness was criticized by German NGOs. In January 2013, UNICEF and ECPAT united to denounce the German attitude and ineffectiveness in the protection of victims of trafficking, particularly of minors.

In their conclusions published in June 2015, European experts emphasized several weaknesses:

- A lack of a comprehensive action plan to standardize the measures of identification and assistance throughout the 16 federal states. Even though the federal court has jurisdiction to enact laws for the protection of victims, the implementation of these laws rests with the Länders. In the absence of a national coordinating body and referral mechanism, GRETA explains that “there are differences among the Länders regarding the cooperation between the relevant actors, the identification of victims, and assistance to victims. GRETA urges German authorities to devise a strategy, or a national action plan, to combat trafficking.”
- The ineffectiveness of the victim protection policy. Assistance to victims depends on the latter’s will to provide a testimony. Victims are given a reflection period of at least 30 days to decide whether or not to testify and are allowed to live and work in Germany during the trial. However, these women are repatriated to their country of origin, even if they choose to testify (except when they are victims of threats and violence). One of GRETA’s demands is for Germany to suppress this conditional clause and to allow victims to receive an unlimited residence permit and financial and psychological protection through a better implementation of the principle of non-punishment of trafficking victims who are involved in illegal activities while under duress.
- The lack of specialized assistance centers;
- Information of victims: they are not always aware of their rights, GRETA requires that victims be properly informed about the possibility of requesting a reflection period and their right to compensation;
- The absence of any measure to reduce demand;
- The sporadic feature of awareness campaigns.

Local Initiatives

Faced with the ineffectiveness of the central government, regions and municipalities are trying to take initiatives in their own territory. The 2002 law allows them to define zones of exclusion (a village, a neighborhood, a street), or working hours where prostitution or meeting with clients is illegal. A growing number of cities have been requesting and looking for alternatives to better regulate prostitution (*Fondation Scelles*, 2013). Ausburg in particular, which acts as a model, and Stuttgart following, have introduced the obligation for people involved in prostitution to declare themselves whereas the federal law does not allow such methods. The goal is to try and take control of an out of control situation. Some cities have also introduced a local tax to make a profit while also deterring street prostitution. In Saarland and its capital Saarbrücken, there are between 1,500 and 1,700 prostituted persons for 1 million inhabitants. Because France is considering banning the purchase of sexual services, this region is facing an influx of prostituted persons and clients (*Le Monde*, May 25th, 2015). In 2013, the Saarland adopted a series of measures to limit prostitution: a change in the law to facilitate police control, mandatory use of condoms for priced relations, a limitation confining

street prostitution in Saarbrücken to a 2 km zone between 8PM (10PM in the summer) and 6AM. However, despite these efforts, the city has failed to prevent the establishment of a Paradise chain brothel in the outskirts of Saarbrücken (the Femen fighters made a protest against it). Even by exploiting the legal framework, it is difficult to find applicable measures. Every time a law is introduced, there is a counter-attack from the sex industry to invalidate the decision of a court or of the town. The city of Dortmund declared street prostitution illegal to limit prostitution of Bulgarian and Roma women. However a German prostitute responded by filing a complaint against the municipality because this law “prevented her from freely exercising her profession.” The city was then forced to create a zone reserved for street prostitution. At least, for some time, since in 2015, the municipality put the question in its agenda again as the appeals by the prostituted persons had been dismissed.

Germany in Debate: the Abolitionists Speak

Since 2013 and the federal elections, the Spiegel survey and ARD documentary have been opening up the debate on the place of prostitution in Germany, and for the first time we are hearing abolitionist voices. The NGO Solwodi Solidarity with Women in Distress called on the federal government even before the 2013 elections with their petition “Mach den Schluss-STRICH! Keine Frauensklaverei in Deutschland!”.

In autumn 2013, Alice Schwarzer, a symbolic figure of feminism in Germany, published a book called *Prostitution: ein deutscher Skandal* and, in the process, launched an "Appeal against prostitution" through the magazine *Emma*: “Germany has become the hub of Europe’s traffickers and a paradise for sex tourists from the neighboring countries. A path taken only by Germany (...). The prostitution system is both an exploitation and a continuation of the traditionally evolved inequality between men and women (and countries/continents). The prostitution system degrades women to a gender for sale and overshadows sexual equality (...). That is why we are calling for: – A change of legislation, putting a stop to the deregulation of trafficking in women and prostitution as quickly as possible and protecting women and the minority of male prostitutes”.

The Appeal by Emma has experienced rapid media success. More than 12,000 people have signed it: women and men, of any political trend, including public figures, actors, intellectuals, artists, politicians... Following Emma, other abolitionist initiatives were publicized. For example:

- the “Call of Karlsruhe for a world without prostitution”, launched by Ulrike Maier and Ingeborg Kraus (November 2013);
- the creation of a movement *Zeromacho Germany*, "Männer gegen Sexkauf" (Men against the purchase of sex);
- the Appeal of ‘Trauma and Prostitution – Scientists for a world without prostitution’, launched by Dr Ingeborg Kraus (September 2014): “Prostitution is in no way a job like any other”. “In Berlin, politicians are currently seeking advice. Not only as to how prostitution should be legally regulated, they will also decide how our society should stand in regard to it: Whether prostitution should continue to be “a job like any other” — or whether prostitution goes against human dignity and destroys human beings. The signatory therapists hope that the

politicians don't just consign even more traumatized people to them, but finally take the side of prevention.”

- creating a collective of organizations, including SOLWODI, Terre de Femmes, Zeromacho Germany, Emma... to call for the abolition of prostitution: "Stop Sexkauf!" (Spring 2015).

Thus, an abolitionist front has been set up with clearly identified individuals involved in the media, such as Alice Schwarzer, Sister Lea Ackermann, founder of the NGO SOLWODI Manfred Paulus, former Commissioner of Ulm, Helmut Sporer, of Augsburg police, Huschke Mau survivor of prostitution and founder of the NGO Sisters...

The constitution of an abolitionist movement is a new phenomenon in a country marked by regulationist ideology. But it faces a powerful lobby which is very well structured. The sex industry is an important market: 15.8 billion US\$ (14.6 billion €) in 2013, of which 5.475 billion € from brothels, 2.965 billion US\$ (2.738 billion €) from street prostitution, 3.65 billion € from escorting and 2.965 billion US\$ (2.738 billion €) from other forms of prostitution (*Die Welt*, November 3rd, 2013). The sex industry has strong support from the media and the political world. On June 12th, 2014, at the time of the hearing of experts organized by the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, no association for the abolition of the prostitution was consulted. On the other hand, groups related to the sex industry, i.e. the brothel owners, expressed themselves as “entrepreneurs of prostitution and erotic industry”, but also on behalf of “sex workers” represented by the *Unternehmerverband Erotik Gewerbe Deutschland eV-UEGD* (Professional association of erotic industry in Germany) and the *Bundesverband Sexuelle Dienstleistungen eV-BSD* (federal association of sexual services) and the *Berufsverband erotische und Sexuelle Dienstleistungen eV-BesD* (organization of erotic and professional sexual services). The BESD, created in the fall of 2013 following the abolitionist Appeal of the magazine Emma, does not even represent 1% of prostituted persons...

2013-2015: Reforming the law on prostitution

Stakes and agreements

The media pressure raised by the abolitionist actions and the electoral context have forced political parties to take a position. "We will completely rework the prostitution law" had pledged the new coalition government (SPD, CDU, CSU) in November 2013 with goals of better protection for victims of sexual trafficking and prostitution, and more harshness against criminals who exploit these people and control places of prostitution. This is not the first time that Germany wants to amend in 2002 law. In 2007, Ursula von der Leyen, the Minister of Family Affairs, tried to strengthen the government control on brothels by introducing a licensing system. In 2009, female politicians from different political trends from Baden-Württemberg launched an initiative against the flatrate packages in Parliament. All these attempts have failed. Indeed, it is difficult to find common ground on this issue. In 2013-2015, despite the coalition government's agreement, some dissenting opinions were expressed within the political parties. On the side of the CDU, it is estimated that the rules on legal prostitution must be strengthened. But the SPD is more reserved: "Freely exercised prostitution (must not fall) into illegality." The Greens are even more reserved: "All the people who work in the sex industry are not forced into prostitution. (Some of them) work in

the sex industry voluntarily. Viewing them all as victims and comparing them with slaves is not justice to women and it is to ignore reality” (*Le Monde*, November 8th, 2013).

Prostituted Persons Protection Act (Prostituiertenschutzgesetz - ProstSchG)

However, in February 2015, after months of discussion, CDU and SPD have found a common ground. In March, Manuela Schwesig, Federal Minister of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, presented the draft bill, stating on that occasion: "For the first time, there will be clear rules for legal prostitution in Germany, which will help to protect women.". This bill, which should come into force in January 2016, provides:

- The registration of all prostituted persons (whether regular or occasional) with the municipal authorities; after an interview, prostituted persons receive a licence, renewable every two years, with the police or the municipal administration. "If it seems that during the registration process the person does not have the discernment required capabilities for its own protection or is exploited by a third party, the competent authorities shall take the necessary measures to ensure the protection of the person" . This license must be shown in case of control by the authorities.
- A mandatory medical check: to receive licensure, prostituted persons must also undergo an annual medical check-up from a doctor working in a public institution. Brothel managers have to verify the evidence of this consultation.
- Special checks for prostituted persons under 21: yearly renewal of the licence and medical checks every six months.
- A stricter control of brothel operators: the exploitation of prostitution venues will be submitted to an authorization granted after an interview and various checks (site security, criminal record especially for persons convicted for procuring, illegal labor, sexual violence...), renewable every three years.
- The ban on flatrate (packages) and on other degrading forms, as well as practices that offend human dignity (gang bang, gang rape ...).
- The compulsory use of condoms and the prohibition of unprotected sex: in case of unprotected sex, the client and the owner of the establishment will be punished, not the prostituted person.
- Police and health authorities will have more rights, in particular the possibility to enter brothels at any time.

An unsatisfying law for all...

On the side of sex-workers associations and their supporters, the law raises anger. Demonstrations, supported by the Piratenpartei (Pirate Party) and Die Linke (radical left party), were held in several German cities to require the abandon of the bill. The whole text is widely criticized, but the measure calling for the registration of prostituted persons is the main target of the protest. "If your ID card says that you are a sex worker, your right to keep your sex life private is not respected," said Undine Rivière, spokesperson for the BesD union (*Le Point*, February 5th, 2015). For Juanita Rosa Henning, of the association Doña Carmen, "it means stigmatizing a whole profession. Sex-workers are treated as simple minds" (*Slate*, June 16th, 2015). The fact that occasional prostituted persons are subjected to the same obligations is also a cause for concern: the women dread losing their anonymity and being obliged to a

forced coming-out. The issue of the condom use is also criticized. For Cornelia Möhring, Die Linke, "making condom use mandatory is a purely symbolic political decision and totally unverifiable. This is like preventing people from urinating in a pool" (*Le Point*, February 5th, 2015). As for the ban on flatrate packages and practices as gang-bangs, it is considered by some sex-workers associations as purely moralistic and with no effect on the fight against human trafficking. The pro-sex work associations are not the only ones to contest this law. The healthcare professionals, represented by the federation *Bundesverband der Ärztinnen und Ärzte des Öffentlichen Gesundheitsdienstes e.V.* (BVÖGD) challenged the requirements of a medical examination: these consultations must be anonymous and not compulsory. Others worry about the threats of this legislation on fundamental rights. Isn't the possibility for the police and authorities, of health for example, to enter brothels at any time against the inviolable right of private space provided by German law? Isn't the obligation of registration and medical checks against the law on personal data protection? Abolitionists who expected much of this legislative change, the first since 2002, are very disappointed. The rejection of fundamental measures, such as the penalization of the client of prostitution, or raising to 21 years the minimum legal age for prostitution, a proposal supported by the CDU, was deeply frustrating.

As early as August 2014, Lea Ackermann, of the NGO Solwodi, expressed her concerns on the law in preparation; she noted that the improvements to the 2002 law would be limited to the strict minimum of the requirements made by human rights organizations (*Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, August 16th, 2014). For Huschke Mau, of the NGO Sisters, the adopted law is marked by the sex industry lobby (*Emma*, September 28th, 2015). Others prefer to be more optimistic and see the glass half full. "Everything is better than the current law," says philosophically Leni Breymaier, SPD MP of Bad-Württemberg. "We're going in the right direction. But on the 100 meters we still have in front of us, we passed 5 meters!" (*Die Welt*, September 28th, 2015). And, in July 2015, Emma magazine's headline was: "A half-victory!". In the end, brothel operators, all in all, are the least dissatisfied. Indeed, the checks required by the law look like more to the distribution of a State label than to restrictive measures...

The law, supposed to come into force in 2016, will probably not bring real changes. However, the debate that it provoked have changed the perception of prostitution: "Emma's campaign may have been a tipping point. Other opinions can be expressed more easily now," declared in June 2014 Chantal Louis and Susan Krause, journalists of Emma "You start to see another treatment of prostitution in the media. There was a paradigm shift. We realize that Germany has created a market and people are becoming aware of the importance of the phenomenon" (*Fondation Scelles Infos*, no.29, July 2014).

A Forsa poll, conducted in August 2015 for Stern magazine, confirms this trend. 78% of German respondents were against prostitution (19% of them are for a total ban on prostitution), while only 15% voted for a general legalization of prostitution (*Stern*, August 19th, 2015). The debate on prostitution in Germany is not over!

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- NGO Zéromacho Germany :

https://www.facebook.com/pages/Z%C3%A9romacho-Germany/769554589730875?hc_location=ufi

- Petition « *Mach den Schluss-STRICH! Keine Frauensklaverei in Deutschland!* » :

<https://www.change.org/p/an-die-bundesregierung-von-deutschland-der-kauf-sexueller-dienstleistungen-in-deutschland-muss-gesetzlich-verboden-werden>